

they would be guilty of a breach of the trust which had been confided to them. They held the strings of the public purse for the benefit and advantage of the Province. The loose manner in which appropriations had been made must cease. No loan could be obtained until they had adopted a new mode. The Mother Country could not believe that the interest would be paid, or that the loan itself would be appropriated to the benefit of the Province. A great deal depended upon that House. If the loan could be obtained it might have the effect of bringing capital into the Province.—There was at present more ungranted land in this Province than in Upper Canada, which afforded a fine opportunity to a good class of settlers. It appeared to him that it was of the utmost importance to the Province. He must say that the various subjects which had been introduced in the speech, showed great zeal and industry on the part of his Excellency the Lieut. Governor, for which he deserves the greatest credit. As he observed that his hon. and learned friend from the county of Gloucester was ready to make a speech, he would conclude by repeating that his Excellency had done his duty to the Province in having brought forward so many important measures under their consideration.

Mr. END considered it as every man's business to weigh the measures proposed, and to express his opinion upon them. It appeared that the constitution of the country was about to be totally altered. He was willing to give credit to the motives which urged his Excellency to compose the speech under consideration. He had no desire to injure the feelings of others, but gentlemen must not be offended if their views did not meet with the concurrence of all around them. The influence of government, he said, was very great, he admitted it was not improperly exercised, and was willing to pay it every deference. The members of the Executive Council therefore must take no offence, if other members of the house differed from them on subjects on which they were equally competent to form an opinion; and for his own part he must be convinced that a pressing necessity existed, before he would consent to so great an organic change as had been proposed; and nothing had occurred to convince him; that they should overturn the constitution of this happy colony, in the way in which they were called upon to do. The most important measure proposed is the introduction of municipal institutions. Could any one say they would work well in this Province; they would put them on a par with the United States, and in his opinion put them in the same condition. He was willing to extend the elective principle where he was satisfied it would do good; but he thought it had already been carried far enough. When the forefathers of many of the people of this Province settled in it, they came from a country where caucusses were in vogue; and had seen the consequences. It was the free constitutions that had been granted to the revolted colonies which did all the mischief; and had they not have had those free constitutions there would have been no rebellion; the real cause of which was the infusion of the democratic influence and its reckless exercise. It was that which sowed the seeds of disloyalty.—Considering municipal institutions as totally unnecessary at present,—and because they were not asked for, and in fact were pressed upon the Legislature, he could not consistently support any measures of the kind. Notwithstanding the respect he entertained for the government, he hoped the House would pause before they agreed to extend those institutions to this country, for they could not retrace their steps. Once pass the measure, and it could not be recalled. Let gentlemen look at Nova Scotia and see how badly those public meetings worked there; when he lived in Westmorland he had an opportunity of knowing that the Justices in Cumberland were interrupted and checked by meetings of that description; and therefore he did not think similar bodies were necessary in the present day. He trusted the House would not be urged to adopt them in a reckless manner. It had been said the School System needed reform, but it could be reformed without this terrible experiment. The Schools were in some instances improving, and with reference to others, the proposed change would not remove the difficulty. The Office of Audit had been referred to.—The present system of auditing the accounts had been termed a disgraceful system,—but it had been forced upon the House, as there is really no Board of Audit in the country,—and the known incapacity of the gentleman in that office has compelled the Assembly to do the duty, or it would not have been done at all, for he was a total incubus. Did Lord Sydenham know when he denounced the present system, that the gentleman whose duty it is to audit the accounts, was unfit for it?—Did he know that there is a class of persons here who think the country must support them? He was willing to vote his full salary to that gentleman, if he would get out of the way, and let some person who knew how to handle the accounts succeed him. With regard to the Appropriations, the learned gentleman said he was decidedly against contracting a Loan, as he considered the revenue sufficient. He regarded public credit, and when the Province should have become involved in debt, it would be no longer a Province,—for when they contracted a debt they would lose their independence, in the same manner as a private individual would be affected. As respected an alteration in Voting Supplies, allusion had been made to the House

