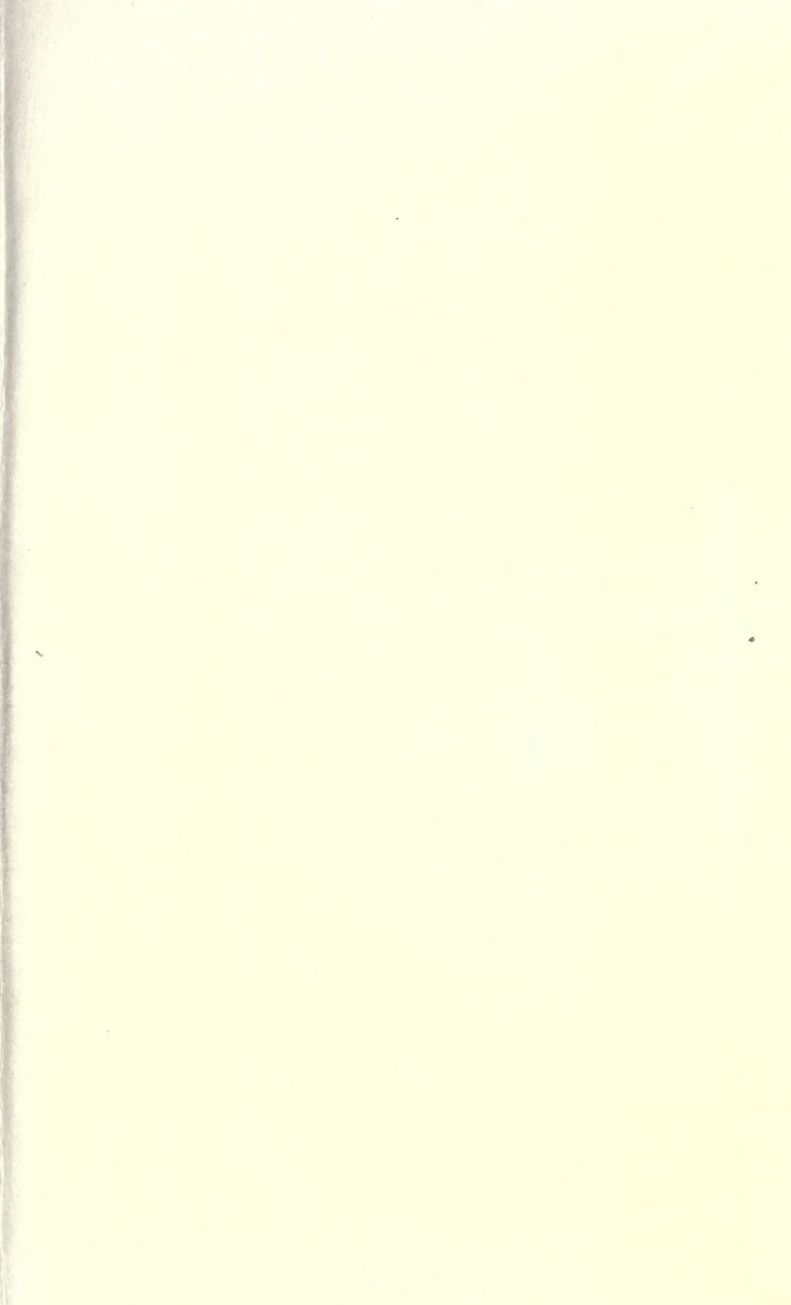


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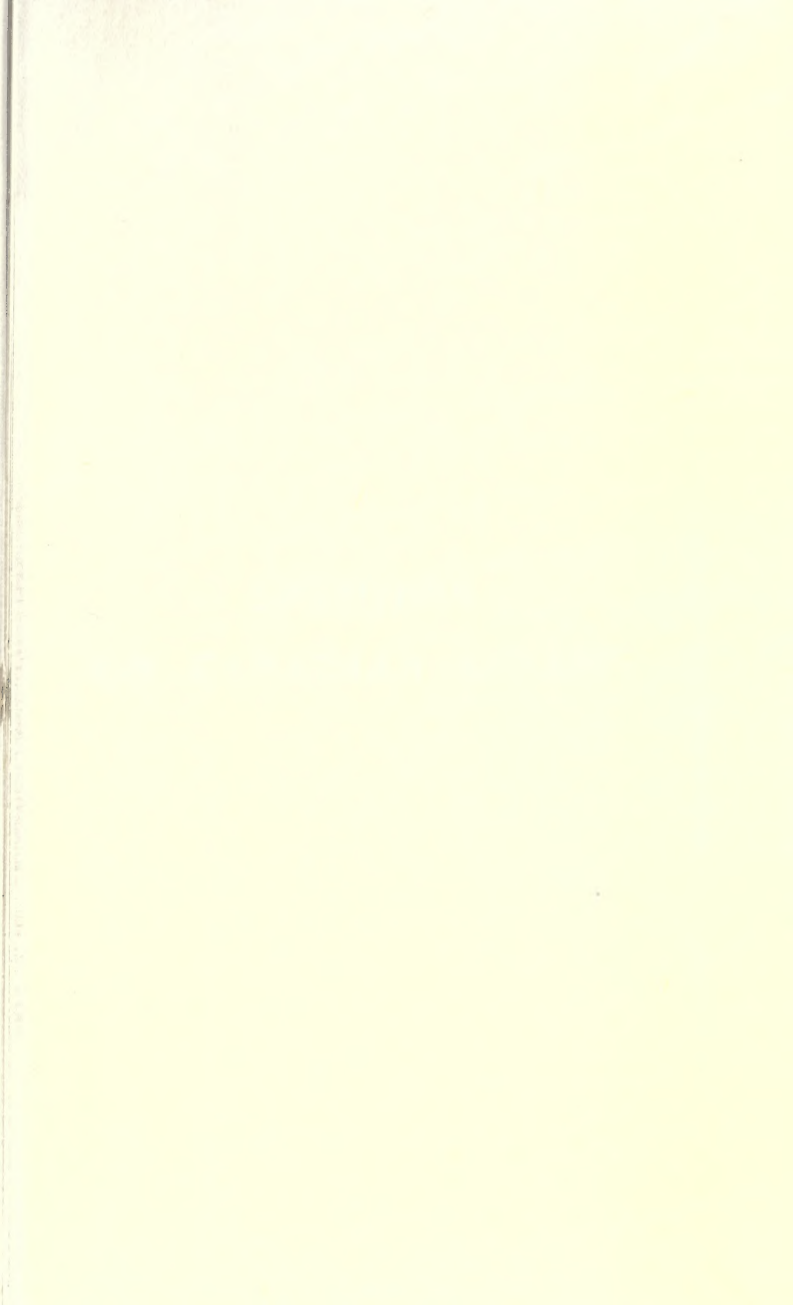


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SPEECHES  
ON CANADIAN AFFAIRS





SPEECHES ON  
CANADIAN AFFAIRS

BY HENRY HOWARD MOLYNEUX,  
FOURTH EARL OF CARNARVON

EDITED BY

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TO HIS SONS

AUBREY AND MERVYN.



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THE DOMINION OF CANADA . . . . . *At the end*

SPEECHES  
ON  
THE AFFAIRS OF CANADA.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE publication at the present time of the speeches brought together in this volume will, it is hoped, commend itself as opportune to those (and they are very numerous) who are watching with keen interest the building of the second great confederation within the British Empire.

An important part of Lord Carnarvon's public life was spent in assisting the constitutional and political development of Canada, and the records of the early days of the Dominion necessarily throw an interesting and instructive side-light upon the similar Australian enterprise of to-day.

On the principal page of the later history of Canada his name, it is well known, is indelibly written. It was his privilege, as Secretary of

State for the Colonies, to conduct to a successful issue, in 1867, the negotiations by which the Canadian Provinces, till then disunited and comparatively feeble, were consolidated into a powerful and conspicuously loyal unit of the Empire. He it was who had to commend to Parliament the important measure which conferred upon the people of Canada very wide powers of independent self-government, under conditions preserving to them a close connexion with the mother country.

The earlier stages of these complicated negotiations had been under the able control of Mr. Cardwell, who, however, was not destined to bring them very far on the road towards completion. It was fortunate for Canada, as well as for Lord Carnarvon, that, on the change of Administration in 1866, the succession to Mr. Cardwell devolved upon one who, with Imperial sympathies and ambitions broader and higher than those of most statesmen of the day, had, from his earliest introduction to public affairs, been attracted to a special study of Canada and its needs and capabilities.

The delegates from the Canadian Provinces quickly recognised that in Lord Carnarvon their conferences had a President not only able to hold the balance fairly as between conflicting local claims, but also impressed with a sincere belief



in the wisdom of satisfying legitimate national aspirations by a really liberal concession of self-government—always consistently with due constitutional control.

Of the Constitution which was the result of this collaboration of Lord Carnarvon and the eminent Canadian statesmen who were associated with him, this is not the place to speak in detail. It has been fully analysed and explained by Sir John Bourinot and other publicists. It may be observed, however, that it has stood successfully for now more than thirty years the not inconsiderable strains which it was devised to bear. The Canadian Parliament and people have not only shown that they were rightly trusted to administer loyally a political *status* less resembling that of a dependency than of an independent state, they have shown also in a most remarkable manner that they could and would develop with signal energy and discretion the great social and physical potentialities committed to their charge.

Happily, Lord Carnarvon lived long enough to be rewarded, as far as his share in this movement was concerned, by the universal acknowledgment that these foundations had been "well and truly laid." Lord Dufferin, his brilliant friend, could say, so long ago as in 1874: "The entire Dominion has declared its faith in itself, in its destiny, in

its connexion with the mother country, and in the well-ordered freedom of a constitutional monarchy. . . . The legislation of the Parliament of Canada, the attitude of its statesmen, the language of its press, sufficiently show how firmly and intelligently its people are prepared to accept and apply the almost unlimited legislative faculties with which it has been endowed. . . . Never was Canada more united than at present in sympathy of purpose and unity of interest with the mother country, more at one with her in social habits and tone of thought, more proud to share in the heritage of England's past, more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed upon her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the Empire."

These eloquent words could be rightly used only seven years after the passing of the British North America Act of 1867; and the long lapse of twenty-seven more years, which have presented an unvarying record of continued loyalty, vigour, and self-reliance, has abundantly confirmed their truth.

The foundation of the Dominion of Canada and its progressive development are of special interest at the present time to students of the British constitution and of the subordinate Colonial constitutions established and to be established under the Crown. The Commonwealth

of Australia is being created under conditions and sanctions resembling in many respects those under which the Dominion of Canada came into being, yet differing in not a few material details.

If Lord Carnarvon had been spared—possessing as he did the full confidence of all enlightened Colonial statesmen—he would without doubt have been able to offer many valuable suggestions in regard to the provisions of “The Commonwealth of Australia Act.” And the distinguished Australian delegates who visited England in 1900, like the Canadian delegates of thirty-three years before, to assist Her Majesty’s Government and Parliament in framing a great and complicated measure of Imperial development, would no doubt have sought and found in his experience and sympathy most valuable co-operation.

While, if we look forward from the past and the present to that completion of the great Colonial trilogy of confederations which must be the work of the very early future, how full of resource Lord Carnarvon would have been if he had lived to take part in a second and a successful effort to achieve the union of South Africa under the British flag. How much, at any rate, should we have been spared if the former annexation of the Transvaal had been maintained, and the importance of bringing all the South African

Colonies and States under one Federal Administration had not been neglected in days when principles and details would have been easier of settlement.

Lord Carnarvon differed in two material respects from most of his predecessors in the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was among the first to have always present with him a strong and unquestioning belief in the value—to this country and to the Colonies equally—of Imperial expansion and cohesion. This sentiment is now no longer new, or the property of any individuals or party in the State. There are still, unfortunately, prominent men who, failing to apprehend the conditions of our Imperial existence, and the vital importance of one component part of the Empire to another, cry, despairing of the republic, “So loyal is too costly.” But no statesman, of whatever domestic political views, has during recent years served in the Colonial Office without addressing himself loyally and faithfully to the advancement of the Colonies as destined to remain integral parts of the British Empire.

The thoroughness of Lord Carnarvon’s conception of his duty was shown by the unprecedented extent to which he cultivated the private acquaintance of Colonial Governors and statesmen. These personal relations of the men with whom

he had to deal prevented much friction and delay.

He was the first, also, to verify his experience and impressions by forming a personal acquaintance with the principal countries and peoples lying within his sphere of work—and in this he still stands almost alone—visiting Canada in 1883, and Australia in 1888, "*mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes*," in each case travelling over much country and forming or renewing interesting friendships with leading men of all views and professions.

In all these journeys he was accompanied by his wife, Elisabeth Countess of Carnarvon, who has contributed largely to the arrangement of this work, and to the explanatory notices prefixed to the various subjects. Among the friends whose assistance has been valuable, thanks are specially due to Lord Thring, Sir George Sydenham Clarke, and Eveline Countess of Portsmouth.

The plan of this little book is a very simple one. The component parts are grouped according to their subjects, preserving, as far as possible, a chronological order; and they are strung together on a slight thread of narrative by which it is endeavoured to explain to those not specially familiar with Colonial affairs the leading circumstances connected with each case.

Although Lord Carnarvon's earlier parliamentary

utterances on Colonial affairs preceded by some years his first direct connexion with that branch of administration, they deserve perusal as showing that from the first his mind was turning itself towards those great Imperial matters in which he was destined to take a prominent part.

## DOMINION OF CANADA.

Province.	History.	Confederated.
QUEBEC (Lower Canada).	Discovered by S. Cabot, 1497; annexed by France, 1525; first settlement, 1608; taken by English under Wolfe, 1759; ceded to Great Britain under Treaty of Paris, 1763	1867
ONTARIO (Upper Canada).	Together with Quebec formed "Old Canada"; separated from Quebec with title of "Upper Canada," 1791 . . . . .	
NOVA SCOTIA.	Colonized by France, 1598; taken by English, 1627; restored to France, 1632; ceded to England under Treaty of Utrecht, 1713 .	
NEW BRUNSWICK.	A French possession during early part of 18th century; first colonized by British subjects, 1761; ceded to England, Treaty of Paris, 1763 .	
MANITOBA AND KEEWATIN.	Formerly known as Red River Settlement, belonging to Hudson's Bay Company . . . . .	
NORTH WEST TERRITORIES.	Formerly part of Hudson's Bay Company's territory; separated from Manitoba and Keewatin, 1876	1870
BRITISH COLUMBIA AND VANCOUVER.	Vancouver Island discovered, 1762; leased to Hudson's Bay Company, 1843; British Columbia and Vancouver united, 1866 . . .	1871
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.	Discovered, 1497; first settled by French but taken by British in 1758 . . . . .	1873
NEWFOUND- LAND.	Discovered by John Cabot, 1497; French and English Stations formed, 1620 and 1623; assigned to England, 1713, with fishery rights reserved to French.	





# SPEECHES ON CANADIAN AFFAIRS.

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## I.

### SPEECH IN MOVING THE ADDRESS IN REPLY TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH, 1854.

Those who read this speech to-day will not fail to observe that much of it, with but a few verbal alterations, is directly applicable to the circumstances of the present moment.

Again we have found ourselves face to face with war, and again England has thrown "her whole heart into the war," and "has shown that a long peace has not relaxed our national vigour any more than it has exhausted our national resources." "England is still rich enough to produce a new race of heroes equal to the past." In the West Indies a dawn of improvement again glimmers. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are indeed playing an important part in the history of the British Empire and of the world.

In this speech, Lord Carnarvon, though but 23 years of age, enunciated the principles which were the foundation of his political creed through life. His words express, briefly but exactly, at once the motive that impelled him, and the conclusions which, throughout his public career, he sought to reach.

“Progression and preservation,” as he observed towards the end of his speech, “are natural allies, and should go hand in hand.”

HOUSE OF LORDS. 30TH JANUARY, 1854.

The Queen's Speech having been read by the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Carnarvon rose to move an humble Address to Her Majesty, in answer to her gracious Speech from the Throne.

My Lords, in discharging this evening the responsible obligation which has been assigned to me, I most earnestly solicit your sympathy and indulgence for my unpractised and untried efforts, while I venture to call your Lordships' attention to the consideration of the Address which I shall have the honour of proposing in answer to Her Majesty's most gracious Speech. Arduous as the task must always be to break silence for the first time in such an assembly as this, it seems to me that present circumstances throw double difficulties upon me, when I recollect the perplexed aspect of foreign affairs, and the vastness of the questions upon which England is called to arbitrate. But although from this point of view there is much to excite apprehension, there is also, no doubt, much to gladden us in the retrospect of past years—much to cheer us in the vista which lies open before us, in the prospect of national prosperity and social improvement. For now nearly forty years we have enjoyed the fulness of peace,

and all its attendant blessings. Gradually during that period our colonial possessions and our Indian Empire have been enlarged. In India, Scinde and Burmah have been added to our sway, and even the exclusive cities of China have thrown open to us their gates, whilst the same success which has crowned our efforts abroad has smiled on our efforts at home. But now, after nearly forty years of peace and prosperity, at last it seems that we must gaze on war face to face. But if this be so indeed, we may console ourselves with the manly consolation that he comes to us an unbidden and unwelcome guest—that every effort has been strained to avert the catastrophe, and that we do not draw the sword till diplomacy has exhausted every art, and until forbearance would no longer be a virtue. But if our forbearance has been unprecedented, unprecedented, too, are the resources with which we are prepared to meet the emergency. Our patience, even if it has been abused, has not been thrown away; for we stand acquitted of all precipitancy or eagerness for war, not only before the great tribunal of the nations of the present day, but in the eyes of future generations when they shall review this page of history. Nor need we apprehend that the delay which has intervened can be attributed to any unworthy motive; for I am convinced that it has proceeded from an honourable reluctance to initiate a grave

and sanguinary contest—a reluctance which is alone the prerogative of a great country conscious of its own strength. And if, eventually, these delays should be crowned with the success they deserve, and a lasting peace be the reward of our endeavours, then the efforts which we have made for the continuance of that peace will be amply rewarded by the gratitude of the world, and we shall exhibit in history a second example in which a Fabian policy has been the restitution of the State. But should it be otherwise decreed, England is prepared to throw her whole heart into the war; and it will then be shown that a long peace has not relaxed our national vigour, any more than it has exhausted our national resources. Whatever the occasion may be, England is still rich enough to produce a new race of heroes equal to the past; and it will be seen that she is not wanting in another Wellington and another Beresford, another Exmouth and another Nelson, to shed lustre on her victorious arms; for wars there must be—

. . . “*erunt etiam altera bella,  
Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles.*”

I cannot believe that the energy which made them victorious in the past lies buried in the tomb of the great captain whose loss we even yet deplore; the army which he trained, the discipline which

he organised, the precepts which he gave, yet live among us. Amongst those precepts there is none which deserves fuller consideration at the present moment than his well-known maxim, that "a great state cannot afford to wage a little war," which teaches us not to waste our strength or to exhaust our resources on petty and insignificant enterprises; and that it is only by concentrating our power and resources, by energetic action and steady perseverance, that we can hope to secure that lasting peace which is so much to be desired. And let us here remember that in such a contest we do not draw the sword from any ambitious motive of our own, or from any punctilious scruples of honour, nor even to redress the wrongs of an Asiatic empire whose power some suppose to be now tottering to its ruin; but that we are contending for the highest of all objects that we could pursue—for the independence of nations, the maintenance of treaties, and the stability of that balance of power upon which our own preservation, and indeed civilisation itself, depends. And if there be one cause which can more than another inspire us with confidence in such a moment of doubt and anxiety, it is the union which has been firmly cemented between England and France. The sympathies and interests of two great nations, which have long been alienated by the animosities of centuries, have, I fervently hope, now been

cordially united and happily blended together, both by the claim under the European usage of the weak to be protected against the strong, and by the bond of our widely extended reciprocity in commerce. Long may this union continue to be inseparable by open violence or by secret intrigue! And if there be found a party whose fallen condition we may pity, but whose conduct we must censure, who seek to conciliate their own differences by a union against the harmony of England and France, we can rejoice that the good sense of both countries has unequivocally rejected such designs, and has recognised the principle that petty internal differences must yield before a great fusion of confederated nations.

