

I return to say, in proof of my first Session, that from the year 1788, to the year 1794, inclusive, the Members of the House of Assembly received 10 shillings per day (not as pay for their mercenary services, but) for defraying their expenses of travelling and actual attendance in General Assembly, and this, so far as I have heard, without a dissenting voice from any Member of the Council, and with the approbation of the Executive chair.

Thus for seven years it has been the invariable act of the three Branches of the Legislature, to vote 10 shillings per day for defraying the expenses of travelling, and actual attendance in General Assembly. But in these days of Council innovation, 7/6 per day for the same travelling charges and actual attendance, is called by "a Farmer upon the Long Reach,"—contending with the Council for pay during their attendance in General Assembly, and contrary to every principle of right, and to all former example in any well regulated government."

Should any of the Signers of the Memorial prepared in the upper Counties read this state of the innovation, and doubt its truth, I refer them to the acts of Assembly beginning at page 173, and ending at page 314, after perusing which, I doubt not I shall be honoured with their acknowledgment, that I have fully established my first assertion, and I shall take leave of this disagreeable subject, after quoting the chorus of a good song.

Innovation, innovation,  
O 'tis a dangerous innovation.

I have next to shew—that it is subversive of the Constitution, by infringing on the right of the Commons of New-Brunswick, in money matters.

It is a principle so well established, and so fully understood by British subjects in general, who glory in our happy constitution, and in the well defined, and clearly explained rights of every branch of the Legislature, that it might be supposed unnecessary to quote authorities to prove, that "the Commons have the sole and undoubted right to originate and include in a Money bill, not only what may be recommended from the Executive Chair, but also such other sums as they think necessary for the public good," had not this right been positively denied by a majority of the Council.

I transcribe their own words.

"The Council do make it an indispensable condition to the passing of the bill now before them, for raising a Revenue in this Province, and for appropriating the same, together with the monies now in the Treasury, that what therein relates to the pay of the Members be taken out."

This declaration being then so contrary to the supposed sole right of the Commons, now denied in very dictatorial terms, by a majority of the Council, I must refer to Hatfield for proof of its being totally subversive of the rights of the Commons, and directly contrary to Parliamentary usage. His observations will be found very full to this purpose, by perusing volume 3d, pages 73, 90, 95, 143, 147, 148, and 249.

The House of Assembly were so alarmed at the above quoted claim, that in the Session of 1796, they resolved, "That the resolution which the Council came to, is not only unparliamentary and not warranted by any precedent, but is a flagrant breach of the privileges of the House of Assembly, repugnant to the principles of the British, and subversive of those of our Colonial constitution, and tends to destroy the independence of this House, in the granting of supplies, and in the disposition of the public money."—See Journal, page 524.

But as Hatfield cannot be perused by many, and as the observations of the House of Assembly, as a party concerned, may not be thought sufficient, I will quote Mr. Kitchin's opinion on the subject, in one of his letters to the Committee of Correspondence.

This authority will no doubt be allowed good by all who, with "a Farmer upon the Long Reach," acknowledge "the great zeal, ability, and attachment this gentleman has ever shown to the welfare of the Province, and its due interests."—It is as follows:

"The claim of the Assembly to the sole right of originating Tax bills or bills of aid and supply to the Crown is fully admitted, as is also the Assembly's claim of appropriating the produce to Public services, whether they do it in the same or a separate Bill, nor is it fit for the Council to make any alteration or amendment in either."

If my authorities therefore have any weight, I trust I have fully proved that the claim set up by a majority of the Council is subversive of the Constitution.

The majority of our Representatives are then Mr. Ryan maintaining an honourable struggle in opposition to Innovation, and in support of our Constitution.

They are again called upon to repair to Fredericton.

The feeling mind has observed with astonishment and regret, the Representatives of the Province, year after year, called upon at an inclement season, to stand the annual parade of another trial at Fredericton (while their appeal is before the Throne of our most gracious Sovereign for final adjustment) to the great accumulation of the Province debt, to the great loss of their own time and injury to their private affairs, and obliged to disburse a considerable sum of money to defray their daily expenses, by which sacrifice many of their families are more or less distressed.—But let me turn away from this dismal story.—I hope they will persevere in well doing, till an end is put to the contest by the Royal interposition—if they do, posterity will call them blessed.