of Commons, which, because it was found impossible to restrain their votes, had given up the privilege of originating them. In that body there were upwards of 600 members, and if all stood up with claims there would be no supplying them,—but it was different in a small body composed of only 32 members. Suppose this patronage were given up, would they be better off? At present nothing is forced, every item is passed separately, and after being agreed to by the Legislative Council, they are all included in one bill. He mentioned this with reference to the Public Press, that the people might know that those who described the present as a rotten system, were setting them against the House of Assembly, who form their legitimate protectors. There never was a better system,—the House have the strings, but the other branch has a voice. Money, he said, was the root of all evil.—Let them leave the constitution as they found it; as this would probably be the last session of the present Assembly. They had been told that the government should come down and recommend the appropriations,—he meant no disrespect to the members of the government, but he knew more of the wants of the county he represented than they did, and others might say the same. He would not exchange his local knowledge for what they possessed. If the measure was carried, suppose himself or any other gentleman were not sufficiently obsequious: there would be some underhand influence. The members he said were the legitimate means through which the people should apply,—and he was not disposed to give up that right to any government in the Province. It had not been his practice to press the privileges of the House,—but it was time to step forward and urge them now, for if this measure were carried out, there would be an end to them all. The speech, the learned gentleman continued, referred to different Bills relative to the criminal and insolvent laws; one of these—the Bankrupt Bill, he was with Mr. Kinneer appointed to prepare, and when it was brought forward, he should be prepared to support its provisions. The Board of Works alluded to, he considered as an ignis fetuus; and the public works, such as Barracks and others, must be better performed than at present, before he would agree to such an appointment. Even in Sir Archibald Campbell's time, the royal road was opened, about which there was so much animadversion. If a Board of Works were formed, did gentlemen think more competent persons would be found than at present: he would find rough-shod Superintendants, who did not understand an angle that would make as good a road as the best engineer who could be found.—There was the Metis road, which was surveyed by one of these gentlemen, whose computations amounted to nearly £30,000; while two others belonging to the Province went over the same space, and estimated the cost at £13,000; and he would sooner employ them at the larger sum, than the former at the smaller. In a clear country they would do very well,—but he would rather have the hon. gentleman from Charlotte in this. The only objection was that he was a member of the House; as persons so employed should have no seat either in the Council or Assembly; and he considered the present system in that respect as disgraceful. The learned gentleman said he would not trespass longer upon the attention of the Committee, as the subjects referred to in the speech would again come up in their proper places; and hoped a remedy would be found without resorting to those organic changes that had been proposed, for he trembled at their consequences. He considered municipal institutions as uncalled for. His honor the Speaker had said he would have the British constitution here in strong contrast with that of the United States. It was because he wished to do so that he opposed the present measures, and would rather even suspend the purity of our own constitution, if it resembled those of our republican neighbours; and which he considered as already sufficiently democratic. He concluded by saying, that he respected the individuals who composed the Executive Council,—but it would have been wise in them to have advised His Excellency to have hesitated,—and he thought after he should have resided in this country three or four years, that he would not have attempted to introduce those organic changes, which had that day been the subjects of discussion.

Mr. L. A. WILMOT said that in deciding upon the various subjects recommended in the speech, they were not to consider this as a district Province, but as an appendage of a vast empire, as one of a number of colonies, and with reference to these colonies by which we are surrounded. And it was also of importance to bear in mind what had taken place recently in Canada; and when similar measures came down recommended and well guarded, they should see if these could not be adopted with advantage and applied to this country. And if the arguments of the learned member for Gloucester could be applied to municipal institutions they would bear with greater force as to the choice of members for a Representative Assembly; he would show before he sat down, that they cut down every thing democratic. But those who oppose municipal institutions must bear in mind, that they are essentially British, and were coeval with the present government,—that England would not have been England without those institutions. And it was no argument against the usefulness of a system that it might be abused. That boroughs should not have been established,