I have trespassed, I fear, too long, my Lords, on your indulgence while reviewing the aspect of our foreign affairs; and I hasten to pass on to those domestic topics which are alluded to in Her Majesty's Speech. I am sure your Lordships will be happy to echo the sentiments of general congratulation which Her Majesty has expressed with regard to the prosperity of the country during the past year, in spite of many drawbacks—a prosperity greater than the most confident could have anticipated. The prospect of war has, indeed, clouded the more hopeful anticipations with which the last year was inaugurated. The failure of the harvest and the rise in the price of

provisions have, unquestionably, caused much distress, while the strikes among the operatives in many of our manufacturing towns have been productive of injury to the workers and of loss of capital. But, if these strikes have been injurious, we may reflect with pleasure on the conduct of the men in their self-imposed privations—that it has been singularly free from crime and from lawless violence; and we can only wonder that with so much rectitude of purpose such deep error of judgment should be combined. So, again, if the failure of the harvest has been great and depressing, we may admire the energy with which the agricultural classes have prepared to meet the emergency, and by calling in the aid of science have shown themselves to be capable of surmounting those difficulties which not unnaturally beset a period of transition from a restricted to an open system of trade. And also, thanks to the energy of that noble Lord, whose vigour and talent have been no less conspicuous in the Home Office than they were in the Foreign Office (Viscount Palmerston), many domestic improvements have been achieved: such as a more effective system of drainage, the cessation of intramural burials, and the establishment of sanitary commissions in various towns to promote the public health. The success of these and further measures in contemplation, for the consumption of smoke, and generally for the

purification of our towns, promise results no less conducive to the physical than to the moral well-being of the people. Neither can I omit to remind your Lordships of the rapid increase of the last year's revenue, the flourishing condition of our mercantile marine—though the supply of ships has hardly equalled the demand—the greater efficiency of the Army and Navy, the amended distribution of prize money to our sailors, and the general improvement in their prospects—measures not dictated as mere expedients for temporary purposes, but adopted from a sense of justice, and from an impartial consideration of admitted claims. While the amelioration of our laws and of the condition of all classes and interests has been great at home, the prospects of still further improvements in our position abroad are equally encouraging. In China, which already employs beneficially between thirty and forty millions of our commercial capital, a gigantic empire is apparently crumbling away to give fuller and freer scope to Anglo-Saxon energy and enterprise. In the West Indies a faint dawn of improvement glimmers above the political horizon of those ill-starred colonies. In India, the vigorous measures which have been adopted for education and for the construction of railways and other public works inspire a hope of internal improvement and a more general diffusion of knowledge among the subject millions entrusted



to our rule. In British North America never was there greater prosperity ; while in Australia and New Zealand the abundant resources of those regions have been so rapidly developed under the system of colonial self-government, that they will shortly play no unimportant part in the world's history. These are the results of the moral predominance of the Government of Great Britain over distant countries—results which may, I am convinced, in no small degree be attributed to the sway which the commercial policy of this country has exercised. The magnitude of these results ought to impress upon us the duty of carrying out still further the principles upon which that commercial system is based ; and it is in accordance with those principles that the Queen, as announced in Her Majesty's gracious Speech, has directed a Bill to be framed with the view of opening the coasting trade to the ships of all friendly nations. The existing laws with regard to the coasting trade are, as your Lordships will remember, the only remaining part of the old Navigation Laws, which were repealed a few years ago. Since the period of that repeal the career of our commercial navy—as I have already observed—has been eminently successful. There has been a more than proportionate increase in the tonnage of our shipping, and in the annual imports and exports ; whilst the competition of steam navigation,

apparently at first sight injurious to our sailing vessels, has been generally considered to have given a fresh impulse and stimulus to this branch of our trade. Under these circumstances, it cannot but seem natural that the spread of our commerce and the desire for greater uniformity in our commercial system should call for an alteration in these remaining laws, which have not only lost all connexion, but are absolutely at variance with, the existing code.

[The remainder of the Speech referred to internal affairs.]

## II.

### THE CRIMEAN WAR: COLONIAL SYMPATHY.

The resemblance between the conditions of 1854-1855 and those of 1900 is further illustrated by the occasion which called for the following speech. Then, as now, the Colonies showed their sympathy with the mother country in an effective manner by contributing to the Patriotic Fund, which was raised for the relief of the families of those who fell in the Crimean War. Canada, ever liberal, sent substantial assistance—a sum of £20,000. The question was raised whether a vote of thanks from the Imperial Parliament should not be proposed, and Lord Carnarvon's first speech on purely Colonial matters was made on this subject.

HOUSE OF LORDS. MARCH 1, 1855.

I rise to ask whether it be the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose a vote of thanks or some other public acknowledgment to those colonies or dependencies of the British Crown who, either through their respective Legislatures or otherwise, have evinced their sympathy with the mother country by moral support or proffers of pecuniary assistance? I ask this question because I believe that if I obtain a satisfactory answer, it will be received with feelings of pleasure by many in this country and by all in the Colonies. I do

not at all doubt the inclination of the Government to do all that is necessary and proper under the circumstances: but I would at the same time remind them that the gracefulness and the value of the thanks, if they do not wholly depend on, yet are very much enhanced by, the promptitude with which they are paid. It might be urged that there is no precedent for the course which I suggest; but I do not think that that circumstance alone should be allowed to stand in the way of doing what is both graceful and just towards the colonists. All precedents have a commencement, and unless very strong reasons to the contrary can be given, I think we should not hesitate to create one under the peculiar circumstances of the present case. I will call your Lordships' attention to what has actually been done by our various Colonies. Canada has contributed to the Patriotic Fund a sum of £20,000; Newfoundland, £2,000; Gibraltar, £1,500; Nova Scotia, £2,000; Van Diemen's Land, £2,000; Victoria, £1,500; besides which, contributions from other Colonies have flowed into the same fund through various channels, and India has contributed no less than £4,000 to the Funds of the Central Association. And in addition to all this, Addresses, which have been laid upon the tables of both Houses, have been presented to Her Majesty from various Colonial Legislatures, all breathing the same

warm feelings of loyalty towards the Crown, and of ardent attachment to the mother country, and of sympathy with her in the struggle in which she is now engaged. When all are inspired by similar sentiments, it were almost invidious to select one for particular praise; yet I cannot help referring to the peculiar strength of the feelings manifested by the Canadians on this occasion. Men of all parties and views are unanimous in expressing sympathy with us; not a single newspaper has expressed a dissentient opinion; and in almost every village meetings have been held to give expression to the sentiments of the colonists. I do not see any reason why the two Houses of Parliament should hesitate to express their thanks to the Colonial Legislatures for the loyalty which they have on this occasion manifested to our common Sovereign. The noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) who seconded the Vote of Thanks to the Army, on a recent occasion, observed that it was no mere matter of form, no idle ceremony, in which your Lordships were engaged; and the same observation would apply with equal force to an expression of thanks conveyed to those Colonies who have contributed to this fund. Such a vote would tend to strengthen the attachment to the mother country which exists in the Colonies, and which it is so important to maintain unimpaired at the present crisis, when we are only at the

commencement of a possibly long contest. I believe that the Colonies would not regard it as a mere form, but would appreciate it as the genuine and heartfelt expression of the thanks of the British people for the sympathy they have expressed and the attachment they have manifested to this country on the present occasion.

[It was agreed that the addresses and replies should be laid before the House, which would then be in a position to testify its concurrence in the gratitude evinced by the Ministers of the Crown for the assistance which had been tendered.]

### III.

#### A CANADIAN APPRECIATION.

FROM THE *Toronto Daily Colonist*, MARCH 24, 1855.

The pleasure that was given by the foregoing speech is shown by the following letter written by a Canadian, and published in the *Toronto Daily Colonist* in March of the same year.

Last night, March 1st, I, a poor colonist, took my seat in the House of Lords, thanks to the kindness of a friend. The gorgeous appearance of the chamber is so well known to you through the *Illustrated News* and other authorities that I need not describe it in detail. I was fortunate, however, in the time I chose for my visit; for, greatly to my surprise and delight, the loyal doings of our own highly favoured province formed a prominent feature of the proceedings. A young nobleman of very prepossessing and intellectual appearance, who I afterwards learned was Lord Carnarvon, rose to inquire whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose a vote of thanks, or some other public acknowledgment, to those Colonies which evinced a sympathy with the mother country by moral and

pecuniary offers of assistance. He dwelt upon what had been done by the various Colonies, and by Canada especially. He said that, when all were inspired by similar sentiments, it might appear invidious to select one for particular praise, but he could not help dwelling with admiration on the peculiar strength of the feelings manifested by the Canadians. All party differences were forgotten in the anxiety to manifest their attachment to the mother country in her day of trial; all denominations forgot their differences in the same laudable object. Even amongst the newspapers there was not a single one in opposition to the prevailing feeling. Towns and townships, cities and villages, were vying with each other in manifesting their ardent attachment in a tangible form to the mother country, and their sympathy with her in the great struggle in which she is now engaged. I have not time to dwell further upon this admirable speech, but will send you a paper containing it, when I can procure one. Lord Carnarvon is, I think, likely to reflect lustre upon his order. I was surprised at his intimate acquaintance with our doings. He was really quite enthusiastic when he spoke of Canada, and I felt quite proud of my country, and an inch or two taller. As he concluded his speech (which was about three-quarters of an hour long) I felt strongly impelled to break in upon the solemn



stateliness of the noble assembly with three ringing cheers. The Earl's question led to a lengthy discussion, in which Earls Granville and Grey, the Earl of Derby, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Harrowby took part. All united in saying handsome and gratifying things of Canada, but the discussion was chiefly connected with points of order and precedents.

## IV.

### FREEMASONRY IN THE COLONIES.

Before taking a direct part in the larger concerns of Colonial Government, Lord Carnarvon evinced his interest in the lesser question of Masonic Government in England and her Colonies. He became a Mason while still at Oxford, and through life Freemasonry retained a real interest for him.

For many years he was Pro-Grand Master. He would laughingly recall his early enthusiasms, when he and his friend Mr. George (afterwards Canon) Portal were regarded as "turbulent members" of Grand Lodge for their attempts to infuse a greater vitality into the deliberations and government of that body.

In later years he experienced a most cordial greeting, in all parts of the world, from his Masonic brethren—not only from the great Lodges in Canada, Australia, the Cape, but, what pleased him not less, from many small and outlying sections of the great community.

One instance of this occurred in 1881 at one of the smaller Canary Islands, where, to his surprise, the local Freemasons gathered on the pier to give him welcome, before he was even aware that his arrival was known.

At another time, on a return journey from Kimberley, he took part in a picturesque ceremony, pressed upon him by the kindness and enthusiasm of the local Freemasons. De Aar was then a very small place. The train that brought Lord Carnarvon reached it after dark. Time pressed; but he considered himself fortunate that he could gratify his Masonic friends as their warmth gratified him. He laid the stone of a hall, lighted to the spot by an avenue of

torch bearers. Although the whole ceremony had to be carried out in a very short space of time, Masonic honours accompanied its performance, and the event, in its simplicity and genuine character, marked one more tribute to Masonic brotherhood, and gave Lord Carnarvon one more pleasant memory, not only of his travels, but of the link that connected him to that brotherhood in remote parts, as truly as in his own country.

The speech that follows, made in 1856, while he was still on the threshold of public life, bears the impress of such a period. The language is more ardent, and, perhaps, in a less measured tone, than was remarkable in his later years. Already, however, in this speech, one may perceive the keen appreciation of Justice and Liberty. These great principles rose in his estimation with increasing years; and suffered no loss in that they were accompanied by a remarkable moderation—the result of a strong sense of duty and the wise exercise of experience.

#### MEETING OF GRAND LODGE: "THE COLONIAL QUESTION."

FREEMASONS' HALL. OCTOBER 1, 1856.

Bro. Col. Burlton . . . moved that the report of the Colonial Committee\* (read at last Grand Lodge, and given verbatim in the last number of the *Freemasons' Magazine*) be received. . . . The motion was carried. Bro. The Earl of Carnarvon said:

Right Worshipful Sir (The Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master for Dorsetshire, Bro. Willett, who occupied the chair), the motion

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\* The Report of the Colonial Committee was to the effect that a Board should be formed, called the Colonial Board, to consist of ten members, three to be Past Masters of Colonial Lodges when practicable.

which I have now to propose follows, as a natural consequence, that which has preceded it, and to which Grand Lodge has just agreed. My motion is, to refer the communication of the Most Worshipful the Grand Master to the Board which you have just appointed. If the members of that Board are men of experience and judgment, as we believe them to be, the matter cannot be placed in better hands. Indeed, the Brethren have only two alternatives which they can adopt. You must either deal with this communication from the Grand Master now in whatever way seems good to you, or refer it to that committee; but I believe, myself, that it would be far easier, far pleasanter to the Grand Lodge, to avoid the unsatisfactory task of themselves dealing with the communication, by referring it to the Colonial Board which has just been appointed. In fact, I think it would be best to do so under any circumstances. But under any circumstances let it be understood by the Grand Lodge that they are responsible for the issue of this letter; for the Grand Master, in language too emphatic to be misunderstood—in language which I wish the Grand Lodge to remember once for all—has told us that he himself now submits his communication to us “to consider and decide.” Therefore, up to this time, the Grand Master has managed the matter

for himself; for the future with you rests the responsibility. It is cast entirely upon your shoulders, and I implore you for your own sakes not to arrive at any conclusion of which your judgment does not fully approve. I don't like to go back into the past. The references which have already been made have excited feelings which I have regretted to see displayed; but in the presence of a necessary duty, personal feelings, personal sensitiveness, cannot be regarded. I shall not recapitulate the stages by which we have arrived at the present unhappy state of affairs; I have no wish to trespass on the time of the Grand Lodge, and I shall therefore shorten the matter as far as possible. In 1853 we find the first evidence of any discontent in Canada. The Canadian Lodges had a conference at Hamilton, at which they stated their grievances and complaints, in a petition which was forwarded to England; they urged the want of harmony in the Canadian Lodges, the irregularity of communications between England and Canada, and last, but not least, the unsatisfactory position of the Provincial Grand Master. This, in fact, was the principal complaint; this is the point which mainly claims your attention this evening. They complained of the position of the Provincial Grand Master as part and parcel of the whole system of nomineeism, which is justly so distasteful to

them. They complained that he was holding an irresponsible position, and that they had neither a concurrent voice in the management of the affairs nor any check upon his proceedings. No notice whatever was taken of this communication. They met again, and embodied their grievances in a set of resolutions. What became of those resolutions, I ask? It is sufficient to say that there was no reply. Now, brethren, can you wonder that as time flew by in a manner little reckoned by us in England, it was counted by days and weeks in Canada? Do you wonder that such neglect ripened into bitter fruit the seeds of discontent which had been sown? To those who cry "No!" I say only look at the consequences. Then it was, at last, with a precipitancy which I deplore, which I condemn, but at which I am not astonished, that, finding they could not obtain relief from England, some of the Canadian Lodges seceded. Perhaps they will never be re-united to those under our jurisdiction. But there are others which have remained true and faithful to their allegiance. I wish, indeed, that my voice might be heard across the Atlantic, that I could express my unfeigned respect and sympathy for those who, in despite of the disappointments which they met with in England, despite of all the glittering temptations to a specious independence and false ambition, have been contented to remain

true to themselves, true to us, and true to the obligations of their Masonic allegiance. There is a better way of thanking them than in mere words for their actions. It is reasonable to suppose that men who have shown such consistency and firmness will not be likely to insist upon claims which are unjust and unreasonable in their nature. In 1853—I leave out minor matters for the present—they contended for the free and absolute right of electing their Provincial Grand Master. Now I candidly admit that on this point I could not concur with them. I think it would lead rather to alienation; but there are many steps between taking no notice whatever of their complaints and granting them everything they asked. No notice whatever was taken of them till a few months ago, when a member of the Grand Lodge, who has shown the greatest ability in these matters, I mean Bro. Portal, brought forward the subject by a motion in the Quarterly Communication, in which he proposed that the Canadian Lodges should elect two candidates for the office of Provincial Grand Master, and send them to the Most Worshipful the Grand Master, in order that he might select one of them. The Canadian Lodges met and agreed to the following resolution: “That this Grand Lodge heartily approves of the principle contained in the said intended motion, and would respectfully, but

strongly, urge its adoption by the Grand Lodge of England, satisfied as they are" (mark the words) "that wide-spread dissatisfaction, resulting in disastrous consequences to the peace and prosperity of the Fraternity in Canada, will follow, should immediate action on their just complaints be longer delayed; that this Grand Lodge would suggest that the said resolution be modified so as to provide that the election of the Grand Master be made by this Grand Lodge, with this proviso—that if disallowed by the Grand Lodge of England within six months after it shall have been made, it shall be void, but otherwise have full force and effect." Such is the language of the men who have played the temperate part which I have described. I ask you, brethren, is it the language of men wavering and uncertain in their opinions? I fear very much the results should we come this evening to a wrong and unsatisfactory conclusion. I entertain the greatest apprehensions as to the news which the next Canadian packet may bring us. But it may be said you have a communication from the Grand Master who proposes that henceforth every third year the Provincial Grand Master should send in a report, and if that report, under the auspices of the Provincial Grand Master, should be unsatisfactory, that it should then be competent for the Grand Master to depose the Provincial Grand



Master. But this proposal gives no new power to the Grand Master. He can at present insist upon reports, not every third year, but whenever he likes. It is also, at present, in the power of the Grand Master to depose the Provincial Grand Master whenever he may think proper to do so. What improvement, therefore, I ask, would be effected by the Grand Master's proposition? What further independence or self-government would it confer upon the Colonies? I answer, none. The only reception which such a proposition could meet with in Canada would be scorn and irritation—scorn, that you should think so meanly of their understanding; irritation, that their patience should be so trifled with. We have heard of men slumbering while an earthquake was raging around them. Is it the case now? Four years ago there arose a cloud significantly ominous, yet not larger than a man's hand. One single temperate despatch would have dissipated the tempest. But no notice whatever was taken of it. Our officials went slumbering on from year to year. At length the earthquake broke which had been heralded by so many warnings, and the Canadian Lodges burst forth into open secession. Yet for one whole year more these slumbers still continued, and no notice whatever was taken even of the secession—no motion was brought forward, no policy, no principles of government were

announced, and when independent brethren made motions of a remedial character, they were stifled under the pretence that an ancient landmark of the Order was obliterated, and Grand Lodge was attempted to be coerced by an overbearing temper and domineering despotism. I have said too much, perhaps. One word more on the broad principles which I wish to see adopted in our Colonial policy; it is the greatest mistake in the world to confound quantity with quality. Let us never suppose that extent of dominion is any real test of power. Extent of dominion is no test of real prosperity, unless accompanied by a living spirit, breathing from the inmost centre to the utmost extremity. The great secret of government is, that the governing body shall only attempt those duties which it is competent to perform. For instance, no man in this room is more deeply impressed than I am with the necessity of maintaining the due dependence and allegiance of the Canadian Lodges to the Grand Lodge of England. I wish to see the Grand Lodge the fountain of appeal—the source of our great policy, and the sole arbiter; I wish to see all the allegiance due to the Grand Lodge preserved; but I would utterly surrender to the Provincial Grand Lodge all the minutiae of local business. You will have to look long for a body of men who will unite those qualities which will

enable them to take a broad view of questions of policy necessary here at home, and to control the thousand and one details of local administration. What I mean to say is, maintain their allegiance and leave the local business under their own control. Make them your friends, and do not seek to alienate them; attempt not to depose them into the condition of slaves. There are two principles of government—compulsion and persuasion. Compulsion it is idle for us to talk of, and it is irritating to them. Persuasion is a legitimate weapon; it will not break in your grasp, because it is a well-tempered blade, on which are engraven the talismanic characters of “Brotherly love, relief, and truth.” There is a third course, and it is one which stares us like a phantom in the face. I protest against your standing with folded arms while the stately fabric falls to pieces. Better have an indifferent policy than none at all. Better have any principles than drift like the helmless vessel before the storm:—

“Come it slow or come it fast,  
This is the fate must come at last.”

Make up your minds to it. Do not deceive yourselves. Be not satisfied with closing your eyes; look at the breakers which appear ahead, and seek not to escape your impending destiny by ignoring this difficulty, for you can never

shelve it. The sands of your hour-glass are running low ; the time for deliberation has almost passed away, and the time for action has fully come. There stand the forms of the good and the evil genius of this great Order, as it were upon the threshold, holding forth the emblems of ascending prosperity, and of hopeless irremediable decay. Both are offered to you. Which will you accept ? But whatever is to be done can only be done by free speaking and free discussion. Let us do away for ever with that mistaken delicacy which would prevent us from discussing here those important topics which are nearest to our hearts, and which we so freely canvass elsewhere. Away with the silence which is unjust to us and our Canadian brethren ; away with that reserve between us and our authorities which is ruinous to the best interests of the craft, and, if persisted in, will be fatal to the good understanding between you who sit upon the daïs, and us who are in the body of the hall. Therefore I move, Right Worshipful Sir, that the communication of the Most Worshipful Grand Master be referred to the Colonial Board, to consider and report to our quarterly meeting in December. I move, also, that the report be printed and distributed amongst the brethren having a voice in the appointment of the Provincial Grand Master.

The motion was carried unanimously.

## V.

Read in connection with the speech just given, the following speech on the same subject, made after a lapse of 29 years, will be found of special interest.

In 1856 Lord Carnarvon advocated, on the grounds of justice and liberty, that the Colonial Lodges should enjoy perfect freedom of action with regard to local administration, while retaining in the fullest degree the loyalty of their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England.

In 1884 we trace the same plea for liberty and justice, but in this instance it is inversely urged in favour of those Canadian Lodges that desired to retain their direct connection with, and subscription to, the Grand Lodge of the mother country.

### UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND, AT A QUARTERLY COMMUNICATION

HOLDEN AT FREEMASONS' HALL, LONDON, ON  
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1884.

