

can be heard, and our fellow-colonists abroad will see that New Brunswick is not behind any of them in asserting her rights."

From the Halifax Sun.

The Liberal Press of New Brunswick teems with furious and deserved reprehension of the jolly, but not over sagacious young gentleman who at present directs, upon his single personal responsibility, public affairs in that Province.

We say upon his individual responsibility, for responsible he is to his Sovereign (but to no human authority beside) for the mischief which his mad-cap step, in dissolving the Legislative Assembly, despite the sober advice and earnest remonstrance of constitutional advisers, will assuredly produce.

We approve the tone in which our Liberal cotemporaries denounce Manners Sutton's high handed infringement upon the clear spirit of the constitution. It is characterised by that indomitable courage which may be the more relied upon that it scorns to waste its energies in idle railing.

The question at issue between the Liberal Party and this impetuous man is, not as to whether the late Cabinet did or did not enjoy the confidence of the people. Possibly they did not; still, this is a supposition contradicted by the fact that, through the late session of the Local Legislature, they were sustained upon all questions of Ministerial policy, by respectable majorities.

However, whether the Fisher Cabinet, in declining to advise the Lt. Governor to dissolve the Assembly, acted in accordance with the "well-understood wishes" of a majority of the constituencies, we say, is not the point to be settled at the Hustings. The question is, may the Queen's Representative, acting upon the advice of a few individuals—a faction—(it matters not whether liberal or conservative)—capriciously, unadvisedly, exercise the undoubted right of the Crown to dissolve parliament at any moment, thereby necessitating the advisers, with whom the people have constitutionally surrounded him, to resign and then call to his Council, in the management of the affairs of the country, a *de facto* irresponsible Administration?—in the election of which a majority of the people have had no voice.

Governor Sutton must be a bold man indeed to have ventured upon such an over-stretch of the Prerogative.

That the Liberals of the Province, to a man, will support Mr Fisher and his colleagues in the resolute attitude they have assumed, we cannot entertain a doubt. Unequivocal proof of the determination of the Liberal Press to sustain them is manifest. Had it failed so to do, we should have been constrained to say of it, that it was unworthy of credence or confidence, as the exponents of a people who deserve to be free, because they know the value of true liberty, and will we believe, rally to a man in defence of their constitutional rights.

The people of New Brunswick are proverbially animated by a spirit of universal loyalty; but still, or we have mis-read their character, are they proof against any sinister activity that would lead them up, to the support of even Majesty itself much more of a crack-brain Procurator, apparently bent upon putting all constitutional checks under foot. The cause of the Liberal Party in the sister Province, in this struggle against petty despotism, (the worst of all despotisms,) is the common cause of Liberalism everywhere in British America; and he who, professing to be a Liberal, might deliberately approve the acts of Manners Sutton which have called forth these remarks, would rightly deserve to be pilloried for the general execution of his fellow-colonists.

From the Halifax Nova Scotian.

THE NEW BRUNSWICK ASSEMBLY.

The St. John Courier of the 23rd instant, makes the subjoined remarks in reference to the recent dissolution of the House of Assembly of that Province. This extraordinary proceeding on the part of the Lieut. Governor, appears to have been induced by the receipt of numerous petitions against the Prohibitory Liquor Law. But it is not quite clear to our comprehension that His Excellency has acted in this matter in a constitutional manner.—Without having the slightest wish to interfere with the arrangements of our neighbors, it does appear to us that Governor Sutton should first have accepted the resignation of his late Cabinet, secondly surrounded himself with a Ministry, and thirdly, acting upon their advice, dissolved the House of Assembly. As it now appears he has assumed the responsibility of the step, and must stand or fall by the next move. The probability is, however, that the vexed question at issue, which is shaking to the centre the foundations of society in the sister Province, and which is now fairly to be tested by a direct appeal to the people, will swamp any public feeling that may be manifested in opposition to so high-handed an act on the part of the Representative of the Sovereign. The battle will evidently be between the Liquor Law men and the anti do. Both sides will now have an opportunity of proving their numbers and strength. If the anti-men happen to return a majority representing their views, the Liquor Law will undoubtedly be repealed forthwith. Should the Temperance men triumph there will doubtless be trouble in New Brunswick. Among that class of the population of that fine Province, known as Lumberers, there are several thousands who are not only fond of their grog but rusty customers, in a superlative acceptation of the term, who must be expected to fight to the death for their stimulant.

