

point, that on account of the diversity of provinces, races, religions and of the various groups that we have in Canada, it is better to submit all such differences for final adjudication to an outside tribunal, independent of prejudices as between province and province, religion and religion, or race and race. But again I repeat what I have said on previous occasions, that we shall not develop in this country a true national spirit, superior to all provincial, religious and racial prejudices, until we have faith enough in ourselves to think we are capable of administering our own laws. I shall not go into detail, but the history of our various inter-provincial, inter-racial, or even, if you like, inter-sectarian quarrels, which have gone before the courts, demonstrate that at times good and bad judgments have been rendered, from the various points of view of those who look upon those judgments or have felt their effects, either in Quebec or Toronto or Winnipeg, or in Ottawa in the supreme court, or in London. The privy council has not hesitated at times to give a rather queer interpretation of the law and the constitution in order, probably, in their view, to appease certain difficulties. But I think that any fair-minded and well-informed legal man will admit that those judgments of the privy council were neither better informed nor more judicial than the judgments of the Supreme Court of Canada in respect of those matters. But in regard to this, as well as in regard to the constitution, without doing away with the safeguards that are contained therein and have resulted from the jurisprudence, somewhat contradictory at times, either in Canada or elsewhere, I will repeat what I have said with regard to the question of appeals to the privy council.

The constitution of Canada will be more respected by all classes in Canada when our people realize they are the complete masters of their own fate, and that they may have peace when they want to have peace. There will never be a true feeling of self-respect, a true national spirit, so long as in the various provinces of Canada men of different races or creeds will, either with their eyes open or blindly, give way to this childish feeling: We may have our little troubles, we may have quarrels as between ourselves, but ultimately they will be settled because there is a constitution over which we have no power and we may depend upon the Imperial parliament not to disturb it. I claim, first, that this is not a healthy feeling, or a state of things constitutionally, legally, nationally or

[Mr. Bourassa.]

even sentimentally proper to make of us a self-respecting nation, and that we should instil into the minds of all classes in Canada the thought that in order to have peace at home we must, first, act according to the great tenets of justice which are far superior to any statute or constitution, whether Imperial or national, and secondly, that those safeguards in the constitution must be preserved by the conscience of the people of Canada and not by the dictates of a tribunal or parliament in England.

I go further, sir. I say that the more we are masters in our own house, the more exclusive the control we exercise over our constitution, our laws and our judiciary, the more will we be respected by the people of England and the people of other dominions, and the more will we be in a position to deal with them, either on tariffs or any other matters. I am not a flatterer of the British people any more than of other peoples. Certainly they have their defects and shortcomings; they have committed their full share of national crimes and blunders just as all nations have. Fortunately there is no nation of supermen on this globe of ours. There is one characteristic of the British nation, however, which it attained during its long run in history and has attached me to its institutions and its traditions in spite of the difference of temperament, in spite of the fact that, for many years I have at times criticized almost every group of men who happened to be in power in England. That feature is that under normal circumstances the British is the one European nation which responds most instinctively to any act of self-respect on the part of a small people. They have no consideration for self-willing slaves. They may have more consideration for a subdued people upon whom they have imposed their laws and their conquest, and who endeavoured to break the yoke, as the Irish nation did for about six hundred years.

Go to London to-day, sir, either in those days when all the representatives of the various dominions gather together, or at any other time, and what will you find? You will find that the respect of the various classes of English people has grown towards the people of the various dominions in proportion to the assertion by each of those dominions of its will to rule itself. At the time of the conference of 1926 I happened to be in London—not as a member of the conference, of course. I went to see some of my old friends there, some Tory imperialists and some radicals—because I have friends on both sides. I shall