

"THE GLOBE" EXTRA.

PROCEEDINGS

AT

THE FIRST GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

REFORM ASSOCIATION OF CANADA,

HELD AT THE ROOMS OF THE ASSOCIATION,

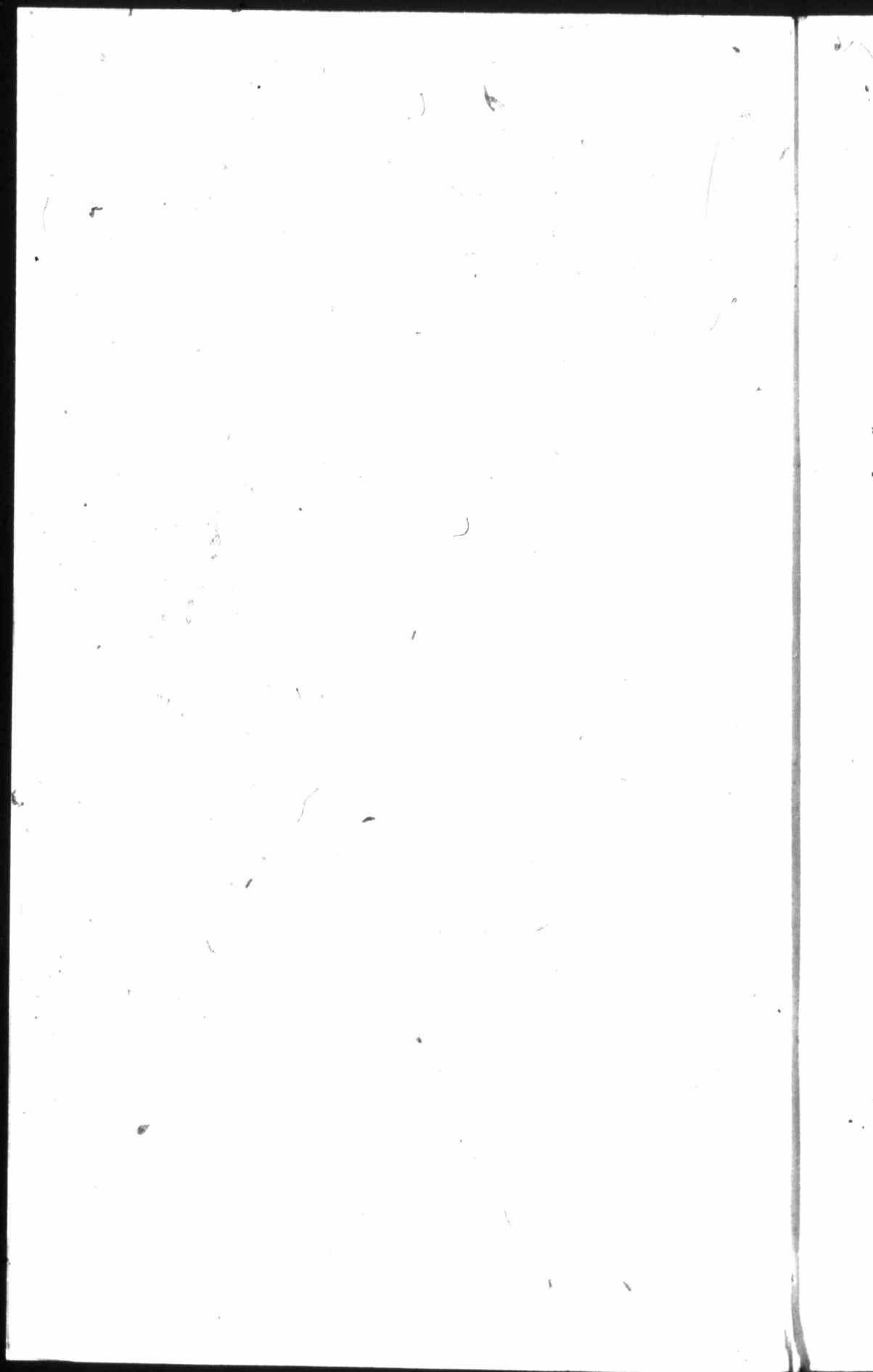
TORONTO,

ON MONDAY, 25th MARCH, 1844.

TORONTO:

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1844.



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REFORM ASSOCIATION OF CANADA.

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The first General Meeting of the Association took place last evening, (25th inst.) and the proceedings will not fail to produce a powerful effect throughout the country. The feeling which prevailed during the whole evening was of the most enthusiastic description. The Speeches were delivered with much vigour, and of them it is enough to say, that they were listened to by a large audience with marked attention and approbation from half-past six to half-past eleven o'clock. We would only say to our brother Reformers throughout the country,—here we have commenced the campaign; the ball has received its first forward impulse in the City,—let it be taken up in every county, in every village, and in every hamlet of the country,—and let us show that we are not a divided people, that an overwhelming majority are determined to receive, and will take no less, than their full share of the privileges of the British Constitution.

The Association has leased the suite of Rooms attached to the North American Hotel, including the large public room, and here the Association commenced their public proceedings. The meeting was called for six o'clock; by that hour a large number of persons had assembled; at half-past six o'clock the room was densely crowded, and during the evening many went away unable to gain admittance.

HON. JAMES E. SMALL rose and moved that the Hon. ROBERT BALDWIN do take the Chair. The motion was received with loud acclamations, and the honourable gentleman took his seat.

A number of Letters received from Gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who had been invited to take a share in the proceedings of the Evening, were laid before the Meeting by the Secretary, The following are copies of a few of them:

LETTER FROM JOHN WETENHALL, ESQ., WARDEN,  
GORE DISTRICT.

Nelson, 24th March, 1844.

SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th inst., requesting me to attend a meeting of the Reform Association, on Monday the 25th inst. I regret it is not in my power to comply with your wishes, the notice being so short that I find it impossible to be in Toronto in time.

Being obliged to write this letter hurriedly, in order to allow time for you to receive it before the meeting, and to give you an opportunity of selecting some other individual in my stead, I will only add, that I sincerely hope some effective steps may be taken, to explain to the country the questions at issue, between the three gentlemen who now enjoy His Excellency's confidence, and the vast majority of the people's Representatives in the House of Assembly.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,  
JOHN WETENHALL.

SKEFFINGTON CONNOR, Esq.

LETTER FROM T. G. RIDOUT, ESQ., CASHIER BANK OF  
UPPER CANADA.

TORONTO, 25th March, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your letter of the 23rd inst., in which you are so kind as to request my attendance at the Reform Association Meeting this evening, for the purpose of moving one of the Resolutions to be then offered for the approval of the Association, and can assure you that I should be most happy to attend, but I regret that the state of my health, which has confined me to the house for the last two months, still prevents me from going out, especially in the evening. I therefore beg that you will do me the favour to excuse me for this time, and that you will assure my friends that I am, and shall always be, ready and willing to promote by my humble endeavours the loyal and good cause for which the Association has been formed.

Yours truly,

THOMAS G. RIDOUT.

TO GEORGE BROWN, Esq.

LETTER FROM JAS. SMITH, ESQ., BARRISTER, PORT HOPE.

PORT HOPE, 22d March, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 20th, requesting my attendance at the great meeting on Monday next, was received to-day, and I regret, that my business will not admit of my leaving home, otherwise I should most certainly be present on that occasion.

In the mean time I am pleased to be able to say, that "the work goes bravely on" in Durham, and that I think we shall give *Durham definition* of Responsible Government in due season.

I am,

Your's, &c.,

JAS. SMITH.

S. CONNOR, Esq., Toronto.

LETTER FROM G. S. TIFFANY, ESQ., HAMILTON.

HAMILTON, 25th March, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your note inviting my attendance this evening at a meeting of the Reform Association of Toronto, was duly received by me late on Saturday. I regret that business engagements will prevent me from being with you. The Reformers every where, within my observation, highly approve of the Association, and hope that through its agency the party will be brought to act with more union than heretofore. We have here commenced an organization, which is intended to form a part of, or act in concert with, the Association, as you will perceive by the public papers. The Committee appointed at the meeting of the 9th inst., have elected C. C. Ferrie, Esq., Chairman, and S. B. Freeman, Esq., Secretary, and our report of the proceedings of that day, as well as our addresses to the Reformers of the county, will appear tomorrow. We think it highly necessary that the false statement given by the *Gazette* should be contradicted. The opposition was completely baffled and beaten on that day, as well as outnumbered. Their conduct is not the less reprehensible. We shall proceed with the organization of the county. I think it would be well to have all members of local Committees become members of the Association, so that, in fact, the grand Committee at Toronto would be the Provincial Committee, and this would complete the organization we require. I suppose this is your intention. Our Secretary was instructed to enter into communication with you.

I have an extensive acquaintance in this and the adjoining Districts, and so far as I have been able to ascertain the state of public opinion, it does not appear to have changed in the least in favor of the Governor-General's view of Responsible Government. The Reformers, generally, have a very correct idea on that subject. By promulgating some political information, exposing the errors and duplicity of our opponents, and opposing to their industry, equal industry, we have nothing to fear.

The result of our Municipal election for this Town, has been mis-represented by the same *Gazette*. Three out of the four members of the Board are reputed Reformers, and the fourth generally voted our ticket; he was elected by Reformers on local grounds. The Tories could not run a single candidate, but were reduced to give their support to one of two Reformers, in three of the Wards. Still the election was not a political one, but was one of locality. The President was elected solely on this ground. The members of the former Board, with but one exception, refused to offer as candidates. There is a decided majority of Reformers in each Ward as well as in the whole town.

My opinion is, that, west of the Home District, there will not be a Tory returned at the next election, with the exception of the Town of London,—wishing you every success,

I remain, yours truly,

GEORGE S. TIFFANY.

GEORGE BROWS, Esq.

Mr. BALDWIN then rose, amidst loud and long continued cheering, and said that he felt particularly gratified at the honour which had been conferred upon him, in calling upon him to preside at the first General Meeting of the Reform Association of Canada, because it afforded the most unquestionable evidence that in their opinion he had proved himself the firm and uncompromising friend of that great and vital principle of British Constitutional Liberty which it was the great object of the Association to support (cheers); and because it showed that while exerting themselves to insure to their country the practical application of that great principle to the administration of all our local affairs, they repudiated the ungenerous course of casting by, as a menstuous rag, the men who had stood firm to that principle through evil report and good report in the darkest hour of our country's history (cheers); when the doing so was denounced from the highest quarters as incipient treason, as well as when emerging from the cloud of calumny, in which interest and ignorance and despotism had for a time succeeded in enveloping it, this great and truly British principle shone forth in all the splendour of its native truth and excellence, under the express sanction of one of the brightest ornaments of the proud aristocracy of the Mother Country, and the specially appointed High Commissioner and Representative of the Sovereign herself. (Loud cheering.)

There was another ground on which he felt pleased at the honour conferred upon him. It afforded him the opportunity of giving expression, in the most unequivocal manner, to his entire approval of the Association (hear, hear); and no exertion, on his part, he could assure them, should be wanting to forward its object, and make the organization they had recommended as effectual as possible; and, he most earnestly recommended to all who valued the principles of the British Constitution, and to whom the preservation of the connection with the mother country was dear, to lend their aid by joining in such organization. (Loud cheers.) For, depend upon it, the day will come when one of the proudest boasts of our posterity will be, that they can trace their descent to one who had his name inscribed on this great Roll of the contenders for Colonial rights. (Great cheering.)

Our objects (said Mr. Baldwin) are open and avowed. We seek no concealment, for we have nothing to conceal. We demand the practical application of the principles of the Constitution of our beloved Mother Country to the administration of all our local affairs. (Hear, hear.) Not one hair's breadth farther do we go, or desire to go; but not with one hair's breadth short of that will we be ever satisfied. (Cheers.) The nature and extent of the demand has never been better expressed than by the great statesman to whom he had already alluded. Lord Durham had, in his Report to her Majesty, nobly vindicated the Reformers of the Province from the foul imputations which had been attempted to be cast upon them, and he (Mr. B.) would trespass on the meeting for a few moments, while he read a few extracts from that great Text Book of British Colonial Rights:—

“The views,” says his Lordship, “of the great body of the Reformers appear to have been limited, according to their favourite expressions to the making the Colonial Constitution ‘an exact transcript’ of that of Great Britain, and they only desire that

the Crown should in Upper Canada, as at home, entrust *the administration of affairs* to men possessing the confidence of the Assembly."

And, after pointing out the nature of the evils, to the existence of which he attributes the unsatisfactory condition of the Province, he proceeds:—

"It is not by weakening but strengthening the influence of the people on its Government, by confining within much narrower bounds than those hitherto allotted to it, and not by extending the interference of the Imperial authorities *in the details* of Colonial affairs, that I believe that harmony is to be restored where dissension has so long prevailed, and *a regularity and vigor hitherto unknown, introduced into the administration of these Provinces.* It needs *no change* in the principles of Government—*no invention of a new constitutional theory*—to supply the remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove the existing political disorders. It needs but to *follow out consistently the principles of the British Constitution*, and introduce into the Government of those great Colonies those wise provisions, *by which alone* the working of the *representative system* can in *any country* be rendered harmonious and efficient. We are not now to consider the policy of establishing Representative Government in the North American Colonies. That has been irrevocably done, and the experiment of depriving the people of their present constitutional power is not to be then thought of. To conduct their Government harmoniously, in accordance with its established principles, is now the business of its rulers, and I know not how it is possible to secure that harmony in any other way than by administering the Government, on those principles, *which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain.* I would not impair a single prerogative of the Crown; on the contrary, I believe that the interests of the people of these Colonies require the protection of prerogatives which have not hitherto been exercised. *But the Crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of Representative Institutions*, and if it has to carry on the Government in unison with a representative body, *it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence.*" (Loud cheers.)

And after showing that an elective Executive, which the Reformers of Canada never asked for, would not only be inconsistent with monarchical government, but would really, under the nominal authority of the Crown, deprive the Commons of one of the great advantages of an hereditary Monarchy—he proceeds:

"Every purpose of popular control might be combined with every advantage of vesting the immediate choice of advisers in the Crown, were the Colonial Governor to be *instructed* to secure the co-operation of the House of Assembly in his policy, *by entrusting its administration to such men as could command a majority*, and if he were given to understand that he need count on no aid from home, in any difference with the Assembly that should not **DIRECTLY INVOLVE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MOTHER COUNTRY AND THE COLONY.** This change might be effected *by a single despatch containing such instructions*; or if any legal enactment were requisite, it would only be one that would render it necessary that *the official acts of the Governor should be countersigned by some public functionary.* This would induce *responsibility for every act of the Government*, and, as a natural consequence, *it would necessitate the substitution of a system of ADMINISTRATION BY MEANS OF COMPETENT HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS for the present rade machinery of an Executive Council.*"

Again—

"Nor can I conceive that it would be found impossible or difficult to conduct a *Colonial Government with precisely that limitation of the respective powers*, which has been so long and so easily maintained in Great Britain," and which he had previously referred to in these terms.

"Since the revolution of 1688, the stability of the English Constitution has been secured by that wise principle of our Government which has vested the direction of the national policy and *the distribution of the patronage* in the leaders of the Parliamentary majority."