Communications.

To the Editor of the Gleaner.

Sir.—It is undoubtedly the right of a free people to manifest a sincere and fervent zeal in the discussion of those political questions which present themselves for discussion, but it is the duty of such a people to take care that theirs be not a zeal without knowledge. I am far enough from disapproving of the evident and daily increasing interest taken by all classes of our fellow subjects in the approaching election; but I am very anxious that public attention be intelligently and firmly fixed upon the real and vital principles that are at stake, and not bestowed upon mere words or upon the personal prejudices of constituents, or the personal, the merely selfish, ambitions of candidates.

Rightly considered, Sir, the approaching election will be the most intrinsically and permanently important that has ever occurred since New Brunswick became a separate Province. We are but new in possession of Responsible Government, even as a theory; by our conduct in this Election we shall decide, not only whether we shall have Responsible Government in action as well as in mere theory, but also—whether we are really fit to have it.—May your readers, Sir, both voters and non-voters, carefully and well ponder the few words to which, in the necessarily crowded state of your columns I feel bound to confine my present communication! Politically as well as commercially we are a new people; but we are inexcusable for our backwardness in sound policy as we are excusable for many of our agricultural and commercial shortcomings.—For the latter we have the valid apology of natural obstacles; both the obstacles which have already disappeared before brave efforts, and the obstacles which like efforts are removing from our path. But for our want of sound public policy we have no such excuse. It is just as easy to choose the good as to choose the evil, when the examples of each are with like clearness presented to our notice. In all the really wise and essential policy of both the parliamentary candidate and the parliamentary constituent, it is our own fault if we have not all the benefit here in New Brunswick of all the long centuries of England's experience that we should have if our vote were to be cast for a Representative of Northumberland in Old England instead of Northumberland in New Brunswick. Declamation and fair promises suffice for the temporary purpose of the selfish man, or the vain man, the restless man, or the ambitious man; but *principles are eternal*; times may alter but principles remain; and from like principles like results must follow—all frothy talk and all idle caprice, or worse than idle ingratitude, to the contrary notwithstanding.

I hear a great deal said in condemnation of what people call *party spirit*; I confess that to me it seems that what is to be complained of is not the excess of party spirit, but the almost utter absence of it! To a wise and thoroughly disciplined *party spirit*—in the proper sense of that phrase—England owes, chiefly if not entirely owes, that municipal and parliamentary *mastery of the purse* which renders it far more difficult to a wise English statesman to prevent liberty running into licentiousness than to guard against any attainment of that true liberty which allows men to do everything which they can do without offence to God and without injury to their fellow men. The whole of the Constitutional and Parliamentary History of England is one great series of proofs at once of the absolute necessity, and of the mighty power of that *yielding in particulars for the sake of conquering in the grand result* which alone is properly meant by the phrase *PARTY SPIRIT*. It is in that sense alone that I use the phrase; and in that sense of the phrase, Party Spirit is so far from being in excess among us that it is our greatest public want, and underlies all our other public wants, great and numerous as they unfortunately are.

