

to the country at once what was denied; and he had no hesitation in saying that the Government was coerced into the appointment of Mr. Watters. The evidence of it was the course pursued by the members of the Roman Catholic communion of the City of St. John, just previous to the election of Messrs. Goddard and Armstrong. They held a meeting, passed resolutions that no Catholic ought to take any part in the election at that time, and acted accordingly; and avowed an intention to take measures for extending the principle. He did not blame the Catholics, but he thought the Government showed a degree of weakness that he did not think them capable of in allowing themselves to be dictated to. This course had given dissatisfaction throughout the country. He could not support the Administration and defend that appointment, made under such circumstances as it was.— If he should countenance such a procedure he would be told by his constituents that he thought more of retaining his Brother-in-law in place and in power, than he did to stamp with disapprobation an act which was almost universally condemned by the freeholders of the County of Carleton.— Many old and tried friends had told him that he was in a straight place, and they now wished to see if his principles would triumph over interest.— His duty to his constituents was his first consideration. It was said that the appointment was made in order to preserve the Liberal platform intact, as that course was considered necessary, or that an amalgamation with other parties should take place. The Attorney General's speech would seem to indicate a wish for the latter. If the appointments already made by the Government were to be taken as an index of the future, it appeared to him that there was but one course for this House to pursue, and that was to get the right men for the right place. York and the River Counties had been alluded to in connection with Railways. The interests of the up river Counties had not been any better attended to by the present Government than by the former; the local interests were worse. He desired to give his aid in carrying into effect such a design as will open up the resources of the country. He deemed that justice should be done to all; and that progressive improvement should be the order of the day. He had already remarked that he had no confidence in the present Government's preparing a scheme that would do justice to the material interests of the Province, particularly in the direction of Canada. He hoped they would; if so they should have his most cordial support to carry it into effect.

MONDAY, February 18.

Mr. GRAY arose, and after offering his Amendment thereto—expressing a vote of Want of Confidence in the Government—commenced his speech by referring to Railway measures in connection with the Address. In this respect it might be inferred that something new had emanated from the Government; but turn back 14 years ago, when the principle of the construction of Railways was recognized at that and several successive periods. At the time he (Mr. G.) was in the Government, it was proposed to have Railways as Government undertakings. This was opposed by the men who now wished to have such measures of enterprise undertaken by the Government. The newspapers had stated that the Attorney General would introduce a grand Railway measure during the Session. He (Mr. G.) was anxious for the introduction of Railways, on account of the innumerable advantages they would confer upon this and other countries. No doubt by such means in a few years this Province would hold a position equal to that of the United States. But to the question whether the Government possessed the confidence of the people. He would act in a plain, straightforward and unequivocal manner, and without embittered feelings towards any member. He thought it was right to ascertain whether the Government were competent to take charge of great works.— Such works involved a large expenditure. His honourable and he might add his learned friend the Provincial Secretary had last Session brought down an estimate of the expenses of the Province. (Mr. Gray here entered into a long explanation of financial matters in connection with Mr. Tilley's estimate, and the Revenue of the Province.) On examination he found that Warrants to the amount of £20,000 had been drawn, bearing £17,000 not clearly accounted for. He supposed thousands were of little importance compared with the millions spoken of in connection with the Railway.— Mr. Gray spoke at some length upon appropriations and undrawn warrants for the amount of the balance of the £37,000, and continued by stating that he found on enquiry that warrants to the amount of £15,000 were lying unpaid in one of the Banks, and that the credit of the Province was entirely exhausted in the Central Bank. This was a right to investigate, for besides injuring our credit at home it would do so abroad. There never was a time when Mr. Partelow held the office that £10,000 could not be got on Provincial security. An instance in connection with the public career of Mr. Partelow was mentioned, in which that gentleman had met a great difficulty in which the credit of the Province should be preserved. If the Government exercised a power in stopping warrants what would become of the money belonging to the labourers in the Central Bank; and if a panic should arise what would be the result? He would give the Government an opportunity of making the explanation. The Provincial Secretary and his estimate were again referred to. Last year the monies voted by the House exceeded this estimate to the amount of 20 or £30,000, and two members of the Government had sanctioned this excess. (Mr. Smith—I am one of them.) No Government had ever wielded the influence the present one had last session upon the floors of this House. They carried every thing they pleased. But no member of this Government had a right to sanc-