Then, after referring to the idle attempt of some to deny the applicability of this principle to the position of a Colony, he proceeds :

"I admit that the system which I propose would, in fact, place *the internal government* of the Colony in the hands of the *Colonists themselves*, and that we should thus leave to them the execution of the laws, of which we have long entrusted the making, solely to them."

"I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere with their internal legislation in matters which do not affect **THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY.**" (Hear, hear.)

And after pointing out the *very few* points with respect to which the Mother Country, in his opinion, requires a control over a colony, among which he enumerates the regulation of foreign relations, and of trade with the Mother Country, the British Colonies, and foreign nations,—and the certainty that on such points a perfect subordination on the part of the Colony is sufficiently secured by the advantages which it finds in the continuation of its connection with the Empire, he proceeds :

"It (that is the subordination of the Colony to the Mother Country), certainly is not strengthened, but greatly weakened by a vexatious interference on the part of the Home Government with the enactment of laws for regulating the **INTERNAL CONCERNS OF THE COLONY**, or in the *selection of persons entrusted with their execution.* The Colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or *which of their countrymen* are the fittest for *conducting their affairs*, but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so, than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the Colonists make bad laws and *select improper persons* to conduct their affairs, they will *generally* be the *only, always* the *greatest*, sufferers; and like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves until they choose to apply the remedy. But it surely cannot be the duty, or the interest of Great Britain to keep a most expensive military possession of these Colonies, in order that a **GOVERNOR or SECRETARY OF STATE** may be able to confer **COLONIAL APPOINTMENTS** on one rather than on another *set of persons* in the Colonies. *For this is really the only question at issue.*" (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

And again, with reference to the absurdity of supposing the people of the Colonies to be opposed to the principle which, it would be recollected, was one of the fallacies imposed, or attempted to be imposed on the Home Government by Sir F. Head, he adds :

"Nor can I conceive that any people, or any considerable portion of a people will view with dissatisfaction a charge which would amount simply to this: *that the Crown* would henceforth *consult the wishes of the people* in the choice of its *servants.*"

The reading of these well known extracts had taken longer than he wished, but he felt it important that they should be kept prominently before the public, because they embrace the great principle which was subsequently enunciated in Parliamentary form, under the express sanction of Lord Sydenham, in the famous Resolutions of 3rd September, 1841, which declare that,

"The Representative of the Sovereign in the Province, is *responsible to the Imperial authority alone*, but that nevertheless, *the management of our local affairs can only* be conducted by him, by and with the *assistance, counsel, and information* of subordinate officers in the Province." And that such subordinate officers, "constituting a *Provincial Administration* under him, ought to be men possessed of the confidence of the Representatives of the people,—thus affording a guarantee that the well understood wishes and interests of the people will *on all occasions*, be *faithfully represented and advocated.*" (Hear, hear.) And because they led to the overthrow of that wretched system of government so strongly denounced by Lord Durham, which Lord Sydenham declared he would not have raised an arm to uphold, and which led to those lamentable events which we have all so much reason to deplore. But which it was now attempted to re-establish, by misapplying to it the name of the very system which had superseded it. (Hear, hear.)

He would ask any man to read these extracts carefully, and say whether he found any trace of the new fangled classification of public matters into those of "adequate importance," and those of "inadequate importance," which some person or other (for it was really hard to say in the present state of the Government who did advise his Excellency,) (hear, hear,) had advised the Representative of the Sovereign to make in his reply to the Warden and Councillors of Gore. The classification of public affairs in Lord Durham's Report, was 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 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 therefore 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 of the class. Nay, the same Governor General is in a different mood at different times, and what he deems of "*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 General's 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 with advice, and sometimes without it, his unfortunate Ministers were general endorsers of the whole. Not an act of omission or commission, 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 inapplicable 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 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 Resolution of 1841, in which he is declared responsible to the *Imperial Authority alone*. A principle which might be called the very keystone 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 the Constitutional necessity for the management of our "*local affairs*," (not merely *retain* 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 and advocated*." (Great cheers.) How can such wishes and interests be represented or advocated if those who are so to represent and advocate they 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 Government 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 Compact 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 grand-mother; 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, grand-mother, what great big eyes you have! Oh, grand-mother, what a great big nose you have! it may not, as in the case of poor little Red ridinghood, be too late, and the reply to the exclamation Oh, grand-mother, what a great big mouth you have! be, "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. Lafoitaine, 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 to 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, seem 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 a prospect of any 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 for 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 recognised, but indeed declared to be, absolutely necessary. (Cheers.)

But it was clear from the extracts he had read, and the undoubted facts 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 "autagonism" from his first arrival in the Province. (Loud cheers.) How idle then is it to pretend that the question at issue between them, was any other than whether his views or their's 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 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 character will accept them. (Loud cheers.)

Again it had been said that there had been a discrepancy between the statements of Mr. Lafontaine's note, and that of the Head of the Government; but a careful perusal of these documents will show, that no discrepancy exists as to the facts alleged in that note. (Hear, hear.) There is, indeed, much difference in the views of the respective parties, but that was what led to the disruption—the Head of the Government protesting against "the explanation," not against the existence of any fact stated by Mr. Lafontaine,—we also protest against his Excellency's explanation; for while he calls Responsible Government "an undefined question,"—we turn to Lord Durham's Report, and to the Resolutions of 1841, and deny that it is undefined, except to those who are unable or unwilling to understand it. Upon the practical application of this great principle to the administration of all our local affairs, he believed, depended not only the happiness and prosperity of the Colony itself, but the continuation of its connection with the Parent State. This was no new opinion of his,—it was one which he had communicated to Lord Glenelg, in 1836, and to Lord Durham, in 1838; it was, therefore, that he had ever exerted the best energies with which the Almighty had blessed him, to procure this great political good for his native country. [Cheers.]

Born under the protection of the British standard,—under the protection of that standard he wished to live and die, and to leave that protection as an inheritance to his children after him: but not as a mark of infamy or degradation, but as one of honour and of safety. (Loud Cheers.)

He feared he had trespassed too long upon their attention, but he had almost necessarily been led to touch upon the points to which he alluded, to counteract the effect of any misapprehension which might exist respecting them. There were others which lay so directly in his way, that it was difficult to abstain from taking them up, but they would no doubt be treated of by the gentlemen who were to follow him, and with, he doubted not, much more eloquence than he could pretend to discuss them. Again thanking them, therefore, for the honour of placing him in that chair, and for the attention with which they had so long heard him, he would give way to the other gentlemen who had come prepared to take part in the proceedings of the day. (Loud cheers.)

HON. HENRY JOHN BOULTON shortly afterwards rose and said: he must apologize for appearing before the Association without some previous thought of how he should address them, but it was only on that morning that he had been able so to arrange professional business as to enable him to be present on that occasion. He felt however the deep importance of the subject so strongly, that he feared not his ability of proving its correctness to the satisfaction of all. The Resolution which he was about to propose was:

"1. That this Association, devotedly attached to the principles of the British Constitution, are determined to use every Constitutional means within their power, to secure the practical application of the principles of that Constitution to the management of all the local affairs of the Colony, convinced that in so doing, they are at once performing the duty which they owe to themselves and their posterity, and strengthening in the best manner possible the connection with the Mother Country, which they desire to perpetuate."

He (Mr. Boulton) felt proud in being the means of offering for the adoption of so highly respectable and so numerous an audience, a Resolution so truly Constitutional, and which must meet with the entire approval of every one. (hear, hear.) He believed all, or nearly all present, were born in the Mother Country—and he would ask them, while they professed adherence to the British

Constitution, whether when they left their own firesides—be it in Ireland, Scotland, or England—they expected that they were coming to a Foreign Country as slaves? (cries of no, no.) No, he believed their hearts burned with love to their native land—but he felt that one and all must have expected that here they would receive all the privileges, which they enjoyed at home under the British Constitution. (hear, hear.) That was his feeling, and he had no doubt it was the feeling of all. Where, he would ask, was such a Constitution to be found? It was a Constitution envied by the whole world, and he doubted not they were all of one voice with him when he said, that not an effort of his should be left untried, while he breathed, to sustain and perpetuate that Constitution in Canada. (enthusiastic cheers.) It was a form of Government which he was satisfied, after long experience and deep reflection, was the best form to be found under Heaven. (cheers.) It was a form which protected the weak as well as the strong—the strong could protect themselves. A form which protects the interests of all within its sway, better than that of any other among civilized nations. [loud cheers.] He [Mr. Boulton] would never flinch in saying, that he trusted to see it yet carried out in every portion of the British Empire. As regarded Canada, they were called to pass the Resolution which he now offered, because they felt that here it had been infringed on. [cheers.] The British Constitution was all they desired, and nothing less would they take; it guaranteed to them the liberty of the people, while carefully watched over by the Representatives of the people. [hear, hear.] We had an equal right here as in England, to watch and to insist on the proper application of its principles as enforced at home. He [the Hon. Gentleman] demanded that the people of this country should be placed on the same footing as at home—they were equally well entitled to it; and they ought to take nothing less. [loud cheers.] In this Country it was of course impossible that the Sovereign could rule personally—and therefore a Governor was sent to perform what Her Majesty could not do Herself. [loud cheers.] Now he would ask; was it right that the deputy should have higher prerogatives than the person who deputed him? Ought a servant to have more authority than his master? Assuredly not,—(cheers)—and that being the case the Governor-General has no right to exercise the prerogative of the Crown otherwise than at home. (Hear, hear.) We contend (said Mr. Boulton) that the Governor shall rule by and with the advice of his constitutional advisers. This, however, is said to be inconsistent with the dependence of a Colony—but that he totally denied. He maintained that this principle was equally applicable to the Colony as to the Mother Country,—(cheers)—and he would show the advantage of such a system as was contended for here. The Administration in this country claim to advise the Representative of Majesty on all subjects—he made no distinction—involving the well-being and happiness of the country; and with regard to every local affair they had an indubitable right to be consulted. Why should this be, it might be asked? Because it was impossible for a Governor, coming here a stranger—and it would be worse if he were an old resident, subject to all the prejudices and acrimony of local parties—it would be impossible for him at once to know and weigh in a just balance the wants and necessities, the feelings and the wishes, of a population so widely extended as that of Canada. He must therefore take advice from some one—and who are likely to give it so well as those drawn from the Representatives of the people themselves? True, he may advise with the minority—but are they responsible? No, they are not, and it is responsibility we demand from the advisers of the Crown. It was right that the advice to be tendered to the Governor should be given by leading members of the majority of the Legislature—showing to the people that they enjoy the confidence of the Crown. (Loud cheers.) It is *only* from them that the Governor General can Constitutionally receive advice. He [the hon. gen.] would like to know, what Sir Robert Peel would say if, on going to Windsor to wait on Her

Majesty, he were left in the ante-room, until Lord John Russell, or any other leading opponent of the Administration, had finished a private audience with her Majesty? [Hear, hear.] He said, without fear of contradiction, that Sir Robert Peel would have instantly resigned office and the only fault he had to find with his [Mr. Boulton's] hon. friend in the chair, was that he did not do so, the very moment he was so treated. [Loud cheers.] He was the last man to allude to the names of individuals, but he had heard of persons being consulted, who ought not to have interferred while there were Constitutional advisers in office. He maintained that no person had a right to be consulted by the Crown but the Administration. The Governor-General conceded their right, it was true, to bring in Bills in Parliament—but that was a very trifling matter; any one could do that. [Hear, hear.] In his [Mr. Boulton's] opinion, the goodness or badness of laws depended more on the way in which they were carried out, than on the laws themselves—and if the laws were executed so as to give satisfaction to the people, it mattered little who introduced them to Parliament.—[Cheers.] It had been said that the Administration was only to be consulted on matters of “adequate importance,”—but he [the hon. gen.] said they were to be consulted on everything. [Hear, hear.] He maintained that the mode of consultation ought to be, by the Heads of Departments going to the Governor, and saying what the country wanted, and what they recommended to be done. Not by the Governor going to the Heads of Departments and telling them what he wanted done. [Loud cheers.]—He [Mr. Boulton] had been a hundred times in Downing Street, during the reign of several Sovereigns, but he had never known an instance of a King going there and giving his directions as to what he wanted done. [Laughter.] No, the Minister goes to the Sovereign and says I propose to appoint such a person to office, and then the question is shall he be appointed by the Crown or not. The Crown has an undoubted right to say to Sir Robert Peel, “you shall not appoint Lord Ashburton as Minister to the United States,” or, “you shall not send the Duke of Buccleuch to Russia.” Her Majesty has a perfect right to do so; but Sir Robert Peel has an equal right to say, “if your Majesty has not confidence in my advice, I must resign.” [Loud cheers.] “I cannot go before the Country, and show that I am a mere instrument—that I have no say in my own Department. If my advice is not taken, it proves I have not your Majesty's confidence.” Now that was the exact system of the British Constitution, and which was acted on in the Mother Country; and he hoped that although he [Mr. Boulton] was an old man, he would yet live, to see it in full and successful operation, and that before long, in Canada. [Loud cheers.] He would not be content with any other system, or with anything short of it. [Hear, hear.] He did not say so from party feeling—the demand was right and proper in itself, and he advocated it from a stronger impulse than mere personal considerations. In or out of power, he wanted no favor from any party whatever—[cheers]—and, therefore, he was free to state all he thought on the subject. For the sake of the peace and prosperity of the Province, he trusted to see it *acted on*—he had very near said *conceded*—he did not like “concessions,” the word stuck in his throat—(enthusiastic cheers)—it was only an honest debt due to us which they demanded. Mr. Baldwin had said, that the Administration has to endorse every Act of the Government, and it was undoubtedly true. Now there were four Banks in Toronto, and they all knew that if they endorsed a note to get money at the Bank, and the promiser did not fulfil his promise and pay the note, the endorser must meet the obligation—*he must pay the note*. [Loud cheers.] It was quite as serious a matter to endorse the Acts of the Government, as to put one's name on the back of a pretty large piece of paper. [Loud cheers.] Now, when they think the Government are likely to be defaulters, it is full time for the Ministry to withdraw—to take their names off the paper before they are sued. [Laughter.] A complaint is made against the late Ministry that they resigned—now that they had a perfect right to do. They were not bound to remain guarantees for paper which they did not think could be met at maturity, so they resigned, and left room for better men—*if they could be found*. [Loud cheering.] And for four months such men had been sought for in every direction, but whether it was on account of the wooden character of the country, he [Mr. Boulton] could not say—but they had not been found yet. [Much applause]

and laughter.] Perhaps they had not got on the proper "trail" yet. [Cheers.] For the last four months it had been often stated by parties opposed to us, that we had not come the length of being competent to govern our own affairs—that we are but children yet! Now he [the hon. gentleman] considered it the greatest mistake—he had never seen children with such beards—children of such large growth in his life—[Cheers]—they were very precocious children. The truth is, we are a PEOPLE; and a people of as much importance as Scotland was at the time of the union. [Loud cheers.] How absurd it would have been to have talked of the Scottish people at that time as children. Why, the man who would have so spoken of them in those days, would have been apt to encounter the claymores of the descendants of Wallace and Bruce. [Enthusiastic cheers.] We are a million and a-half of people, mostly natives of Great Britain; and our emigrating to the Western World for a wider field for our energies, is a proof that we are an enterprising people. [Cheers.] We do know how to conduct our own affairs, and we will do so in a proper manner. The only safe principle for our government, is to take Lord Durham's invaluable Report as its basis. I do think that Report does its author immortal honour, and devolves on the people of Canada a heavy load of gratitude—[loud cheers.] Now, all that was wanted, was to have it honestly carried out. We have been accused [said Mr. Boulton] of agitating and producing dissension in the country, and preventing the views of Government being carried out. Now, if there has been improper agitation, it has come from our opponents: a small knot of persons here and there, to enable the government to carry on without responsibility, and to lay a foundation for clap trap answers, inducing people to believe that Responsible Government is fully accorded when everything possible is done to defeat it—[loud cheers]—I say it, Mr. Chairman, as on the house top, *that not one of these "Replies" has ever recognized the principle of Responsible Government!!* [immense applause.] I feel that a large majority of the Legislature will sustain the great principle, that the people are competent to conduct their own affairs,—and I trust that they will adopt measures to carry it out, and firmly to establish it in the country. [Cheers.] They are the greatest destructives who strive to keep this question unsettled, and I trust that the people will show at the Elections that they are satisfied *it is so*. The Hon. and learned gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.