The Earl of Carnarvon, Pro-Grand Master of England, said:

Brethren, the correspondence which you have just heard read will be printed in due form, and it will therefore become accessible to every member of this Grand Lodge, and I hope and believe that the independent opinion of each member of this Grand Lodge will ratify the conclusions which His Royal Highness our Most Worshipful Grand Master has been advised to announce.

It is difficult for such a correspondence, when read out for the first time, to be perfectly intelligible in all its details to every member in a large chamber like this, and therefore perhaps I shall do that which is acceptable to you if in two or three sentences I just point out to you what the question is which is now in issue. In the year 1857, after a long contention, which some members of this Grand Lodge may perhaps remember, the Grand Lodge of Canada was established, and was recognised by the Grand Lodge of England; recognised cheerfully, fully, frankly, and without any reserve; and, as far as I know, since then there has been no hitch or difficulty in the relations between this Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of Canada. But at the time of the recognition of the Grand Lodge of Canada there were still some few Lodges remaining in Canada which, for various reasons, preferred to continue to work under the Grand Lodge of England, and it was made part of the formal agreement of that day, cheerfully subscribed to by all parties, that those Lodges that elected to retain their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England should be allowed to do so without any let or hindrance. In the year 1869, more than twelve years afterwards, the Grand Lodge of Quebec came into existence as an offshoot of the Grand Lodge of Canada. That is a matter with which we had no concern in this country. It

was an arrangement effected, I believe, in all harmony and goodwill on the spot, and doubtless for very sufficient reasons. But it so happened that in that body of Quebec there were three of these English Lodges who had bargained at the time of recognition of the Grand Lodge of Canada to retain their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England. The executive of that time, in accordance with its duty, stipulated for those three Lodges the same amount of liberty which had been secured to them at the time the Grand Lodge of Canada was created. The Grand Lodge of Quebec, I am sorry to say, for reasons which I cannot myself appreciate, declined to recognise the freedom of those three Lodges to retain their allegiance, and thus it has so happened that in consequence of our being unable, on the one hand, to obtain from the Grand Lodge of Quebec an undertaking that they would respect the liberty of these three Lodges, and on the other hand, because the Grand Lodge of Quebec declined to enter into any covenant for them, there has not been that full and formal recognition of the Grand Lodge of Quebec which we were in this country perfectly willing to give, and which has been only hindered, as I have said, by that particular state of circumstances. Well, now there arrives this letter from the Grand Master of Quebec which you have just heard read. On the tone of that letter I do not desire to remark, except

to say that it is somewhat broad, curt, and peremptory, and I think is altogether inconsistent with that Masonic unity which it should be the study and object of every body of Freemasons in every part of the world to cultivate. But still all that may be the result of warmth and misunderstanding, and I do not desire for a moment to dwell upon it. But the point in question is this, that we are informed in that letter that unless we, for our part, repudiate the allegiance of those three English Lodges in the Province of Quebec, the Grand Lodge of Quebec will place both those Lodges and ourselves under whatever stress they may, in order to drive them into allegiance to the Grand Lodge of Quebec, and failing that, they threaten to declare a severance of their connection with us. Now, it is not my object to-night to argue this question; it is merely my duty to make the brethren in Grand Lodge fully aware of the bare facts of the case, and I have stated the case without giving any colouring or any complexion to it. I will only say in conclusion that which substantially has been said in the letter of our Grand Master, that we have and can have no selfish or jealous wishes or desires in this matter. Our one object is to promote the welfare of our brethren in every part of Canada and all over the world; but we undoubtedly do contend that the doctrine which is laid down by the Grand Lodge of Quebec would be a very



abnormal, and a very dangerous, and a very unjust one, that where Lodges already enjoy a legal existence in any particular territory it is lawful for some new body to constitute itself supreme over them, and to swamp and declare invalid those Lodge which preceded them, and which had that legal existence. No doctrine, it seems to me, could be more unjust and unfair than that ; and it appears to be our bounden duty, so long as those Lodges of their own freewill cling to the Grand Lodge of England, to see that they shall not, so far as we can help it, by any word or act of ours be driven or compelled into an allegiance which they repudiate and object to, when we have in years previously specially covenanted for their freedom and stipulated for it ; and further, I should be disposed to say that when the Grand Lodge of Quebec came into existence as an offshoot of the Grand Lodge of Canada, it inherited the liabilities, and it accepted, and it was honourably bound to accept, the obligations of its predecessor. Brethren, this has been the principle upon which this Grand Lodge has acted hitherto ; it is the principle upon which it has acted in other similar questions which from time to time arise ; and, however painful it may be to us to see Masonic concord in any way disturbed—disturbed, I trust, for a very short time, and in a very small degree—still, I think it is incumbent upon us to maintain the good faith

which we have pledged, and to insist, so far as we can insist, upon those stipulations for the independence and the freedom of allegiance enjoyed by these three English Lodges being still maintained, no matter what Masonic authority comes into existence now or hereafter in the province of Quebec.

## VI.

It was in 1858, in Lord Derby's Government, that Lord Carnarvon first took office as Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. A larger amount of work and responsibility fell to his share than is usually the portion of an Under Secretary. This was occasioned by the ill health of his able chief, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton; and while it gave Lord Carnarvon, as a young man, a special insight into the business of his office, he appreciated the opportunity of serving one whom he held in particular respect and affection.

The Sessions of the Parliament of the Canadas had been held alternately at Quebec and Toronto. This arrangement was open to many and obvious difficulties. In 1857, the Colonies, through Sir Edmund Head, the Governor, appealed to the Queen to decide the matter for them, by appointing a place for the centre of Government. They also voted a sum of money for the erection of Houses of Parliament and Government offices. The claims of each city to this privilege were carefully investigated. Ultimately Ottawa was selected, and became the seat of Government for the two provinces in 1858.

The three following speeches deal with the administration of the western part of British North America, then first emerging from the most primitive condition into more settled forms. That concerning the Government of New Caledonia—afterwards British Columbia—was Lord Carnarvon's first speech on Canadian affairs as a Minister. The measure was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and passed that House, after very little discussion, on July 20, 1858.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA.

"GOVERNMENT OF NEW CALEDONIA BILL."

HOUSE OF LORDS, JULY 26, 1858.

In moving the second reading, the Earl of Carnarvon said :

Those who happen to be familiar with the very graphic accounts which have appeared in the newspapers with regard to the discovery of gold in the north-western part of British America will feel, probably, that little justification is required for the introduction of the present measure. A complete revolution has recently taken place in that country, which is bounded on the west by the Pacific, on the east by the Rocky Mountains, on the south by the territory of the United States, and on the north by a chain of hills, lakes, and rivers, and which embraces an extent of about 400,000 square miles. That district, but a short time since tenanted only by wild beasts, and still wilder savages, with here and there a hunter, has suddenly become the scene of gold discoveries, and is already the theatre of action, enterprise, and adventure. It was late in July, 1856, that information first reached this country of there being a suspicion of gold in those parts. At long intervals, and by occasional mails, some confirmation of that suspicion was brought from time to time; but it was not till March of this year that full and complete assurance was

received. We then learned for the first time that emigrants were departing in crowds from the gold mines of San Francisco, and were proceeding to this new El Dorado in the British territory. This immigration is only to be compared to that which took place in former years to San Francisco itself. The hardy adventurers sailed up hundreds of miles by sea, they pierced the frontier, they formed roads for themselves along the valleys, they launched their frail canoes upon the river, which was full of hidden rocks and not less dangerous eddies and currents; and though many were drowned in the river, or wandered from the road, or died from destitution, the great majority at length reached the scene of action—the haven of their ambition. It is to enable us to establish something like law and order, to frame something like a nucleus of civilisation round which future laws and institutions may gather themselves, that I ask your Lordships to give this Bill a second reading. It may be perhaps argued that the Government has been rather precipitate in entering upon this step; but any one who is acquainted with the history of gold mining in California must admit that in such a case it is far better to anticipate than to find ourselves in the rear. There are, moreover, certain circumstances which give peculiar embarrassment and anxiety to this question, and

which at the same time appear to call for immediate action on the part of the Government. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the whole of this territory is at present in the main, though not actually, subject to an exclusive licence to trade with the Indians which the Hudson's Bay Company have for many years enjoyed. It is true that that licence expires next year; it is also true that the Government have no intention of renewing that licence, and that it would, therefore, in point of law, become entirely inoperative; yet the effects which it would leave behind it, and the influences which it has sown would exist, and might easily lead to complications and to serious embarrassments, unless provision were at once made for some effectual machinery of government. It must also be borne in mind that we have not to deal with an exclusively white population. There is a population of native Indians there, considerably outnumbering the whites, and those savages naturally look with distaste and aversion upon those who, as all experience has taught them, must in the end deprive them of their inheritance. These are some of the elements of difficulty and danger which it is necessary to provide against, and the Bill which is introduced for that purpose is very simple. It first proposes to give power to the Crown to make laws and ordinances for the new colony. It then assigns a limit of four years'

duration to the operation of the Bill itself. It next proposes to establish a Governor, who would hold the reins of office provisionally for that period, but who would be entrusted with very full and absolute powers. At the same time it provides that the Crown, whenever it sees fit, may establish a freer Government and a more liberal system of institutions. And, finally, power is given to the Crown at any time, upon the joint address of the two Houses of the Legislature of Vancouver's Island, to annex that island to the new colony. It has been objected to this Bill in some quarters that we are establishing a Governor with absolute and arbitrary power, that we are departing from the path of free institutions, and adopting a narrow and retrograde policy; and it has been argued that we ought either to give complete freedom and independence to the new colony, or to prescribe, in the first instance, the particular form of government which we wish to see established, and to appoint a provisional Governor, holding the reins of powers simply until the new system could be introduced. The advantage of giving free institutions to our Colonies is undeniable, but in this case there are at present no materials for carrying them into operation; and it must be borne in mind that the settlers who resort to the colony at first are not likely to be permanent residents. At present, therefore, I think that free institutions

would be a useless gift; but I shall be glad if, within four years, the Government of that day are able to announce that the materials for a freer Government exist. Of course that matter would soon be settled, if gold is found in sufficient quantity to attract and retain a white population; but I must say that the amount of gold found is not sufficient to afford a very satisfactory criterion for the future. Objection has been made to the name of the new colony; but New Caledonia is the name found on the old maps, and by that name it was designated by the distinguished philosopher Humboldt. The objection, however, is not without foundation, for there is already the colony of Nova Scotia, which is pretty much the same as New Caledonia, and, moreover, there is a New Caledonia amongst the New Hebrides. Her Majesty has, therefore, been pleased to order that the name by which the new colony should be called in future shall be British Columbia, and not New Caledonia. I hope that this colony, though the newest, may prove to be one of the most loyal and devoted of those which pay allegiance to Her Most gracious Majesty.



## VII.

### THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORIES QUESTION.

In June, 1859, Lord Derby's Government went out of Office, and Lord Carnarvon's following speech was made as a member of the Opposition.

The Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, originally granted in 1670, gave the Company full possession of all the lands and territories near the Hudson's Straits, and the entire trade and traffic with all the inhabitants, native and otherwise. In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company united with its great rival, the North-West Company, and, retaining its old title, obtained a licence which expired in 1838, when it was again renewed for 21 years. This last licence expired shortly before the date of Lord Carnarvon's speech.

HOUSE OF LORDS, JULY 14, 1859.

Before I put the question of which I have given notice to the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Newcastle) I will ask your Lordships' permission to make a few remarks upon the very important subject to which it refers. I desire to ask the noble Duke whether the Government proposes, during the present session, to take any steps in reference to the North American Territories over which hitherto the Hudson's Bay Company have held an exclusive licence of trade

with the Indians. Your Lordships are aware that the rights and claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to the territories which they now govern are of a twofold character: first, there is the territory which they hold round that great inland sea, the Hudson's Bay, and the rivers and streams that run into it, which they possess under a charter granted by Charles II.; and second, that vast district running inland to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and extending over nearly 1,800 miles, which they hold by virtue of an exclusive licence to trade with the Indians. In 1821 an Act of Parliament was passed which empowered the Crown to issue licences for the occupation of this district, and advantage was immediately taken of it by the Hudson's Bay Company to obtain the occupation of the country. Those licences were renewed from time to time, and the last granted in 1838 was for twenty-one years; this is now on the eve of expiring, and my right hon. friend, who was lately at the head of the Colonial Office (Sir E. Bulwer Lytton), after the fullest consideration he could give to the subject, came to the opinion that it was inexpedient to renew the licence on the same terms as heretofore. Great changes are taking place year after year in that region of the world; British Columbia has risen to a very considerable position, and Canada itself has acquired a great augmentation of population and wealth. All

these conditions are adverse to the renewal of the licence. There is a strong opinion also prevailing upon the subject, both here and in Canada, adverse to its renewal. My right hon. friend therefore determined not to renew the Hudson's Bay Company's licence. But as it would obviously have been very dangerous to allow this extensive tract of country to remain altogether without a Government, my right hon. friend proposed to keep the licence in force for one year, and afterwards he extended his offer to two years, to allow time for some other arrangement to be made for the government of the country; but the Hudson's Bay Company declined both offers. It is not for me to question the grounds on which they came to that decision; but certainly, considering the long connection they have had with the district, the advantages they have hitherto derived from it, and the close relation in which they have hitherto been with the Indians, I think they incurred a serious responsibility by their conduct. It appears to me that my right hon. friend was justified in not offering to extend the licence for more than two years, because in the course of that time we may expect great changes to take place over the whole northern portion of that continent. The rise of the colony of British Columbia has greatly fostered the growth of colonisation there, and though it is not more than twelve months since

that colony sprang into existence there is already a population there of 10,000 persons. In the course of the next two years, therefore, there is every reason to expect that arrangements will be made which will enable the Government to provide for the government of this territory in a more satisfactory and permanent manner. As it is, the reasons no longer exist which first formed the justification for granting the licences, and thus securing to the Hudson's Bay Company a practical monopoly of these hunting grounds. At the time when these licences were first granted there had been a feud between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, in which blood was shed, and frequent atrocities committed, and it became necessary for the Government to interfere at all hazards to secure peace. The Canadas and the other British North American provinces were then in a very undeveloped state; questions of internal administration naturally occupied their attention, and diverted them from any connexion with a district which geographically was then so far separated from them. If, therefore, those vast hunting grounds to the north-west, divided from Canada by lakes and rivers, and by an immense interval of space, had been placed under the Canadian jurisdiction, that jurisdiction would have been little more than nominal. On the other hand, to have abandoned the territory would have been

to invite a recurrence of the old feuds. The exclusive licence was therefore bestowed on the Hudson's Bay Company. But now all these circumstances are materially modified. I certainly do not mean to argue the question of monopoly on general grounds, as I believe all your Lordships are convinced that a monopoly, unless the most pressing necessity can be shown for its existence, is indefensible. But it is argued that there are such grounds to be urged in favour of the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company; and first of all, it is said that their monopoly is essential to the welfare of the natives. Now, I am ready to admit that their rule over the natives has been mild and on the whole beneficial; but they have kept them in the most absolute and child-like dependence on the Company, not only for the luxuries and conveniences of life, but for the most common necessaries, for powder and shot, food and clothing. This state of things renders it necessary to proceed with caution, lest the sudden withdrawal of that superintendence should prove destructive to the Indians; and therefore I trust that the noble Duke (Duke of Newcastle), if he makes any changes, will exercise the utmost vigilance as to their working, else the population of this district might be exposed to some serious catastrophe. Then it is said that this monopoly is the only means by which they can preserve

the fur trade. Now I am quite willing to admit the value of that trade, but surely it will not be maintained that it is the all-important subject for consideration in this House. I, for one, see no difficulty in devoting a considerable portion of the territory—say the northern portion, which is most adapted for the purpose—to the fur trade; but the southern portion, which offers great facilities for colonisation, ought no longer to be left waste for the purpose of fostering the fur trade. The first object which the Government ought to have before them is as soon as possible to devise some provisional means by which competent persons may be authorised to dispense in a general way a rough sort of justice, and be empowered to decide cases in dispute both among the white settlers themselves and between the white men and the Indians; while all grave and serious offences might be sent to be tried at one or other of the neighbouring centres—British Columbia, or the Red River Settlement. Such a scheme of administrative justice ought to be sufficiently simple and elastic to be capable of being adapted to all the circumstances of the territory. It would not be necessary to have a large staff of magistrates for the purpose, and I should place them in much the same position as is occupied by our Consular officers where we have extra-territorial jurisdiction. If they are at first well

selected I am sure they will exercise great influence over the natives. There is one point more to which I wish to call the attention of the noble Duke. It is said that the country is impracticable for colonisation. Now, I have already admitted that a considerable portion of the territory is so. But in the southern portion there are considerable tracts of good land.

A Committee of the House of Commons has lately inquired into this question, and examined witnesses, who reported most favourably from personal experience of the capabilities of the country. They described it as abounding in wood and water. About two years ago an expedition travelled through the country, from the Red River Settlement to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and their testimony was to the same effect. Enormous herds of buffaloes are to be found in parts of this country, which, of course, argues something for the goodness of the pasture. I may add that the very same argument was used some years ago against the colonisation of British Columbia, yet no one now denies that that country has in it all the elements of prosperity. It is true that gold has been the active agency by which a population has been drawn to British Columbia and some other new countries; but wherever Nature affords a fair prospect of reward to encourage the energy of man, there colonisation may be expected

to advance if not precluded by impolitic restrictions. What I wish to impress upon the Government is, first of all, the necessity of providing means of good communication with Canada and British Columbia; secondly, the formation of settlements, I do not care how small they are, which would confirm our title to the undivided sovereignty of the territory on the northern side of the boundary line; and, in the meantime, the establishment of a provisional system of government, and the appointment, as soon as possible, of magistrates, who may exercise more or less control and administer justice. Above all, I would impress upon the Government that the privileges of a trading company ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of Imperial colonisation. It is most important that no time should be lost in securing these objects, and I hope that the noble Duke opposite will be in a position to state that the necessary steps will be taken immediately.

The Duke of Newcastle, after some preliminary remarks, said that he would state at once to the noble Earl that it was not the intention of the Government to recommend Her Majesty to sanction a renewal of the licence to the Hudson's Bay Company for any time whatever, and therefore all that remained was to make such provisions for the government of that territory as were rendered necessary by the extinction of the power of the Company. No doubt it was desirable that some provision should also be made for the regulation of trade and securing the relations between the white settlers and the Indians, and for that purpose legislation would be



necessary, but not of a complicated character. Power would have to be taken to provide a magistracy for the settlement of disputes and the administration of justice, and in the course of a few days the Government intended to introduce, either in their Lordships' House or in the House of Commons, a measure authorising the appointment of such magistrates. He thought he had now touched upon the principal questions of the noble Earl, but with regard to a point on which some stress had been laid he did not think it necessary that the Colonial Office should take any decided steps in the promotion of colonisation, nor did he think it advisable to subsidise any proposed railway—at least at the present time.

## VIII.

### THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

In the following year Lord Carnarvon spoke again on a subject akin to that of the last speech.

The Red River Settlement, later—in 1869—the scene of the rebellion of the half-breeds, had, in its commencement, a somewhat interesting history.

It was founded in 1811 by the 5th Earl of Selkirk, as a means of providing for the surplus population of the Scottish Highlands. The North-West Company viewed it with little favour, and incited against it the French-Indian half-breeds, or Bois Brûlés, and the settlement was only saved from destruction by Lord Selkirk's timely arrival. When the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company united, the Red River Settlement became their headquarters.

In July, 1859, there was a discussion in the House of Commons with regard to the explorations made in this country by Captain Palliser, it being maintained, on the one side, that the country was fertile and well adapted to colonisation; and on the other, that the money spent on such expeditions was thrown away.

HOUSE OF LORDS. FEBRUARY 13, 1860.