I believe it is the opinion of every individual in the Province, that their Representatives ought to be in some way or other repaid the money they are out of pocket for travelling charges to and from Fredericton, and actual attendance there on the business of the Province; and it is further universally allowed, that 7/6 per day is the least the expenditure can be reckoned at.—In this opinion I believe the Council and all that espouse their cause candidly agree.

Having thus happily discovered something agreed upon by every body, it requires their united wisdom to point out the manner in which this money is to be raised.

The majority of the Council, together with the "Independent Country Members" as "a Farmer upon the Long-Reach" is pleased to call them, say this debt must be paid by the different Counties to which the Members belong.

The majority of the House, and a large proportion of the Inhabitants of the Province, recommend and contend for the good old way, the established mode of payment out of the Public Treasury, which is the mode in Nova-Scotia, and which was generally so when the present United States were His Majesty's Provinces.

"A Farmer upon the Long-Reach," among other of his assertions, insinuates, that if the present majority succeed in their claim, "the accumulation of Debt must be ere long discharged by a direct Tax upon the property of every Farmer and other Inhabitant of the Province."

Now Mr. Ryan, the state of the case is directly contrary.

The majority of the House insist, that this Debt shall be paid from the Public Treasury, out of monies arising from Duties laid on the Trade of the Province, while the Council and the "Independent Country Members" who support their claim, insist, that it shall be paid by the respective Counties.

It will not be denied that if it is paid by the Counties, the sum must be raised "by a direct Tax on the property of every Farmer and other Inhabitant of the Province."

Let us then enquire how large a sum the Council and "the Independent Country Members" want, to oblige the Counties to pay "by a direct Tax on their property."

At the end of the ensuing Session the Members will have attended five Winters, without being repaid any part of their expenses.

The annual attendance of each Member with the time required to travel to and from Fredericton, may be reckoned at least 90 days, at 7/6 per day, which amounts to £11:5:10 that the sum

actually expended by each Member at Fredericton, and in travelling to and from it, amounts during the five years; to £56:5.

The sums to be raised "by a direct Tax on the property of every Farmer and other Inhabitant of the Province," if the Council and their adherents succeed in their plan, will be as follows.—

In the County of York,	
4 Members, at £56:5	£225
In the County of Sun-	
bery, 2 ditto,	112:10
In Queen's County, 2 do.	112:10
In King's County, 2 do.	112:10
In the City and County	
of Saint John, 6 ditto,	337:10
In Westmorland County	
4 ditto,	225
In Charlotte County, 4 do.	225
In Northumberland County,	
2 ditto,	112:10

Amounting in all to £1462:10

Now Mr. Ryan, will any man attempt to assert, that these sums ought to be or can be raised by a Tax on the different Counties, and that they shall continue to be taxed in the same manner from year to year to reimburse the expenses of their Members.

I think none of "the Independent Country Members" with all their zeal for supporting the claim of a majority of the Council, will venture to bring in such a Bill to the House.

I really think hard of our "Independent Country Members" for joining in this plan of taxing the Counties.—

They should have considered that this Tax is a compulsory Tax, while the other compels no man to pay any part unless he chooses, for however contrary to what "a Farmer on the Long-Reach" asserts, it is a received and just maxim, that the Consumer eventually pays the Duty imposed on the articles consumed.—They should consider the Infant state of the Province.—That our present county Taxes are as large already as we can possibly pay.—They should consider that Cash is very scarce.—Indeed I really fear some of them will find it difficult to raise money to pay their quota of this Tax, if they succeed in bringing it upon us.

After all, I am well convinced some of them did not see through the matter, and of course did not think that voting as they did would bring a direct Tax upon us.—It is not yet too late.—I am therefore sure, such honest undesigning Members will join at the ensuing Session, in voting for payment of this just Debt in the good old way, out of the Public Treasury, the sure and only source from which it can be paid, without more or less discouragement or distress to every individual in the Province.