JOHN BOYD, Esq., had much pleasure in seconding the motion. The motion was put by the Chairman, and carried by acclamation.

WILLIAM HUME BLAKE, Esq., rose to move the second resolution, as follows:—

2. "That Ministerial Responsibility to the people of this country for every act of the Executive connected with our local affairs, is an essential ingredient of our Constitution. It is a privilege to which we have as undoubted a right as England herself. And without it the responsibility of the Head of the Executive to the people of England is no guarantee for our liberties."

Mr. Chairman, if we are here assembled for the maintenance of no great constitutional right, if, as has been alleged, our only purpose be to thrust into office the members of the late Executive Council; then we are in my humble judgment justly chargeable with a very grave offence. For much as I should deprecate any capricious exercise of Her Majesty's prerogative, in the change of Her Ministers in this Province, I must yet confess that I could not consider such capricious exercise of authority, without some other ingredient, a sufficient ground for our present appeal to the people, (hear, hear.) But if, on the other hand, it shall appear that the question at issue forms the very basis of all the liberties of Canada, then I must take leave to deprecate the language of those who object against us, that our purposes are purely personal (cheers.) Is this country, or is it not, bound to entertain a grateful recollection of the man who has ever shewn that his country's rights are dear to him; who has again and again relinquished office when it could no longer be held consistently with those rights (loud cheers.) Is this country, or is it not, permitted to give plain expression to those feelings? Is it reasonable to require the people of this country to transfer a confidence which was never betrayed, to a set of men who, having retained place and power, so long as they could be protected in that enjoyment by the favor of the Colonial Office in violation of the Constitution, in defiance of the

wishes of the people, now seek to be restored to their former position, because; forsooth, they are at length prepared to work out Responsible Government (loud cheers.) From such doctrines I wholly dissent, and, Sir, before I enter upon the particular subject of the resolution which has been handed to me, I must ask permission thus publicly to discharge, what I regard as a public duty, in respectfully but cordially thanking you on behalf of my country, for those noble minded and patriotic exertions which secured for us the recognition of a principle without which we should, at this moment, have little title to the character of freemen, (enthusiastic cheers.)

But, Sir, it is said that the question of Responsible Government is undefined, and knowing as we do, that it is to operate upon the ever varying combinations of human affairs, we admit that it is incapable of accurate definition, we seek not to define it. But we wholly deny that this principle because incapable of accurate definition, is therefore of little practical importance, or interest, to the people of the Province, (hear, hear, and cheers.) It is true that we are permitted through the medium of our representation, to enact such laws as may seem to us expedient. But it is equally true that the whole Executive power is vested in our gracious Sovereign, over whom neither we nor yet the people of England have any direct control. Our gracious Sovereign is in the eye of the law incapable of wrong. Unless then that executive power is exercised through the medium of Ministers, over whom we have some control, through the medium of Ministers responsible to us; unless the Administration is correspondent to the Legislature, is it not most apparent that the Executive must ere long engross all the power of Government, (hear, hear,) and will in effect soon become despotic. But it is said that the head of the Executive Government here, is responsible to the people of England. Now laying out of view for a moment, the practical effect of this responsibility, which we shall consider by and by, we do now unhesitatingly assert, that however well fitted such responsibility may be to deprive us of all shadow of liberty, it can never raise us to the rank of freemen. (Cheers.) What! suppose I were to inform any farmer who hears me, that he must not presume to exercise any control over those servants to whom he may have entrusted the management of his property. Suppose I were to insist that every operation should be carried on at the will and pleasure of these servants, at the same time assuring this farmer, that he need not feel uneasy, as Lord Stanley's steward would, no doubt, compel those servants to do their duty; would that man, think you, fancy for a moment, that he was the true proprietor of his estate. (Cries of no, no.) Would he not rather think that he was the slave of Lord Stanley's steward, and that Lord Stanley's steward was the true proprietor of his estate. (Hear, hear.) Or suppose I were to inform any merchant whom I address, that he must not presume to dismiss or even to reproach his clerks, who must be permitted to conduct the business of his establishment just as they may think fit, but that he need not consider himself in any degree their slave, in as much as the Lord Mayor of London would compel a strict observance of duty. Do you not fancy that those clerks of the establishment would ere long become insolent? [Hear.] Can you not conceive this unfortunate merchant sometimes protesting, that this responsibility to the Lord Mayor of London, instead of bettering his condition did in fact subject him to a species of double-refined slavery, the insolence of the clerk at home, and the capricious and uncertain interference of the self-constituted supervisor abroad. (Loud Cheers.) Leaving out of view then, for the present, this responsibility to England, which certainly forms no part of our liberties; we must in honesty, and solemnly, as men speaking of what they hold most dear, declare to you, that so long as the Executive of the Province fails to correspond with the Legislature—so long as those large and discretionary powers necessarily vested in the Monarch, (and here we especially point to the distribution of offices and emoluments,) are administered by men in whom the people of this Province have no confidence, over whom they have no control,—so long we are robbed of the greatest privilege which the very nature of our constitution is designed to confer. (Cheers.) The whole body politic labours under a disease wide spread, mortal, which must end in dissolution. True, Sir, there are positive laws here, which the Executive must not infringe. But who can consider the subject for a moment, and not perceive that the Executive, without infringing any positive law, may yet, if it fails to sympathize with the people, act in a manner so foreign to the spirit of our institutions, as to pervert them

all from their just ends. (Hear, hear.) But why should we pause to demonstrate the possibility of such result? Who that has contemplated our past history, can have failed to perceive its practical effect. Have we not seen Administration after Administration conducted not only without the confidence of, but in open opposition to the wishes of the Legislature; and have we not seen that state of things lead to its inevitable result? The hideous disorder in which we have had the misfortune to have been involved. I am not prone, Sir, to refer to the dictum of any man, for the purpose of justifying our demand upon mere authority. We have heard one to whom this Province certainly owes much, [I mean Lord Durham] declare, that he did not pretend to decide upon the *policy* of granting to Canada *representative institutions*—language this, which should never have escaped the lips of an Englishman. I must confess myself therefore, indisposed to fix upon the wording of a despatch, or a resolution, for the purpose of fortifying our rights. Such a course may be highly proper in settling mere questions of form; but those essential rights which we now demand, rest on the basis of eternal justice, upon which no resolution, however Constitutional, can more firmly establish them, from which no despatch however artfully worded can ever remove them. And yet, Sir, I cannot forbear to cite a passage or two from the writings of as great a philosopher and as eminent a statesman as ever graced the English Senate, I mean Mr. Burke, an authority to which even our opponents will defer:

“It is therefore next in order and equal in importance that the discretionary powers which are necessarily vested in the Monarch, whether for the execution of the laws, or for the nomination to magistracy and office, or for conducting the affairs of peace and war, or for ordering the revenue, should all be exercised upon public principles and national grounds, and not on the likings or prejudices, the intrigues, or policies of a court. This I said is equal in importance to the securing a Government according to law. The laws reach a very little way. Constitute Government how you please, infinitely the greater part of it must depend upon the exercise of the powers which are left at large to the prudence and uprightness of Ministers of State. Even all the use and potency of the laws depends upon them. Without them, your Commonwealth is no better than a scheme upon paper, and not a living, actual, effective Constitution. It is possible that through negligence, or ignorance, or design, artfully conducted, Ministers may suffer one part of Government to languish, another to be perverted from its purposes, and every valuable interest of the Country to fall into ruin and decay, without the possibility of fixing on any single act, on which a criminal prosecution can be justly grounded.

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“Nothing indeed will appear more certain on any tolerable consideration of the matter, than that every sort of Government ought to have its Administration correspondent to its Legislature. If it should be otherwise, things must fall into an hideous disorder. The people of a free Commonwealth, who have taken such care that their laws should be the results of general consent, cannot be so senseless as to suffer their executory system to be composed of persons on whom they have no dependence, and whom no proofs of the public love and confidence have recommended to these powers, upon the use of which the very being of the State depends.

“*The popular election of magistrates, and popular disposition of rewards and honours, is one of the first advantages of a free State. Without it, or something equivalent to it, perhaps the people cannot long enjoy the substance of freedom. Certainly none of the vivifying energy of good Government.*”

But, Sir, it is said that the responsibility of the head of the Executive to the people of England, is the surest guarantee of our liberties; nay, the only guarantee which we can have consistently with our position as Colonists. That such language should fall from the lips of noble Secretaries of State; that they should consider a simple declaration of ministerial approval as a sufficient sanction for any violation of our rights however flagrant; nay, that such passing notice of our humble condition should be regarded as the proper object of our gratitude, would not much surprise us. And we would not feel disconcerted even though we should find such language faintly echoed by the people of England. But that there should be found in this country any man degraded so low, as to pander to this lust of despotic power,—[cheers]—that there



should be found any man base enough to barter his own, his children's dearest right, for some paltry present advantage. How can such things be and not fill us with wonder? [Loud cheers.] Responsibility to the people of England, forsooth! What! does not the Crown constitute here the third branch of the Legislature, as in England? Is not the Legislative Council, *our* second branch nominated by the Crown, as in England? Are not the prerogatives of the Crown as inviolate here as in England? And am I to be told that all those strong, those natural ties to the parent state, must be regarded as nothing, unless we also consent that the Government of this country be conducted by ministers over whom the people of the country have no control? I say sir that this right must not be conceded by the people of Canada; nay it must not be conceded even though the Commons of England were disposed to exercise it with the utmost impartiality and vigor,—it is a concession no less repugnant to the liberty of Canada to grant, than unworthy the greatness of England to demand. We desire, indeed earnestly desire, to be united to England, but it must be by ties of which freemen need not be ashamed—England cannot wish, and we must not consent, to be bound as slaves. [Cheers.] But sir we utterly deny that the right of controul, if conceded, would even be exercised by the people of England with impartiality or vigor; and history shall have raised her warning voice for us to little purpose, if she has failed to convince us that such controul, however well fitted to secure the aggrandizement of the Parent State, has yet never operated, and never will operate as a shield to the liberties of the Colonist. We have indeed seen the people of England demand of a noble Lord some account of a rapacity almost unparalleled in the age of Roman despotism,—rapacity which during a few brief years had amassed wealth sufficient to arouse the envy of the ancient and privileged nobility of England. But with what result? Why at the very hour—the very moment when the Commons of England were engaged in the solemn investigation of that heinous offence.—At that very hour and moment, the King of England was desecrating the venerable temple at Westminster, by bestowing upon that Governor the highest honor which the crown of England could confer. But it may be said that the circumstances of our country, nay its very poverty, (I have heard less tenable arguments urged) sufficiently protect us from the iron grasp of rapacity, and that such instances as I have adduced are therefore unimportant. Let us then contemplate some of the enormities of the immediate successor of that Governor of the Indian Empire of England; for the purpose of satisfying ourselves whether that Responsibility of the head of the Executive Government to the people of England, on which we are asked to rely, can be justly regarded as any guarantee of our rights. Look then at Warren Hastings, confessedly the man who contributed most to the aggrandizement of the power of the Parent State, and tell me whether he was found scrupulous in the preservation of the rights of the people of India. Accompany him to the palace of Fylzabad, and witness those agonies from which neither the weakness of age, nor the infirmity of sex, nor the dignity of rank could protect the venerable Princesses of Oude. Follow him to the dungeons of Lucknow, and hear an English Governor General in the name of the British Government; consign to months of unpitied, unrespited, unreprieved torture, the aged and faithful attendants of those noble ladies, for no other reason than that he might wring from them, that treasure with which he designed to satisfy the unbounded rapacity of Englishmen,—with no better apology than that his victim had not the means of resistance to his power.

Contemplate the people of England transplanting into British India, English Judges, and those forms of English justice which the experience of ages had approved, in order that the blessings of civilization might be distributed over that vast Empire, and every truly British heart will swell with honest pride at the display of so much magnanimity. But behold this Governor-General of India—“*the upright and noble-hearted English Gentleman,*” [cheers]—reach forth his hand to pollute what had been designed a fountain of light and life, from which unnumbered blessings should flow to the remotest corners of the land! Behold him reach forth his hand and pollute that fountain, till its bitter waters spread desolation and death wherever they reached! Picture to yourselves an English Governor daring enough to ask, and an English Judge base enough to sell himself to degrade his office into an instrument of one of the foulest judicial murders which ever disgraced the annals of that, or any other

country, and I ask whether the responsibility of the Governor General to the Commons of England was of any avail to guard the rights of the people of India?

When I look at England erecting in India a great military power, for the purpose of protecting her subjects in that vast Empire from foreign aggression, and procuring for them the enjoyment of that British freedom which has secured to England herself happiness so unbounded—greatness so unparalleled—I strive not to repress that patriotic pride which I am free to confess I cannot control. But when I behold a British Governor of British India—when I see the man chosen to bear the message of peace and freedom from the English nation to their fellow subjects of India—when I see that man place the military power of England under the control of a blood-thirsty tyrant, not to secure those blessings of peace and freedom, for which it was designed, but to the end that that tyrant might, in a moment without control, pour all the horror of Indian warfare upon the happy valley of Rohileund. When I see a British army placed under the command of an Indian despot, that the noble, the happy, the peaceful Rohillas, might, at one blow, be subjected to the sway of a ruthless, a debauched tyrant, I ask myself is this responsibility to England then, the guarantee offered us for the preservation of our rights?

What! when I see the Majesty of England condescend to receive with favor the man guilty of all these enormities, when I hear that the man who perpetrated these foulest crimes against the *people of India*, was pronounced by the nobles of England to have committed no crime against the laws of England, no crime against the justice of the English nation. When I read these things, shall any stigma which the foul breath of scandal can fix upon me—shall any punishment which the frail arm of mortality can inflict, deter me from asking whether we have not a right as men to demand some other guarantee for our liberties? Shall any man dare to tell me that I must not ask the people of this Province whether they are prepared to relinquish that control over their servants, which the reason and justice of England has conceded, and to accept in its stead a responsibility to the people of England of which we have been considering the baneful results? Did I believe that the people of the Province would hesitate for one instant on the alternative (hear, hear,) sad would be my forebodings. But it is because I am confident that the mind of this people is fixed. It is because I am conscious that the demand of this sacrifice is not the demand, is not the language of England, but of men resident amongst us, traitors to their country and their rights. It is because I entertain the utmost confidence, in English love of justice, and Canadian love of liberty, that I am enabled to address you in this crisis of our affairs, full of cheering hope (enthusiastic cheers.) The loud complaints which are uttered against men who ask nothing but their undoubted rights, is not the language of genuine love of British greatness and British liberty, it is the foul offspring of flattery and slander. It is the language of men who being conscious that they have no place in the confidence or affection of the people of the Province, strive to acquire place and power by means as little known to the Constitution, as they are base—by flatteries to the Colonial Minister, as degrading as their slander of their fellow subjects is malign (loud bursts of applause.)