tion this excess of expenditure in their individual capacity. Again the Government had not acted in accordance with the principles they enunciated.— Since the "short Session" every vestige of Responsible Government had been swept away. It was upon this ground that the old Government had been attacked. The Responsible system was accounted to be the constitutional mode of expressing public opinion, and he had a right to appeal to this House to see whether the Government would be sustained. The object of the short Session of 1854 was the consideration of the Reciprocity Treaty—a measure to which the old Government had turned their attention. (The particulars connected with this short Session were here related, most of which are known.) There was another thing in connection with the Government. He considered that it was wrong for an individual member to introduce a measure calculated to neutralize the position of the Government in respect to it. (Tilley and the Liquor Bill.) In the first estimate it was contemplated that £30,000 would accrue as a revenue from the importation of liquors. For this act he considered the Government responsible. They had no right to calculate upon a revenue from liquors after the estimate had been made; and if it interfered with the policy and objects of the Administration, Mr. Tilley's philanthropy should have suggested to him the propriety of resigning his position before bringing forward such a Bill; and he would leave it to the public to decide whether the Government had not a right to assume its responsibility. Besides the effects produced abroad in injuring our credit, the policy which dictated it and the course adopted were founded in gross inconsistency. (The speaker here explained the position that must have been assumed by Mr. Tilley's colleagues if the Bill had referred to "leather" instead of "liquor.") (Laughter.) It would have the effect of injuring our credit abroad and particularly in England.— (Mr. Ryan—they don't know us at home.) The honourable member for King's he thought had better be careful in taking such a position. As the law of the land, the Prohibitory law should be obeyed; but it should be necessary to adopt a line of policy whereby the great deficiency should be made up. Referring to the Hon. Secretary's speech in 1855, that gentleman he said had proposed an additional duty upon other articles to make up the difference. But in the speech of His Excellency no allusion was made as to how the £20,000 were to be made up. This was a most important matter. It was very well to talk about millions, and the glorious achievements heralded in the newspapers; but this did not make up the deficiency. He could not give confidence to any Government that would legislate in this way. The difficulties that existed in litigation, &c. were fully pointed out by Mr. Gray.

One of the charges brought against the old Government, and for which they were soundly rated by Mr. Smith; and a strong Resolution was offered by that gentleman, (page 65 of the political primer was quoted) on account of no proceedings being had against Mr. Peters, the Deputy Treasurer at Miramichi for a certain matter in connection with his office (outlawed from one of the members.)— Mr. Street had good reasons for not going on with it, and he (Mr. Gray) would charge the present Gov't with omitting their duty in not prosecuting it. Another charge he would bring against the Government was, that during a long period last Summer the Government had been managed by a fragment of the Council, and that for six or eight months the Government remained unfiled. This he would leave to its members to explain.

There was another matter in connection with the Government, for which in accordance with the new system he supposed they would find new reasons. The Act relating to the Post Office required a Postmaster General to be a political office. Formerly there were eternal disputes about the small salaries allowed to Postmasters. The Government was sustained in the Bill they brought down. But why was this office kept dangling for expectants instead of being promptly filled. He believed that such office was essential and asked why the provisions of the Act had not been enforced. One great argument made by the Attorney General was, that the country should be governed by the heads of departments, and he (Mr. Gray) could not understand why so advantageous a reason was not enforced.

Again the Government did not adhere to the principles of local self Government. This was fully exemplified in the appointment of W. R. M. Burtis to the office of Common Clerk of the city of St. John. Here the Government had an opportunity of carrying out their principles in this respect.— He had nothing to say against the qualifications of Mr. Burtis; but Mr. Robinson had been recommended by the Common Council, and should by the principles referred to have been appointed.

Another appointment was that of Thomas, W. Bliss to be a Magistrate in Kent. This was contrary to the practices of the Government to appoint a Barrister to this office. The late Government had on two occasions been requested to make such appointments, but had declined. It was not judicious to appoint any person interested in litigation. And the reason why the appointment should not have been made was that Mr. Bliss was a strong partizan, and he believed a member of a League and in a place where there was much excitement. The appointment was injudicious and a gross violation of principle.

Mr. Gray next commented in strong language upon the course pursued by the Hon. Surveyor General in calling in the arrearages due to the Crown Land Department. This he said would bring soreness and sadness into many families if the notice in the Gazette were enforced.

Again there was nothing in the Speech about the promised educational measure. It was very important that the educational wants of the Province should be attended to. The Attorney General was an ex-officio member of the College Council; but that the Commission had to a great extent been deprived of his services. He asked Mr. Smith

how he could remain in that Government when such a course was adopted in reference to this College. The college council had not met as often as they should. There were several other questions; and respecting Railways he would ask the Government if they had a measure prepared. He (Mr. Gray) said it had been mooted abroad they could not agree upon such a measure.