I wish to inquire what is the intention of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Administration of the Red River Settlement, and those parts of the Saskatchewan Districts recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1857

to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company? I will not enter on the larger subject of the validity of the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company and the other questions which arise out of it. I called the attention of your Lordships last Session to the recent expiry of the exclusive licence to trade of the Hudson's Bay Company, and I drew attention to the influence which the expiry of that licence might indirectly have upon the territory lying between the United States on the south and the Indian territories on the north, which, though claimed under the charter, were affected for good or evil by the particular form and system of government adopted in the other parts of the Continent. I then suggested that, if an early decision were not come to, difficulties might arise with regard to the maintenance of law and order in this territory, the introduction of spirits and articles of trade, and the probability of feuds springing up between the Indian tribes and the white men, and between the white men among themselves. On the 31st of May the exclusive licence expired, as the Hudson's Bay Company accepted the serious responsibility of declining to renew it on the terms proposed by my right hon. friend, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. The Government then, at the close of last Session, took, and wisely so, powers under an

Act of Parliament for the appointment of magistrates in the Red River Settlements and parts of the Saskatchewan districts, and for securing a more effectual system of criminal administration. I wish to know whether any steps have been taken, and if any, what, under the provisions of that Act—whether any form of government has practically replaced that which was swept away when the trading licence was revoked; and if not, what is the cause of the delay? Communications that have come to me from various quarters leave little room for doubt that the present state of affairs in that part of the British North American Continent is calculated to cause some anxiety. There are certain difficulties that press at present with reference to the Red River Settlement. In the first place, there is a feeling of very strong dissatisfaction on the part of the colonists themselves, and while at the Colonial Office I received two petitions, praying for an extensive alteration in the form of government and general system of administration. In the next place, I understand that a large number of persons who have come to the Settlement from Canada refuse to pay the duties, on the ground that they are not authorised by law, and are raising questions of great legal nicety connected with adjoining territories, which, though it is important that they should be determined, ought

not to be settled in a hasty or irregular manner. Moreover, since the expiry of the licence last year American citizens have crossed the border and have established an unlicensed and irregular trade, have introduced spirits among the Indian tribes, contributing thereby to the further demoralisation of that unhappy people, and are practically under no sort of control or authority whatever. I am not, speaking generally, afraid of American colonisation in that part of the world, for I believe that the vast districts south of the 49th degree of latitude will afford for many years and generations an ample field for the energy and industry of the people of the United States. I have no belief that the stream of colonisation can be permanently diverted from its natural course, or be forced into channels which are unnatural and repugnant to it; but I look on the Red River Settlement as an exceptional case, and I consider that it would be a calamity which could never be sufficiently deplored or atoned for if, through any oversight, the sympathies of the Settlement should be alienated from the Crown, or if, cut off as its people are from the other settled parts of British North America, those sympathies should be drawn to the United States rather than to Canada. There are three roads that connect the Red River Settlement with our other possessions in North America. One connects it on the north with the

shores of Hudson's Bay, but owing to the severity of the climate it is only open for two months in the year; a second connects it with the eastern part of Canada, is passable at some periods, but at others impracticable, and requires a certain outlay; and a third leads southwards by the Red River, and is in direct communication with the United States. The last route, following the course of the stream, leads to St. Paul, in Minnesota, which is now in possession, as I believe, of railway communication, and it is by this route that the greatest amount of the traffic and the chief supply of the necessaries of life for the settlement now pass. Last summer, trade to the value of not less than 1,500,000 dollars passed over this route into the Red River Settlement from the United States. It is a significant fact that last summer, for the first time, a small steamer made her way up the river into the Settlement, and I have read a communication from one of the leading residents of the Settlement stating that this circumstance has done more to Americanise them than anything else, and that if ever any improvement takes place it must be from a connexion with the United States route. The only alternative or remedy to meet this would be to open up communication between Lake Superior and the Red River, and thus to bring the settlement into relation with the other parts of British

North America. Again, it is not less worthy of attention that under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce at St. Paul, and by a public subscription, an expedition was organised by the Americans to explore, or "prospect," as they termed it, all that part of British North America that was the scene of Captain Palliser's labour last year. These are important questions, and the time in the history of the Settlement is critical. Much of the ultimate destiny of the Settlement, and not only of the Settlement, but of the British possessions in North America, will depend on the conduct of the Colonial Minister on this question, and on the course taken by the Government within the next few years. Steps ought to be taken for bringing the scattered portions of that great continent into closer connexion, all legitimate facilities and encouragement should be given to open up some communication between the Red River Settlement and Canada, and in that Settlement, at the earliest possible day, the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company should be exchanged for the more satisfactory agency of the Crown. It is more a question of policy than of expenditure as far as this Government is concerned, for I think there is, perhaps, no necessity for the outlay of any large sum of money from the Imperial Exchequer for the purpose, seeing that the recent Report of

Mr. Dawson shows that it is a country possessed of great capabilities.

The Duke of Newcastle said, in answer, that as regarded practical measures, nothing definite had yet been done, but no time had been lost. An important reason why there should be no hurry in dealing with this question was to be found in the fact that plans for opening up the communications had to be considered. With respect to what was to be done for the future settlement of those districts, the first step must be an arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company, which he hoped to arrive at by amicable means. After this, the next step would be to devise some simple and inexpensive form of government, and, should legislation be necessary, it was of course most desirable that it should take place that Session.



## IX.

### COLONIAL FORTIFICATIONS AND DEFENCE.

Among the most important speeches in this volume are those which deal with questions of National Defence, and the relative duties of the mother country and of the Colonies in this respect. Much has since happened, and it is interesting at the present time to note the progress made in the direction indicated by Lord Carnarvon, and to contrast the views now generally prevailing with those which he strenuously combated.

The following speech was delivered in the House of Lords on July 18, 1862, at a time when the news of a great Confederate success had just arrived. In criticising the estimates for defensive works, Lord Carnarvon classified fortifications under three heads: those of "great and acknowledged value"; those "of questionable or doubtful value"; and those "of very little or no value."

At this period there was no definite policy in such matters. Year after year sums were included in the Estimates, but neither the relative importance of the various stations nor their strategic positions, in regard to the Empire, was determined.

These vital considerations were ignored, and it remained for the Royal Commission over which, nearly twenty years later, Lord Carnarvon presided, to examine the national trade routes, and to make reasoned recommendations for their defences. "I desire," said Lord Carnarvon, "to see our expenditure for fortifications regulated on some definite principle. At present there seems to be no system at all."

This was literally true, and the result had been expenditure out of all proportion to the defensive advantage gained.

In regard to the Ionian Islands, Lord Carnarvon recognised that their possession was rather "a trust confided to us than an advantage"; and whatever view is taken as to the wisdom of the later cession to Greece, few would now maintain that Corfu would have been other than a source of weakness in war. Turning to the defensive forces of Canada, Lord Carnarvon drew attention to the steps that had been taken, and to their inadequacy, in view of the unfortunate feeling which had arisen in America in regard to Great Britain. The Canadian Militia Act of 1859 had created a "sedentary Militia of 5,000 men," thus limiting the total Volunteer force in Canada to 10,000 men, which was clearly insufficient for possible requirements, even if it had been thoroughly efficient.

"Duties and rights," said Lord Carnarvon, "go hand in hand; and the people who are desirous of enjoying the privileges of constitutional freedom must be prepared to make some sacrifices in return for that inestimable boon." This great principle has since been recognised, not only in Canada, but in the other self-governing Colonies, and the result has been shown in the splendid display of patriotism and loyalty which the South African War has evoked.

HOUSE OF LORDS. FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1862.

The Earl of Carnarvon rose, according to notice, to call attention to certain charges connected with Colonial Fortifications and Defence, and to move for Copies of Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Governor-General of Canada in reference to the Militia Bills proposed and passed in the Canadian Parliament.

It is difficult, with such exciting news\* as has just been communicated to your Lordships, to

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\* The surrender of the Federal Army under General McClellan.

expect your calm attention to the subject of my remarks; but bearing in mind that we shall shortly be asked by Her Majesty's Government to give a second reading to the Bill on Fortifications—after which, no doubt, they will take the earliest opportunity of introducing the Appropriation Bill—it may be advantageous to clear the ground by a few preliminary observations.

In the Army Estimates for the present year it is proposed to appropriate money for fortifications at Malta, Gibraltar, Bermuda, the Ionian Islands, Mauritius, St. Helena, Jamaica, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. With regard to these, I may lay down a threefold classification. Fortifications which are of great and acknowledged value to this country might be placed in the first class; the second would comprise those of questionable value; and the third those of very little or no value at all. In the first of these classes I unhesitatingly put such fortresses as Malta and Gibraltar, and with a little hesitation I may include Bermuda. Gibraltar, indeed, forms part of the history and traditions of the country. It is in this day the key of the Mediterranean; and it is not in strengthening such a fortification that I should grudge the expenditure of any amount of money that might be necessary. The same might be said with respect to Malta, which is, as it were, the

halfway house between the East and West. To deal with these fortresses in a few words, I say, that if we desire to retain our empire in the East, it is absolutely essential that we should maintain in their full efficiency the forts of Gibraltar and Malta. I am quite aware that occasionally this country has economised money unwisely. There can be no doubt that in 1858, when my noble friend (the Earl of Derby) came into power, the condition of Malta was highly unsatisfactory, and the fortress could not have stood an attack for twenty-four hours against assailants who possessed anything like an efficient naval force. The Government of my noble friend applied themselves at once to the task of putting Malta into a proper state of defence; and it would be unjust to the noble Duke opposite (Duke of Somerset), and especially to my late friend and relative, Lord Herbert, to say that they did not afford every assistance in their power to further the accomplishment of that object. Thanks to their exertions—and thanks also to the present Governor of Malta (Sir Gaspard Le Marchant), than whom there is no more vigorous public officer—the fortress of Malta is now comparatively safe and secure. Bermuda, again, is of great value to this country, but on the condition that it can be made defensible and tenable against a hostile force, when subjected to the conditions of modern war. For all these three

places it is proposed to take money, and I do not grudge a single farthing which is to be so voted. I now come to the second class—that of fortifications the value of which is more doubtful. The first place in this list is Mauritius. I am aware that there may be advantages derived from the possession of Mauritius; but it should not be forgotten that the alterations which have been introduced into the art of warfare by the application of steam, and the modification of the laws of war by the abolition of privateering and the adoption of the principle that a neutral flag should cover the goods of belligerents, have materially diminished those advantages. More than this, it should be borne in mind that there are on the Island of Mauritius eleven different points at which an army could be disembarked; and that to render the place thoroughly defensible it is calculated that a garrison of not less than 5,000 or 6,000 men would be required—a number which it is not likely that this country could at any great military crisis spare for the defence of that Island. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that an inadequate garrison might easily be caught in a trap, and we should be in danger of having our fortifications turned against ourselves. Yet the Estimates show that at Mauritius we have spent £140,000, we are spending £15,000, and next year, or the year afterwards, we

are about to spend £50,000 in fortifications.\* At St. Helena we have spent £10,000, and are spending £3,000, and according to Sir John Burgoyne's own estimate, £10,000 or £15,000 more will be required before the works can be placed in a position of reasonable defence. The Ionian Islands must also be placed in this class. I look upon these islands more as a trust confided to us than as a colony—more as an obligation than as an advantage. I have for a long time thought that it would be our wisest policy to discontinue the maintenance in these islands of a separate military command. It is true that some troops are required there to maintain order, and ensure respect for the protecting Power, but beyond that the advantage of troops seems very doubtful, and, *à fortiori*, the usefulness of fortifications may be questioned. Military authorities have repeatedly laid it down, that in the event of hostilities it would be impossible, in spite of the fortifications, to hold the town of Corfu without inflicting upon the people the extremities of war. I allow that at that point we are expending but a very small sum, but a variety of these small sums will involve in the aggregate a considerable outlay;

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\* There had been a considerable waste of money on ill-advised schemes for the fortification of Mauritius. Lord Carnarvon, as President of the Royal Commission, subsequently recommended a reasonable scheme, which was adopted.

and whether the outlay be large or small, an important principle is involved in every expenditure of the kind. In the third class, which includes fortifications which are of very little, and in some cases of no, value, the first place I shall deal with is Jamaica. By the Estimates of the present year £1,000 was appropriated to the improvement of the fortifications in the colony of Jamaica. That is in itself a trivial and insignificant sum, but the principle involved in the grant is one of great importance. I am at a loss to understand what £1,000 could effect with reference to the fortifications of Jamaica, unless it was intended to be expended merely on repairs. The existing fortifications could not resist an expedition organised and equipped as modern expeditions are; and if these fortifications are intended to resist merely privateering incursions, it would be more reasonable to cast their charge upon local resources than on the Imperial Treasury.\* The sum apparently voted for Nova Scotia is £5,000, and that for New Brunswick £5,000. It may be desirable to protect the important city of Halifax against attack; but the fact is, that if Nova Scotia and New Brunswick value their connexion with this country, and appreciate the political independence

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\* In later years the probability of canal communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean materially altered the strategic position of Jamaica.

which, practically, they enjoy, they must, in a great measure, depend for their defence upon themselves, and upon their own local efforts. There is also a charge of £1,000 for Newfoundland; but as that colony can be attacked only by sea, the only means of insuring its security is by the maintenance of our maritime supremacy. I disclaim all sympathy with those visionaries who would fain reduce our military and naval armaments to a state of inefficient mediocrity, and grudge every shilling spent on Colonial defences. I am quite ready to agree to any expenditure for Imperial defence upon two conditions—first, that our honour or interest renders the position in question worth fortifying; and, second, that the position is one which, according to the practices of modern warfare, is capable of being effectively fortified. In short I desire to see our expenditure for fortifications regulated on some definite principle. At present there seems to be no system at all. While in some cases we economise unwisely, we lavish our money on other places where there can be no advantage proportionate to the outlay. With a population of 28,000,000 we undertake to maintain garrisons, and with a national debt of £800,000,000 to erect fortifications, in almost every part of the world. We are attempting a great deal too much. We are trying to embrace more than we can possibly hold, and are incurring a serious



risk of losing the substance while we grasp at the shadow, and the source of the evil is that Parliament is pledged unconsciously, by a small instalment in the first instance, to a large ultimate expenditure.

There is one point with regard to Canada which I wish to notice before I conclude. About the year 1859 it was deemed necessary to place the militia of Canada on a more efficient footing; and an Act of the Canadian Legislature was passed for that purpose. At the same time, however, that the force was improved its number was limited to 5,000. That may have been quite sufficient at that period, but since then circumstances have greatly changed. A convulsion has torn asunder the United States, and a very bitter feeling has arisen against England on the part of the American people. The present situation imposes new duties both on England and on Canada. It is, therefore, only natural that there should be a strong feeling in that colony that the militia ought to be re-organised. Under the late Government of Canada, a recommendation was made, by Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject, that there should be an active militia of 50,000, and a reserve of the same number. A Bill was introduced to increase the militia, which substantially gave effect to these recommendations, without, however, assigning a precise limit to the

number of men. That measure was unfortunately rejected by the Canadian Legislature. The Colonial Ministry resigned, and under their successors another Bill was passed, which, in addition to the force authorised by the Act of 1859, created a "sedentary" militia of 5,000, thus limiting the total Volunteer force in Canada to 10,000 men. The new body is, however, of scarcely any value, as it is not to be called out. I do not for a moment doubt the loyalty of Canada to the British Crown, nor am I unaware of the financial difficulties of the Colony, but I deeply deplore the resolution at which the local Legislature has arrived. I cannot understand how Canada, when 1,000,000 troops are engaged in a civil war in the country which adjoins her own frontier, and when threats of conquest and annexation are continually thrown out against her, can possibly bring herself to believe that a contingent of 10,000 men is her fair and equitable proportion of the force required for the defence of the territory under the present critical circumstances. There is no more difficult or pressing question than the relationship between the mother country and the Colonies in regard to military expenditure. It is not a mere matter of money—interest, honour, sentiment, and humanity are alike involved. Into that question I will not now enter; but it must be admitted that of late years the character of the relationship has been

reversed, and while the bulk of responsibility remains with the mother country, the main body of advantages belongs to the Colonies. I hold that there ought to be not only a community of feeling but a real and equitable division of the common burdens between England and her dependencies. Duties and rights go hand in hand, and the people who are desirous of enjoying the privileges of constitutional freedom must be prepared to make some sacrifices in return for that inestimable boon.

Lord Carnarvon then moved :—

“That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty or Copies of Correspondence between Her Majesty’s Government and the Governor-General of Canada in reference to the Militia Bills proposed and passed in the Canadian Parliament.”

After some debate, Lord Carnarvon having expressed his readiness to insert the words “or Extracts,” the motion was agreed to.

## X.

### THE CONFEDERATION OF CANADA.

#### THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT, 1867.

The following speeches all deal with the great subject of Confederation. There was a preliminary debate on this subject in the House of Lords on July 31st, 1866, when Lord Carnarvon spoke briefly on the importance of the question, while declaring it premature to make any definite statement pending the arrival of the Canadian deputies.

Within the next few months he had two public opportunities of meeting the delegates ; in the first instance, those from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and again at the Canada Club, when the whole body of delegates was present. His speeches on these occasions are given. On February 19th, 1867, he moved the second reading of the Bill for the Confederation in a speech dealing comprehensively with the whole subject. Three days later a petition was presented by Lord Shaftesbury from English Protestants in Lower Canada for an amendment, which, after due consideration, Lord Carnarvon could not adopt.

On February 26th, the third reading of the Bill was preceded by some objections to the measure which were urged by Lord Campbell and Stratheden, on the ground of alleged discontent in Nova Scotia. These were answered by Lord Carnarvon, who then asked that the Bill should be read a third time. It was accordingly passed by the House of Lords.

At a banquet at the Mansion House on 19th March, 1867, Lord Carnarvon took a public leave of the delegates. He

alluded to the happy relations which had existed between them in the carrying out of this great work, and wished God-speed to the Confederation. Shortly before this he had been reluctantly obliged to sever his connexion with the Colonial Office. His conviction that the Reform Bill brought in by Mr. Disraeli was at variance with the recognised principles of his Party left him no option, and he resigned, in company with Lord Cranborne (now Lord Salisbury) and General Peel, on the 4th of March, 1867.

The discontent of a party in Nova Scotia, which was discussed in the House of Lords when Lord Carnarvon moved the second reading of the Bill, reappeared. In 1868, when the new Parliament of that province sent delegates to present a petition for the withdrawal from the Confederation, Lord Carnarvon represented in the House of Lords that when the Act passed and went out to Nova Scotia, it was solemnly ratified by the Parliament of that province, and that the Nova Scotians had sent their members to this Parliament at Ottawa on a distinct promise that fair play should be given to the new Constitutional Act. It could scarcely be said that fair play had been given to it, if, before twelve months are out, a repeal of the measures was asked. In fairness to the whole Dominion of Canada, a question which might break up the Union could not be reopened at the end of one year. The motion was withdrawn.

The belief expressed in Lord Carnarvon's speech on the second reading of the Confederation Bill, that Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island would shortly join the Dominion, was soon, in the latter case, to be realised. In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company transferred the North-West Territories. In 1871 British Columbia was admitted into the Confederation, and Prince Edward Island followed its example in 1873. In 1876 the North-West Territories were formed into a Province of the Dominion, and in the same year the Inter-Colonial Railway, stipulated for by the Bill, was opened from Quebec to Halifax.

Finally, in 1880, all British possessions in North America

other than Newfoundland not previously included in Canada were annexed to the Dominion.

At the present day, so complete and stable appears to be the structure of Canadian Confederation as to give ample justification to the view taken by Lord Carnarvon, and it may well be a subject of pride to every one who has taken an active part in the work.

HOUSE OF LORDS. JULY 31, 1866.

It would be impossible to overrate the importance of the subject to which the noble Lord (Lord Lyveden) has drawn attention. I may say that, of all the questions now within the range of Colonial administration, there is none that is more important to the Empire than the question of the Confederation of the British North American Colonies; it is also of vast importance to the inhabitants of those Colonies, as affecting their own future fortunes and political destinies. This is a question not merely of to-day—it is one that for several years has been the subject of anxious thought and deliberation to successive Governments. It dates back, indeed, so far as to the time of Lord Durham. No doubt the chief result of the matter at that time was the legislative union of the two Canadas; still it is clear that Lord Durham's report contemplated the incorporation of the other British North American Provinces. From that time no active practical steps were taken until 1858, when Sir Edmund Head, Governor-

General of the British North American Provinces, in opening his Parliament, announced the revival of the question of Confederation. In that year delegates came over to this country and made proposals to the Home Government. These were entertained, but no progress was made, and the delegates returned to North America without having accomplished the object they had in view.

But now the question is at last on its way to a successful settlement. In October, 1864, delegates from Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island met at Quebec for the consideration of the subject, and they passed a long series of resolutions relative to the terms and principles upon which a measure of this nature could be carried out, which have since been known by the name of the Quebec Resolutions. Difficulties arose and delays intervened; and it is only a fortnight since we received what may be regarded as the last piece of documentary evidence of the feeling in favour of incorporation. We have now received the resolutions of the Assembly of New Brunswick, announcing their final adhesion to the scheme, and requesting the Government to appoint delegates to confer upon the matter. On Saturday last the delegates of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia reached this country, and it is understood that they are to be followed in a few days by the Canadian deputies. This may seem

to be a very lengthy and tedious mode of procedure; but I am bound to say that, looking to the great magnitude of the question and its many details, as well as to the great interests, both national and individual, involved in this discussion, I am not surprised at the delay. I am bound to say, further, that the conclusion at which the Colonies have arrived in favour of a great Confederation has not been arrived at without great sacrifices of personal and local feeling; but it now comes to us as the unanimous decision of the local legislatures of the Colonies.

Under these circumstances, I conceive it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government not only to lend a respectful attention to the representations which these delegates may make to us, but, if I may say so, to meet them halfway, and to facilitate the object they have in view, feeling convinced that the wishes of the Colonies are in conformity with the interests and policy of this country. And when I say consistent with the interests and policy of this country, I mean that everything which can deepen and broaden the constitutional foundations of those great Colonies, and give life and strength to their political organisation, must be not only consistent, but identical with the interests and policy of this country. The noble Lord asks me as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. I can only say in answer that this



great measure raises so many and such complicated questions that time, at all events, must be given for the consideration of them by the Government and the delegates. The Canadian delegates have not yet arrived, nor, as I have said, is it absolutely certain that they have left Canada. Under these circumstances, looking to the advanced period of the Session, looking also to the absence of those delegates whose presence is absolutely necessary to the practical consideration of the question, it is obviously impossible for the Government to submit to Parliament this year a measure on so important and intricate a matter. It will be my duty during the recess to enter fully and frankly into communication with the delegates of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and to endeavour with them to arrive—as I trust we may—at such a conclusion as will be satisfactory both to the Colonies and the mother country.