But, Sir, hardly can we make mention of the rights of Canada. Scarcely do we speak of a constitutional struggle for the preservation of our privileges, before the finger of scorn is pointed at us, as though this Province were so degraded in the scale of things, that every attempt to make its voice heard amongst the people of the earth, had only rendered it a fit object of ridicule. [Hear, hear.] We have indeed been told by one eloquent, and I suppose I ought to add, "noble hearted Governor," [hear, hear,] that a single parish in London; nay, a single English noble is possessed of more wealth than our poor Province can boast. And, because I suppose it would be disloyal to allow the hints of "those noble hearted English gentlemen" to be thrown away, it seems to have become a fundamental maxim with a certain class of politicians, that the connexion of this Province with the British Empire is good of such infinite magnitude, as to supercede the necessity, nay to leave no room for the assertion of those *common place* blessings of liberty, for which the nations of the earth have ever struggled. [Loud cheering.] Allow us, say they, to continue an integral part of the British Empire, and all other privileges are in our estimation light as air. Let us but form a portion of that glorious Empire—to the winds with that liberty which England herself so dearly prizes. To the wind with

that portion of it which the justice of England has already conceded to us. Let it too be resumed. Only permit us to call ourselves an integral part of the British Empire, and it is enough. [Loud cheering.] Sir, appellations have been freely applied to us for the assertion of our honest convictions—we must not condescend to bandy names with any man or body of men, no matter how dignified their station. But thus much we may venture to say, that this is not language to be listened to by freemen, [hear, hear,] those are not the sentiments of Britons; those are not the sentiments which have laid so deep the foundation of British liberty, upon which the splendid fabric of British greatness has been reared. [Loud cheers.]

Nay, Sir, it is not the language of England towards this Province. For she has solemnly and repeatedly conceded to us, that right of controul over our Provincial Executive, without which we are but slaves. [Great applause.] We, therefore, tell those reasoners that they belie the greatness and the justice of England, in attributing to her such sentiments. We solemnly protest against the violation of our sacred rights, in direct opposition to the wishes of the English nation.

Let us then hear no more of our insignificance in this our struggle for freedom. No man, no body of men, contending for liberty can ever be regarded as insignificant. Such a spectacle is insignificant, only to the coward slave, who knows not wherein the true dignity of man consists. (hear, hear.) It will be hailed by every true hearted Englishman as a spectacle the most significant. He will rejoice to see the budding forth of those seeds of liberty, which it is the glory of England to have planted over the globe. [Cheers.] Were we to apply to an English Statesman to know whether it became us to surrender the rights which England herself had conceded to us without raising an opposing voice—lest forsooth! our insignificance should excite a smile of contempt. The magnanimity of the English Statesman would inform us, that a million and a half of men must not silently witness the spoliation of their property, least of all of their rights. It would point us to Prussia, resisting such a combination of Europe and Asia, as in the estimation of some men, had rendered her truly insignificant. The English Statesman would tell us of that country with a population of less than 5,000,000 struggling with the combined forces of France, Austria, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and the States of Germany. Struggling, during seven years of bloody war, with a population of one hundred millions, over which it eventually triumphed. [loud cheers.] Or perhaps, we should rather be pointed to England herself, when, after ten years of unceasing war—after a struggle, marked by great misfortunes, as well as unparalleled burthens—she not only found herself, after the defection of all her allies, opposed, single-handed, to the giant strength of France—but saw moreover a combination of all the Northern powers—of Russia, her former ally, of Prussia whom she had protected, all leagued, as one man, with France, her implacable enemy, and striking a death blow at her naval greatness. [Enthuiastic cheers.] Did England shrink from a view of her own insignificance? Let the cannon of Copenhagen—let the immortal triumphs of the immortal Nelson answer the enquiries. [Thunders of applause and great cheering.] These, Sir, were the armed struggles of nations for existence. But surely our peaceful constitutional struggles for our rights and privileges should not be regarded as less noble. I require not, Sir, to be informed of the greatness of Britain, or the weakness of Canada. Born and educated as I have been on British soil, I take a pride in the power of Britain, which few of those who assail us can be expected to feel. (Cheers.) Nor do I require to be taught to love British connection, to seek the perpetuation of British greatness. These sentiments have been ingrained in my very nature. They have grown with my growth, and strengthened with my strength. They are ties, Sir, stronger—dearer than I dare venture to express. [Loud cheers.] The hand of tyranny may rudely sever the bond which unites this land of my adoption to the Empire, it can have no power to rob me of those filial feelings towards Britain, my country, over which I fondly hope that the grave itself shall have no control. But shall I permit those sacred considerations to be profaned by being used as arguments to induce me to surrender my essential rights as a freeman England cannot wish, and certainly she has no right to preserve the integrity of the empire by such a sacrifice. And I hesitate not to declare that much as I glory in the power of Britain, much as I admire her unparalleled greatness, I had rather see them mouldering in the dust, than supported by an infringement of those Constitutional principles of liberty upon which

they were founded, and with which I even dare to hope that they will fail. [The eloquent and learned gentleman sat down amidst loud and long continued bursts of applause.]

WM. L. PERRIN, Esq., [Merchant] said: Mr. Chairman, I have great pleasure in coming forward to second the resolution so ably moved by my friend, Mr. Blake. After the eloquent speech he has delivered and seeing so many Gentlemen around me, who are waiting to address you, and who can do much more justice to the cause than I can, it would be presumptuous in me to take up the time of this meeting.

JAMES HERVEY PRICE, Esq., M. P. P., rose and said:

Mr. Chairman,—A much wiser man than myself has declared, that there is a time to speak and a time to be silent—and after the very eloquent and talented speeches which have this night been delivered, and from the knowledge that gentlemen equally talented with those who have preceded me, are to address the meeting, I think I shall best consult your wishes and convenience, by moving the Resolution I hold in my hand, in silence. Here Mr. Price was interrupted by universal cries of go on, go on. After silence was restored, Mr. Price said, I would most cheerfully speak to the motion, were it not that I fear from the number of speeches which are to follow, the time and patience of the meeting will be entirely exhausted; I therefore do hope that I may be permitted simply to move the Resolution, and make way for the Hon. Mr. Sullivan. Mr. Price then read the Resolution and took his seat, upon which the meeting simultaneously and with one voice called on him to speak. He again rose, and as soon as the cheering had subsided said, gentlemen, I am not insensible to the flattering manner in which you have received me this night, but I am equally sensible of the great inconvenience you suffer in the very crowded state of the meeting, and the excessive heat of the room; and I do implore you to allow me to be silent, so that the gentlemen around me may have an opportunity of delivering their sentiments. I am at all times ready to address you, and other opportunities will present themselves. I have lately spent two or three weeks in the country attending public meetings, where union and harmony prevails universally amongst the friends of British Responsible Government, and on those occasions I have found it very difficult indeed to condense my thoughts within proper limits, and I fear now that if I were once to commence speaking to the Resolution entrusted to me, that I should far exceed the limits that prudence would dictate, from the fact of the Resolution being replete with interest and constitutional principles. Gentlemen urge me no longer, and believe me that at the close of this meeting you will say with me, that it was better that I held my peace, than that others more eloquent should be prevented addressing you. Mr. Price again resumed his seat amidst immense cheering.

“3. That the full establishment of such responsibility as recommended by Lord Durham, introduced by Lord Sydenham, recognized by the Resolutions of the Commons of the Province of 3d September, 1841, and acted upon by the late lamented Sir Charles Bagot in the change of Ministry in September, 1842, requires that the business of the country should be conducted under the Representative of the Sovereign, by means of Heads of Departments, having seats both in the Executive Council of the Province, and in the Provincial Parliament, forming the Cabinet of the Head of the Government, and prepared to defend in their places in Parliament, the measures of their several Departments, and politically responsible, individually and collectively, to the Provincial Parliament for every act of the Provincial Government.”

JESSE KETCHUM, Esq., was received with loud applause. He said he did not like to be always finding fault—and he had been considering what good was likely to result from the present position of affairs in Canada. It appeared to him (Mr. Ketchum,) that one great good which would devolve from it was—discussion, (hear hear.) Young people were always coming forward in the world, and if something did not occasionally occur to compel them to enquire into their rights, the people would lose sight of, and forget their just privileges, (cheers.) Another good which had resulted was, that now the country would know exactly who the men were who are willing to praise and fawn upon the Governor General, do what he would, (cheers.) They knew now who they were who would sell their liberties—for what? why, exactly for what Esau got for his birth-right, (loud

cheers.) One thing he (Mr. Ketchum) rejoiced to notice—the highest people among the other party, the old, well tried opponents of the Reformers—had not committed themselves. They left that to others who had not so much experience. For four months Canada had been without a Government—for he held that an unconstitutional Government was no Government at all, (cheers.) All admitted that Canada had a right to Responsible Government—it was therefore for the people to keep it. It was said the Governor was responsible to the people—but how were they to make it available? It was like a Banker who gets his bills into circulation here and goes off to Buffalo.—what could you do then with your bills? When the Governor General went home to England, who was to pay his bills? We know how to get at the Ministry—they want our votes now and again—but how can we make a Governor's responsibility to us available? His Excellency says the late Ministry wished to make a tool of him—but because a person will not do as another wanted, did that make a tool of him? Assuredly not. [Hear, hear.] He [Mr. Ketchum] thought if that was making a tool of a person—and some one must be made a tool of—better that the Governor should be so, rather than the whole people of Canada, when all they wanted was their just and Constitutional rights. [Loud cheers.] He had much pleasure in seconding the Resolution just proposed by his friend Mr. Price. The motion was put from the Chair and carried unanimously.

HON. R. B. SULLIVAN having moved the following resolution, addressed the meeting at length.

“4. That such Heads of Departments, forming the Provincial Administration under the Representative of the Sovereign, can constitutionally retain office only so long as they possess the confidence of Parliament.”

Mr Chairman and Gentlemen—I do not wonder at my learned friend, Mr. Price, for his desire not to address a lengthened speech to you, after the stirring and eloquent addresses you have heard this evening; and I assure you that I am not one who would willingly brave a comparison, or provoke a contrast between my humble efforts, and the fervid and almost overwhelming speech of the speaker who has just preceded me. By avoiding his flights of fancy, and by keeping within the bounds of a far lower and less interesting train of thought than his, I shall in some measure avoid the comparison I shrink from, and may at the same time, in some degree, get rid of the repetition and imitation of the same line of argument which must in all cases be wearisome to the hearers, but which is, nevertheless, not to be avoided when many speakers address an audience on the same subject, and on the same side.

We are all apt in coming to conclusions on political doctrines, to adopt as universally applicable, maxims which admit of exceptions to their applicability, and we thereby too often expose ourselves to be met in argument by a display of the exceptions,—a display which often gives an adversary a victory in the dispute, without his having in fact, the best side of the case. You are now recommencing a struggle to establish your right, as British Colonists, to Constitutional freedom, and it is, therefore, incumbent upon you, not only to consider your own strength, but to examine with a desire after truth, the arguments which may be arrayed against you, for he is a poor general who knows only the strength of his own army. (Hear, hear.)

It is not universally true, Gentlemen, that all British subjects are entitled to, or can have British Constitutional liberty; or that all Colonies are entitled to, or can have a Constitution the image and transcript of that of the Parent State. For example, the British Empire has for subjects and colonists, millions of people in the East Indies, who, from centuries of slavery, tyranny, and despotic rule, have become, and are incapable of exercising the rights of British subjects, in the extended sense of that term. They want the education, the information, the habit, and the love of free institutions; and, therefore, it would be vain to bestow these blessings upon a people, who could neither appreciate nor use them. It is true that the want of the understanding and of the possession of Constitutional liberty, has exposed that

people to rapacity and cruelty, to rapine and grinding oppression, which language would fail to describe, and against which responsibility of rulers to the British nation has been unhappily found but a feeble barrier; but it is no less true that these evils cannot at present have their remedy in a present extension to that country of the British Constitution, or by affording an ignorant benighted people a control over their own government, even as regards their own local affairs.

In such a condition of a conquered people, it is evidently the duty of the supreme state to furnish Governors and Councillors, who, regardless of popular will, and in the exercise of power, locally unlimited and unrestrained, would administer government perfectly independent of the wishes, and indifferent as to the opinions of the governed people. In such a case there is Responsible Government. The Governor and his imported Councillors are responsible,—the public servants are responsible; but they are answerable only to the Government and people of England. True this responsibility has often been found only in theory: true, it has not prevented crime, plunder, and oppression in all instances; but still the responsibility existed; the injured had nominally redress. They could petition the Sovereign,—they might possibly be heard before the Imperial Parliament, and if they in fact found no redress, and could obtain no hearing, the Government, even bad as it is, is better than any enjoyed by the same people before, and perhaps, as good as they are capable of enjoying. (Hear, hear.)

Is there not too much room for us to suppose, that educated in such a school, and accustomed to such responsibility, the high and respected individual who now rules over us, may have brought his notions of free Government from the East and not from England; that he may have, in that distant Government, learned to despise the political opinions that divide a free people, and to hold in contempt the respective parties and those who are admitted to lead them; that he may thus have learned to say, I want no parties, no party men, no party measures; I will judge what is good for the people myself; I will recognize no confidence bestowed upon Colonists; I will not be a tool. (Hear, hear.)

But are you, gentlemen, most of you natives of the metropolitan portion of the Empire which gave birth to the Governor and to his gracious Mistress; are you who are the natives of Canada, and who have sent Representatives to the Legislature for near fifty years; do you admit yourselves to be unworthy to have opinions on your own affairs, to feel deeply political differences, to judge for yourselves which party among yourselves, think and act most for your own interests; are you of barbarian or slavish tribes, or will you, upon any of these charges, permit yourselves to be deprived of the rights of British subjects? I feel that you will not, and no matter where your rulers may have learned their politics, or how deeply they are imbued with these prejudices, you know too well what is due to yourselves, and to the children to whom you will leave this blooming country and its political liberties as a fair inheritance, to submit to such degradation. (Loud cheers.)