In politics, even more than in the ordinary business of life, there is an eternal truth in the moral of the old fable of the Bundle of Sticks. Talents and energy selfishly or separately exerted, are merely frittered away in isolated efforts for the public, or in discreditably successful schemes for petty personal aggrandizements.—Party, with unity of purpose and disciplined concurrence of plan and action is powerful even when the consolidating principle is but doubtfully good or even positively bad; but when such unity of purpose and disciplined concurrence of plan and action are founded upon and inspired by a wise and just principle, nothing can resist that party; nothing can prevent that party from being ultimately triumphant.—Nothing? I am wrong; there is one thing that can bring down upon it not merely defeat but disgrace; there is one thing that can subject it to the low shame of having sowed only tares while boastfully promising to the expectant multitude a glorious harvest of wheat, and that one thing is the sacrifice of party discipline to personal greed, personal need, or personal vanity; the segregation of the individuals just when the party the most requires consolidation; each small stick preferring the risk of being separately broken up to remaining an undistinguished stick of the bundle of which the bold motto is *non frangas—not to be broken!*

Party spirit, Sir, is assuredly the very thing to accuse us of indulging in to an excess, a necessary consequence, no doubt, of our winters being too short and our summers too long!—Happy will it be for the best interests of the Province if just for once in the way we can

by any persuasion induce both electors and candidates to take a wise and prudent party spirit for their guide at the present really momentous crisis, instead of being driven hither and thither by restless vanities or short sighted personal prejudices. Consider, Sir, the real state of the case.

The Parliament had brought its labours to an end for the session. For good or for evil, the Parliamentary business was over for this year. If the unauthorised and unconstitutional Clique of back stairs people had really attached any importance to what when in power they always treated with a most supercilious contempt, if they had really wanted what they call the sense of the people—but what all their former acts have treated rather as the people's nonsense—would they not have deferred the appeal to the constituencies until after the increase of the number of the constituents by the coming into action of the new Election Law? If people will take the trouble to bestow due consideration upon that point it will be, I think, impossible for them to fail to see the dissolution in its true light, utterly impossible for them to fail to perceive that power and profit, even for a few months, are all that the Clique really cared or cares for. Or, again I ask, why not defer the Dissolution until after the increase in the Constituency which Parliament had enacted and the Executive sanctioned?—Is the new parliament to be dissolved as soon as it meets? What an insulting as well as expensive farce, then, this Election will be! Or, is it to be for its full term, if the Clique can hold place so long? What an abominable injustice to those who, having been promised the bread of the *power* to vote, will thus be fobbed off with the stone of the merely nominal *right* to do so!

Party spirit, indeed! We have not even the shadow of a wise and well disciplined party spirit among us, or the moment that the Dissolution took place public meetings of the Electors would have been held, and overwhelming measures taken to *send back the old majority*.—If any fussy and impatient person, too anxious to prevent his own very small candle from being put under a bushel to care two-pence about the really great and vital principle at stake, had spoken of offering himself as even possibly against any one of that majority, he should have been authoritatively told by influential men—either you offer on public grounds or from merely selfish interest or selfish vanity; in the former case our tried men can do the work at least as well as you, and you will best serve the cause by not endangering their election; in the latter case, of which case we shall take your persistence as a sufficient proof, we are not inclined, though you are, to prefer the interests of a vain and selfish individual to those of every man in this Province from the wealthiest, merchant and shipowner to the poorest labourer.

With anything like a perfect party organization that course not only could have been taken but would have been taken as to the late Ministers and every member of the majority which supported them; and the majority thus returned would have crushed the interlopers at the first division.

Even now, strenuous and intelligent exertion may make up for lost time. Let no merely general talk avail any man; no promise about doing this or that for this parish or that neighbourhood. Let the one question be will you without mental reservation so vote as to cause the displacement of the Interlopers, so that the really good measures initiated by the unconstitutionally thwarted ex-Ministry shall be completed by that ministry and not by the tricksters who have temporarily ousted them? No matter how glibly the man may talk; no matter how largely he may promise; no matter how ultra liberal his Political confession of faith at the Hustings; away with him to the cool shades of private life if he will not give this pledge to *place the interests of the Province and the great principle of Self Government just where they would have been if a most unconstitutional attack had not been made upon them both.*

As regards the ex-Ministers, our interests as well as our honour are deeply indeed concerned in returning them in the most triumphant positions in their respective Counties; and I am happy to be exempted from the necessity of saying one word to the electors of Northumberland on that head. The commanding talents, the masterly eloquence, and the personal popularity of the late Solicitor General render his election a matter of course; but I maintain that both he and his colleagues had thrown all their other claims upon popular affection and popular support into the shade by the one great service of their disinterested, promptly resolute, and profoundly wise resignation.—Without that resignation they could have check-mated their unprincipled rivals, it is true; but they would have endangered that principle of Self Government which if we do not prove ourselves wanting in common sense as well as common honour, we, thanks to that at once masterly and noble resignation, shall yet preserve alike from the folly of those who talk about it without knowing what it means and from the wily malignity of those who hate it because they do not know what it means!

