as we might, and do what we might for the people's good we could not gain their confidence because we are not directly responsible to them. And the hon member sympathized with us for the position! Now, sir, if it be true, as he says, that the government have not the confidence of the community when, he says, they deserve it, whose is the fault? I say, sir, it is the fault of those who, by voice and pen, have for years sedulously prejudiced the public mind of this community against that government, not by pointing out faults to be remedied but by general and indiscriminate fault finding, descending to personal abuse, and even to the verge of scurrility. We have striven to do our duty. Hon members do not advance arguments but content themselves with saying that we are unpopular. I tell you why; if false impressions have gone abroad on this point let the responsibility of those impressions rest where it ought, for I say that it has been the business of certain persons to prejudice the public mind against government officials; let them settle the question of motives with their own consciences and with the people. If the officials in this House occupied the positions which would be held by officials under party government, I could understand the persistent course of opposition offered by some members present; but when I see the changed position, that there is no responsible government, and that our mouths are closed and our pens cannot be used in self defence, I feel that we have been struck in a cowardly manner, and let the public defend the motives of those who have attacked us. I invite all in this House or out of it to aid us to carry out the government, and to act in a reasonable way in promoting the general interests of the colony. Whether we are to have responsible government or not I don't know. I feel that it will come in good time, when the circumstances of the colony are so changed as to admit of its adoption—I think sooner with Confederation than without it—but whether we have it or not, I ask hon members to assist us instead of endeavoring to complicate matters and retard the progress of the colony. I ask them to give us some credit for good intentions. Now, sir, one remark in conclusion: the hon member for New Westminster, in his powerful oration has not only allured us with the prospects of popularity under responsible government but he has, I will not say threatened, but warned us of the result of our opposing him in this matter. He tells us that unless responsible government be conceded the cause of Confederation will be ruined, that the people would not have Confederation without responsible government, this in fact is embodied in the preamble of his resolution. Sir, I have cordially supported Confederation because I honestly believe that it will be for the benefit of the local interests of this community as well as for the security and consolidation of imperial interests; but I believe that this community is not ready for responsible government; I will not therefore do what I consider wrong that good may come, I will not vote for responsible government for the sake of gaining Confederation. I, for one, say, if the people won't have Confederation without responsible government, if they regard responsible government as the main object of Confederation, if they do not appreciate the real advantages of Confederation, let Confederation wait a while. The Governor has sent down resolutions which he thinks can be carried out, and we hold that whether under Confederation or not, this matter of responsible government will ultimately have to be settled by the vote of the people. When the proper time comes we shall, I say, as a matter of course, have responsible government, and that time will arrive sooner under Confederation than without it. I trust the Dominion Government; I do not think they will go against the will of the people. I believe that in this, as in other matters, if they exercise influence at all, it will be for the good of the country. A government of liberal institutions cannot be expected to oppose the wishes of the people in proper and reasonable matters. Responsible government ought not to be a condition of Confederation, and I say that in these resolutions it is very properly left to be settled hereafter and more fully by the representative Council which the Governor has told us he is going to obtain imperial sanction to establish. But if Confederation is to depend on this question of responsible government then I say let it be the test also of the reality of the supporters of Confederation.

Hon Mr Robson—I expect the privilege of a general reply, but I desire to explain now, that the Hon. Chief Commissioner has made an unfair use of what I said about "horny hands and patched garments." I disclaim having used it in the connection attributed to me, his remarks are unfair.