There may, however, be another class of Colonies, to the inhabitants of which it might be impracticable or unwise to extend the blessing of British liberty. The inhabitants might be conquered enemies, whose obedience is enforced by the sword, and whose affections are not gained, or whose enmity is not appeased. The obligation to govern such a people with justice still exists, and there may be responsibility to the supreme Government and people, for the administration of affairs in such a possession, while it is not easy to see how the privileges of the British constitution could be safely extended to them. But will you admit of this as an excuse for arbitrary rule in Canada, one of the oldest colonies of England, whose people have been faithful and true, in war and peace, in prosperity and in tribulation? Will you, whose votes are now so anxiously solicited, admit that you are to be governed as enemies? Did you, the Emigrants who now fill this land, come here to be told that you are not fit to be trusted with the political power which you possessed when you left your homes? Must the prerogative of a Governor be set up against you as Colonists, when the prerogative of your Queen would not be asserted to the same extent in your native land? My questions will be answered without a

single dissenting voice, and you will feel with me that when you became colonists in Canada, you gave up no constitutional rights as British freemen. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

But there is yet another class of Colonies within which you may probably be attempted to be brought, namely, infant Colonies—sucking Colonies—Colonies in leading strings. It is very plain that when a few thousand people begin to settle in an almost uninhabited country; when they import their councillors and their public officers, *free of duty*—for they have nothing to do; and while the number of inhabitants are too small, and their politics too insignificant, either to weigh against the opinions of Governors or the Imperial interest in those who are to come after, it may not be unwise to withhold from them in their first struggle for existence as a community, political disputes, or to allow what is itself parish business, to assume the dignity and importance of political administration. It is strange that it is in this light, most Englishmen are in the habit of regarding these Colonies; they look upon them essentially as infants; they play with them, they fondle them, they give them sugar plums, and they send them sage schoolmasters, and tell them to be good boys. (Laughter.) But as for thinking for themselves—these infant Colonists!—such a notion never enters the head of the Englishman. It is true, the wise ones say in England, they (the Colonies) cannot be infants for ever, let us watch the time, and when the boys come to their majority, let them go. (Laughter.) When such sentiments prevail respecting Colonies, it is not wonderful that every assertion of constitutional right is deemed an attempt at separation; every claim on the part of a Colonist to equality with an Englishman, an attempt to prove the maturity of the Colony, and to establish its separate independence. It is not that any possible relation can be traced between a desire for local responsibility, or for control over local administration, and discontent with the Colonial State, or wish to dissolve it. No, this longing after the rights of Englishmen is looked upon as a mark of manliness, of fulness of age; of ripeness which must cause the fruit to drop from the parent tree. It is therefore, that we find so little support in the British Press; so little sympathy amongst British statesmen; because it is often said—it is admitted to be true, that Colonies are infants and must be governed as such; and as in a school he is the best boy who makes the least noise, so in a Colony they are the best subjects who give the Colonial Secretary the least trouble. (Hear, hear.) When did you ever see a serious inquiry as to which of two quarrelling children were in the right, or where have you read of a serious investigation as to which of two parties in a Colony had justice on its side? (Cheers.)

Lord Durham was almost the first Englishman of high station who appears to have conceived the possibility of Colonists thinking for themselves and remaining Colonists. He did not shut his eyes to the comparative smallness of our affairs, but he determined by means of the Union, to make these affairs larger. He proposed the Union of the Provinces, not for the purpose of oppressing one by means of the other, but for the purpose of making their right to self-government unquestionable. He proposed to unite the Colonies, that their people united, might be too strong for favouritism,—too mighty for compact or faction. (Loud cheers.) When that act of Union was once passed, well would it have been for Canada, if all its people had seen and admitted the inevitable consequences; and all agreed to set this question of Responsible Government at rest, for ever after that great measure. (Hear, hear.) Squabbles with Governors, and little intrigues in the Government ought to have had an end. We should have left it to the infants of Nova Scotia, to have Executive Councils, in which all parties were represented; and to our younger brethren of New Brunswick, their wonder-struck admiration at the salvation of the Country, through means of Answers to the Men of Gore. (Loud cheers.) We should have laughed at such toys, as fit for children, and remembered that, whether Whig, or Radical, or Tory, or Conservative, the Country required united and vigorous administration of its local affairs; and that we had outgrown the day when these could be managed under the Trisrapedia of under Secretaries, or the "make less noise children" policy of Governors General. (Hear, hear.)

For my part, I verily believe the feeling that Colonists are entitled to the rights of Englishmen is universal in Canada, and that it exists with the Tory as well as

the Reformer. Those who betray the Governor, by cheering him on to a contest with us, have no desire to establish his arbitrary will on the ruins of reform—it is themselves, and their party they would set to rule over us. (Hear, hear.) It is not as Canadian Colonists, but as Reformers you are looked upon by them as unworthy of the rights of Englishmen; do not imagine that because these men are so submissive now to the Governor's interpretations of the Constitution, that they would be so if the people of this Province gave them a majority in Parliament. Do not think so meanly of them, as to imagine that they in the majority would allow of the appointments of you rebels, for the sake of accommodating themselves to a Governor's sense of justice, or that they would exclude a leading party from the Council chamber to make room for a man of the opposite party, or for a Governor's favourite, a man of all parties. (Loud cheers.) No, Gentlemen, they have been in power—in majorities and minorities, and they never did these stupid things. No, Gentlemen, they not only think, but they know that to defeat you would be to establish themselves; they are unable to overthrow you of themselves, and weakness needs a tool—it is they who wish to make a tool of the Governor General, and not the late Executive Council. (Great applause.)

Our enemies in this country applaud the Governor for his assertion that it was necessary to deny the claims of the late Executive Council to preserve allegiance in the country—they knew the contrary. They well know that Canada is not to be governed in peace, but with the cordial support of the Representatives of the people, and that the Ministers by whom public affairs have to be managed here, must be those who possess the confidence of the Parliament; that it is only to such the people will entrust the execution of their legislative measures, and only at the hands of such they will condescend to receive explanation. They know we are not a barbarian Colony, or a conquered people, or an infant Colony, and they are not bold enough to take office in the face of a Parliamentary majority. We know and feel, for our parts, that matured freedom and British control over the acts of our rulers, is not inconsistent with continued—long, long continued allegiance, and that never would this people look forward with more cheerfulness to an ordinary connection with the Mother Country, than when they are assured that they may be Colonists and freemen at the same time. [Loud cheers.] We abjure and repudiate the doctrine that controul over our local affairs is inconsistent with allegiance, and we feel in our hearts that loyalty to our Queen, and love of our country, is not extinguished by our desire to possess that freedom which was the living spring from which flowed all that country's greatness, prosperity, and honour. [Loud cheers.]

It is not my intention, gentlemen, to enter into a criticism upon the Answers which His Excellency has been advised, no one knows by whom, to give to the Addresses, which appear to have given so much pleasure to His Excellency. These Addresses seem to have persuaded him that there is a considerable party opposed to our views of Responsible Government, and in favour of his protestations that he is Responsible Government's warmest friend. I do not wish to find fault with the Representative of my Sovereign, nor because he has chosen personally to step into the political arena, to treat him with the absence of ceremony which belongs to political contention; but in justice to you, I must remind you that it is not by the professing friends of Responsible Government in any shape, that the Governor General is applauded. (Loud cheers.) On the contrary it is by those who are its declared enemies, who proclaim it a rebellious humbug. Have then these signers of Addresses changed their opinions? You know they have not. Have they altered their language in conversation on the subject? You know they have not. Have they declared their approval of the Resolutions of September, 1841? You know they have not. Well then, when His Excellency is advised to declare himself the best friend to Responsible Government—the admirers of these Resolutions determined to carry them out, I ask you, do these people, or do they not, think His Excellency sincere? If they, the loyal, the approved, the congratulated—if they place any meaning on the professions in these Answers, but the one they appear to intend, what are we to do? If His Excellency really means to approve of the Resolutions, and the kind of Government they indicate, how can he take for approval of his policy, the acclamations of those by whom these Resolutions were opposed and stigmatized. [Hear, hear,] If we have happened to misunderstand His Excellency, and to misrepresent him as opposed to the popular view of Responsible



Government, we could not have misrepresented the violent party who have got up these Addresses; neither can he be very proud of the support of those whose applause must be founded upon his supposed insincerity. I make no charge of insincerity, but I am at liberty without offence, when at a loss for the meaning of His Excellency's contradictions, to look over the list of names appended to the Addresses, and to ask what are the opinions of that man and the other. His Excellency means something which they can approve of, and what they can approve is not Responsible Government as understood by the Parliament and the Country—and therefore is not what we seek or with which we can be content. [Loud cheers.]

The late Ministers have been accused, by those who wish to flatter the Governor General, of making matters which occurred in Council, subjects of Parliamentary discussion. The late Ministers did no such thing: it was not what they learned in the Government they complained of, it was what was hidden from them; what might have been, for aught I know, public in Quebec or Toronto before we heard it. We complained of appointments being made contrary to our advice; we did not say *what* appointments, and this complaint was included in the document submitted to His Excellency. But we complained, moreover, of appointments and proposals to make appointments, which we never heard of until the fact was public. I heard of no less than three gentlemen being offered the Speakership of the Legislative Council, every one of whom thought we had advised the office—(hear, hear)—and the appointment of most of whom I would most cheerfully have advised: but was it the way to appear in the light of confidential Advisers, when spoken to by strangers, to confess your utter ignorance of what they and others knew; or were we merely to dissemble and pretend to knowledge of facts of which we were not informed? [Hear, hear.]

In the answers of His Excellency, the late Executive Council have been repeatedly charged with an attempt to make a tool of His Excellency: this expression is meant to be forcible and effective, and it is reiterated so often that it cannot be passed by without remark. What we asked and what His Excellency refused, was to be advised with on appointments, and that His Excellency should not destroy our influence, [that by which we supported his Government] by making appointments prejudicial to that influence. (Cheers.) You are not to be told at this day for the first time that in England, subordinate appointments are made by the Ministers; or that they have very often been made in a manner not entirely consistent with Royal inclination; you are not now to be told for the first time that if the Sovereign were to choose public servants from the opposition, that Ministers would resign. Yet who ever heard of a British Sovereign complain of being made a tool of? The Governor General has thus for the sake of bringing forth a few approving Answers, depicted in opprobrious terms a supposed situation, that of being advised and acting through and by Responsible Ministers, and yet it happens to be the precise position in which the mighty Sovereign of England is every day placed. (Hear, hear.) Is this term "tool," or being made a tool of, fairly applied to the position in which we desired the Governor General to place himself, or is it a censure upon the British Constitution? [Cheers.]

But we are charged by gentlemen with disaffection—with a desire to sever the connection between this country and the Parent State; upon the high authority of a Governor General we are stated to be traitors. Yes, we hear of difficulties between the neighbouring States and England, which may yet bring war into our now peaceful homes; and why should it not be so, our enemies have the Vice-regal word for it, that an Executive Council, supported by three-fourths of the Canadian Assembly, were disaffected men. Is our condition to be discussed favourably in Great Britain, in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or any where else, when as a fact we, and you who uphold us, are declared to be no better than disaffected subjects? You know whether or not you are disaffected, and you know us well enough to say whether or not we are traitors, and if you know and feel that neither you or we deserve the appellation, and when we are charged with other designs which we deny, and when other imputations are cast upon us which we repudiate, I hope it is not disrespectful to say that all rest upon the same authority, and those who can believe one in their hearts, are welcome to believe the others, [Loud cheers.]

But it is not because we have been forced to leave high and honourable places in which it was our privilege to serve you. It is not because we have been charged with

falsehood, and stigmatized as disaffected subjects of our Queen, that you are now called together, or that I take up your time in addressing you. It is because your dearest interests are at stake, because it requires your sternest resolution to maintain the proud position in which, as Colonists, you were placed. It is because you must see and feel these things sensibly, strongly, and manfully, that we here meet, and that our fellow Colonists are elsewhere meeting, and as we will continue to assemble until victory crowns our efforts. [Loud and continued applause.]

Wm. A. BALDWIN, Esq., seconded the motion, which was carried.

R. CATHCART, Esq., rose to propose a resolution which he most heartily concurred in. From the number of excellent speakers yet to come, he felt he ought not to detain the Association, and would simply read the Resolution :

"5. That the power of the Representative of the Sovereign in the exercising of the Royal Prerogative, with which he is intrusted, to make appointments to offices is admitted in the extent to which the same prerogative is exercised by Her Majesty in England; but that nevertheless as the Provincial Administration are responsible to Parliament here, for all acts of the Provincial Executive, in the administration of our local affairs, this Association maintains the undoubted right of the Provincial Ministers to be consulted upon the administration of all the affairs of the country, in order that if in disregard of their advice, any measure should be adopted, or appointments made, which they would not feel themselves prepared to defend, they may have the opportunity of resigning their offices before the consummation of the act against which they have thus advised."

SKEFFINGTON CONNOR, ESQ., rose and said—I beg leave, Mr. Chairman, to have the honour of seconding that Resolution. In doing so, Sir, I shall confine myself to a very few observations; for after the brilliant names and eloquent speeches that have preceded me, it would be unpardonable presumption in me to attempt trespassing upon your patience.

In all the Resolutions, Sir, proposed here this night, I do most warmly and cordially concur. They are all worthy of the great cause in which they have been promulgated, and the great meeting by which they have been approved. (Hear, hear.) But there is none of them all, Sir, to which it could have given me livelier or sincerer pleasure to have contributed my humble aid than to the one which I now have the honour to second. In this Resolution, the Reform Association of Canada, in the broadest and plainest language, recognizes the power of the Governor-General in the exercise of the prerogative with which he is entrusted to make appointments in this Province, as equal to that which could be exercised, if she were present, by the Sovereign herself. At the same time, that above the paltry fear of being stamped or taunted as the mere political partisans of any set of men, the Association comes forward boldly and manfully to express its full approbation of the views, which the late Ministers thought it their duty to take of their claims and their responsibilities in connection with the exercise of that power. (Loud cheers.)

A grave charge, Sir, has been preferred against the late Ministers before the tribunal of their country. They have been accused of an attempt to infringe upon the prerogative of their Queen. Now, I do not believe, that among a British population in the nineteenth century, a more unpopular charge could possibly have been preferred against any set of men. (Hear, hear.) I do not believe, that a more unpopular attack upon the Constitution of his country could possibly have been devised by any Minister. I do not believe, that a week would have passed over the heads of those men, if there had been the slightest shadow of foundation for such a charge, before every British inhabitant of this Province, from one end to the other of it, would have been found ranged by the side of the Governor-General, active and earnest—nay, enthusiastic to co-operate with him, in excluding for ever from the possibility of power,

any so presumptuous a set of men. (Loud cheers.) How different, are matters as they stand. We see those very Ministers, backed and approved by such a meeting as this is. While his Excellency, without a majority, without a ministry, without one supporter of acknowledged weight or influence in the Province, is driven, or (as is more becoming in us to believe) his advisers are driven for him, to shift some of them not the most reputable, to conjure up some paltry shadow of support. [Loud cries of hear, hear.]

There have been times, Mr. Chairman, in the history of Great Britain, when the united efforts of the aristocracy and the Commons, were found too feeble, with constitutional weapons, to cope with the prerogative of the Crown, and when no refuge remained for liberty, but in the physical force of her defenders. But, thank God, Sir, those times have passed away for ever in the history of our country. [Cheers.] The prerogative has ceased for centuries—at least for nearly two centuries—to be an object of either jealousy or alarm. It has become the stoutest bulwark of the liberties of the people. It is identified with the best rights and privileges of the people. It is as dear to them, as those rights and privileges themselves are. It is in effect, in one word, the prerogative of the people. And if an attack had been ever meditated upon it, a more unfortunate moment could not possibly have been chosen, filled, as the Throne of Great Britain is in these days, by the most liberal, and popular, and beloved Monarch that has ever graced it [Loud cheers.]