In concluding his remarks Mr. Gray observed that he had urged sufficient reason to show that the Government did not possess the confidence of the country. At any rate they did not possess his.— He did not desire to monopolize time (having spoken a little over two hours,) and there were other matters to which he would probably allude on a subsequent occasion.

TUESDAY, February 19.

The HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL arose (next day) and requested the attention of the House while he should proceed with his remarks in reference to the Amendment expressing a Want of confidence in the Government. The statements made by the honourable and learned member for the County of St. John in reference to the finances would be fully met by the Provincial Secretary, and he (Mr. Fisher) would not therefore dwell upon that point. If he understood Mr. Gray correctly, the great question of Responsible Government was settled in 1854. He was glad that such principles had been recognized, and glad that the time had arrived when we could direct our energies to the development of the resources of our common country. Respecting the principles of party Government to which Mr. Gray had alluded, he (Mr. F.) would deny that he, and his colleagues had accepted office upon other than the broad principle of sound legislation. It was in opposition to his principle that the honourable member for the County of St. John was returned in 1850. (Hear hear.) And he was glad that he had so far changed his views as to recognise this great question of principles. In 1854 this House and the people of New Brunswick had fully sustained the principles that the majority should rule, and that the Administration should ratify the legislation that conferred the greatest amount of good on the largest number of people. He (the Attorney General) had been called a fool and a knave when he left his home to brave the storms of the Atlantic. Denounced as he was by a portion of the Press he was not to be prevented from walking in the path of duty. The great and important measures that were required for the development of the resources of his native country were the earnest object of his mission. It was the lack of such works of enterprise that caused our young men to leave their homes for other countries. Mr. Gray had referred to the Reciprocity Treaty in connection with the Session of 1854. No one would dispute the credit that was due to the old Government for the interest they took in this matter. Sir Edmund Head had interested himself in the negotiations, and the great principle inherent in intercommunication was one which every friend of progress recognized. Mr. Gray had stated that the Speech was pointless.— He could tell his honourable and learned friend that he had a great deal to learn as a politician, and that he was as yet but a political infant.— Should he not know that the true system of Speech making was to be as noncommittal as possible, for proof of which let the opening speeches of the Imperial Parliament be referred to. Had not the Government done all they could to advance the interests of the country, and was not the work they accomplished for one Session more than what had been done in all time by their predecessors? He (Mr. F.) was ready for the battle when the music sounded. "The speech was spiritless." Indeed! All that could be expected in such a paper was the foreshadowing of intentions. The Governor should be neutral, not giving his sympathy and aid to one party more than the other. The Governor should not be so committed. This was in his opinion the constitutional view of the question, and he was prepared to sustain it.

But what was the object of the honourable and learned member for the County of St. John in attacking the Government upon the Railway question! Was it by advocating a Railroad to Canada that he expected to catch the votes of members who represented counties on the St. John river? He could tell Mr. Gray that he could not be out-voted by him in his native country. (Hear hear.) To his northern friends he (Mr. Fisher) was willing to go with them half way; and he was prepared to show that the interests of the river St. John had never been thought of except now, when there was a prospect of obtaining a few votes. He (the Attorney General) would rejoice to see the day when the Province would be girdled with Railways; but we must begin gradually and before Railways should be made to extend to other countries, we should see that they were constructed within our own territory. For such great works all would be taxed, and the people at large should therefore participate in the benefits. This new born zeal exhibited by Mr. Gray in respect to the St. John River route might well be wondered at, when the interest of this route had never before been regarded. He (Mr. F.) had only returned from his mission 5 days prior to the meeting of the Legislature. He had accomplished enough to enable the Province to proceed by degrees with Railways, but what had the men of large ideas and great Administrative capacity done who had preceded him. He (Mr. F.) had assumed his position, and was prepared to meet his constituents if necessary. The present Government believed in the principle of self-reliance. The old Government had not confidence in themselves. What was the result of the great contract they had ratified with Jackson & Co.? Why that after a long period of inaction they were just where they began. The Government were charged with disagreeing among themselves. He denied it. In their general principles they were agreed, and he was glad they were to have the vote of Mr. Gray upon the Railroad question. But look said he, at our position. It