because subsequently the population removed, and they afterwards became what are termed rotten boroughs. If the rate payers were not sufficiently intelligent to choose common council men for the management of their local concerns, were they fit to send members to that House, armed with powers to make laws, impose taxes, and expend revenues of the country. If the hon. member for Gloucester meant that in his county there were not sufficient intelligence and ability for the introduction of municipal institutions there, he could only say he believed it would form a solitary exception to other parts of the Province, where he contended they would be found. But because every thing had worked well heretofore, it was contended that under an improved system it would not work well hereafter. But at present, as the hon. member for Queen's had shown, there was taxation without representation. The learned gentleman here described various subjects upon which the House was annually called to legislate, even to the Repairs of highways and appointment of hog-reeves,—and he contended that there was no necessity for this description of Provincial legislation. The Bill for establishing these municipal institutions he said, would be sufficiently guarded, and they would not be permitted to go beyond the law of the land. Then there were the moral effects which those institutions would have upon the Province,—and he looked upon these as most important. Hon. members had been told that their ancestors came from a country of town meetings and caucusses,—and had the then wilderness state of the country been fit for these public demonstrations, they would have introduced them here. But they had thought the country, thinly settled as it was, fit for a representative body,—to whose members had been given privileges for the benefit of their constituents, of which the learned gentleman during the present session had sought to deprive them. In 1836, he (Mr. End) had described this as a happy country, and opposed those changes that then took place,—notwithstanding which he now declares that it was yet a happy country, and again opposes further concessions. Then with reference to the Board of Works,—the Committee were told that it would be employed to lay out roads. But the assumption that there might be abuse, would afford no argument against the system itself. He (Mr. W.) took it that the Bill when sent down would be found to contain the necessary guards,—and then the Legislature could see that the duties were executed properly.

He would ask the learned member for Gloucester, why it was that last year he voted £3,000 for one road, and £1,000 for another;—did he know what was required for either? But was it not because there was a combination among the members themselves, and not because there was any fair principle of division. The fact was, the Assembly had been hitherto voting in the dark, and before they had received reports of the expenditure of one sum, they had voted another for the same objects; and he hoped if a proper audit of accounts were established, that no further sum would on any account be granted, until it was known how the previous amount had been expended. He repeated, the House had voted in the dark, because they did not know how the public monies were expended, and because they did not know what work was to be accomplished. But this difficulty would be got rid of by the establishment of a Board of Works. If he understood its object, it would prepare estimates of the sums that would be wanted for any particular service; the measure could then be proposed to the House, and it would be for the Legislature to say whether the amount should be granted. The system hitherto had been what might be termed a reciprocal system. A Board of Works would enlighten members on points that they might not fully understand. The learned member for Gloucester had said this would be depriving members of patronage. He (Mr. W.) was willing to have his hands tied in this respect,—he did not regard patronage. The Committee had been told the Province was getting on well; but he had made a calculation, and found that the amount granted during the last seven years for roads and bridges, was £240,000,—about £130 for every mile of road, and there were many of them still in an unfinished state. Last year, the five and ten per cents alone amounted to £4,100, which was a large annual Tax. The Board of Works would not cost half that, and there would be responsibilities which at present do not exist. Then there was the Statute Labour, which, were it paid in money, would be far more productive. The present plan was for a man to do as little work as possible, even on roads passing by his own door,—and the learned gentleman said he felt satisfied that were Statute Labour commuted to a shilling, or even six pence a day, that more work would be done. He hoped that hereafter the subject would be considered, and that a poor person would not be taxed, or that he would be employed on the roads. The learned member for Gloucester had come out strongly against a Loan, and he himself would be against it if the present system were continued, as it was impossible to know what sums would be voted away until the Committee of Supply rises. He (Mr. E.) had told the Committee to be involved in debt would render this a poor slavish country. But he would refer the learned gentleman to England, who had by this means been enabled to carry on her wars, to fit out her navies, and to make