I am sorry to observe from "a Farmer upon the Long-Reach" an attempt to make a distinction between the different descriptions of His Majesty's subjects in this Province, by insinuating that the Merchants are hostile to the Farming interest.—Such contracted ideas may be proper enough to come from an usurping French Divan, who with equal rancor and sincerity have declared,—"Britons we abhor you—you are a nation of Shop-keepers—your ancestors sold Bulls hides and Shoes"—but they ill become a man who has had the honor to live any time in the enlightened county of King's.

It is with equal regret, that I observe he wishes to reflect on the Importers of dutiable articles, as mercenarily wishing to put money in their pockets at the expense of the Province.

From the foregoing statement I flatter myself it will be found, that the gentlemen in general in trade, Members of the House, have been anxious to prevent a direct Tax, while those who are called by "a Farmer on the Long-Reach, Independent Country Members," have assiduously endeavoured to introduce it.—And I believe it has been observed, that those gentlemen in trade, who are Members of the House, without a single exception, have at all times come forward to point out the articles of importation on which duties could be laid with the least injury to the poorer class of the community, and have always been the first to vote the full amount of the supplies necessary to discharge the debts of the Province.

Every description of Inhabitants in this Province are interested in its welfare, and as no one description of them

can live and thrive without the other. Let us not give way to groundless jealousies, but all join in anxious endeavors to support our envied constitution, and in aiding (as far as our slender abilities will admit) our Parent State in her glorious struggle for the liberties of the world.

AN ELECTOR,

24th December, 1798.

FOR THIS GAZETTE.

To A Farmer on the Long Reach.

SIR,

YOUR address to the Inhabitants of King's County, inserted in Mr. Ryan's paper of the 21st instant, I have read with attention, and am led to make a few remarks upon it. You complain that by the unwarrantable proceeding of the House of Assembly in taxing the Appropriation Bill to the Revenue, which the Council have thought proper to reject, the Province has been deprived of a Revenue for three years; and that instead of flowing into the public Treasury, where it ought to have gone, it has been pocketed by the dealers in, what you call, dutiable articles. That in consequence of these measures a heavy debt is accumulating, for the discharge of which, burdensome taxes on the landed property must ere long be imposed; and therefore you strenuously exhort your fellow countrymen to petition the Legislature to pass a Revenue Bill separate from and independent of Appropriation.

I begin with your position that, while no Revenue Law exists, the duties that were formerly levied on various commodities go into the pockets of the dealers in those articles. I am either unable to comprehend this doctrine, or if I do, it is most erroneous—for according to this mode of reasoning, it was the importer or dealer in the dutiable goods, and not the consumer, who paid all the duties that have ever been raised in the Province—which is certainly not true. Supposing the Legislature should see proper to lay a tax of 2/6 on every cord of fire wood brought into the harbor of Saint John, would it not come out of the pockets of those who burn the wood? There is not a Boatman on the Reach that would hesitate a moment on the question.—And because Rum and other articles have been higher of late years than formerly, does it follow that the former duties are included in the price? Such logic would disgrace an Indian! That the consumer pays all duties is a general maxim that admits of few exceptions. Indeed it would be unjust were it otherwise, and in the opinion of the ablest Financiers all taxes on commodities that do not ultimately fall upon the consumer are both impolitic and oppressive. In the case of smuggling indeed, the interest of the Revenue and fair trader are sacrificed, and the higher the duties, the greater the encouragement to prosecute illicit trade.

But good Sir, as you seem to disapprove of the Members of Assembly receiving any pay, and we have been told from high authority that they never will be allowed any, whence is this mighty debt, which gives you so much uneasiness, to arise? The charge for attending and accommodating the Legislative Body is the principal debt we know of, and for that purpose there was sufficient in the Treasury, if I am not misinformed, to pay off the whole prior to last Session. So if the pay of the Members be discontinued, our taxes need be very light.

However much we may lament the disagreement that has so long subsisted between two Branches of the Legislature, it affords consolation to every well-wisher to the Province, that no inconvenience has been felt by the Inhabitants in general; on the contrary, since the commencement of these disputes, landed property has increased in value to a great degree, an unequivocal proof of prosperity in any Country: I do not say that the state of Provincial politics has been the cause of this increase, but it is fair to suppose that as no part of the produce of private industry has been withdrawn for public purposes, the general advancement of the Country has been thereby accelerated. The laws already in force are in most cases sufficient for the infant state of the Colony—and