## XI.

### BANQUET TO THE DELEGATES FROM NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK.

At a Banquet given on October 11, 1866, by the British North American Association to the delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick then in England, the Earl of Carnarvon, in replying to the toast of Her Majesty's Ministers, said :—

I only wish there were more of my colleagues present on this occasion to share the honour you have done me. The chairman was good enough to say that he hoped I should feel the same interest in this great Colonial question as other ministers who have preceded me. As the minister specially charged with the care of the Colonies, I can answer for this, that whatever difference of opinion on many political matters there may be between my two predecessors in the Colonial Office and myself, there is, at least, no difference in this respect, that we equally claim for ourselves a deep and sincere interest in all that touches the welfare of the British Colonies. For my own part, amid the whole range of English politics, I know no subject of so great and engrossing interest as that which the study of Colonial politics affords. Comprising, as the

Colonies do, many races, many interests, many forms of government, they offer a field so manifold, so diverse, so complicated, that their interest is only equalled by the sense of responsibility which necessarily attaches to those who are in any way charged with their administration. If there is this great interest with regard to the Colonies at large, there is a very special interest in reference to that most important group the North American Colonies, of which I see so many distinguished representatives round the table. I know nothing more impressive, nothing more gratifying than the present position of the British North American Provinces, with their inexhaustible fisheries on the sea board, which contain wealth for ages to come, their mines, their metals, their forests, inexhaustible even by the wastefulness, as is sometimes said, of man, their harbours, their rivers, their fertile lands. All these great gifts Nature has poured out in no stinted measure on the inhabitants of British North America. And if Nature has been bountiful, man in those countries, I think, has not been slow to avail himself of her gifts. Nature has indented those shores with the mouths of noble rivers and great harbours, but man has also played his part, and a hearty and intelligent race plies its vocations on the coast, knowing at once how to build and to navigate its own ships. I know that blue-books are not the

most poetic of compositions. The study of them is probably the dullest and the most prosaic part of the duty incumbent on those who take a share in political life in this country. And yet I must say that to my mind there is a great deal of poetry in those long rows of figures which speak of the onward steady march of commerce and agriculture, and which show the progress achieved in a geometrical ratio year by year. There is poetry, moreover, in those tables of returns which show an annual increase in the purchase of the waste Crown lands of that country, because they tell of the conflict which is being successfully waged with the rough life of the wilderness; they tell of fresh comforts and fresh civilisation brought home in a thousand ways to the hearths and homes of hundreds of thousands of persons. It is something perhaps better than poetry when we find among those returns proofs not only of the great increase of commerce, but also of the financial regularity with which the public accounts are kept in those distant Colonies, affording us perhaps a useful lesson in this country. There is evidence of an increasing prosperity when we find in Nova Scotia a ten per cent. tariff pretty nearly sufficient for the charges of the government, and a surplus, not only annual, but increasing, which is applicable to the improvement of the Colony.

I say, therefore, that man has not been slow to use the great and bountiful gifts which Nature has lavished on those countries, and I believe that if any one should return to any one of those Colonies after the lapse of a quarter of a century he would hardly recognise it, so great would have been the march of improvements during that interval. He would find that towns had sprung up, with paved streets and public buildings erected with architectural effect; that population was steadily advancing, and more, that the refinement of life was making its way, and that much of the rough conflict of life in the wilderness was over; and that public gardens, public libraries and museums, had been created—in fact, that everything marked the advance of a free, a prosperous, and civilised community.

I am glad to have the pleasure of meeting here, at this table, so many representatives from the North American Colonies. You have come to this country to discuss one of the most important constitutional questions that can well be imagined, certainly the most important that has ever been discussed in regard to British North America. Not, indeed, that the question is altogether a new one. For many years past, under one shape or another, at one time or another, it has been much considered and much discussed here. It was entertained very early in this century by many

colonists of eminence and distinction ; and subsequently, in Lord Durham's time, when in that most able report recommending the legislative union of the two Canadas he also contemplated the union of the maritime provinces. And in 1858 we had delegates from those Colonies in England to concert with Her Majesty's Government the means of conciliating those Colonial interests. It has singularly happened that through my connexion with the Colonial Office in 1858 I had the pleasure of making an acquaintance, which I have still greater pleasure in renewing now in 1866, with many of those gentlemen who attended then, and who attend now, as the delegates from their respective provinces on this subject. From various causes the question came to no practical issue then, but it has revived, and is once more before us in a practical form. I regret, indeed, that we see here this evening not the delegates from all the British North American Provinces, but merely those who represent the two Maritime Provinces. The Canadian delegates are absent—they have been detained by a combination of circumstances in their own countries—but I believe that their delay is as unintentional as it is unavoidable. However, if I may be permitted to do so, I would fain bear my testimony to the patience and to the cheerful temper with which the delegates from the Maritime Provinces

have submitted to the great inconvenience, both public and private, which the necessary absence of their Canadian colleagues has entailed upon them.

But from the absence of the one-third, or one-half I may say, of the delegation it has been impossible to consider this question effectively at present. It has not yet come under the official consideration of Her Majesty's Government. When it does, no doubt there will be many points to examine, many interests to be weighed, some differences of opinion to be reconciled. In the meantime it would be premature on my part, and I should be departing from my public duty, if I expressed any opinion of my own; but in the name of all those in this country who take an interest in this great national subject, I am free to welcome those representatives of the British North American Provinces who are with us; and I am free on the part of Her Majesty's Government to promise an earnest and respectful attention to everything that those gentlemen may urge when they come into council on behalf of those provinces, those cities, and those governments of which they are the accredited envoys. I can promise them that they shall find no indifference on the part of Her Majesty's Government to their wishes, no want of confidence in their national aspirations; and I think that whatever may be the

issue of that council, we shall at least present a picture not unworthy altogether of this country, and, as far as I know, unparalleled in the colonial history of the world—we shall show the picture of a mother country discussing frankly, freely, and sympathetically with her Colonies great constitutional changes desired and proposed by them; on the part of the mother country, without one particle of jealousy or of mistrust; and, on the side of the Colony, with the most earnest loyalty and affection to the mother country. Changes, no doubt, in the course of time may come, which may vary our relationship with our distant Colonies, but changes depend very much in their nature on the spirit in which they are conceived, and also upon the spirit in which they are met; and when changes are made in such a temper as is shown on both sides in this question, I think there is no reason to fear the result. Once in the history of England it so happened that we parted from some of our great Colonies with a bad spirit, and in a misunderstanding, the evil effects of which were felt for many a long year, and left behind them jealous exasperation and embittered relations between those who ought to have been firm friends and allies, which it has required many years, more than a generation, to overcome. Gradually that feeling has, I believe and hope, passed away, and the two nations have come under the influence of



mutual respect. But, at all events, this has taught us a useful lesson, and I think we need not be ashamed to own it. It taught us that conciliation is better than coercion; it taught us that if we give our confidence it will be repaid to us a hundredfold. It taught us, and it taught the Colonies also, that the interest of England and the interest of the Colonies properly understood are not separate or distinct interests, but that the more prosperous the Colonies are, the greater will be the strength they will confer upon the mother country.

Dr. Tupper (now Sir Charles Tupper), the Prime Minister of Nova Scotia, one of the delegates, responded, saying that the time had arrived when the Provinces considered that their interests would be advanced by having one legislature and one government. The question would be asked, was it possible to retain British North America as a part of the British Empire? When he told them that in the little Province of Nova Scotia alone, during the alarm of the Fenian invasion, the Government called out and drilled 50,000 men, and that they had raised an artillery corps 1,000 strong to aid in defending Halifax, and that the same quota from all the Provinces would give them a force of from 400,000 to 600,000, prepared to sacrifice not only the last penny of their property but also their lives in defence of union with England, he thought it would be admitted that it was impossible to sever those Provinces from the mother country. There was no doubt that the people of Canada were thoroughly in favour of the Confederation.

The Hon. S. L. Tilley, the delegate from New Brunswick, also testified to the desire of that Province for Confederation, and similar sentiments were expressed by Mr. Archibald,

of Nova Scotia, and Mr. Chandler, of New Brunswick. The toast of the Governor-General of Canada was coupled with the name of Governor Hincks, of British Guiana, who, in replying, said that if separation from the mother country were proposed in Canada it would be opposed even to bloodshed by the majority of the Colonists.

## XII.

### BANQUET AT THE CANADA CLUB.

The Canada Club entertained at dinner, on January 9, 1867, at "The Albion," Aldersgate Street, the delegates from the British North American Provinces then in London, consisting of the Hon. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Howland, and Galt, from Canada ; the Hon. Dr. Tupper and Messrs. Henry, Ritchie, and Archibald, from Nova Scotia ; and the Hon. Messrs. Mitchell, Tilley, Fisher, Johnson, and Wilmot, from New Brunswick. Mr. Watkin, M.P., presided, and the company included, besides those already mentioned, the Earl of Carnarvon, Sir J. Pakington, Lord Bury, Mr. Roebuck, M.P., and about sixty other gentlemen. The Earl of Carnarvon, in responding to the toast of Her Majesty's Ministers, said :—

A good many years have elapsed since I last had the pleasure of dining with the Canada Club, and it is with much satisfaction that I find myself once more in the position of your guest. I feel thankful to you for the compliment which you have just paid to my colleagues as well as to myself, and it is with great gratification I see around me several gentlemen whom I have already met in private, who have come as delegates across the Atlantic on a most important mission, and to whose friendship I hope I may lay claim. These gentlemen have visited us as the representatives of Colonies under that

responsible government with which we are so familiar that we are sometimes in danger of forgetting that it is the exception, and not the rule, and that out of England there are few countries in which it has free play and has endured a long time. In the Colonies the great problem of self-government is now being tried, and it is there that we look for the exhibition of those great qualities which alone make Constitutional Government possible. It is sometimes said that responsible government must be fatal to the connexion subsisting between this country and her Colonies. In the truth of that assertion I, for one, do not believe. On the contrary, the connexion, so far from being destroyed, will in my opinion be saved and confirmed by its agency. When about a quarter of a century ago responsible government was given to our Colonies, it was conceded amid, I might almost say, the wreck and ruin of the colonial system which then prevailed. The great dependencies of the Crown in the East had not at that time started up in all their wealth and prosperity; the capability of development of our Australian possessions was almost unknown; the West Indies were reeling under the effects of recent emancipation, and even Canada, now so prosperous, was passing under a cloud of internal discord. When we look around and contrast that which was with that which now presents itself to

our view, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the change which has taken place.

It is occasionally stated, and stated sometimes in a tone of reproach, that responsible government is a very easy matter; but my answer to that statement is, "If it be so simple, how is it that we do not see a greater number of illustrations of it all over the world?" The fact is, it is not found to be a thing which is at all easy in practice. It has taken us a long time to construct the great fabric of constitutional government in England; it requires the exercise of the highest and most statesmanlike qualities to maintain that fabric in equilibrium; and when we come to transplant that system—which means a system of changing Ministries and short-lived Parliaments—to distant Colonies, and to connect it with, after all, but slight bonds, with a similar system of changing Parliaments and Ministries at home, the marvel is that it has been found to work so harmoniously and with so much success. It must be borne in mind that questions must arise from time to time of grave constitutional principle and grave practical importance, and that the lines of imperial policy, or interest, or obligation, occasionally so cross each other as to require the exhibition of the most kindly and affectionate feeling on the one side and the other. Responsible government, I may add, is no doubt, like every other form of government,

subject to change in different countries and under different conditions ; but, so long as the spirit of moderation, the respect for the authority of the judicial bench, and the regard for law and existing institutions continue to be preserved as they have hitherto been in our colonial possessions, the result will, I feel confident, be found to be the same.

*“ Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.”*

We are now approaching an important development of this system of colonial self-government, in the great proposal for the Confederation of our North American Provinces. It is sometimes urged against that proposal that it involves a gigantic revolution of the existing state of things. For my own part, putting aside all other objections, and looking upon the scheme on its own merits, I cannot concur in that opinion. There will still subsist the same institutions in many respects, which the same men will have to work, with the same bond of union of loyalty to the Sovereign as a matter of feeling, while in point of practice there will be still a representative sent out by the Sovereign to rule on her behalf. It therefore seems to me that if the proposed change be carried into effect there will be very little departure from the existing principles of constitutional government, while there will be a broader theatre and a larger body of actors. It must, on the other hand, be

admitted that a federal constitution such as that in contemplation is in its very nature a delicate and artificial arrangement, that it has been at all times the product of an established civilisation, and that it is suited only to those States which are so far akin that they can without difficulty be united to one another, while they are also so dissimilar as to be incapable of being fused into a single body politic. The change, moreover, involves not only the compromise of rights and interests, but also the association on fair terms of small with greater States. There is, of course, a certain virtue in a small as well as in a large community. History teaches us that small States have a tendency to develop individual character, and to raise up a high standard of culture. We learn, upon the other hand, that the life of such States is but short, that in them the fire of national existence burns out rapidly, and that they need the resources of a larger society to supply them with fuel sufficient to protect their national existence. The first condition, then, necessary to a Federal Government such as that of which I speak is, in my opinion, that it should provide carefully for the relations which must subsist between the parts and the whole, and that while, on the one hand, the parts—by which I mean the several States—willingly enter the union retaining all the powers requisite for the due discharge of their local functions, the central

Government ought, on the other hand, to be invested with ample powers not only to uphold its dignity, but also to secure the proper cohesion of the entire body.

I have during the last few weeks deemed it to be part of my duty to read all, or nearly all, that has been written on the important question on which I am addressing you, and I must, as an outsider, bear my testimony to the great ability with which the literary war on the subject has been conducted on all sides. The objections urged in the controversy may be divided into two classes, and to all those objections which touch the structure of the proposed Confederation, and which suggest real practical difficulties in the working of it, I am bound to lend a ready ear. When, also, it is alleged that there is a disinclination on the part of some of the populations of British North America to enter into the proposed union, the allegation is one which I think has to be measured with the aid of all the care which I can command. But there is another and a different class of objections on which I must frankly say, with all due respect for the ability with which they are urged, I look with a very different eye. When, for instance, I hear it said that the whole of this great scheme of Confederation is to be attributed to the lust of territory on the part of a single State—to the overweening



desire of Canada to exercise a mastery over her neighbours—I cannot, I must confess, accept the assertion as correct. Again, when I am told that there is no advantage to be reaped from the intimate consolidation of existing interests either in a commercial, a political, or a social point of view, from the superseding of various systems of jurisprudence and legislation by means of one or nearly one system, or from the throwing open the industry, the schools, and professions of the different Provinces by applying the resources of one of them for the advantage of another, I must at once frankly admit that I cannot follow such a line of argument, nor can I see the smallest ground on which such a proposition—and it is no more than a proposition—can be defended. I will simply say, in conclusion, that the whole question of the Confederation of the North American Provinces is under the consideration of the Government, and that whatever measures will in our opinion tend to make these Provinces at once more competent and more powerful will secure not only our warmest sympathy but our most zealous support.

### XIII.

#### BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BILL.

HOUSE OF LORDS, FEBRUARY 19, 1867.

The British North America Bill was read for the first time in the House of Lords on February 12, 1867. The second reading took place on February 19, when the Earl of Carnarvon moved it in the following speech:—

In laying before your Lordships the details of one of the largest and most important measures which for many years it has been the duty of any Colonial Minister in this country to submit to Parliament, I must unaffectedly ask for the forbearance of the House. I have, however, this advantage in the performance of my task that the present measure is not a question of political controversy, and that I may count almost as much upon the sympathy of many noble Lords opposite in the purposes of this great undertaking as upon those of my noble friends on this side of the House. And here, in the very outset, I would wish to bear my testimony—whatever it may be worth—to the ability and patience with which my right hon. predecessor in the Colonial Office, Mr. Cardwell, laboured to effect the consummation of

this work. From the evidences, indeed, which I have seen in that Office of the interest that he took in this question, I am confident that, although it has fallen to my lot rather than his to submit this measure to Parliament, yet there is no one in either House who will more sincerely rejoice in its success than the right hon. gentleman.

My Lords, I will not detain your Lordships now by any lengthy recapitulation of the early history of this question. It is enough to say that, in one form or another, it has for many years been before the public mind in the British Provinces of North America. Lord Durham, when he proposed in his most able Report the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada, distinctly contemplated the incorporation of the Maritime Provinces. But delays and difficulties intervened, and Lord Durham's intentions were never carried out. In 1858, however, Sir Edmund Head, then Governor-General of Canada, in his speech from the throne, announced the policy of Confederation to the Canadian Parliament; and in the autumn of that year, when my noble friend (the Earl of Derby) was in office, delegates from that Province came to this country to consult with Her Majesty's Government upon the subject. But matters were not then ripe, and it was not till 1864 that the first decided step was taken in furtherance of the proposal. In September

of that year delegates from all the Maritime Provinces, including Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, were assembled at Charlottetown to discuss the terms of a possible union of those Provinces alone, when the Canadian Parliament intervened and gave to the design a grander character by deputing representatives to propose the Confederation of all the British North American Colonies. The conference of Charlottetown was adjourned to Quebec, and there, in the month of October, those resolutions were drawn up which have since become famous under the name of "the Quebec Resolutions," and which, with some slight changes, form the basis of the measure that I have now the honour to submit to Parliament. To those resolutions all the British Provinces in North America were, as I have said, consenting parties, and the measure founded upon them must be accepted as a treaty of union. Since then, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island have withdrawn from the agreement; and this Bill embraces only the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, of Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The time, indeed, will come before long, I cannot doubt, when Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island will gravitate towards the common centre of this Confederation. Every consideration of policy and interest will lead them towards this conclusion. The time also is not

distant when the broad and fertile districts to the west of Canada, now under the rule of a trading company, will form part of the Confederation; perhaps it is not very far distant when even British Columbia and Vancouver's Island may be incorporated, and one single system of English law and commerce and policy extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Meanwhile, let no one think lightly of the present proposed union, curtailed though it be of its original proportions. It will in area comprise some 400,000 square miles, or more than four times the size of England and Scotland; it will in population contain about 4,000,000 souls, of whom 650,000 were, at the last census of 1861, men between twenty and sixty years of age, capable of bearing arms in defence of their country; and in revenue it possesses some £3,000,000 a year.

The Bill opens by reciting the desire of the several Provinces to be federally united. It proceeds to invest the Crown with all executive powers, by land and sea, for civil administration and military defence. It next provides for the appointment of a Governor-General—an officer charged with the duty of protecting Imperial interests, named by and responsible to the Crown. He will constitute the chief, if not the only, direct link by which the united Provinces will be connected with this country. His position will

be one of dignity and station, equal in all ways to its Imperial importance, and a salary of £10,000 is by a clause in this Bill made a permanent third charge upon the general revenues. It is the desire of the Provinces to retain their separate and individual organisation, and they will therefore be severally administered by Lieutenant-Governors. At present these officers are appointed by the Crown ; but henceforward they will receive their offices at the hands of the Governor-General, acting under the advice of his Ministers. They will hold office during pleasure, though they will be subject to removal only on cause being shown, and under ordinary circumstances the term of their administration will be limited to five years.

I come now to the Legislature which it is proposed to create under this Bill. It is twofold—a Central Parliament and a Local Legislature in each Province. I will deal with the Central Parliament first. It will be composed of two Chambers—an Upper Chamber, to be styled the Senate, and a Lower Chamber, to be termed in affectionate remembrance of some of the best and noblest traditions of English history, the House of Commons. Of all problems to be solved in the creation of a Colonial Constitution none is more difficult than the composition of an Upper House. This House is generally assumed to be the model—it would probably be hard

to find a worthier or higher model—and men labour to reproduce the English House of Lords amongst English colonists, animated, it is true, by English instincts and feelings, but placed under social conditions which are wholly different. The materials for such a House are absolutely wanting in the Colonies. The hereditary title to legislate, the great wealth, the large territorial property, the immemorial prescription, and the respect which has been for generations freely accorded to this ancient institution, have no place in the ideas of a young community. To attempt, therefore, a close and minute imitation of the English House of Lords is, I think, to court failure. There are, in my opinion, two broad principles to be kept in view in the creation of a Colonial Upper Chamber: first, that it should be strong enough to maintain its own opinion, and to resist the sudden gusts of popular feeling; secondly, that it should not be so strong that it should be impenetrable to public sentiment, and therefore out of harmony with the other branch of the Legislature. These are conditions difficult under the most favourable circumstances to secure; but they are complicated in this instance by a third, which has been made a fundamental principle of the measure by the several contracting parties, and the object of which is to provide for a permanent representation

and protection of sectional interests. I will briefly explain how far these three considerations appear to me to have been met in this Bill. The Senate will consist of seventy-two members, the four Provinces being for this purpose divided into three sections, of which Upper Canada will be one, Lower Canada another, and the Maritime Provinces a third. From each of these three sections an equal number of twenty-four members will be returned. They will be nominated by the Governor-General in Council for life. But as it is obvious that the principle of life nomination, combined with a fixed number of members, might render a difference of opinion between the two Houses a question almost insoluble under many years, and might bring about what is popularly known as a legislative deadlock, a power is conferred upon the Crown—a power, I need not say, that would only be exercised under exceptional and very grave circumstances—to add six members to the Senate, subject to a restriction that those six members shall be taken equally from the three sections, so as in no way to disturb their relative strength, and that the next vacancies shall not be filled up until the Senate is reduced to its normal number. It may, perhaps, be said that the addition of six members will be insufficient to obviate the legislative discord against which we desire to provide. I am free to confess



that I could have wished that the margin had been broader. At the same time, the average vacancies which have of recent years occurred in the nominated portion of the present Legislative Council of Canada go far to show that, even in the ordinary course of events, the succession of members will be rapid. I have received on this subject a return which will be interesting. In 1856 forty-two members answered to the call of the House, in 1858 there were but thirty-five, and in 1862 only twenty-five. Thus in six years no less than seventeen vacancies had occurred, showing an average of nearly three every year. When, therefore, a power on the part of the Crown to create six additional members is supplemented by so large and so regular a change in the constitution of the Senate, it may be hoped that enough is done to maintain the legislative harmony of the two Houses.