her roads and bridges.—It was upon the principle of Loans that the greatest public works in Great Britain had been undertaken. The same remark would apply to the United States; and although it was proposed in some instances to repudiate their public debts, yet that would not be the case here. The first object would be to see how the money could be applied beneficially, and then, if necessary, call for a loan. The learned gentleman said he should be happy if the departments for collecting the revenue could be consolidated, he hoped something would be done by which a saving could be effected, and facilities afforded for the transaction of business. He must say generally that he was pleased with the measures that had been recommended,—it was there they must be discussed,—and if members thought the country was not fit for municipal institutions, they would reject them. These measures would be introduced in the shape of Bills, and he should be favourable to their passing, provided there were not too much popular influence introduced on the one hand, and the Executive had not too much power on the other. He should be opposed to the appointment of Wardens by the government, and he had yet to learn that the people were unfit for the enjoyment of municipal institutions.

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THE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE TEMPORAL INTERESTS OF MANKIND—A PROOF OF ITS HEAVENLY ORIGIN.

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Continued.

Christianity has also done a great deal towards improving the important relation of Master and Servant. It takes the poor and oppressed under its special protection; teaches them to submit to their lot without repining, and disposes their masters to treat them with humanity and kindness. It requires us to treat all men, in whatever rank they may be placed, as brethren, and as possessed of rights which cannot be violated but with the greatest injustice. It grants its privileges to all men without respect of persons, and addresses its consolations to 'rich and poor, Jew and Greek, bond and free.' Among even the freest States of the ancient world, the majority of the inhabitants were not only deprived of the rights of freemen, but they were placed in a state of the most abject slavery. At Athens, in the one hundred and tenth Olympiad, there were about twenty slaves for every citizen! Wealthy Romans carried their ostentatious extravagance to such an extent, that we find in several instances ten or even twenty thousand slaves in the possession of one individual. Not only were these unfortunate beings deprived of that freedom which is the unalienable birthright of every man, and of which no one has a right to deprive his brother without just cause,—but many of them were subjected to the harshest treatment, and suffered the most cruel oppression. There were no doubt, some slaves who had been born in their master's houses, and who were therefore treated with comparative mildness, but the number of these was very small. The generality of those who had been reduced to this degrading condition, (and let it be remembered they formed the greater part of the community) were exposed to every kind of hardship and indignity. The power of their masters over them was unlimited; the laws afforded them no protection against his insults and cruelty; he could put them to death for the most trifling offences, and even for his amusement; and thousands of them were frequently obliged to murder one another! In Sparta, as is well known, the Lacedemonian youth were often let loose upon the poor Helots, and allowed to kill every one they met, in order to whet and satisfy their blood thirsty appetite!

These abominations have, through the prevalence of christianity, been in a great measure abolished. The Gospel does not, it is true, command the immediate abolition of slavery; for several very obvious reasons. For when it is a punishment for enormous crimes, it is perfectly allowable and just. And besides, had an injunction for the immediate emancipation of slaves been given, it would have caused the greatest confusion, and introduced evils much more grievous than those which it proposed to remedy. But christianity does what benevolence joined with wisdom dictates. By inculcating a spirit of kindness and a regard to the interests of every man, it has laid the foundation for the entire abolition of a practice which had become the source of misery and torment to more than half of the human race. Its natural and direct tendency is to prevent every unlawful method of depriving men of their natural rights; and every one who is acquainted with the history of the Church, knows that by following out the spirit which the Gospel enjoins, relief and comfort were administered to this neglected and degraded class of our fellow creatures. One of the earliest effects of christianity, was the effort which the followers of Jesus made, to procure the liberation of their enslaved brethren. Christians were the originators of every scheme which had for its object the emancipation of slaves. This they considered as the expression of christian devotion; and christian masters very early began to grant freedom to their slaves.