

country which is composed of a confederacy. I say that if the fathers of Confederation had adopted the proposition I now submit, an easy solution of the problem would have been at once arrived at. During the discussion, Sir Alexander Campbell, whom we all remember so well, gave precisely those reasons which will answer as a reply to the question which my hon. friend from Lunenburg has asked me, why the upper House did not continue to be elected by the people:

"The main reason which has induced the conference to determine as they have done in the constitution of the upper House," said Sir Alexander Campbell, "was to give each of the Provinces adequate security, which it was feared might not be found in a House where the representation was based on numbers only, as would be the case in the General Assembly."

And Sir John Macdonald adds this:

"To the upper House is to be confided the protection of sectional interests; therefore, it is that the great divisions are equally represented for the purpose of defending such interests against the combinations of majorities in the Assembly. It will, therefore, become the interest of each section to be represented by its very best men."

We see by these declarations that the upper House was intended to represent the Provinces and sectional interests. I say that the election of Senators by Local Legislatures would precisely have met these views, and to day, under that system, we would command an influence which, we must admit, we do not now command in the country.

We should now look to what has been done in other countries. We have, since half a century, seen responsible government established in most civilized countries, both in Europe and on this continent. We find in most of those countries, especially in Europe, an upper and a lower Chamber, except, I believe in Greece and in Norway, and in none of those countries, who have copied their constitutions more or less closely from the constitution of Great Britain and of the United States, will you find a nominative body composing the upper House.

HON. MR. DICKEY—Nor responsible government.

HON. MR. POIRIER—I beg my hon. friend's pardon: responsible government exists in most of the countries of Europe now.

HON. MR. DICKEY—Does it?

HON. MR. POIRIER—I believe, with the exception of Russia and what now remains of European Turkey, that responsible government is to be found in every country in Europe.

HON. MR. DICKEY—And Spain, and Italy, and Germany?

HON. MR. POIRIER—Yes, in Spain, in Italy and, to a great extent, in Germany also. Responsible government exists in every country in Europe except in those two I have mentioned. If you look at the constitution of those countries—and the wisdom of the countries surrounding us ought to have some weight with us—you will find that in confederated countries the upper House is elected by the different Provinces; and in countries that are homogenous they have a special electorate, of a second degree, but in no country is there an upper House nominated by the Crown. I will go further: I call the attention of the hon. gentleman from Amherst to the fact that even in England now the tendency is practically to have the upper Chamber not nominative, but elective. In Sweden the members of the upper House, 143 in number, are elected, according to the last adjustment, by the provincial and urban councils, the 24 "landstings" and the four chief municipalities. In Spain the Senate includes, first, Senators by right, viz:—the sons of the King, the grandees of Spain, &c.; second, Senators nominated by the Crown—which must belong to a certain privileged class, and third, elected Senators. Nine of these are chosen by the clergy, six by the academies, ten by the universities, five by the economical societies, and one hundred and fifty by the provincial deputies and municipal delegates (electoral law of 1877.)

In Roumania, a new country that had the benefit of the experience of other nations, the Senate is composed of 120 members elected by two colleges in each electoral district, viz:—by two classes of franchise holders.

In Portugal the revision of 1878 authorized the King to appoint life peers; but the constitution was amended in 1885 so as to convert the hereditary into a representative upper Chamber, as was done here in 1856, and as will be done here when my motion is carried into effect.

In Holland the first Chamber of the States-General, which is equal to our