JOHANNES BOS.

A CARD.

MISS DIXON, would respectfully inform the inhabitants of Chatham and vicinity, that she has taken the room next to the Post Office, formerly occupied as a boot and shoe shop, for the purpose of doing MANTOMAKING, in all its branches. Please call and give her a trial, and see the patterns. She also intends to Repair and Clean STRAW BONNETS in the neatest manner.
Chatham, 7th May, 1856

Editor's Department.

MIRAMICHI:

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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

THE discussion of this important subject occupies a large portion of the Press in this Province as well as of Novascotia. We have copied from the latter the opinions of three leading Journals, all of which deprecate the conduct of Governor Sutton. We have not yet seen an article in the press of the sister Province that approves of the course adopted by our Lieutenant Governor.

In this Province the Press stands thus:

For	Against
St. John Courier,	St. John Freeman,
Observer,	New Brunswick,
Presbyterian,	Chronicle,
Morning News,	Fred. Head Quarters,
Telegraph,	St. Andrew's Standard.
R. Intelligencer,	
St. Stephen's Patriot,	
Woodstock Journal,	
Carleton Sentinel,	
Westmorland Times,	
Fredericton Reporter,	
Provincialist,	
Miramichi Gleaner.	

The St. John Colonial Presbyterian puts the dispute between the Lieutenant Governor and his late advisers thus before his readers:

"The question is not whether the late House of Assembly was a good or a bad House, or whether the late Government ruled the Province with advantage or with detriment to its interests. The question to be, in the first instance, settled by the country, is whether the late House of Assembly came by its death in a constitutional manner, and whether the Lieutenant Governor in virtually compelling his late constitutional advisers to surrender their offices, did an act which a free people, in the full and appreciated enjoyment of responsible, that is to say, of self-government, would desire to see repeated in reference to councils of any political complexion whatsoever whether liberal or tory. Or in other words, the question to be decided is, Whether it is by the Crown directly or representatively, or by the people acting through their representatives that the constitution has provided that the character and tendency of legislative measures are to be judged. It might, for example, be granted, for the sake of argument, that the Hon. Mr Manners-Sutton was capable of governing the Province more beneficially without a Council than with it, or that the judgment of the Bishop of Fredericton, the Rev. Mr McDevitt, P. P., and others, * was very much better than that of such men as Mr Fisher, Mr Tilley, or Mr Wark, and yet it would be by no means follow, that we should approve of such supposed acts of the Hon. Mr Manners-Sutton acting either with or without the advice of the petitioners who have called upon him to exercise his prerogative in dissolving the House. The reasons are sufficiently obvious, for, whether for better or for worse, the British Constitution provides that the Sovereign can do no wrong, and that responsibility attaches exclusively to the constitutional advisers of the crown. The latter are directly responsible to the people, which the Sovereign or his representative is not, so long as he does not assume such responsibility by the exercise of a prerogative, which, in theory, it is his to use, but which, in point of fact, is rarely called into requisition, and then only in extreme cases, which precedent and usage has sufficiently defined. Now, if we rightly understand what is meant by responsible government, and if we have rightly stated the provisions of our time-honoured constitution in this matter, it must be very evident that the Lieutenant Governor is disregarding the advice of his constitutional advisers, in doing so, more especially in refer-

* The Editor here alludes to the petitions which were received by the Governor, since the prorogation of the Legislature, requesting him to dissolve the Assembly, with a view of getting a public expression on the Prohibitory Law.