In the year 1771, in days of rampant Toryism, and when the Crown was vested in a Monarch, who was as little inclined to part with one tittle of prerogative as any Monarch has ever been, how has one of the ablest political writers that England boasts of—the author of Junius—expressed himself upon Prerogative? In a sentence of as great practical political truth as any sentence from one end to the other of his incomparable pages, he asserts:—"We have nothing to fear from prerogative, but every thing from undue influence!" (Hear, hear.) Now, if this were true in 1771—eighty years having passed over our heads, and so great and glorious strides having been made in civil and religious liberty all over the British Empire—it may be repeated with a thousandfold emphasis in the year 1844. [Cheers.] No, Sir, I will not believe—no man in his senses will believe—that the late Ministers were men of so little judgment and sagacity—of so little experience in the public affairs of their country—above all, of so little common sense and discernment—so grossly and palpably ignorant of the best known national prejudice of their countrymen—as ever to have committed so unpardonable a political blunder. (Cheers.)

There is another reason, Sir, why it gives me peculiar pleasure to have the honour of seconding this Resolution. It appears to me to apply itself more intimately than the Resolutions which have preceded it, to the questions and the difficulties that have placed the contending parties in their present respective positions before the Province. I believe, it is undeniable, that it was upon this very claim of their right to be consulted upon appointments to office, that the late Ministers felt themselves mainly, if not entirely, called upon to resign. [Hear, hear.] Now, I apprehend there will be no difference of opinion among any of us, as to the extent to which the interests of the public are concerned in the appointments, to office. I apprehend that there will be found none in this meeting to contradict me, if I assert, that there is no branch of the public service, in the judicial and upright exercise of which every member of the community is more paramountly interested, than in the appointment of gentlemen to office. The great interests and prosperity of every country advance in direct proportion to the measure of ability and integrity with which the public duties of that country are discharged. And though it may be a matter of minor importance, and I confess it is a matter comparatively minor, though far from being despicable,

the every-day comfort and convenience of three-fourths of the inhabitants of that country, will, in a great degree, depend upon the bearing with which those duties are discharged. We are all brought more or less in contact with officials, and the experience of every man amongst us is, that there is no class of individuals, over whom it is so indispensable to maintain an efficient and tangible control. It is, an undeniable, however it may be an unpalatable, truth, that the weakness of our nature makes us all too prone to forget, in the exercise of power, the source from which it has been derived. [Loud cheers.] And the lower we descend in the grade of the official, the more glaring and palpable this truth. An immortal statesman, whose works have been already quoted from this evening the unrivalled Edmund Burke—has said: "All power under the British Constitution is a trust, and the very essence of a trust is to be accountable." Mark the words, Sir, all power. Now the lowest official in the Empire—the man who does not draw ten pounds a year from his appointment, is necessarily and unavoidably entrusted with a certain portion of the power of the State, in the exercise of which he is, for ought to be, nay, in which he must be, unless some principle of our Constitution is violated, accountable to somebody. [Hear, hear.] It is the security of that accountability to ourselves, through all the ramifications of office, from the President of the Council down to the lowest toll gatherer on the highway, in all matters primarily and paramountly interesting ourselves, that constitutes what we call Responsible Government, that constitutes the principle and the practice for which we are contending. It was under the very want of this accountability that the Province for so many years languished, its resources undeveloped, its interests unregarded, and its feelings insulted. [Loud cheers.]

We have been told, Sir, that a few of the highest offices in the Province, may possibly be decided within our control, that our votes may have some effect in placing or displacing some half-dozen functionaries; but that all beneath them, derive their power from a different source and are accountable to a different head. Now, let us for a moment glance at the absurdities in which such a system immediately involves us. Some half-dozen heads plan the measures for the Province, some thousand pairs of hands carry them into execution. The eye of the Minister cannot review with its work, and watch over the details of its execution. They are gone, perhaps, a thousand miles away. They have to be entrusted to another instrument, independent of the control—independent of the choice of the Legislature, the very advice of the Minister. (Hear, hear.) And do we talk of holding this man responsible for the success of any measure in the selection of the means of carrying out which we allow him no possible voice. Why, it is a ridiculous farce, if produced upon the stage, to laugh away an idle half hour of the evening, it would hardly be amusing. (Loud cheers.)

Imagine this dialogue in the House of Assembly: A member from some distant part of the Province rises in his place and demands of the Minister. —Pray, Sir, how did you come to appoint Mr. A. or Mr. B. to such or such an office? Why, he is counteracting the very measure he has been appointed to promote; he is vituperating yourself and your systems; he is opposed to all your Reform; he laughs at all your Responsibilities. —Replies, Sir, that member has to mind—and adds, it is not the first time it has been so, he has been so before. —He is outdating the public times and insulting the public feeling. —The minister replies, I know nothing about him, some month, or I may be three months after he had quitted his office, or I saw his name accidentally in the Gazette. He may have come from any part of the seas. He may have been the friend, or enemy, or hanger-on, or some small clerk in the Colonial office. He may have been the favoured minion of some Lord or private Secretary. But I know nothing about him. Go to the Governor General, Sir, and he will tell

you who he is—he is responsible to you!" Can you imagine, that member replying with very just, and very honest indignation, "How dare you, Mr. Minister, assert so audacious a falsehood? I have no voice in the appointment of the Governor General,—I have no voice in the recall of the Governor General. I read in the living letters of my Constitution, that the Governor General is the Representative of my Sovereign, and accountable to no one within the limits of this Province!" (Loud cheers.)

Now, Sir, it has been charged upon the late Ministers, and has been triumphantly repeated to many members of this Association, as a conclusive charge against those Ministers, and conclusive evidence against the system of Responsible Government, as advocated by them and us, that when they were in power, they appointed to office individuals who, if not absolutely relets, were, at least, men of doubtful loyalty. To all such charges, I have one reply. They are beside the merits of the present question. They are not the issue joined between the parties at variance in this Province. Mr. Such-or-such-a-body may not possibly have turned out in the year 1837, under the auspices of that distinguished advocate of personal Responsibility, Sir Francis Head,—may not possibly have shot, or sought to shoot some dozen of his unfortunate and misguided fellow-countrymen. (Hear, hear.) He may not, have had the good fortune to preside at a drum-head Court-martial, and to direct the execution of some wretched criminal, who, having long withed under accumulated wrongs and arbitrary measures, at length, unhappily for himself and his country, mistook the constitutional means for their redress. He may not have done all this, and he may yet discharge the duties to which he is appointed, with ability and integrity and effect; and until he fail here, there is no legitimate ground of charge against the Minister who has appointed him. (Loud cheers.)

We are told, that our claims are claims not recognized by the British Constitution. Now, let us for a moment transport ourselves to the British House of Commons. Let us imagine there a member of that House calling upon the British Minister of the Crown to justify an appointment, and British Ministers are called upon every day and every hour to justify appointments; aye, Sir, the lowest and paltriest in the country. Let us imagine that Minister replying, that he knew nothing of the matter, and referring the inquirer to his Queen. (Hear.) Why, the whole of England, from one end to the other, would be one storm of indignation. No punishment could atone for so audacious an outrage upon the Constitution of the kingdom. Popular scorn would annihilate that Minister. And yet, under professedly the same constitution, and under precisely similar circumstances, that is the only reply left in the mouth of a Canadian Minister!!! (Loud bursts of applause.)

Appointments to office, Sir, are pre-eminently matters of local interest and effect. We only ask in such matters to be placed upon a similar footing with our fellow-subjects in Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) If this boon be not granted to us, then Responsible Government is a nullity! Representative Government is a nullity! They are mere idle baubles to amuse a child! They are mere words wherewith to mock men! It were far manlier, and honester, and simpler to abolish them altogether—to deliver us into the hands of some English General Officer, whose whole political creed might, like his military one, be summed up in the single word, "obedience,"—and with one stroke of the pen, to alter the Constitution and Government of the Province into a military despotism (Loud and continued cheering.)

The Governor General, Sir, has been advised to assert, that it was to secure the allegiance of the Province, that he has adopted the measures he has done! Now, amidst all the anomalous and superfluous assertions which have been put into the

mouth of his Excellency, this does appear to me, the most uncalled for and superfluous. The allegiance of the Province had been tested before the name of Sir Charles Metcalfe had been ever heard in it; dearly and deeply tested on three different occasions. (Hear, hear.) It had three times passed through the fiery ordeal of foreign or civil war, and come forth unscathed. But more than this, aye, a thousand and a thousand times more, it had writhed for years and years, for long and hopeless years, beneath oppression—and corruption—and misgovernment—and tyranny. Yes, tyranny, for there is no tyranny more atrocious than that of a despicable faction,—and to the last, was found faithful to its duty! The allegiance of Canada! Why there never was a moment in its history in which the Sovereign reigned so paramently Sovereign in the hearts of her Canadian subjects! (Loud cheers.)

But, Sir, the Governor General has grossly mistaken the people among whom he is come to govern. He forgets that three-fourths of us have been actually born in Great Britain, or are born of parents born in Great Britain. He forgets that three-fourths of us, in our objects—our desires—our feelings—our enjoyments—our prejudices, are essentially Britons still. He forgets, that the allegiance of Britons, if it were a question of allegiance, is to be secured in but one way, and that is, to establish and maintain them in full and uncurtailed possession and enjoyment of all the rights, and liberties, and privileges to which, under the glorious Constitution of their country, they are undeniably entitled in whatever part of the British Empire, upon God's habitable globe they are to be found. (Hear, hear.) He forgets, that there is a source of allegiance among a great and free people, alike honourable to the governing and the governed; warmer—and purer—and nobler—and truer than all other sources, and that is—the heart. (Loud cheers.)

I beg leave, Sir, once again to express the very sincere pleasure which I feel in being permitted to second this Resolution.

The speech of the learned gentleman was a masterpiece of eloquence, and was listened to with breathless attention, interrupted at intervals with the most enthusiastic and long-continued bursts of applause.

MR. GEORGE BROWN (of the *Globe*) rose to move the sixth Resolution and said: the more deeply we extend our enquiries into the theory of our own Government—the further we search the history of Foreign Countries to discover the true principles of sound and just Government—we will return with renewed and more ardent admiration of the just balance of power preserved in the British Constitution. (Hear, hear.) The various interests of the community have all assigned to them their proper position, and are brought to bear on one another, and to act as checks on unjust or hasty legislation from any one branch of the State, so that the whole is reduced to a system of harmonious action, unrivalled in the history of nations. The Cabinet Council of the British Constitution is one of the most important and best working departments of the System, and is the surest preservative of the principle that "Governments must rule for the good of the people." (loud cheers.) The people send their Representatives to Parliament, and met on that stormy arena all soon find their level; the man of talent, the orator, and the man of energy rise in the scale of public estimation, and having gained the confidence of his fellow Representatives, he is selected for the high honour of being the Adviser of the Crown. And it is no empty dignity. The Cabinet Minister of England is no hireling—he is not the head clerk of a public office, whose advice is asked when it is wanted, to be unheeded when given—he is not the plastic nonentity condescendingly to be consulted on matters of "adequately importance." (loud cheers.) but he is the life, the moving power of every wheel in the whole machinery of Government—he is the very Government itself. Still the minister does not one single act in his own name or for his own benefit—all is in the name of the Sovereign. The Cabinet Council as a party or as a power in the State is perfectly unknown—it is the executive of the Crown—the mouth-piece of the Sovereign. Though the Ministers alone are responsible for the acts of the Crown, they appear in no shape as a party. The Sovereign

and the Cabinet together form one power in the State—Royalty, as practically embodied in the British Constitution. (Cheers.)

Such being the nature of a British Cabinet Council—the instruments of carrying into effect the measures of the Crown—it was with no small astonishment that the country saw the Representative of our beloved Queen in this country, after the disruption with his late Ministry, try to strike a deadly blow at the power and efficiency of the Provincial Executive Council. (hear, hear.) Not satisfied with declaring that there was no necessity for concord of sentiment among the Members of Council, (a principle which is in utter defiance of the most emasculated species of Responsible Government)—his Excellency must needs go further, and endeavour to draw a line of demarcation between himself and his Advisers. (hear, hear.) In the celebrated explanation submitted to the House of Assembly, he says—

“MR. LAFONTAINE and MR. BALDWIN demanded that the Governor General, in deciding after taking their advice, should not make any appointment prejudicial to their influence. In other words that the patronage of the Crown should be surrendered to the Council, for the purchase of Parliamentary support.”

“The Governor General replied, that he would not make any such stipulation, and could not degrade the character of his office, nor violate his duty by such a surrender of the prerogative of the Crown.”

Here at once is brought to light a new idea of a Cabinet Council. His Excellency would not only *not* degrade his office by making appointments to strengthen the Parliamentary support of the Administration—but he will persist in making appointments prejudicial to his own Government—prejudicial to himself! (Hear, hear.) What would Sir Robert Peel or Lord John Russell have said, if they found Her Majesty had made important political appointments without even consulting them, and on their remonstrating had been told that “Her Majesty would not consent to make appointments which would secure (of course indirectly) “parliamentary support.” Either of them would at once have resigned the seals of office. They would have laughed at the idea of a Ministry not giving vacant offices to such of their supporters as were competent to fulfil the duties required, in preference to a political opponent. (Cheers.)—Is the Governor of Canada to assume a position which the Sovereign of Great Britain could not maintain? Is then the chasm so much wider between his Excellency and his Administration, than that which divides her Majesty and her Secretary of State? It would certainly appear so—the principle which has ruled the Imperial Government of the British Empire, would degrade the high office of Governor of Canada. (Hear, hear.) This, Sir, is but another link in the chain which is now forging for the strangulation of Responsible Government. The Governor General it is evident, is determined to rule alone and without restraint—if he can. (Hear, hear.) Not content with the appointment of the Advisers of the Crown—with the appointment of the entire second branch of the Legislature—with a deliberative influence as first Minister of the Crown in the Executive Council—and with an unconditional and unlimited veto on every act of both Legislative Houses—his Excellency would fain snap asunder the only positive check which remains to the people over the acts of their own Government. (Loud cheers.) Already has he appointed Cabinet Councillors who are not heads of Departments—heads of Departments who are not in Parliament nor in the Executive. Four months have nearly all the offices of State been unhilled up—and now it wants but to carry out the new scheme that the Cabinet and the Crown are not one and the same thing—that the Cabinet Councillors are only the head clerks of the Departments to be consulted on cases of “adequate” importance—and then may the people of Canada bid adieu to the title of Freemen. And it is not a mere suspicion which calls upon us to keep a keen eye on the movements of the present Executive. Hear what his Excellency himself says in the document to which I previously alluded :

“He (the Governor General) appealed to the number of appointments made by him on the recommendation of the Council, or to the members of it in their departmental capacity, and instances in which he had abstained from conferring appointments on their opponents, as furnishing proofs of the great consideration which he had evinced toward the council, in the distribution of the patronage of the Crown.”