had been said that we should have agreed upon the matter before he went to England. He would throw himself upon the country whose interests they sought to promote, and the neglect of which had caused the good fields of California and Australia to be sought for by our young men. He had pursued a straight forward course, and had shown a disposition to carry out the great principles of self-reliance. He would not hesitate to say that he was always opposed to the principles of Railways being undertaken by Companies. We were as able ourselves as Jackson & Co. to advance in the great commercial interests of the world. Mr. Gray had charged the members of the Government with formerly being opposed to Railways being undertaken in this way. He (Mr. F.) on his own part would deny this, whatever might be the opinions entertained by the other members. [The hon. gentleman here alluded in eulogistic terms to Mr. How in connection with Colonial Railways.] He (Mr. F.) might be denounced as a knave; but fancy his position in the Money Market in London in a time of commercial depression, and in the face of a serious war, he did not go as a party representative, he wished to do something for his country. He might if he had chosen accepted a comfortable position free from political turmoil. The Gov't had been charged with charging their minds. It was pressure of public opinion that had wrought a change. [The hon. gentleman again referred to the Jackson contract, and alluded to the bankrupt position of the company at the present time.] The old Government was destitute of the principle of self-reliance. On one occasion Mr. Gray was elected to oppose a Government *dead as a mitten*, of which he afterwards became a member. (Hear hear.) He would ask if great political questions had then been recognized. [Mr. F. here referred to a speech made by Mr. Gray in 1851, in which there was not a word of political truth, and and in which that gentleman was shown to have changed his opinion suddenly. His learned friend wanted a Railroad to Canada. He (Mr. F.) wanted to see St. John the great terminus of a link of Railway through the Province. No one desired more than he did to have the line extended that would bring us in communication with the far West by a great highway through British territory.— Mr. Gray had never before moved in this direction. The policy adopted in reference to the European and North American Railway was a piece of political jesuitism. He was surprised at the party position assumed by Mr. Connell, whose desire should be the promotion of the Railways in the direction of Canada. He had no doubt that from the commercial reputation and position of St. John it would in time be second to N. York. If ever there was a time when men were required to be united the time had now arrived. The countries adjoining were advancing far ahead of us, and it was for this Province to set the ball in motion and keep pace with the progress of the age. [The hon. gentleman again alluded to the importance of the St. John river route and the resources of the upper country that would be made available.] The grounds he contended, upon which Mr. Gray was going to turn out the Government, would forever remain a monument of his political inconsistency. The hon. gentleman again referred to the Jackson contract, and the weakness and imbecility displayed by the old government. He also again took Mr. Gray to task, for his new-born zeal as displayed in the advocacy of the Saint John river lines, also alluding to the neglect displayed towards Fredericton compared with Miramichi. He (the Attorney General) was glad to find, they had nailed their colours to the mast. But, they had no confidence in the present Government; what he asked had been done by the old Government, that might be looked to as an evidence of their administrative capacity. He (Mr. Fisher) would here predict that if Mr. Gray should get in power, his influence and responsibility would be so mixed together as to stamp him as an imbecile politician. (Mr. F. alluded in warm terms to the prospect of a branch of Railway to connect with the Gulf of St. Lawrence.)

The Government had assumed office at a time of commercial depression. There was intelligence enough however, in the country to appreciate their position. The people would soon acquire political knowledge. He for one was not afraid to meet his constituents, and no man who was opposed to the present Government could be returned for York (hear, hear.) (The hon. gentleman again referred to that contract—and spoke of Messrs. Chandler, Hazen & Co. as belonging to the "old school.") Mr. Gray had no confidence in the Government, no doubt he had not. There were other politicians of the same stamp, who; if all put in the political crucible would be likely to come out together. He (Mr. F.) did not wish to give offence, and he hoped that after the present political fracas, they would shake hands and then proceed in earnest to the business of the country. He was not afraid of the country; young men were growing up around us who were alive to the spirit of progress. The principles of Responsible Government were established whilst old prejudices and obstructive notions would soon be buried in the political grave. The present Government had stood up in the full spirit of the Anglo Saxon race. They were the first to venture into the London market. This did not say "Jackson help us," but we'll go to work ourselves with our resources (greater than Nova Scotia.) The great principle of self-reliance was the principle that is fast becoming sustained throughout the world.— Had the old Government the moral or political courage to assume such a position? (Mr. Wilmot—Yes.) They had not. If he (Mr. F.) ever exhibited such weakness, he hoped the people of York would say to him "away with you." The boldness and self-dependence of the new Government were a departure from the old established rules.— Referring to the mission of Mr. Chandler to England in 1852, he should say in reference to that gentleman it was no disparagement to Mr. Gray, to say that he was a mere political baby compared with the former.

The selection was a wise one. But they had not