Hon Mr Walkem—I think on an important question of this kind every member should give a reason for his vote. I have given the matter great consideration, and had intended entering somewhat fully into the discussion, but the Hon. Chief Commissioner has anticipated me. I have been utterly astonished as I listened to what fell from him. I entirely coincide with him in his argument and in his views. Indeed, I can hardly help thinking that either he has copied my notes or his. I must congratulate myself on coming to this conclusion. On the same ground I congratulate the House on the good temper, good taste intelligence and ability with which this question has been launched for discussion. The main speech for the honorable member for Victoria District did not deign to express his views, has been that of the honorable member for New Westminster. As I listened to that speech, sir, one of the best ever uttered in this House, I almost felt that for five long years I had been wrong, he almost made a convert of me, but upon looking a little more closely into it, I find that it is based upon false premises; his arguments are fallacious, and his conclusions wrong. The honorable member says that responsible government is a principle which may be applied either to the Great Eastern or to a dairy churn, or to a lady's watch; that it is a principle capable of being carried out by three, or three hundred. This is utterly incorrect; it is not a principle but a form, one element of which is responsibility to the people. It is a form adopted by the people but it does not follow as a matter of induction that it can be used or carried out in every place or by every community. In 1837 the rebellion in Canada for the purpose of acquiring responsible Government took place. The rebellion was raised and the question agitated simply for changing the form of Government. What was the population? It was in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 in 1837, and of 2,500,000 in 1861. Look at the difference of the population of this colony, after deducting the aliens and females, there is scarcely a voting population through the whole colony of 3,000. Have the whole country mapped out and show me how much further the Governor can go in usefully extending the representation. We have nine members, and out of these nine, under responsible Government, we should have to elect a Colonial Secretary, an Attorney General, a Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and probably two other Cabinet Ministers, altogether five in office and four struggling for power. Make the whole number eighteen and you then have a constant struggle for power, a struggle such as we have not had in this colony before, and such as I hope we shall not see. There are virtually two ends of the colony which represent all the wealth and property of the community, Victoria and Cariboo. Cariboo would be contending for the repeal of road tolls, and Victoria would be contending that they ought to be paid. It may be said that these general questions of taxation will be left to the Dominion Government, but there are many other subjects which will create differences between the two ends of the colony. The honorable member for New Westminster says if we go in without responsible Government we shall go in with agitation. Does any one believe that if we had responsible Government to-morrow, politicians will have no subject on which to agitate? Political agitation will never cease. Let us go further. As the honorable Chief Commissioner says we have the United States advocating responsible Government, and that form of it which is said to be the best in theory, a form in reality democratic, but the people are not educated to the extent of the principle itself. Americans are averse not only to granting small but large territories, the freedom which we now ask. They say, 'You shall be a Territory until you are properly educated.' For instance, there is Washington Territory, with a population of 27,000, sends a Delegate to Congress, who has no vote. Dakota, another Territory has been refused admission as a State until it has a population larger than it now possesses. I am just reminded about Alaska, which is not even a territory yet. General Thomas reported against giving it any other than a military form of Government. How can we then expect responsible Government with our population. I know that there are honorable members wavering; their interests tells them to vote one way, their conscience points to another. I say, vote according to your conscience. I say that a village can never have responsible Government. I maintain that it would prove a curse through the agitation that would follow instead of a blessing. I coincide with the honorable member for New Westminster as to what he says as to callous hands. I believe there are men with tattered garments in the upper country quite capable of giving a sensible vote upon all questions likely to come before a Council in this colony, but we find that they have too much to do, they have no time for politics, they have to earn their own bread. I believe that the honorable member for Cariboo has uttered the true sentiments of the great majority of the district. I do not believe that Cariboo is favorable to responsible Government. These gentlemen with the patched garments and callous hands have the same opportunity that the member for New Westminster has had of coming into the House. He has told us with pride of his hard work as a pioneer on the Fraser river, and to-day we hear him advocating with most eloquent language, his views upon this great question. His voice has had much to do with shaping the councils of this House, and I ask, are these doors shut to any man in the colony of equal talent with the honorable gentleman who can be found willing to devote their time to the service of their country? I do not feel in the servile position of being obliged to vote one way or the other. I am as free to vote as the honorable member himself. I shall give my vote to the best of my ability. I believe that no compulsion has been brought to bear upon any member of this House, official or otherwise. The latter part of the speech of the honorable gentleman (Mr Robson) is hardly worthy of the former. It contains language which I am very sorry he has used, language which makes me believe that it is not from conviction, but that it is intended to go forth to the world to stir up the people; excellent stump oratory, if, without intending the slightest disrespect I may use the term. I believe it is not the wish of the property owners of Victoria to have responsible Government. Do you suppose, sir, that property owners are going, willingly, to intrust their interests to persons of whom they know nothing? I do not decry professional politicians, I believe they are as useful as any other professional men in their way, but I say, as a fact, there are no politicians here with the exception of those who have devoted their time to politics. Why, I ask, is there so great an antipathy to leaving this question for the people to decide at the polls? "Give us," says the other side, "an opportunity of educating ourselves, so that our mistakes, when made, may be remedied." I say that there is no better education than this Council in which honorable members have education before they come to responsible Government, for under the scheme foreshadowed by the Governor, the position will be very little inferior to responsible Government. Depend upon it, if the Canadian Government think we can manage responsible Government they will give it to us, they will be glad to get rid of the question. I say, however, this question is being agitated at an inopportune time. I, for one would not consent to trust my interests to any such change. I do not believe in the present form of Government, but if the form foreshadowed by the Governor be carried out, it will give the people a system very little inferior, as I have said, to responsible Government, and infinitely more workable. I trust that honorable members will give due weight to the remarks of other speakers who have preceded me upon this question, and will well consider their votes.

Hon Mr Drake—Mr Chairman, I have a strong objection to this clause being inserted; it never ought to have been in the terms. It presumes that this colony is willing to go into Confederation with the form of Government that we have at present; it seems to have been put in as a sop to Canada; it ought to have been left out. I cannot see why it was inserted, or what advantage it can possibly be to us. If we go into Confederation bound hand and foot with the same form of government as now, we shall have no power to change the form. We shall then have Canada as a Queen Regnant; we shall then have an Executive who will if so directed, vote against responsible government. This colony would be a preserve for Canadian statesmen and Canadian patronage; we shall be no more advanced then than now. Without going into argument I may be pardoned, I trust, if I quote three propositions of John Stuart Mill on responsible government. First, 'Do the people require it; or are they unwilling to accept it?' We are told that this has not been made a question; I deny this statement. It has been made a question, more or less, in Victoria at every election; every election depends more or less on this point. Second, 'Are the people willing to take the burdens which are imposed on them by such a form?' I say that we have the answer to this proposition in the fact of there being people willing to come here where they are practically useless. Do not persons come forward to represent the people? A very large majority of the people take part in every election. Third, 'Are the people willing and able to do that which will enable the government to perform its functions properly?' This I contend is the condition of the colony. The main argument of the Chief Commissioner in his very able speech, a broad argument and very well put is that the population is scattered. I say this argument cannot be used with effect. We are told that the Government would fall into the hands of Victoria as the centre of population and wealth; no great harm if it did. Victoria is dependent upon all parts of the colony and they on her; the interests are identical. Another objection that has been raised is that we cannot get men of proper intelligence and qualifications for