Your Lordships will observe that by the 25th clause security is given that the first list of Senators shall not be nominated under partisan influences. Their names will be a matter of careful agreement, to be submitted to and confirmed by the Crown, and to form part of the Proclamation of Union. The qualifications which are annexed to the office of Senator are not numerous, but they are important. He is to be of thirty years of age—and probably the average age will considerably exceed

this—he must be a subject of Her Majesty, he must have a continuous real property qualification of 4,000 dollars over and above all debts and liabilities, and a continuous residence in the Province which he represents. On the other hand, he will become subject to disqualification if he fails in his attendance for two consecutive Sessions, if he takes an oath of allegiance to any Foreign Power, if he is insolvent or convicted of crime, or if he ceases to be qualified in respect either of his property or his residence in his Province. There are some further details of procedure which are provided for, but which only need a general mention. The Speaker will be nominated by the Governor-General on the part of the Crown, a quorum of fifteen will be required, and whenever the members present are equally divided, the presumption—in imitation of the rule of this House—will be for the negative.

I now come to the constitution of the House of Commons. The principle upon which the Senate is constructed is, as I have explained, the representation and the protection of sectional interests. The principle upon which the House of Commons is founded is that of a representation in accordance with population. It will not be, indeed, a representation of mere numbers distributed equally in electoral districts; but whilst population is made the basis of representation, each Province will

have a number of representatives in proportion to its own population, and in proportion also to the population and representatives of its neighbours conjoined. Unlike other popular assemblies, the Canadian House of Commons will be a variable number; but it will vary by reference to a particular standard. That standard will be given by Lower Canada, which is to retain its present quota of sixty-five members, and will, in fact, be the proportion which those sixty-five members bear to the population of the Province. If Lower Canada, with a population of 1,100,000, has sixty-five members, Upper Canada, with a population of nearly 1,500,000, will have eighty-two members. It may, indeed, happen that an increase of the total numbers of the House may become necessary. Power is reserved for this contingency; but in such case the increase will be regulated in all the other Provinces by reference to the number of members representing Lower Canada, and by the proportion between those members and the population in that Province. But as the representation of population will be based upon the census, there will be a decennial readjustment of it. And this leads me to observe that the Parliaments of British North America will be quinquennial. That decision was not, I believe, adopted without some debate. On the one side there was the precedent of the English Constitution; on the other there was the

example of the recent New Zealand Constitution, and the fact that the average duration of British Parliaments can hardly in recent times be said to exceed five years. Of the twenty-one Parliaments from the accession of George I. to that of William IV., comprising a period of 115 years, the average duration was under five years and a half; and of the ten Parliaments from the accession of William IV. to 1865, comprising a period of thirty-five years, the average duration has been three years and a half. Whilst in the last century no less than seven Parliaments attained the term of six years, in the present only two Parliaments have had so protracted an existence.

The Local Legislatures to be established in each Province stand next in order, and my task here is easy; for whilst the provisions regulating the constitution of the Central Parliament are in the nature of permanent enactments, those which govern the Local Legislatures will be subject to amendment by those bodies. This portion, therefore, of the Bill is intended to provide the temporary machinery by which each Province will be enabled to enter upon its new life and political duties. I ought, however, to observe that in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick no material change will take place. The existing Parliaments in those Provinces become the provincial Legislatures, with their constitutions, their constituencies, and their

local machinery unaltered. In Canada, the division of the Province has necessitated the creation of two Legislatures; but the clauses that provide for them are little more than a transcript of a vote agreed to by the Canadian Parliament in their last Session, in anticipation of this adjustment. In Lower Canada there will be a Legislative Council, of which the members will be nominated for life, and an Assembly; in Upper Canada there will be but one Chamber for the management of local business.

My Lords, I now pass to that which is, perhaps, the most delicate and the most important part of this measure—the distribution of powers between the Central Parliament and the local authorities. In this is, I think, comprised the main theory and constitution of Federal Government; on this depends the practical working of the new system. And here we navigate a sea of difficulties. There are rocks on the right hand and on the left. If, on the one hand, the Central Government be too strong, then there is risk that it may absorb some of that local action, and that wholesome self-government by the provincial bodies, which it is a matter both of good faith and political expediency to maintain; if, on the other hand, the Central Government is not strong enough, then arises a conflict of State rights and pretensions, cohesion is destroyed, and the effective vigour of the central authority is

encroached upon. The real object which we have in view is to give to the Central Government those high functions and almost sovereign powers by which general principles and uniformity of legislation may be secured in those questions that are of common import to all the Provinces; and, at the same time, to retain for each Province so ample a measure of municipal liberty and self-government as will allow and indeed compel them to exercise those local powers which they can exercise with great advantage to the community. In Australia there is at present a tendency towards the disintegration of the vast territories which are called Colonies, because those who live at great distances on their extreme borders complain that they cannot obtain from the Central Parliaments the attention which they require. In New Zealand, on the other hand, an attempt—and not without success—has been made to combine considerable local powers with a general Government at the centre.

In this Bill the division of powers has been mainly effected by a distinct classification. That classification is fourfold: first, those subjects of legislation which are attributed to the Central Parliament exclusively; second, those which belong to the Provincial Legislatures exclusively; third, those which are subjects of concurrent legislation; and fourth, a particular question which is dealt with exceptionally. To the Central Parliament belong all

questions of the public debt or property, all regulations with regard to trade or commerce, customs, and excise, loans, the raising of revenue by any mode or system of taxation, all provisions as to currency, coinage, banking, postal arrangements, the regulation of the census, and the issue and collection of statistics. To the Central Parliament will also be assigned the enactment of criminal law. The administration of it, indeed, is vested in the local authorities; but the power of general legislation is very properly reserved for the Central Parliament. And in this I cannot but note a wise departure from the system pursued in the United States, where each State is competent to deal as it may please with its criminal code, and where an offence may be visited with one penalty in the State of New York and with another in the State of Virginia. The system here proposed is, I believe, a better and safer one; and I trust that before very long the criminal law of the four Provinces may be assimilated—and assimilated, I will add, upon the basis of English procedure. Lastly, the fisheries, the navigation and shipping, the quarantine regulations, the lighting of the coast, and the general question of naval and military defence, will be placed under the exclusive control of the Central Government.

The principal subjects reserved to the local Legislatures are the sale and management of

the public lands, the control of their hospitals, asylums, charitable and municipal institutions, and the raising of money by means of direct taxation. The several Provinces, which are now free to raise a revenue as they may think fit, surrender to the Central Parliament all powers under this head except that of direct taxation. Lastly, and in conformity with all recent colonial legislation, the Provincial Legislatures are empowered to amend their own constitutions. But there is, as I have said, a concurrent power of legislation to be exercised by the Central and the Local Parliaments. It extends over three separate subjects—immigration, agriculture, public works. Of these the two first will, in most cases, probably be treated by the provincial authorities. They are subjects which in their ordinary character are local; but it is possible that they may have, under the changing circumstances of a young country, a more general bearing, and therefore a discretionary power of interference is wisely reserved to the Central Parliament. Public works fall into two classes: First, those which are purely local, such as roads and bridges, and municipal buildings—and these belong, not only as a matter of right, but also as a matter of duty, to the local authorities. Secondly, there are public works which, though possibly situated in a single Province, such as telegraphs, and canals, and railways, are yet of



common import and value to the entire Confederation, and over these it is clearly right that the Central Government should exercise a controlling authority.

Lastly, in the 93rd clause, which contains the exceptional provisions to which I referred, your Lordships will observe some rather complicated arrangements in reference to education. I need hardly say that that great question gives rise to nearly as much earnestness and division of opinion on that as on this side of the Atlantic. This clause has been framed after long and anxious controversy, in which all parties have been represented, and on conditions to which all have given their consent. It is an understanding which, as it only concerns the local interests affected, is not one that Parliament would be willing to disturb, even if in the opinion of Parliament it were susceptible of amendment; but I am bound to add, as the expression of my own opinion, that the terms of the agreement appear to me to be equitable and judicious. For the object of the clause is to secure to the religious minority of one Province the same rights, privileges, and protection which the religious minority of another Province may enjoy. The Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada, the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, and the Roman Catholic minority of the Maritime Provinces, will thus stand on a footing of entire

equality. But in the event of any wrong at the hand of the local majority, the minority have a right of appeal to the Governor-General in Council, and may claim the application of any remedial laws that may be necessary from the Central Parliament of the Confederation.

In closing my observations upon the distribution of powers, I ought to point out that just as the authority of the Central Parliament will prevail whenever it may come into conflict with the local Legislatures, so the residue of legislation, if any, unprovided for in the specific classification, which I have explained, will belong to the central body. It will be seen, under the 91st clause, that the classification is not intended "to restrict the generality" of the powers previously given to the Central Parliament, and that those powers extend to all laws made "for the peace, order, and good government" of the Confederation—terms which, according to all precedent, will, I understand, carry with them an ample measure of legislative authority. I will add that, whilst all general Acts will follow the usual conditions of colonial legislation, and will be confirmed, disallowed, or reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure by the Governor-General, the Acts passed by the local Legislature will be transmitted only to the Governor-General, and be subject to disallowance by him within the space of one twelvemonth.

Clauses 102—126 regulate the conditions, pecuniary and commercial, upon which the Provinces enter into union. They are so entirely matter of local detail and agreement, that I need not weary the House with any minute statement of them. It is enough to say that under them a consolidated fund is created, and that whilst lands and minerals and other assets and property are reserved to the several Provinces, the provincial revenues, with certain exceptions, together with the debts and liabilities of each province, will be transferred to the central body. By this agreement the public creditor who exchanges the security of each separate Province for the joint security of the four Provinces confederated, will find his position improved rather than deteriorated. As I have said, it is proposed that the Provinces shall surrender to the Central Parliament all powers of raising revenue except by direct taxation. In return for this concession the Central Government will remit to the local Legislatures certain fixed sums and proportionate capitation payments, in order to enable them more conveniently to defray the costs of local administration. The debt of each Province has been fixed at a certain sum calculated; but if in the interval between the present time and the proclamation of union that debt should be increased, the Province so exceeding will pay interest on the excess, and that interest will

be deducted from the quota which they would otherwise receive from the central authority. In the same category must be placed the 145th clause, which makes it the duty of the Central Parliament and Government to provide for the commencement of the Intercolonial Railway within six months of the union. Such an undertaking was part of the compact between the several Provinces, and it was made an indispensable condition on the part of New Brunswick. Successive Governments at home have entertained the scheme, and have pledged themselves to the promise of more or less assistance. Meanwhile I will not now enter upon its details, because very shortly a further measure involving the consideration of pecuniary support must come before Parliament.

There is, indeed, a question of great importance and intimately connected with the future fortunes of the Confederated Provinces, and I may perhaps be asked why it finds no place in this measure. My Lords, I am fully alive to the urgent importance of coming to some settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company's claims. The progress of American settlement on the West, the confederation of the Provinces on the East, render an early decision necessary. But till this union is completed it would be waste of time to discuss the relations of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories to the Provinces. When once this Bill becomes law, it will be the

duty of Her Majesty's Government not to lose one day unnecessarily in dealing with this great subject.

Having thus stated the main provisions of the measure, I have only to add the designation of this new State to which we are about to give a distinct life and organisation. It may seem a trifling question; but it has, in truth, been one neither unimportant nor free from difficulties. To the representatives of the Maritime Provinces belongs the credit of waiving local rights and pretensions; and they have felt the advantage of accepting a name not less familiar to the English labourer and artisan than it is distinguished by honourable traditions. Her Majesty has been pleased to express her approval of the name, and henceforth the United Provinces will be known as the "Dominion of Canada," a designation which is a graceful tribute on the part of colonists to the monarchical principle under which they have lived and prospered, which they trust to transmit unimpaired to their children's children. Whilst the individual Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick retain their present designations, Upper Canada will become the Province of Ontario, and Lower Canada the Province of Quebec.

I have now stated the general principles upon which this measure is founded. But to so large a scheme, as might naturally be expected, objections have been made; and these objections, or some of

them, it is my duty to indicate. And first, it has been urged that this union should have been a legislative rather than a federal one. I admit, to a certain extent, the validity of the objection. When Upper and Lower Canada were connected in a legislative union, Lord Durham distinctly contemplated a similar incorporation of the Maritime Provinces. Nor are there wanting to this opinion many of the ablest of Canadian statesmen. But the answer is simply this—that a legislative union is, under existing circumstances, impracticable. The Maritime Provinces are ill-disposed to surrender their separate life, and to merge their individuality in the political organisation of the general body. It is in their case impossible, even if it were desirable, by a stroke of the pen to bring about a complete assimilation of their institutions to those of their neighbours. Lower Canada, too, is jealous, as she is deservedly proud, of her ancestral customs and traditions; she is wedded to her peculiar institutions, and will enter this union only upon the distinct understanding that she retains them. The 42nd Article of the Treaty of Capitulation in 1760, when Canada was ceded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to General Amherst, runs thus :—

“ Les François et Canadiens continueront d’être gouvernés suivant la Coutume de Paris et les loix et usages établis pour ce pays.”

The Coutume de Paris is still the accepted basis of their Civil Code, and their national institutions have been alike respected by their fellow-subjects and cherished by themselves. And it is with these feelings and on these terms that Lower Canada now consents to enter into this Confederation.

But it has been objected that this union of Provinces will be a kingdom, not a Confederation, and that being an embodiment of the monarchical principle, it will constitute a challenge to our powerful republican neighbour across the border. Now I am at a loss to understand how these Provinces, when united, can be one whit more or one whit less of a kingdom than when separate. There will be, with some few modifications, the same institutions, the same forms of government, and even the same men to give life and movement to them. It is but a development of the existing system. But whilst it is attacked by one critic as too monarchical in its character, it is assailed by another as too republican, and we are warned that it must ere long on American soil become a republic, and lead to the dismemberment of the Empire. Now I do not see special cause for apprehension from republican any more than from monarchical dangers; but I must submit that, at all events, the two allegations are fatally inconsistent with each other.

Again it has been said that this great scheme

owes its origin to the lust of territorial dominion on the part of one State, and that it is solely referable to the overweening ambition of Canada to exercise a supremacy over her sister Provinces. For this allegation I cannot see the smallest groundwork of argument, and looking to the past history and the ordinary probabilities of these Colonies, I can conceive nothing more unlikely than a combination of Upper and Lower Canada as against the Maritime Provinces. If, indeed, any one of these Provinces has a reasonable ground for apprehension, it is Lower Canada, with its distinct race and language and institutions, rather than Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which are in all essentials so akin to the great and populous Province of Upper Canada. But whilst this large scheme of union has been attributed to the desire of political supremacy on the part of Canada, it is in the same breath referred to the irreconcilable differences which are supposed to have divided Upper and Lower Canada. I believe, for my own part, that those differences have been greatly exaggerated; but anyhow it is clear that the two objections cannot both be correct. They destroy each other. And this, indeed, I may observe, is the case with several other objections that have been urged; as when, in England, we are told that the object of this scheme is the imposition of fresh burdens



upon the mother country, and, on the other side, that its object will be the imposition of pecuniary charges upon the Maritime Provinces.

My Lords, I must not pass over another and a plausible objection to the policy of this measure. It is said that, whilst the commercial policy of Canada has been of a Protectionist, that of the Maritime Provinces has been of a more Liberal character; and it is further argued that, once the union of these Provinces has been accomplished, the restrictive system of Canada will become uniform, and that we shall find ourselves excluded from the comparatively free markets which we have hitherto enjoyed. A Canadian would probably reply to this that the high tariff of Canada has been due to the necessities of the revenue rather than to a desire to foster her own industries. Of this we can be no judge, we can only accept the facts as we find them; but on those facts there is, as I think, an answer worthy of the attention of this House. Whatever may have formerly been the case, it is now unfair to draw a strong distinction between the commercial politics of Canada and of the Lower Provinces. Canada is by no means unanimous in her desire for Protectionist measures. On the contrary, the Canadian tariff has recently been brought into far greater harmony with that of this country. I understand that the duties on all manufactured

articles—such as cottons, woollens, and leather—have been reduced in some cases from twenty-five, but in all from twenty, to fifteen per cent. Partially manufactured articles—such as bar-iron, tin, etc.—which were formerly charged with a ten per cent. duty, now come in free; and lastly, all raw materials are exempt from duty. On the other hand, the reductions in the revenue due to these changes have been made good by stamps, by an increase of the excise, and by duties on tea, sugar, and wines. Of these I may mention that the duty on tea is  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb., and therefore very close upon that which exists here; that as regards sugar they have adopted the same duties and the same system as ours; whilst in the case of wines they have followed the system, with this difference, that their duties are sixty per cent. lower than our own. Such, indeed, has been the reduction effected, that the Canadian tariff, whilst still considerably in excess of the Nova Scotian, is less than that of New Brunswick. And, therefore, we have some right to hope that a Free Trade rather than a Protectionist policy will be the result of the union of Canada with the Lower Provinces. But if even it were otherwise, I could never ask this House to bargain with Canada, and to withhold its consent to a measure on which the hearts of our Colonists and fellow-subjects are set, until they had adjusted their tariff to our liking. We

must rather trust to time and the prevailing strength of our own commercial principles to induce the Provinces to adopt that view which is most consistent with our policy, and, as I believe, with their interests. I do not doubt what their choice will be; for, apart from other considerations, so long as the United States think it desirable to hem themselves in with the bounties and restrictions of a jealously protective system, so long it will be the obvious interest of British North America to open her ports to the free entrance of commerce.

I have now come to the last, but also the gravest, objection which has been raised. It is an objection which I cannot indeed admit, but to which I will endeavour to do justice. It is represented that this measure, which purports to rest upon the free consent of the various contracting parties, is distasteful to a large portion, if not a majority, of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia. My Lords, it has been the duty of Her Majesty's Government to weigh seriously the value of this objection. I am told that a petition will be presented in the House of Commons; but none has been laid, or, as far as I know, will be laid, on the table of this House. There are, however, petitions against this union, which will be found in the recent papers that have been presented to Parliament. They are often drawn

up with considerable ability; but they bear the mark, I think, of a single hand, and though they profess to emanate from public meetings in the different counties of Nova Scotia, they are—I believe, with one exception—signed by the chairman alone, and give no evidence of the number or the class of the petitioners. As against this, we have to consider, first, that both Upper and Lower Canada have—I may almost say unanimously—expressed their concurrence in the proposed confederation, and that New Brunswick has given in her formal adhesion. And what as to Nova Scotia? Why, in 1861, the Assembly of that Province agreed to a resolution in favour of Confederation in general terms, and that resolution was transmitted to the Home Government. In 1863 the Nova Scotian Legislature was dissolved, and the Parliament then returned is still in existence. That Parliament, last summer, agreed to a vote in favour of Confederation in most definite and yet comprehensive terms, empowering the delegates now in this country to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government the conditions of union. My Lords, I do not see how it is possible to look behind that vote, and what better guarantee we can have of the real feelings of the people of Nova Scotia. I cannot, after this, consent to enter upon a discussion of the motives or policy of this or that Colonial Minister. We

have not the materials for forming a judgment; we can only accept the deliberate and formal opinion of the Legislature as the expression of the public feeling. Nor are the delegates, who are now in England, men selected from any one party in the Province. They represent both the Colonial Government and the Colonial Opposition. But, then, I may be told that the opposition is not so much to the measure itself as to the time at which it is being passed; and that the opponents desire that its ratification should be deferred until a new Parliament in Nova Scotia shall have expressed its opinion upon the question. But my answer to this must be, that the present Nova Scotian Parliament is fully competent to deal with the subject. Its members are representatives, not delegates, of the constituencies. When, last year, the Legislature of Jamaica voted away the former constitution of the island, Parliament did not hesitate to accept that surrender, and to place the colony under the direct control of the Crown. Neither the people nor the Legislature of Nova Scotia have been taken by surprise. Ever since 1858 the question of a more intimate consolidation of provincial interests has been before the public mind. The plea for delay is in reality a plea for indefinite postponement, and to this I do not believe that Parliament will lend its ear. This measure has been purchased at the cost of great

personal and local interests, and if we now remit it—I care not on what pretence—to the further consideration of the Province, we deliberately invite opposition; and we may be sure that many years will pass over before another such proposal for Confederation is submitted to Parliament.