How could the late Ministry have been so extravagant in their demands—so extreme in their views, as to expect that office should be given to persons of the same political principles as themselves, and disposed to work the affairs of the Country with harmony? Truly it *was* very considerate of his Excellency: Sir, it does “furnish proofs” of the most singular view of British Constitutional Government which ever came from a Minister of the Crown of England, that he had ever dreamt of preferring to appointments the opponents of his own Government. This principle strikes at the very root of the system of Responsibility—and however it may be sneered at as a party Government, it is ministerial Responsibility which has raised Great Britain to the high eminence which she holds among the nations of the world. Sir, the present aspect of our affairs may be glossed over in any and every way which ingenuity can devise, but it is too apparent to be concealed from the eye of even a common observer, that an attempt is now making to destroy the principle of Responsibility in this Colony. (hear, hear.) Come it from the Colonial Office at Home—from the present advisers of Sir Charles Metcalfe—or from the Governor General himself—it matters not; but we have only to cast our eyes to Nova Scotia, and there we will see the style of *the thing* which we are to get in lieu of the British Constitution. In his speech on opening the Parliament of Nova Scotia, Lord Falkland says:

“For nearly four years my best energies have been devoted to the advancement of the interests and happiness of this Province, and being satisfied that a Government composed of individuals of one political party only would be ill-suited to its actual condition, I have ever distinctly avowed my reluctance to form such a Council, and my earnest desire and intention to administer the Colony with advice of a Board at which all interests should be represented—this desire and intention I shall retain.”

Here is the system which has already been begun in Nova Scotia, and which will, no doubt, ere long have its blessings attempted to be thrust on Canada.—A representation of all interests and creeds seated at one council board would, indeed, be a rich scene. (Hear, hear.) Imagine, Sir, for a moment, yourself seated at the top of the council table, and Mr. Draper at the bottom—on your right hand we will place the Episcopal Bishop of Toronto, and on your left the Rev. Egerton Ryerson,—on the right of Mr. Draper sits Sir Allan McNab, and on his left Mr. Hincks. (Laughter.) We will fill up the other chairs with gentlemen admirably adapted for their situations by the most extreme imaginable differences of opinion,—we will seat his Excellency at the middle of the table, on a chair raised above the warring elements below, prepared to receive the advice of his constitutional “conscience-keepers.” (Cheers.) We will suppose you, Sir to rise and propose the opening of King’s College to all her Majesty’s subjects—and then, Sir, we will have the happiness of seeing the discordant-producing-harmony-principle in the full vigor of peaceful operation. (Laughter and loud cheering.) Oh, Sir, it is an admirable system,—there would not be a single point on which you could be brought to agree, [hear, hear] and his Excellency might kindly interfere at any time to prevent the possibility of your adopting the absurdity of a united principle of action. You could all be pitted one against another, and the most delightful picture of bickering would be presented, which any self-willed Governor could possibly desire. [Laughter.] His Excellency might let the Council fire off on one another—he could not, of course, adopt the advice of *all*, and so to keep the peace among the belligerents, he would kindly decide the point for them, and carry out his own ideas. [Loud cheers and laughter.] Where is the man who would accept office under such an absurd and anti-British principle? Sir, I trust he is not to be found in the ranks of the Reform Association of Canada. [Loud cheers.] I have, however, detained the meeting too long, and shall conclude by proposing the following Resolution:

“6. That this Association cannot understand the existence of any separate interest between the Governor General and his Cabinet, and when the Advisers of the Crown recommend appointments, it must be for the benefit of the Governor General’s own Government, and the acting on such advice cannot be viewed in the light of a favour to the Ministry.”

M. J. O’BEIRNE, Esq., seconded the Resolution, which was carried by acclamation.



THOMAS EWART, Esq., *Barrister*, rose and said :—

Mr. Chairman, the Resolution which I hold in my hand sets forth in a single sentence one of those numerous contradictions into which the Governor General has been betrayed by the false and unnatural position which he has assumed, and into which every one is necessarily led who acts upon motives which he thinks it imprudent to avow, and attempts to explain his conduct upon totally different principles, which he thinks more likely to satisfy public opinion [hear, hear.] The Resolution of which I now move the adoption, is in these words :—

“ 7. That the fact of ‘ appointments and proposals to make appointments ’ having been made by the Governor General, without communicating with his Ministers, is distinctly admitted in the correspondence transmitted to Parliament by the Governor General, and of itself disproves the assertion contained in the reply, which His Excellency was advised to make to the Warden and Councillors of the District of Brock, ‘ that Responsible Government in all its essentials has been in full operation throughout His Excellency’s administration.’ ”

The impracticability of a system of Government in which appointments to office are made independently of the Council, and the utter impossibility of carrying on such a system with satisfaction to the country, have been so clearly demonstrated by the several speakers, who have dwelt upon the topic, that it is only necessary for me to confine myself to the dry logical proof of the facts stated in the resolution. The first branch of the resolution states a circumstance of the truth of which we are all perfectly satisfied, and for proof of which it is sufficient to refer to the correspondence alluded to. In the explanation of the grounds of the resignation of the late Ministry, made by Mr. Lafontaine on behalf of himself and colleagues, it is stated that the “ difference of opinion between His Excellency and themselves ” “ had led, not merely to appointments to office against their advice, but to appointments, and proposals to make appointments, of which they were not informed in any manner, until all opportunity of offering advice respecting them had passed by.” Now this was a fact, necessarily as much, nay, more within the knowledge of His Excellency, than that of the late Ministers [hear, hear.] If it was untrue, His Excellency had full opportunity to deny it—it was one of the points upon which the Ministers dwelt most forcibly, that, which, perhaps more than any other cause, was the reason of their resignation. If, then, it was untrue, His Excellency was bound in justice to them, to himself, to the country, to have denied it—but he could not; and he could not even attempt to refine or fritter it away by the flimsy, meagre kind of sophistry, with which he attempts to justify his disingenuous conduct in reference to the Secret Societies Bill, [cheers.] Indeed, at that time he felt no disposition to deny the statement—for glad as his supporters would now be, if His Excellency had left them some pretext, some shadow of a reason, upon which they might consistently defend his conduct in this particular, His Excellency at that time was not disposed even to appear to adopt the idea that it was his duty to consult the Council upon appointments, [hear, hear.] Peruse his answer to the explanation of Mr. Lafontaine, and so far from any contradiction of the statement quoted in the resolution, you find repeated assertions of his right to exercise his discretion in making appointments independently of his constitutional advisers. We cannot, then, be doing injustice to His Excellency, in assuming the truth of the first branch of our resolution, that the fact of appointments, and proposals to make appointments, having been made without reference to the Council, is distinctly admitted in the correspondence transmitted to Parliament by the Governor General, [cheers.]

The second branch of our resolution declares that the fact of “ appointments, and proposals to make appointments,” having been so made, of itself disproves the assertion, which His Excellency was advised to make in answer to the Warden and Councillors of the District of Brock, that ‘ Responsible Government, in all its essentials, has been in full operation throughout His Excellency’s administration.’ The only possible method of reconciling the conduct of the Governor General with this assertion is by supposing, that according to His Excellency’s view of this undefined question, it is not incumbent upon him to consult the Council upon the subject of appointments at all; for upon no other supposition can it be said that Responsible Government, in all its essentials, has been in full operation throughout

his Administration, [hear, hear.] But will the country agree with him? Do the people of Canada consider that a system of Government, in which every, the highest as well as the lowest office, may be conferred without reference to the legitimate advisers of the Crown, a system in which every fresh appointment may be but a renewed insult to three-fourths of the Representatives of the people, a system in which private reasons, not anxiety for the public good, will, in the majority of cases, be the influencing cause of appointments, do the people of Canada consider, that such a system is that Responsible Government, of which they have been so long eagerly struggling to obtain the recognition and practical adoption, and which, but a few months ago, they fondly dreamed they had at length firmly established? [Cries of no, no.] If this be Responsible Government, then, as was well said by a most eloquent speaker who has preceded me, it is a mere toy, an idle word, a valueless bauble, (cheers.) Under such system, as our Chairman emphatically stated, no honest man would consent to sit in the Council—no man who valued his character, who prized his reputation, would consent to be answerable for acts, over which he was allowed to exercise no control, respecting which he was permitted to offer no advice; and the consequence would be, either that we must consent to be governed by men regardless of character, or that we should abandon the notion of Responsible Government as an idle chimera, the intangible phantom of a diseased imagination, (cheers.) But why am I arguing this question? It is not necessary to descend to first principles at this late day: no one who pretends to be an advocate of Responsible Government, if we except the Governor General himself, affects to deny that the Council should be consulted upon appointments. [Hear, hear.] *En passant*, it is a curious fact, that none of the friends of his Excellency find it possible to defend him upon his own principles: they all differ, one from the other, and the whole from his Excellency. [Laughter.] We may instance the University Bill, which by Mr. Wakefield is declared to have been “a most unwise measure,” and to have caused the resignation of the Ministry, which by another prominent supporter of his Excellency, famous for the quantity, if not the quality, of his recent political effusions, as declared to be indispensable to the preservation of British connexion against the attacks of his right arm, which by the Tories, with the Lord Bishop at their head, is denounced as an Atheistical proposition, [continued laughter,] and regarding which the Governor General maintains a most prudent reserve. The subject of our resolution affords another instance of this delightful discourse of opinion. Mr. Wakefield declares that he would not rest satisfied with the mere form of giving advice, but would insist that his advice should be followed; [hear, hear,] the Tories denounce the whole system of Responsible Government as a humbug. Our worthy fellow-citizen who has written himself into fame, [laughter,] declares that the Ministers betrayed the cause of Responsible Government by not resigning at an earlier day, while his Excellency, compounding and amalgamating all these heterogeneous opinions of his friends, declares his adhesion to Responsible Government, but pronounces the demands of the late Ministry unconstitutional, and their resignation even at the late period which they chose for it, factious and criminal. I said that none of the friends of the Governor General found it possible upon any point to support him on his own principles; but I am mistaken and must give every one his due. There are a few people in the Township of Scarborough, less than a dozen I believe, who do, upon the subject of appointments, concur entirely in the views of the Governor General. In their address to him they declare in a tone of the most contemptuous pity for the deplorable ignorance of the late Executive, that every one knows it to be a fact, that according to the principles and practice of the Government in England, the Queen has a right to make appointments to all offices, without consulting her Ministers. [Laughter.] This doctrine of these illustrious sages whose names would have descended to the latest posterity, as the few master spirits, alone imbued with enlightened principles of Government, at a period when the rest of the world was enveloped in Egyptian darkness, to whom future ages would have done that justice, which the present generation is too ignorant, too selfish to accord, whose images would have been enshrined in the temple of freedom, had not their modesty deterred them from giving their names to the world, their doctrine I say precisely suited the taste of the Governor General. [Continued laughter.] In his answer to the address, not one syllable is found of dissent from the principles so intelligibly enunciated. No, the Governor General still then adhered, and still now

adheres to the idea of Responsible Government, by which he is at liberty to make all appointments to office, without reference to his Council at all. If the people support the Governor General, this address of the sages of Scarborough and the answer to it, an answer which is published with satisfaction by all the Tories; these two documents, I say, will form the charter of Canada's rights, the basis of Canada's freedom, rights, with which the people of Canada can never be satisfied, a freedom, which the people of Canada will consider the basest slavery. (Loud cheers.)

JOHN DOEL, Esq., seconded the motion, which was carried.

JOS. C. MORRISON, Esq. (*Barrister*.)—Mr. Chairman: I have the honor to propose the following resolution:

"8. That the manner in which the Government of the country has been carried on for the last four months, with but two heads of Departments, during any part of the time, and but one of those with a seat either in the Executive Council or in Parliament, is in direct defiance of the recommendations of Lord Durham, the practice of Lord Sydenham and Sir Charles Bagot, and the true principles of the Constitution."

After the very able and eloquent speeches with which so many gentlemen of acknowledged talent and ability have gratified and delighted this influential and respectable meeting, I feel it would be an intrusion on my part, if not the greatest presumption, at this late hour to engross any of your time. (Cries of no, no.) But this I will say, that from the opportunity I have as one of the Corresponding Secretaries of this Association, (hear, hear,) of learning the feelings of the people from one end of the Province to the other, I can answer this meeting that the people of Canada are fully alive to the importance of true Responsible Government. (Cheers.) Before sitting down I will take the liberty of reading a letter which I received just before I came to this meeting, and I give it as a fair sample of the cheering intelligence daily received from every part of the country.

PORT DOVER, 21st March, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for the circulars and Constitution of the Reform Association you have kindly sent me.

Prior to the organization of the Reform Association of Toronto, the Reformers in most of the Townships of this District had formed themselves into similar Associations for precisely the same object; and in the other Townships similar organization will be proceeded with, as soon as the roads assume a less forbidding appearance.

The Reformers here hail your Association as the nucleus or point around which kindred spirits can rally,—and through the medium of which that information may be imparted to the country, which is alone required to secure the return of an Assembly of the genuine Durham cast.

The Tories look upon it with thrilling apprehension, as being a means of diffusing light highly prejudicial to their interest, and having a tendency to render their system of mystifications and misrepresentation less potent than they had anticipated.

The plan of the Reformers here is to form a District Association out of their Township Committees immediately, in connexion with your Association, and through which correspondence may pass to the respective Township Committees, of the organization of which you will soon hear.

I am,  
Most respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

J. W. POWELL.

J. C. MORRISON, Esq.

(Great cheering.)

ALEX GRANT, Esq., ably supported the Resolution in a short speech. Adopted unanimously.

JOHN MACARA, Esq., was next introduced to the Meeting, he said: It appeared to him that there was no other process of the mind by which a Canadian subject could attain a just and accurate knowledge of the Constitution under which he lived, than by referring to the Constitutional history of England. He knew of no other safe guide for Canadian Government, and he would acknowledge no other authority. (hear, hear.) If Canada has received a transcript of the British Constitution, it is by the rules and precedent of British Constitutional Law that she must be governed. He could wish for the sake of the reputation which Sir Charles Metcalfé brought with him to this Province, that it were within the power of reason to reconcile the practice of his Government, with the universally admitted principles of the British Constitution—but he feared his Excellency had been so long occupied in arranging Constitutions for those countries whose political position was so eloquently and forcibly described by his honourable and learned friend [Mr. Sullivan] countries not so far advanced in intelligence and freedom as our own—and whose inhabitants have not been accustomed to the exercise of political rights, and are perhaps not in a position to be entrusted with them—that he has altogether forgotten—or if remembering, that he disdains to follow the practice of those who at the expense of peace, fortune, and life itself, have reared the glorious fabric of British Constitutional liberty. [cheers.] If there was evidence of any—the most remote desire on the part of the people of Canada to grasp at something beyond the Constitution—something new and untried, to which the people of England had not attained—the recognition of some abstract principle which in England had been considered visionary and impracticable—he [Mr. Macara] could readily reconcile his vague and vaunting recognition of our rights—with the practical determination to resist our demands. But can we receive ostentatious professions as a guarantee that our rights will be respected, when his whole conduct from the moment of the retirement of his late Ministers to the present hour, presents one continued and palpable contradiction to these professions—and proves either that he undervalues the principles upon which the Constitution has been established, or that he considers us too young in the career of freedom to be entrusted with the full exercise of our rights. His Excellency complains that he has been made the victim of misrepresentation; that every effort has been made to embitter the people against him personally, and to persuade them that he is opposed to their rights and liberties. But who has placed him in a position in which his fears may too soon be realized—a position in which no loyal man in this Province would wish to recognise the Representative of our beloved Queen.

