

North America Act. In fact, since the very beginning of the struggle of our forefathers for the establishment of a responsible government in this country, it has been contended that the representation of the country in parliament should be based on territorial divisions known as provinces.

Even under the union government of 1840 the representation in the parliament established for the two Canadas together was based on the two previous provinces, that is, Upper Canada and Lower Canada. At that time, in spite of the protest from Lower Canada, the same number of representatives was allotted to the two provinces; notwithstanding the fact that the population of Upper Canada was much less than the one in Lower Canada.

The period of 1847 to 1867 is remarkable for the struggles of Papineau, Lafontaine, William Lyon Mackenzie, Baldwin and Howe, in favour of the establishment of responsible government.

I wish to cite here a page of that most remarkable book of the joint law clerk of the house, Doctor Maurice Ollivier, entitled "Problems of Canadian Sovereignty", page 7 of the introduction:

From 1840 until now, Canada and the other possessions have struggled without cease in favour of autonomy. The inauguration of the period of responsible government in 1848 at the time of the reorganization of the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry, the putting of tariff barriers on British merchandise in 1859 by Sir John A. Macdonald, the struggles and successes of Cartier, Macdonald and Blake, at the moment of confederation and during the years which followed, all the questions relating to the right of the dominion to govern itself without the intervention of the mother country are highlights, at the end of the second period, of our progress towards independence.

From 1867 to the present day, there must be noted also the series of events either relating to the powers of the governor general or to our right to negotiate our own treaties, or to adopt, without external intervention, the legislation required in this country. The progress accomplished is reflected and recognized in the course of the diverse colonial conferences from 1907 to 1930.

A few years before confederation, namely, around 1862, the people of Upper Canada, desiring more and more the full enjoyment of responsible government, started to make representations to the effect that the mode of representation in parliament, which had been established by the Union Act of 1840, should be changed on account of the continuous increase of population in that part of the country; they had come to the point where the population of Upper Canada outnumbered that of Lower Canada. Then they conceived the idea of another constitution, and in 1864 a convention was held in Charlottetown for the purpose of studying the project of a new constitution.

[Mr. Dorian.]

This convention was soon followed by another one in Quebec, where seventy-two resolutions were adopted to be used as a basis for the future constitution. It is noticeable that at each of these conventions every decision reached was on the basis of territorial divisions known as provinces.

Out of the seventy-two Quebec resolutions, one may notice that six of them had reference to the representation in the House of Commons, and it never was in anyone's mind that this representation should be established on another basis than the provincial. Therefore we must admit that at the very beginning of the discussions relevant to the representation in the House of Commons, nothing but a provincial representation was considered. This gives the people of this country the right to see to it that, in this parliament, each province is represented in proportion to its population as enacted in the British North America Act.

Two years later, in 1866, the representatives of the Canadian provinces gathered in London, where new resolutions were drafted based on the Quebec resolutions. There again one may notice that special consideration was given by all the representatives to the representation in the House of Commons by provinces, and again we do not observe that there was any discussion on this matter. Everyone knows that these London resolutions were used as the basis of the British North America Act.

It is worth while here to draw attention to the preambles of the Quebec and the London resolutions which read as follows. Quebec resolutions:

Report of resolutions adopted at a conference of delegates from the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the colonies of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, held at the city of Quebec, October 10, 1864, as the basis of a proposed confederation of those provinces and colonies.

London resolutions:

Resolutions adopted at a conference of delegates from the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, held at the Westminster Palace hotel, London, December 4, 1866.

This goes to prove that the statement who drafted these resolutions were essentially representatives of the several provinces of Canada and not the representatives of Canada as a whole.

After having finally agreed on the terms of the new constitution, the British North America Act of 1867 was adopted by the British House of Commons on the 29th of March, 1867. Here again it is very important to look at the preamble of this act, which reads as follows:

Whereas the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united into one dominion