My Lords, these objections come too late, for it is not the question of one, but of four great Provinces. If, indeed, we were to wait till every individual in those Provinces were agreed, we might wait for ever. To such a scheme as this there must, in the nature of things, be opposition. If ever the union of two countries was of public benefit, it was the union of Scotland and England; and yet when every circumstance of the time called imperatively for that union there were many who hesitated. The calmest and most philosophic of modern historians has said that—

“The measure was so hazardous an experiment that every lover of his country must have consented to it in trembling, or revolted from it in disgust.”

That union was, nevertheless, accomplished, and so fraught with blessings has it been, that we now wonder that the two nations could so long have remained separate.

I have thus stated some of the principal objections which have been urged to this measure, and have briefly indicated the answers to them.

Let me now review some of the advantages which may be reasonably anticipated. And first, I hope that this measure may well and effectually compose some of those complaints which from time to time must arise out of such an union as that which at present subsists between Upper and Lower Canada. It has, for instance, been said that whilst Upper Canada possesses the largest population, she has only an equal voice in the representation of their common interests in the joint Legislature. But this inequality will be redressed by the principle of representation according to population, upon which the House of Commons is to be constituted. Nor will Upper Canada gain unduly by this arrangement ; for whilst her interests will be protected by a representation in accordance with population in the Lower House, the interests of Lower Canada will be guarded by an equality of the sectional votes in the Upper House. Again, it has been said that whilst Upper Canada contributes the larger share of taxation, Lower Canada enjoys more than her just portion of the public expenditure. That allegation, whether well or ill-founded, also finds its answer in this Bill. Henceforward, apart from the revenue raised for the common purposes of the Confederation, local taxation and expenditure will depend upon the local authorities. Thus, all those complaints

which must arise under the circumstances of such an union as that which now exists—complaints of partiality, of neglect, of mismanagement of roads, bridges, and those public works which are the very life of a young community—must cease. All local works will devolve upon local authorities, who in turn will be responsible to the taxpayers. This is, indeed, the principle which we recognise in the management of our own county and borough affairs; and if it should be said that Parliament undertakes a wider control in England than is contemplated by this Bill in the confederated Provinces, I reply, first, that there is a difference in the management of local affairs by a central body between a country which contains 100,000 square miles and one which now contains 400,000, and may one day contain 3,400,000 square miles; and, secondly, that the lesson which the English Parliament affords us in this matter is a lesson rather of warning than of encouragement. These are perhaps negative merits. For the positive advantages, let any one look at the map and observe how bountifully Nature has lavished her gifts upon that country. But Nature, true to her constant rule, does not there shower those gifts upon one part to the exclusion of another. In the eastern districts there are not only coasts indented with harbours and fisheries, which, unless man greatly misuse them, may be called



inexhaustible, but minerals, gold, and—that which is more precious than gold—rich beds of coal. As the traveller goes westward, he finds a country rich in timber, in grain, in iron, lead, and copper, a country well fitted for manufacturing prosperity, and already known for its breed of sheep, and cattle, and horses; and when he passes the westernmost frontier of Canada, he sees before him fertile plains as yet unsettled, stretching along the valley of the Saskatchewan, up to the roots of the Rocky Mountains. Now these districts, which it may almost be said that Nature designed as one, men have divided into many by artificial lines of separation. The Maritime Provinces need the agricultural products and the manufacturing skill of Canada, and Canada needs harbours on the coast and a connexion with the sea. That connexion, indeed, she has, during the summer, by one of the noblest highways that a nation could desire, the broad stream of the St. Lawrence; but in winter henceforth she will have it by the intercolonial railway. At present there is but a scanty interchange of the manufacturing, mining, and agricultural resources of these several Provinces. They stand to each other almost in the relation of foreign States. Hostile Custom Houses guard the frontiers, and adverse tariffs choke up the channels of intercolonial trade. There is no uniformity of banking, no

common system of weights and measures, no identity of postal arrangements. The very currencies differ. In Canada the pound or the dollar are legal tender; in Nova Scotia the Peruvian, Mexican, Columbian dollars are all legal; in New Brunswick, British and American coins are recognised by law, though I believe that the shilling is taken at twenty-four cents, which is less than its value; in Newfoundland, Peruvian, Mexican, Columbian, old Spanish dollars, are all equally legal; whilst in Prince Edward Island the complexity of currencies and of their relative value is even greater. Such then being the case, I can hardly understand that any one should seriously dispute the advantage of consolidating these different resources, and interests, and incidents of government under one common and manageable system.

But there is yet another advantage to be gained from that union, to which I must call the attention of the House. The question of military defence is a somewhat delicate one on which to touch. Military defence supposes war, and war in that part of the world could only be with that great Republic which lies south of our border. Such a war between men of a common race and language, and in many respects of common institutions, would be an unnatural and detestable conflict, which would entail upon each incalculable

injuries, and perhaps throw back for years the course of civilisation and human prosperity. It is, however, our duty in dealing with this great question to deal with it fully, and not to evade a consideration so important as that of military defence. We are constantly reminded of the difficulties of defending the long frontier of Canada with a distant base of operations. Every reasonable man will admit those difficulties ; nor do I see any object in underrating them. At the same time, we have high and competent military authority to warrant us in believing that, with proper precautions and with the spirit of courage and loyalty which has animated the Canadian people, the defence of Canada is no insoluble problem. Again, we are told that the proportions of military expenditure are not fairly adjusted between the mother country and Canada. Well, I think that the time has probably come for a reconsideration of those charges ; and to that opinion there are many in Canada who will subscribe. I am confident that Canada desires only that which is reasonable, that which she may in honour ask, and in honour accept, of this country. There has been a good deal of misunderstanding on this subject, and Canada has been supposed to be backward in defraying the expenses of her own defence. But out of the 425,000 militia who are on paper, 90,000 have six days' drill in the

year ; and besides these, there are from 30,000 to 35,000 Volunteers, who have undergone considerable training, and have attained much efficiency. There are drill associations in the various towns ; there have been camps of instruction, and more than 3,000 cadets have within the last two years passed an examination by the military authorities, and have received certificates either of the first or second class. I will only add, that whilst the military expenditure in Canada was in 1864 about 300,000 dollars, it was in 1865 nearly 900,000 dollars, and in 1866 more than 2,000,000 dollars. By the Census of 1861 it was computed that the men between the ages of twenty and sixty supposed to be capable of bearing arms were—

In Upper Canada . . .	308,000
In Lower Canada . . .	225,000
In Nova Scotia . . .	67,000
In New Brunswick . . .	51,000
	<hr/>
	651,000

These are now fixed to their respective Provinces, and engaged, as a matter both of duty and sentiment, to the exclusive defence of that Province. But when Confederation is accomplished these scattered forces will become one army under the command and, in the event of emergency, at the disposal of one single general.

But if the advantages of union are great in a military, a commercial, a material point of view,

they are not, I think, less in the moral and political aspect of the question. When once existing restrictions are removed, and the schools, the law courts, the professions, the industries of these great Provinces are thrown open from one end to another, depend upon it a stimulus greater than any that has ever been known before in British North America will be applied to every form of mental or moral energy. Nor will it be the main body of the people that will alone feel this. The tone of Parliament, the standard of the Government, will necessarily rise. Colonial institutions are framed upon the model of England, but English institutions, as we all know, need to be of a certain size. Public opinion is the basis of Parliamentary life; and the first condition of public opinion is that it should move in no contracted circle. It would not be difficult to show that almost in proportion to its narrowness Colonial Governments have been subject to disturbing influences. But now, independently of the fact that in these confederated Provinces there will henceforth be a larger material whence an adequate supply of Colonial administrations and Colonial oppositions can be drawn, it is not, I think, unreasonable to hope that just as the sphere of action is enlarged the vestry element will be discarded, large questions will be discussed with the gravity which belongs to them, men will

rise to a full sense of their position as Members of a great Parliament, and will transmit their own sense of increased responsibility and self-respect through Parliament and the Government to the main body of the people.

My Lords, I have now touched upon the main features of this measure. I have only in conclusion to say a few words as to the principle upon which it is founded. I know that objections are sometimes made to the principle of a federative Government. It is true that no federation can be as compact as a single homogeneous State, though the compactness will vary with the strength or weakness of the central Government. It is true that federation may be comparatively a loose bond, but the alternative is no bond at all. It is not every nation, or every stage of the national existence, that admits of a federative Government. Federation is only possible under certain conditions, when the States to be federated are so far akin that they can be united, and yet so far dissimilar that they cannot be fused into one single body politic. And this I believe to be the present condition of the Provinces of British North America. Again, it is said that federation is a compromise, and, like all compromises, contains the germs of future disunion. It is true that it is a compromise, so far as it is founded upon the consent of the Provinces; it is true that it has

been rendered possible by the surrender of certain powers, rights, and pretensions by the several Provinces into the hands of the central authority; but it is also to be remembered that—unlike every other federation that has existed—it derives its political existence from an external authority, from that which is the recognised source of power and right—the British Crown. And I cannot but recognise in this some security against those conflicts of State rights and central authority which in other federations have sometimes proved so disastrous.

There have been but few examples of federative Governments. Republics and kingdoms there have been many that have played great parts; but the federative Governments in the world's history may be easily counted. There have been but four which can be fairly called famous. Two are no more—two exist. Of these, one—Switzerland—is the smallest amongst the families of modern Europe; the other—the United States—is one of the greatest of the Great Powers of the world. In geographical area this Confederation of the British North American Provinces is even now large—it may become one day second only in extent to the vast territories of Russia—and in population, in revenue, in trade, in shipping, it is superior to the thirteen colonies when, not a century ago, in the Declaration of Independence,

they became the United States of America. We are laying the foundation of a great State—perhaps one which at a future day may even overshadow this country. But, come what may, we shall rejoice that we have shown neither indifference to their wishes nor jealousy of their aspirations, but that we honestly and sincerely, to the utmost of our power and knowledge, fostered their growth, recognising in it the conditions of our own greatness. We are in this measure setting the crown to the free institutions which more than a quarter of a century ago we gave them, and therein we remove, as I firmly believe, all possibilities of future jealousy or misunderstanding—

“ *Magna sub ingenti Matris se subjicit umbrâ.*”

Lord Normanby adverted to the military advantages which this union would confer on our American Colonies. It was no longer in the power of this country to bear the almost exclusive burden of defending those Colonies, but their inhabitants had shown the greatest willingness to bear their share of the duty. In Nova Scotia, in 1858, there were but some 60 Volunteer artillery, but in 1863 there were nearly 35,000 men regularly drilled, and last year that number had increased to 59,000. He regretted the opposition that had been manifested in that Colony to the proposed Confederation, but he attributed it rather to a peculiar course of agitation than to the real feelings of the inhabitants. He believed that the real interests of all the Provinces were identical, and that those of Nova Scotia would in no degree be injured by this measure.

Lord Russell regarded the measure as a wise one, that



would facilitate commercial relations between the British American Provinces and the United States, and would greatly increase the defensive powers of the former, should an emergency arise.

Lord Monck hoped their Lordships would permit him to say a few words on the Bill, considering the share he had had in its origination. He would begin by referring to one thing which appeared to him of great importance. It had been most unwarrantably assumed that the Province of Nova Scotia was opposed to the union. Now he believed that the expression of opinion which had gone from Nova Scotia to this country had been entirely got up by a few energetic individuals; but the Legislature of Nova Scotia had, like the Legislature of the other Provinces, adopted by large majorities the resolution proposed to them, and had sent their delegates to this country to take part in the framing of the measure which had been laid on the table. As there was no opposition to the measure, there was really little for him to say except that he believed that this union would conduce to the good government of other Provinces, and would render the relations between the mother country and the Colonies more satisfactory.

Lord Lyveden regarded the Confederation as being most advantageous both for this and for the American Government. He wished to ask the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) whether by the terms of the arrangements that had been come to Parliament was precluded from making any alteration in the terms of this Bill, and whether in the event of its being possible to make any alteration in those terms, it would not be advisable that the salary of the Governor-General should be paid by the mother country instead of by money to be voted by the Colonial Legislature?

The Earl of Carnarvon said :

By the 105th clause of the Bill the salary of the Governor-General is to be paid out of

the Consolidated Fund of the united Provinces. It is, of course, within the competence of Parliament to alter the provisions of the Bill; but I should be glad for the House to understand that the Bill partakes somewhat of the nature of a treaty of union, every single clause in which has been debated over and over again, and has been submitted to the closest scrutiny, and, in fact, each of them represents a compromise between the different interests involved. Nothing could be more fatal to the Bill than that any of those clauses, which are the result of a compromise, should be subject to much alteration. Of course, there might be alterations where they are not material, and do not go to the essence of the measure, and I shall be quite ready to consider any amendments that might be proposed by the noble Lord in Committee. But it will be my duty to resist the alteration of anything which is in the nature of a compromise between the Provinces, as an amendment of that nature, if carried, would be fatal to the measure.

Bill read second time without division.

## XIV.

### BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BILL.

HOUSE OF LORDS. FEBRUARY 22, 1867.

On the motion for going into Committee on this Bill, the Earl of Shaftesbury presented several petitions from the English Protestants of Lower Canada, who complained that being a minority they would not be fully represented in the new Confederation. They wished the introduction of some clause in the Bill now before Parliament to secure their object. The noble Earl said that while they presented these petitions, so anxious were the petitioners for the passing of the measure, that if the modification which they prayed was one that could not be acceded to by the Government, they would not insist upon their demand. He hoped, however, to hear from his noble friend the Secretary for the Colonies that no objection was entertained to the prayer of the petitioners. The Earl of Carnarvon said, in reply :

Through the courtesy of the noble Earl who presents these petitions I have enjoyed a previous opportunity of learning their contents ; in fact, they have been referred to me at the Colonial Office, and copies of them will be found in the official correspondence. The petitioners I know to be men of position and great respectability in the Lower Province, and it is accordingly my duty to entertain with due

care and consideration the points which they urge. Having done so, I am bound to say that it is wholly impossible to amend the Bill in accordance with the wishes of the petitioners without compromising the success of the measure. The real point which they desire is to secure for ever, both in the general and in the local Legislatures, the same relative representation for the Lower Province as it now possesses. Independently of the fact that many of the proposals are of a municipal character and might be settled by the local Legislature, to introduce the clauses asked for would violate one of the principles upon which the Bill is based—namely, that the local Legislatures shall have the power of amending their own constitutions. I cannot but think that the views of the petitioners must lead to a multiplication of those sectional interests of which already there are, perhaps, too many in the Provinces. These petitioners, it seems to me, are needlessly afraid of the consequences of the scheme. The 80th clause provides that no change shall be made in certain districts of Lower Canada—the very districts, in fact, which return the Protestant minority—without the consent of the Members returned by those districts. Hence the House will perceive that it is almost impossible for any injury to be done to the Protestant minority. The real question at issue between the Protestant

and Roman Catholic communities is the question of education, and the 93rd clause, after long controversy, in which the views of all parties have been represented, has been framed. The object of that clause is to guard against the possibility of the members of the minority suffering from undue pressure by the majority. It has been framed to place all these minorities, of whatever religion, on precisely the same footing, and that whether the minorities were *in esse* or *in posse*. Thus the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada, the Protestant minority in Lower Canada, and the Roman Catholic minority again in the Maritime Provinces, would all be placed on a footing of precise equality. I can only say further that if I were to accept an amendment based on the petitions presented by my noble friend, it would be difficult to resist other amendments of an analogous character put forward by opposing interests. In fact, only a few minutes before I entered the House that day I received a paper setting forth the views of a strong and very respectable Roman Catholic minority, who feared that the 93rd clause would not extend to them the protection which they conceived to be their due. My answer to them, as to my noble friend (Lord Shaftesbury), must be that to comply with their wishes would be to depart from a compact entered into by the representatives of all shades of religious and political opinions. If

the compromise were departed from in favour of one party, it must inevitably be departed from in favour of another. Therefore, I cannot accept from my noble friend the amendment which I know has been prepared, but with much consideration has not been pressed.

The Bill passed through Committee.

## XV.

### BRITISH NORTH AMERICA BILL.

HOUSE OF LORDS.      FEBRUARY 26, 1867.

On the motion of Lord Carnarvon for the third reading of the British North America Bill, Lord Stratheden and Campbell moved to postpone it for a month, in order to enable the new Nova Scotian Legislature, about to be elected, to pronounce an opinion upon the measure, against which, he said, considerable feeling prevailed in that colony, the claim for delay being endorsed by 30,000 persons. The real issue was not whether North America ought to be combined, but whether of the two combinations which would come into existence—the Canadian and Maritime—Nova Scotia ought to be attached to the latter or the former. He thought the course of hurrying the Bill with unexampled haste through both the Houses would never gain the approbation of posterity, even if by any chance it escaped the censure of the public.

The Earl of Carnarvon said :

Considering how fully I trespassed on the patience of the House some days ago in respect to this subject, I do not think it will be necessary for me to go into all the arguments and precedents referred to by the noble Lord opposite, more especially as the larger proportion of the topics I dealt with on that occasion are identical with those brought forward by the noble

Lord this evening. It is right for me to say at once that it is utterly impossible for me to agree to the motion of the noble Lord for two or three reasons, which I think the House will at once admit to be conclusive. In the first place, the delegates who are at present in England, to the number of fourteen or sixteen, are gentlemen accredited by their own local authorities—they are the heads of opposite parties, or are the chiefs of important departments; they have been detained long in England awaiting the negotiation and passing of this measure at great personal inconvenience to themselves, and I must also say, to the great public inconvenience of their respective localities. I, therefore, greatly object to Parliament now, without any real and valid reason—and I can hardly admit that any such reason has been urged this evening—detaining these gentlemen for a fortnight or a month longer. And then as to the question of these 30,000 petitioners. We have never had any explanation as to who these petitioners really are. I believe the population of Nova Scotia is upwards of 250,000. Now, I am willing to take it as a fact, on the word of the noble Lord, that 30,000 of these are petitioners against this measure, but I must say that the evidence of that fact is wholly wanting. I understand that a petition has been presented in “another place”; but no petition whatever



against this measure has been presented to your Lordships; and this House, therefore, is in no way cognisant of this petition. There are, indeed, various petitions in the Blue Book, which I laid upon the table of the House some time ago; but I found, as I stated when this Bill was read a second time, that all those petitions, one only excepted, were signed by the chairman of the meeting, no statement being made either as to the number or the character of the petitioners on whose behalf they were signed. Then the noble Lord has founded an argument on the circumstances of some recent alterations in the franchises of Nova Scotia; but really, if this House is to go into all the intricacies and details of Colonial elections, there can be no end to the matter. Such a course would have the effect of raising questions on every clause of the Bill. The House has simply to ascertain who are the constituted authorities of Nova Scotia, whom we are bound to listen to, and whose opinion we are bound to accept. Now, what have been the facts? In 1861 the then Parliament of Nova Scotia passed a resolution in favour of Confederation in general terms. In 1863 that Parliament was dissolved, and a fresh Parliament was elected, and is in existence at the present moment. Well, it was only in June last that that Parliament came to a distinct resolution in favour of Confederation—a resolution as distinct

as words could express it. That resolution empowered certain gentlemen to proceed on their behalf to England to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government the terms of a measure to carry that vote into effect. These accredited envoys were accordingly sent, and the terms have been negotiated and embodied in this Bill. It appears to me that it is not competent for us to look behind that vote of the Nova Scotian Parliament, and to inquire what other parties may be in the Colony, and under what circumstances the Colonial local authorities and Legislatures were elected. If responsible government means anything, it means this—that you not only give to a Colony free institutions, and enable the inhabitants to elect their own Parliament, but you also undertake, in matters of Colonial policy, to deal only with that Colony through the legally constituted authorities. Any other view of the case would lead us to endless difficulty. The fact is that in all cases like the present there must be a certain amount of opposition. The measure might be the most perfect that could possibly be framed, but, looking to the state of Colonial society, there must be inevitably a certain number of dissentients. The noble Lord opposite says, "Delay this measure for another month in order to give time to the Nova Scotian Parliament to expire by the natural efflux of time, and see what the opinion of a fresh Parliament will be."

Now, if I mistake not, the Nova Scotian Parliament expires in June, and the Canadian Parliament in July. Therefore, if you postpone this measure to June, you must also in common fairness again postpone it till after July, in order to give the Canadian Parliament an opportunity to express their opinion also. If this were done, I would ask the House at what time it is likely that the measure would return to us, and in what shape it would return? The truth is that this measure has been brought about only at the sacrifice of great personal and local interests; and when I reflect how great that sacrifice has been, I feel quite astonished at the result which has been attained. A great responsibility would rest on Parliament in this country if they deliberately invited opposition to the measure by remitting the subject again to the Colony, and stirring up every dissentient person to come forward and agitate the question. I do not say that this measure is a perfect one, for it is impossible that it could be. There are defects in it, no doubt; but, at the same time, the enormous advantages of the measure so completely outweigh its imperfections that I have no hesitation whatever in pressing it upon Parliament, and in urging that it may be speedily passed into a law. For these reasons I do not feel it my duty to accede in any way to the request of the noble Lord opposite. The Bill passed through the second reading

in this House without any substantial objection being made to it, and I trust it will also be allowed to pass through the other House of Parliament.

