

accorded, from time to time, as they demanded them and were deemed fit for them, a greater or less share of representative institutions, of freedom, of self-government. Indeed, no one can survey the condition of the British Empire in this particular regard, without being convinced, not merely that a cast-iron system, applicable to all the dependencies, is impossible, but that the various dependencies of the Empire present, in their conditions and circumstances, in the character as well as the number of their populations, a problem which must be a changing problem from day to day, or at any rate from decade to decade—that one community may in its circumstances and situation, be fit for a greater, another for a less, another, as yet, for no share of self-government at all; and, therefore, taken as a whole, the relation of the Empire to its dependencies must be one of flux, of change, of progress, just as in earlier days, in those days which preceded Confederation, the relation between United Canada and the two parts of United Canada, Upper and Lower Canada, though in form original, was, in its substance and its practical working, an approach and struggle towards the adoption of a federative system—under great difficulties, in a most imperfect form of development, contrary to the letter as well as contrary to what one would suppose to be the spirit of the constitution; but, Sir, the feelings and wishes of the people, their condition, and their sentiments overcame to a considerable extent all these difficulties. And if you look to the form, if you look to the question raised with reference to double majorities, if you look upon the system upon which matters peculiar, or thought to be peculiar, to the people of each Province were disposed of in the joint Legislature, you see a struggle however imperfect, in the days which preceded that Confederation, for that which was a more equitable condition of affairs than that of a legislative Union, the struggle towards the adoption of a Federal system. So here, with reference to the relation of the Empire to the colonies which are capable of self-government, you observe, not in terms, not written in a book, not declared in a formal Act of Government, but none the less substantial, none the less palpable, none the less plain, anomalous it may be, with defects, laxes, deficiencies, with excrescences, with many difficulties, but still you observe the struggle towards a federative system. In the essence of a federative system is the recognition in part of a great community which is for some purposes united—of the existence of separate rights and interests, political and otherwise in different parts of that political community to be disposed of, handled and controlled by the local bodies. And it is this application of that portion of the Federal system to which I refer, when I say that of late years it has witnessed, and in no case so markedly as in our own, a marked development. What in the case of our part of the Empire may be the exact range of the subjects committed to the charge of the local community—what may be the divisions of powers, what may be the limitations upon the rights of local government, these are questions which you cannot answer precisely. The answer varies from year to year, and from generation to generation, and to this question the same answer cannot be returned in the case, perhaps, of any two dependencies. A different answer will probably be returned at one part to that which would be fitly returned to another dependency. Applying these general propositions to the condition of the country, I say that this proves the existence of those conditions which indicate the conclusion that there is no dependency of the Empire entitled to such a proper measure of self-government as Canada. Take simply the question of our number. We number over 4,000,000, a very important number. counted only by the head, which is able to exert an important influence upon affairs abroad, and able to maintain itself in the vigorous state of self-government at home. But I count it not by the head only; but in the quality, and

conditions which we fulfil, which in a certain sense enhance our actual number. This is no community such as that other great dependency of the Empire, Hindostan India, with its many millions, who are all of them incapable of and unaccustomed to self-government, who are governed still, for their own good it is true, despotically and as a conquered country. We are 4,000,000 of Frenchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Germans, instructed in, trained in the right of self-control and of self-government. Educated with the system of primary education of which we have just cause to be proud; having learned through trials and difficulties, but, as we have good cause to know substantially, the great lesson which ought to be apprehended from the true consideration of civil and religious liberty; having struggled in the past for that measure of rights which we thought we were entitled to, and having won them, proved our capacity for the self-government accorded to. So with reference to territorial extension. The vastness of our area is such—even if it were wholly, as its in the largest part, unpeopled—as to attract the attention of the world. It is as yet, in its greatest expanse, unpeopled. But there is there a source of wealth, of strength, of power, of capacity, of progress and development which places us even with our number of 4,000,000, in a position infinitely superior to that which we would occupy had we 4,000,000 of people cribbed, cabined and confined, within some contracted sphere and without those possibilities of development and of enlisting additional strength from the world at large, which are due to the vast territories we control. So with reference to the form of our government, which, so far as it is a local government, presents an *imperium in imperio*, which shows here a state with its central part, dealing with those concerns common to the vast territory comprised in different Provinces and dependencies of the Dominion—which shows no less an exemplification of the Federal system in no less than seven Provinces of greater or lesser dimensions, already existing, and which exhibits one of the proudest attributes which can belong to a free people, the capacity and power of creating fresh Provinces from time to time out of the unpeopled territories of the North-West. So, again, with reference to the variety of our important interests—our agricultural, our lumbering, our fishing, our mining, our manufacturing, our commercial interests, all important, many of them largely developed now—our maritime interest, also largely developed now—many of them with a capacity for growth and extension. And so again with relation to our responsibility, including the development of our North-West Territories—responsibility especially great with reference to the circumstance that we are neighbors to the great republic to the south, with a frontier common to both countries of 3,000 miles—naturally involving us, whatever the form may be, practically in the responsibility of the conduct of those affairs, of the management of those affairs arising out of so close contact along such an extended line of two people having so many mutual relations—the true management of which may tend to the perpetuation of cordial relations—of relations of which it is of consequence, not merely to us, but to the people at large, should be, and continued to be, of the most cordial character. Our possibilities under these circumstances are great. The possibilities, not yet developed, the expectation which, we may fairly entertain, if only prudence, firmness, and wisdom should guide our relations, are such as we have a right to be proud of. But, Sir, our developments must be not merely material. It consists not merely in an addition to our territory, to our population, or to our wealth. It must consist also in the development of the moral, intellectual and political character of the community. And as it must, so it has been. We have from time to time received a greater measure and exercised a greater measure of power and control over affairs corresponding to our increased growth and