By depriving the Country of Responsible Ministers, and personally assuming their functions, he has thrown off the sanctity with which the Representative of our Sovereign is invested in his person and office—by a practical suspension of the Constitution, he has deprived himself of the protection which the Constitution afforded him—by suspending the Constitution, he has exposed the Crown to assaults which by adhering to the Constitution would have been directed against its Ministers. [Loud cheers.] We do not, and never have denied his right to change these Ministers. It was a power which the Constitution gave him, and we utter no complaint that he exercised it. [Hear.] But we complain—and we think we have right and reason to complain—that as it is a limited power—that as it is not absolute and universal—that as it is subject to restrictions and wholesome checks—he did not exercise it within the limits prescribed by the Constitution. The prerogative of the Crown to change its Ministers, must be exercised with due regard to the Constitutional checks, by which it is restricted—and one of the most wholesome of these checks is, that the Crown shall choose such ministers as the people are willing to place their confidence in. (cheers.) This is the utmost extent of Royal discretion, as recognized and fixed by British practice. Any attempt to go beyond it would be instantly met by refusal of the Supplies. It is not a power to be exercised at the instance of some political intriguer—some hanger-on—some greedy expectant of office—some wretch who cares not one straw whether the new Ministry will last a day longer than his own gratification requires. But it must be exercised with reference to the wishes of the people, Constitutionally expressed. [Cheers.] Did the Governor-General act upon this doctrine which in England—and I am glad to see in Canada also, is—a truism? Did he, while surrounded by difficulties in the formation of a new Cabinet—difficulties, which, at this moment, are as unsurmountable

table as ever—do any public act, indicating the slightest anxiety to secure the confidence of the Commons? While he avowed his personal dislike of the Ministry, did he adopt the only Constitutional course which was open to him—the course forced upon him by the vote of confidence in favour of the late Ministers—and which by no Constitutional means could he evade? Did he dissolve the Parliament and appeal to the people? (loud cheers.) No; he would venture to say the political charlatan, his back-stair adviser, urged him to no such thing. [Hear.] He took a course, which, had it been taken in England—and thank Heaven there is not a man in England who would have ventured on so rash an experiment—it would have gone far to shake public confidence in Monarchical institutions; would have plunged the foreign and domestic policy of England into desperate confusion, and would, in all probability, have sown the seeds of Revolution. In the face of a vote of confidence in his late Cabinet, he prorogued the Parliament before he had formed a new Ministry, and for four months has deprived the country of Responsible Ministers. [Loud cheers.] He [Mr. M.] heartily acknowledged his entire—his devoted submission to the prerogative of the Crown. He thought that the liberties of the people will be best preserved by maintaining inviolate, these Constitutional privileges—but, was their loyalty so inconsiderate,—so obstinately blind—so little based upon reason and reflection, that they must conceal from themselves the fact, that our glorious Constitution has imposed upon the Crown, duties as well as rights—and that these duties on the part of the Crown, call up corresponding rights on behalf of the people. One of these important rights is, that Parliament can, at any time demand the name of the Advisers of the Crown. Was this right recognised when Parliament was prorogued before a new Ministry was formed—prorogued at the very time the difficulties occurred—prorogued in the face of an overwhelming majority of the Commons in favor of the late Ministers. Has this right been recognised during these four months which seem to have been spent in nicely adjusting the balance of faction—till by dint of intrigue and it may be of corruption, the hands of those in whom the people have no confidence may be strengthened, till every effort has been tried, but tried happily in vain—to sow jealousies and dissensions among the friends of the people, till a Cabinet can be formed of political trimmers, a miserably small party in the country, who think that by keeping aloof from either side, they will be entitled to so much the larger a share of the spoil—a sort of Reformers, who, professing no difference with us in principle, think that useful reforms should not be doled out to the people in too large quantities—that in the account current of good measures, the balance should always incline against the people and for their enemies—pretended Reformers, who would just give the people the least possible benefit that they will be persuaded to accept, and who, always dreading an open resistance, would just govern the country as ill as the patience of the country will submit to. [Cheers.] A miserable set of political trimmers, who, discovering their utter and helpless insignificance, have already begun to merge into the party with which they profess to be exceedingly wroth, but with whom they will blend most harmoniously, when they can eradicate from the heart of that party the contempt with which it regards its new associates. If the anxiety by which his Excellency is actuated, is to form such a Cabinet, he would answer for it that the people of Canada are not to be lulled to slumber by any delusive expectations which such an Administration would inspire. And he may rest assured that it is by no such tortuous course that the true dignity of the British Crown will be maintained, or the affections of a loyal people permanently secured. [Loud cheers.] With these remarks, I beg to move—

“9, That the reason which the head of the Government has been advised to give for this long delay in forming an Administration, viz., ‘the anxiety to form such a Council as is most likely to obtain the support of the Provincial Parliament,’ is inconsistent with His Excellency’s having prorogued Parliament, leaving himself without the means of ascertaining in whom the confidence of the present Representatives of the people would be reposed, and not having yet appealed to the people themselves by a dissolution.”

T. J. O’NEILL, Esq., rose to second the Resolution which had just been moved. He said:

Mr. Chairman,—From the lateness of the hour and the number of persons who

have so eloquently expressed their opinions in bringing forward the preceding resolutions, I should deem it the height of presumption to occupy the time of the meeting with any lengthened remarks within my power to offer.

Without, however, meaning any disrespect to the distinguished individual intrusted with the Government of this Province, I, in seconding this Resolution, cannot help feeling that to the sentiments of the Governor-General, which form the basis of it, viz., that the delay in forming a new Administration, arose from "his anxiety to form such a Council as is most likely to obtain the support of the Provincial Parliament," I cannot ascribe all the merit for sincerity, which I would fain bestow on one possessing the many virtues which distinguished his Excellency's character on coming to this province. (Hear, hear.) Why, if such were the case, allow four months or more to elapse without giving to the country a Council to watch over the interests of the people—to consult for their wants and to prepare those many salutary and needful measures, long wished for as the only means of restoring the country to quiet and prosperity. (Cheers.)

Will we be told that the people of Canada will not be satisfied with a Council which has not for its mainspring the Hon. Robt. Baldwin and the Hon. Mr. Lafontaine, or is the country so ill supplied with men competent to take the helm of affairs into their hands, that none others who possess the public confidence in an equal degree can be found to supply their places?

To admit the former would be to prove the error of the head of the Government in risking an encroachment on the well understood privileges of his Cabinet—without a full concession of which they would never have taken office—and a violation of which it is full well known they would never submit to. (Hear, hear.)

Should the latter be the case it proves a blunder no less inexcusable than the former, for in such case the head of the Government left himself no alternative but with true magnanimity of resolve to acknowledge to Her Majesty's Colonial Secretary his error, and request that some other would be sent to relieve him, who would consult the desires of the Colonists before coming to issue with the Council of their choice, or to restore to the important situations they had resigned, those gentlemen who alone can fill them with satisfaction to the majority. (hears.)

This is an alternative not easily submitted to by one accustomed to govern Asiatic subjects according to common usage, but such, Sir, was in my opinion, the only course open to a man sincerely interested in the well-being of the Province, [hear, hear.]

Fortunately, Sir, for that wise enactment, the Union of the Provinces, a measure which I trust we shall never, like the ill-treated people of Ireland, desire a repeal of. We are now in a situation to join issue at a moment's warning with any Ruler, however ill-advised, unreasonable, or despotic he might be desirous to prove himself. The identity of interests, which subsists between the Reformers of both sections, free from the jealousies and dislikes which formerly existed; the community of feeling which now proclaims their strength and spirit in its united form, shew that any attempt to stifle public opinion—however adroitly concerted or rigorously enforced—would be unattended with success, and only recoil with disgrace and discomfiture on the guilty heads of its impolitic advisers, [hear, hear.]

Let the present advisers of the Governor recommend an appeal to the People, a course which they should long since have taken, if it were not that they felt conscious of the utter helplessness of their situation, and that such appeal if resorted to, could only manifest to the world their entire prostration. Let such experiments be tried, Sir, and I do not hesitate to say that so well do the people understand their position—so sensible are they of the necessity, as well as the propriety of acting in support of their rights, that a majority considerably beyond what now represents our opinions in the Assembly of the Country, must be the result. [Cheers.]

JOHN EASTWOOD, ESQ., said the Resolution which had been put into his hand, was as follows:—

"10. That the allegation contained in the reply which the Head of the Government has been advised to give to the Address from the Warden and Councillors of the Gore District, "that he is virtually responsible to the people of the Colony, and

practically more so than even to the Mother Country," is not only inconsistent with all past experience, and the acknowledged doctrines of the Constitution, but is in express contradiction to the Resolutions of 1841, which assert as an essential principle of the Constitution his responsibility "to the Imperial authority alone."

Mr. Eastwood continued:—His Excellency in this Address has declared that he was the only person who had carried out Responsible Government—he [Mr. Eastwood] would like to know if it was with three advisers he had done so? His Excellency had stated that the resignation of the late Ministry proceeded from their making stipulations—and one of the stipulations was that they should be consulted on appointments to office. He [Mr. Eastwood] would like to know if that was correct? It was strange that a Governor should treat, without consideration, two-thirds of the people's Representatives. [Hear, hear.] He [Mr. Eastwood] would like to know where else he could go for advice? (Cheers.) He begged to move the Resolution which he had read.

PETER FREELAND, ESQ., briefly supported the Resolution. It was carried unanimously.

WM. M. GORRIE, Esq. rose and said:—Mr. CHAIRMAN—It may possibly be matter of surprise to the enemies of true Responsible Government that their expedients so ingeniously devised, and dextrously employed in the present emergency, have failed of their object. The Schoolmaster has been about since Sir Francis Bond Head played his antics on this arena—[hear, hear]—the population was shaken together by the agitation and stirring incidents of his reign, and every man read in the face of another that a common origin, a common nature, and one event was to them all.—The ear of the British nation was pierced, and the eye of the British people looked from the metropolis of the Empire across the Atlantic with concern upon our condition. Our political disease was probed to its core by a physician of notable eminence, who denounced past treatment, and prescribed a potent remedy, which had now nearly operated a cure, but for the quack notions super-added to its previously well balanced elements. We were astonished to hear the sores which we felt but dared not complain of, described by another with an accuracy and boldness which would have subjected us to pains and penalties. That noble personage has paid the debt of nature, and the sickly state of our system should admonish us to return to his patent, and cling to it that we may live to consecrate his name and memory with a healthy and glorious constitution—[Cheers.]

Yes, Sir, the members of this Association and the people of Canada, understand the manœuvre whereby the enemies of Responsible Government, under the Administration of Sir Charles Bagot, have been brought over to Sir Charles Metcalfe's standard of Responsibility. I say the people of Canada understand it, for I will not charge those who affect to admire His Excellency's system with a want of discernment, more than I would charge them with a positive change of principle; and I am sure the friends of British Responsibility understand the principle they contend for, as well as the schemes which have been practised to wrest it from them, and put something undefined in its place.

Every word which has yet fallen from the lips of His Excellency, explanatory of his views of the great question, sufficiently indicates his purpose to establish an omnipotent prerogative upon the ruins of public liberty. To what else can be attributed his declaration, that it would be useless as well as inconvenient to advise with his Council except on such matters as he should think of sufficient importance? Who will endorse for His Excellency that the well understood wishes of the people are faithfully advocated by the *triumviri* (hear, hear,) composing his present Council; and that constitutionally they are Responsible Advisers. Unquestionably should one or other of these individuals be guilty of a crime, he is responsible to offended law, but the safety principle of the British Constitution, when in force, drives the unworthy from power ere guilt has been incurred, which is a characteristic feature of Responsible Government. But, Sir, have we not seen the action of Parliament stopt in the midst of a most useful session. The most powerful Government that Canada ever boasted, thrown over board in spite of a remonstrative vote of the House of Assembly, supported by two-thirds of that body. Public business suspended now upwards of four months—the most important offices yet vacant—and is the image and transcript of the British Constitution in operation? Are the Resolutions of

September, 1841, regarded, or is there not in these facts a definition of Responsible Government, which the people of this country will do well to examine. (Cheers.)

Sir Charles has, indeed, declared himself Responsible—and a fearful weight of responsibility he and his Council have incurred—a Responsibility which, but for the patience and loyalty of the Canadian people, might dismember the empire and send his Excellency to account with his Sovereign.—But will patience and loyalty last for ever under such trials? Where then shall we arraign the delinquents and save the Colony? The British Government approves, and his Excellency usurps our liberties and insults our judgments, by telling us his rule is more truly Responsible than any preceding. Does his Excellency know that public and private credit are suffering at home and abroad—that measures of vast importance to our local welfare urgently demand the attention of Parliament, and that our ills are every day aggravated by his obstinacy. His, Sir, is the Responsibility of olden times. Its friends knew it at first sight, and extolled it to the skies with a shout, under a counterfeit name—and these are its effects upon a more advanced state of society—[cheers.]

Why does not his Excellency commit the reins of Government to those who so highly applaud what they are pleased to call his noble stand against the demands of his late Council, and who so cordially join him in admiration of Responsible Government, and proceed at once with the business of the country? [Hear, hear.] I beg, Sir, to move—

“11. That the Members of this Association are neither to be deluded by general and unmeaning declarations in favour of Responsible Government, while the practical application of that great principle is withheld, nor are they to be driven from their purpose, by having objects charged upon and motives imputed to them which they utterly repudiate.”

JAMES LESSLIE, ESQ., seconded the Resolution, which was passed.

DR. WORKMAN moved the following resolution, seconded by M. O'DONOHUE, Esquire, which was carried.

“12. That this meeting regards with the highest satisfaction, and as an undoubted harbinger of ultimate success, the unanimity of opinion which prevails among the friends of British Responsible Government in all parts of the Province as to the necessity for unity of purpose and action in this great crisis of affairs.”

JAMES F. WESTLAND, Esq., moved the following resolutions, seconded by JOHN SHUTER SMITH, Esq., which were carried unanimously—

“13. That the replies which the Head of the Government has been advised to make to various addresses from individuals in different parts of the Province, are not only unjust to those engaged in the struggle for Constitutional principle, but betray a lamentable ignorance of the political intelligence of the people, and of the true state of public opinion in the Country.”

“14. That to facilitate the organization of Associations throughout the Country, the Constitution of this Association be amended, and that every Association for a division of a Township, or other local sub-division of the Country formed in other respects as required by the Constitution shall, together with the Members thereof, be equally within the same as an Association for a Township.”

“15. That we most emphatically repudiate any desire for secrecy in respect of any of our proceedings, and that at all future meetings of the Association, convenient seats be provided for the Press without distinction of party.”

“16. That the thanks of the Association is hereby given to the Reform Press, as well as to those numerous other friends of Responsible Government throughout the Province, who have taken so warm an interest in forwarding the objects of the Association.”

“17. That—Copies of the Address of the Hon. Mr. Hincks to Frontenac be published in pamphlet form for distribution.”

A vote of thanks was then moved to the Chairman for his admirable conduct while presiding, which was responded to in the most heart-felt and cordial manner, and suitably acknowledged by the honourable gentleman; after which the Meeting closed.