Amendment (by leave of the House) withdrawn; original Motion agreed to; Bill read third time accordingly; Amendments made; Bill passed and sent to the Commons.

## XVI.

### BANQUET AT THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON.

On March 19, 1867, the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress entertained the Canadian delegates, and others, at dinner at the Mansion House.

In the course of the evening Lord Carnarvon, after replying to the toast of "The House of Lords," with which the Lord Mayor had associated his name, continued :

I see around the table the faces of many gentlemen with whom, during the last few months, I have been very closely connected in the consideration of a question which, not only to this country, but also to Her Majesty's subjects on the other side of the Atlantic, is one of the most important that has ever been dealt with. It has been my fortune to be mixed up with these gentlemen in many official relations, and therefore on this occasion, which appears to offer me the best opportunity of taking leave of them, I may perhaps be allowed to express my earnest wish that God will speed the new Confederation which has been arranged among the British North American Provinces, and to say how much in this country is believed to be owing to the services of those gentlemen who have come

here as the friends of the Confederation, and to advance its interests; and, in addition, to say how much individually I owe to their tact, ability, and patience in smoothing the difficulties which lay in the way of its accomplishment. Having thus ventured to take the liberty of expressing what I feel is due from me personally to these gentlemen, I may, perhaps, be allowed to say one word to those who have been the opponents of the Confederation. In so great a question there must be of necessity some opposition even with the purest and most conscientious motives, but I would ask the opponents of the measure, now that they have fought their battle and the question has been decided, to accept that decision in the spirit of Englishmen, and to bring to bear all their energy, all their eloquence, all their ability, and all those high qualities which I have latterly had the opportunity of appreciating—although those qualities were exercised in opposition to the Confederation—in giving practical effect to the decision of Parliament; and to endeavour by every means in their power to advance the interests of that which is now their common country.

Later in the evening the Hon. John A. Macdonald, Premier of Canada, who responded for the delegates, said he was proud to find that the people of this country and their representatives heartily desired the completion of that measure which it was the mission of the delegates from the North American Provinces to accomplish. Although,

perhaps, in the past, the affairs of those Provinces might have been in some degree a source of embarrassment to the British Government, he trusted they would prove in their Confederation a source of strength. They had no desire to throw off their allegiance to the British Crown, and though they were aware that, as an outpost of the Empire, they might in case of danger have to stand the brunt of war, they were prepared to abide by their choice, having counted the cost that it involved.

The Canadians, he added, were warmly attached to England, and he might further state that when, in 1864, delegates from all the North American Provinces met at Quebec, the first resolution they passed after that declaring the proposed Union to be expedient was one to the effect that the supreme executive authority over these Provinces should ever continue to be vested in Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors ; that resolution was carried with cheers which almost frightened out of its propriety the ancient metropolis of Canada.

Before the Royal Assent was given to the "British North America Act, 1867," Lord Carnarvon had quitted office.

His next speech on Canadian Confederation was made in Opposition, on petitions from Nova Scotia against the Act.

## XVII.

### NOVA SCOTIA PETITIONS.

HOUSE OF LORDS.      JULY 6, 1868.

Lord Stratheden and Campbell, in moving for the appointment of a Commission to proceed to Nova Scotia to inquire into the alleged dissatisfaction of that Colony at being included in the North American Confederation, said he had two petitions—one from the delegates, one from the inhabitants—both for the same object, namely, the withdrawal of the Colony from the Confederation. He believed inquiry by a Commission would be accepted as conciliatory. Such a measure would give breathing time, and render impossible the adopting of any dangerous resolution in the local Parliament at Halifax. There were two objects to be attained, to uphold Confederation and to keep Nova Scotia in the Empire, and he recommended this course as the only one by which these objects could be attained.

The Duke of Buckingham, whilst admitting that a certain amount of dissatisfaction prevailed, contended that there was nothing in the circumstances of the case to justify the issue of a Royal Commission. Indeed, he believed it would not be long before the Nova Scotians themselves came to the conclusion that their true interests were bound up in a union with Canada.

The Earl of Carnarvon said :

My Lords, if special responsibility in regard to so great a measure as this can be said to attach to any individual, I presume that in this case such responsibility would attach to me ; because it fell



to my lot, when I filled the same position as that which my noble friend (the Duke of Buckingham) who has just spoken now holds, to negotiate with the delegates from North America the terms of the Union which was concluded by the Act of Confederation, and to submit that Act for the approval of the Imperial Parliament. My Lords, I think I may say there has rarely been any settlement so large in its operation which has more completely commanded the assent of all parties in this country. The Act passed through both Houses of Parliament—I cannot say without a dissentient voice, but with very few dissentient voices indeed. At the same time I cannot for a moment allow that it passed without full consideration. The question had occupied the attention of successive Governments here, as it had been fully discussed in the North American Provinces. It is no wonder that this should have been so, because the real question was whether a great country, ruled by the same Sovereign, animated by one feeling of loyalty towards that Sovereign, and—as the noble Duke has remarked—united by natural bonds of interest and designed by nature as one—whether that country should henceforward be consolidated, or should continue to be divided by those artificial divisions which man had set up. I hope I never disguised from Parliament that there was a considerable party in

Nova Scotia opposed to the Confederation. I did not conceal anything; I printed every statement on the subject, and even invited the attention of your Lordships to such opposition as did exist. What the character and extent of the opposition were was another question. Parliament, having heard and seen all that had been said on the subject, decided in favour of the measure by no faltering vote; and I think the reasons on which Parliament decided were good and valid reasons. If your Lordships allow me, I will refer to dates in order to make the matter clearer. In 1861—the question had been mooted before then, but I shall not go further back than 1861—the House of Assembly in Nova Scotia declared in general terms its assent to a scheme of Confederation. Two years later, in 1863, a new Parliament was convened; and in the following year, 1864, there was a conference of delegates. First, delegates of all the Maritime Provinces met at Charlottetown, in Prince Edward Island, to consider the question of a union of the Maritime Provinces alone. Subsequently the Canadian delegates joined in; the conference was transferred to Quebec, and the Quebec resolutions were the basis on which it was agreed that not one, two, or three, but all the five Colonies should be united in a Confederation. Two years afterwards—namely, in 1866—the Parliament of Nova Scotia agreed to

the Confederation, not in general, but in explicit and precise terms, and sent over delegates to settle with Her Majesty's Ministers the terms of the Act. Those delegates came to this country, and it was my duty to confer with them. In 1867 I introduced the Bill which your Lordships were pleased to pass, and which received the approval of the House of Commons also. When the Act passed and went out to Nova Scotia, it was solemnly ratified by the Parliament of that Province. Immediately, however, on this another dissolution took place and another Parliament was convened in Nova Scotia, and it passed resolutions against the Act—resolutions on which the petitions presented by the noble Lord are founded. That was the course of proceeding. But the noble Lord has said this evening, as he said last year, that knowing there was a certain amount of opposition to the measure, though the character and extent of that opposition were unknown, it was our duty to have tested the feeling of the Province by a dissolution. In constitutional matters, no doubt, I readily agree that it is never right to take any country or anybody by surprise; but I should wholly demur to the doctrine that it is necessary to refer back to the constituencies each particular point, even though important, as it arises. If that were necessary, Members of Parliament would not be representatives of the

people; they would be simply delegates. This has been repeatedly held by the highest Parliamentary authorities, from Mr. Pitt to Sir Robert Peel. Parliaments that had sat several years, and had been originally called together for the discussion of other questions, passed the Act of Union, Roman Catholic Emancipation, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. But if you look to the peculiar circumstances of these Colonies, I think you will find—I say it without any intention of offence—that these changes in public opinion, rapid in all popularly governed countries, are very rapid there; and on no subject have they been more rapid than on this question of Confederation. In 1864 Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were favourable to some Confederation. They assented to the Quebec resolutions, which was a practical embodiment of the Confederation scheme, and which afterwards formed the basis of the Act. Two years later those Colonies opposed the principle to which they had previously declared themselves to be favourable. In 1865 the Colony of New Brunswick was opposed to Confederation. In 1866—the year afterwards—that Colony having passed through one of those phases of opinion which frequently set in, was in favour of Confederation, and was incorporated under the Act of last Session. Therefore I say it was not competent for Parliament last year to

look behind the vote of those authorities who had agreed to the scheme of Confederation; it was not our business to disregard or put on one side the accredited envoys from those Colonies to us. If there be one thing more than another which representative self-government of the Colonies means, it is this—that the Home Government and the Imperial Parliament will only deal with the duly accredited agents of those Colonies as representing the local authority, and the adoption of any other principle will lead us into very serious difficulties.

The position of affairs last year was a very peculiar one. Your Lordships will, doubtless, remember the Constitution by which Upper and Lower Canada were united. No doubt that proved in many respects very successful; but in other respects it had run itself out, and when Parliament passed the Act of last year it was perfectly evident to all parties that a deadlock had arisen in the legislative machinery which governed the relations of Upper and Lower Canada, and that unless some remedy were applied great inconvenience must result. Nor let the House forget that just about the same time there was open and aggressive manifestation of Fenianism upon the border, and that the Fenians had carried fire and sword into an unoffending Province, and were keeping all

things in a state of difficulty and disturbance. And therefore it was that parties within the Colony—men of all shades of political opinion, holding the most different views, and who for years had been opposed upon questions of vital importance—made great sacrifices, sacrifices national, political, even religious in their character, and combined in one general policy which they believed to be for the safety and general welfare of the country. I think your Lordships cannot fail to perceive that if at such a moment we had allowed any delay in giving effect to what was the common desire, it must have had the result of indefinitely postponing any settlement of this question. What is the demand put forward by the noble Lord opposite? The noble Lord says it is the issue of a Commission of Inquiry. But if your Lordships look at the Resolution of the Nova Scotian Parliament upon which that demand is based, you will see that it goes a long way in the direction of guiding the Commission to a conclusion, and indicates that Nova Scotia will be satisfied with nothing less than the repeal of the Confederation by which they are bound to Canada. We must all do justice to the ancient loyalty and high feeling of the Nova Scotians. The noble Duke (the Duke of Buckingham) did no more than justice when he spoke of Nova Scotia as one of our most ancient and valued

Colonies, whose feelings towards this country have never for a moment been doubted or questioned ; and I feel sure that Parliament, in dealing with a question in which Nova Scotia is so deeply interested, would wish to deal, not alone in the most kindly, but in the most respectful manner. At the same time, the Nova Scotians will well understand that in treating this question and arguing upon it we must deal with them as men of sense, and not fear giving them offence in putting before them those solid arguments upon which the question rests. Let it not for a moment be supposed that I contemplate the employment of coercion ; I hold that such a word has no place whatever in the vocabulary of the relations that should exist between this country and the Colonies.

But, at the same time, speaking with perfect frankness and sincerity, I say that from one point of view the demand is premature, and from another point of view that it comes too late. It is premature because the Confederation which is complained of has not yet been in existence for a single twelvemonth, and, as the noble Duke pointed out, not one half of the total electors have expressed their opinion upon it. The total constituency amounts to 48,000 electors, and those voting for the repeal of the Confederation only amounted to 22,000, there being, moreover, a very large minority of not less than 15,000 who

threw their votes in favour of the maintenance of the Union. No Union, as far as I know, in the history of the world has ever worked quite smoothly in its commencement. It could not, in the nature of things, be possible that it should do so. More than once, certainly, after the Union of England and Scotland motions were made for the repeal of that Union. Yet no one doubts now with what incalculable blessings that Union was fraught to both countries, or how wise those statesmen were who turned a deaf ear to the temporary desires of the people. But in another point of view this demand comes too late, for the Nova Scotians have elected their members, and sent them to the Parliament at Ottawa, upon a distinct promise that fair play should be given to the new Constitutional Act. It could scarcely be said that fair play had been given to it if, before twelve months are out, you are asked to repeal the measure. And it cannot be forgotten that there would be the most serious practical difficulties in doing anything of the kind. To begin with, Nova Scotia has already obtained a great many of the advantages of union; and even if she were ready to relinquish these, they are of a kind that, having once been received, cannot easily be relinquished. For instance, a sum of money has been already expended upon public works; not less, I believe, than 30,000 dollars upon the survey and location



of the railroad. Again, the money securities of Nova Scotia, which before the Union were at a discount, have been so enhanced in value that they now—including discount and premium—equal a total rise of 10 per cent. If, then, you attempt to repeal that Act, you at once involve yourselves in difficulties of a very serious character. Again, I say—the Nova Scotians must forgive me for speaking with perfect frankness—I do not think that their present demand is a reasonable one. What is the claim which Nova Scotia and all the British North American Colonies have invariably made upon this country? It is that they shall be viewed and treated as integral parts of this great Empire. And what has been the answer of one English statesman after another? They have said to the Colonies, “As long as you continue true to your allegiance—as long as you desire to retain your connexion with this country—so long will we stand by you; no open aggression shall be made upon you, and not even the breath of insult shall pass over you.” But on the other hand this promise was never made without an implied and tacit understanding on the part of the Colonies that they should do their part in the matter; they have been told over and over again that they must organise and place themselves in a position which would be tenable and defensible in case of war. Well, what is that position? All

the authorities, military and civilian, are agreed in this—that the best and almost the only military organisation which it is possible for these Colonies to adopt is Confederation. If that policy be applicable to any one of the Colonies more than another, it is to Nova Scotia, which has been described by one of their own most able advocates as the frontage of the whole British North American Continent, whose harbours, citadel, and arsenal were not made for Nova Scotia alone, but were designed by nature for the common benefit of herself and of her sister Provinces.

But I know very well that it is said by some persons in Nova Scotia, “Nova Scotia has a peculiar geographical formation, of which, if she were disposed to take advantage”—I deny that she is disposed to take advantage of it—“she could strengthen herself within that peninsula, and remain careless and secure while the lands of her sister Colonies were desolated by war.” I do not believe for one moment that the Nova Scotians—as loyal, as true, and as generous a people as ever lived—would recognise or admit such an argument, still less that they would stoop to so unworthy a policy. But it is an argument which has been put forward by a narrow section, and it deserves to be met. There was such a case before in the world’s history about 3,000 years ago; it is one of the earliest wars that has been

described, but its record still kindles enthusiasm when it is read. When the liberty and the civilisation of Greece broke the whole force of the Persian invader, there was a peninsula within which it was proposed by a section, arguing in the same narrow spirit that the section of to-day argues, to entrench themselves, leaving the remainder of their countrymen to be decimated by war, and their lands to be wasted by a foreign enemy. Happily for the liberties of men, that fatal proposal was overruled; they fought and they conquered, and whom does history now delight to honour? Those who made common cause with the rest of Greece and refused to be sharers in an ungenerous, unworthy, and selfish policy, or those whose conduct was then, and has been since, branded as false to the interests of Greece, of liberty, and of civilisation? I am satisfied that the same will be the case with Nova Scotia; that selfish considerations will not prevail, and that the arguments of a narrow section will not find favour. It is unwise, it is unreasonable for the Colonies to expect us to make sacrifices for them if they are prepared in return to make no sacrifices for us. I was glad to hear what fell from the noble Duke (the Duke of Buckingham) when he told us that the Parliament of Canada have shown every inclination to deal in the most gentle and conciliatory spirit with Nova Scotia.

In my opinion, in so doing they act rightly and wisely. Your Lordships and Parliament may do something, but the Canadian Parliament can do a great deal more in this matter. The burdens they have struck off and the disposition they have shown to make allowance for the present feeling and irritation of the Nova Scotians evince a desire to do full justice to all Nova Scotian interests. But the question remains for us—can we agree to such a proposition as the noble Baron (Lord Stratheden and Campbell) has brought forward? I submit that you cannot do so. In fairness to the whole Dominion of Canada you cannot reopen at the end of one year a question which would break up the Union. In the next place there is no precedent for such a motion as this. We are now asked to recommend the issue of a Commission of Inquiry to repeal a great constitutional measure which has not been in existence twelve months. There is no precedent for this. More than this, what we are asked to do is to place the Parliament and this country in a position of unparalleled indignity, and to confess that our whole Colonial Empire is one gigantic failure. Time, which changes so many things, also heals many things, and I trust that it will heal the irritation which is felt in parts of Nova Scotia. Of one thing I am satisfied, that we cannot take any hasty and precipitate step, and

on the other hand, the Nova Scotians must remember that none can be exempt from difficulties, trials, burdens, and sacrifices who desire to maintain their position in that Imperial Commonwealth to which they belong, and in the glory of which we are all common sharers. I hope your Lordships will reject the prayer of this petition.

The Motion was withdrawn.

## XVIII.

### POSITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE COLONIES.

As the constitutional links which bound the Colonies to the mother country have had to be forged anew in order to preserve unity with the power of expansion, so in regard to all non-political institutions, whether clerical or lay, the old order was visibly changing and yielding place to new. We see this illustrated in three Colonial questions of varying importance: the development of federal union; the position of the Church of England; and the reconstruction of the Freemasonry system. In all these the relation of the branch to the original stem in the mother country was the subject of consideration. Lord Carnarvon was at once conservative and liberal—in his own words, previously quoted, “progress and preservation should go hand in hand.” He held that the gift of the most complete and ample powers of self-government was in all cases compatible with an increase of strength in the ties which bind the Anglo-Saxon race together, and it was on this principle that he dealt with each of these questions in turn.

The greatest difficulties of the Colonial churches at this time had originated in the dissensions in South Africa, which do not find a place in this volume, but the relations between the Church of England at home and her offshoot in Canada were also the subject of discussion. The following speeches have reference to this subject.

HOUSE OF LORDS. FEBRUARY 15, 1867.

The Bishop of London moved an address for certain papers relating to the Church of England and Ireland in the

Colonies, comprising the despatch to the Bishop of Montreal relating to the appointment of a Coadjutor Bishop of Niagara, date Nov. 21, 1866, and copies of any returns which had been made in answer to questions lately issued by Her Majesty's Secretary of State in reference to the condition and circumstances of the united Church of England and Ireland in the Colonies.

I have no objection to produce the Papers for which the right rev. Prelate (the Bishop of London) has moved. The returns are not in a complete state, but I shall be happy to lay on the table such of them as are in the possession of the Colonial Office. In reference, however, to what has fallen from the right rev. Prelate, I am not prepared to admit that there was an understanding last Session that this matter should be submitted to the consideration of a Committee. A question was indeed asked with respect to a Bill brought in by my right hon. predecessor in the Colonial Office, and I then stated that I would not proceed with that Bill, but that during the Recess I would consider the propriety of legislation on the subject, and would be prepared in the present Session to state what course I would pursue. I now take this opportunity of giving notice that I shall very shortly lay before the House a measure\* which will deal with the principal

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\* He did not remain in office long enough to carry out this intention.

difficulties which, in my opinion, are to be contended with in reference to the condition of the Church in the Colonies, and it will then be for the House to determine whether that measure is sufficient for the purpose, or whether it will be desirable to appoint a Committee or take any other step. The right rev. Prelate (the Bishop of London) stated that in the course of the autumn he had issued circular letters to the Colonial Bishops and to some other persons. I have no doubt that the drawing up of those communications was very carefully considered, not only by the right rev. Prelate, but by other members of the right rev. Bench. But after the statement just made, I should be glad to see the letters, and to know the Colonies to which they were addressed—for, as your Lordships are aware, there is a material difference in respect to this matter between Crown Colonies and other Colonies—and to know to what other persons they were sent besides the Colonial Bishops. ||

After referring to the unhappy and most mischievous position of ecclesiastical affairs at the Cape and in Natal, Lord Carnarvon went on to say :

That position is greatly aggravated by the perplexity that now besets the legal bearings of the case. There are no less than three most important judgments pronounced by three eminent Members of your Lordships' House, all upon



ecclesiastical questions. In Long's case Lord Kingsdown laid down the law that the Church of England, in the Colony in which the case arose, stood in precisely the same position as the Church of any other denomination of Christians—neither in a better nor a worse; and that differences between the Bishop and the clergy must be decided by reference to the civil courts upon the principle of a contract, expressed or implied, and exactly as the case of a Wesleyan or Roman Catholic body would be decided by a reference to the terms of the trust-deed. That judgment is perfectly clear and intelligible. Again, there was, two years ago, a second judgment pronounced by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, with the principles laid down in which your Lordships are familiar. Those principles were that, in a Colony which happens to be possessed of an independent Legislature antecedent to the issue of letters patent, it is not competent for the Crown to create a bishopric with a territorial sphere of action, and that, even assuming it to be competent to it to create such a bishopric, it is impossible for it to convey to the Bishop any coercive authority or jurisdiction. That judgment, also, is perfectly clear and intelligible. But within the last few months a judgment has been pronounced by the noble and learned Lord the Master of the Rolls which I do not think I

misinterpret when I speak of it as laying down the doctrine that it is competent for the Crown to create a bishopric in such a Colony; and that, although it might not be possible for it to confer coercive power on the Bishop, yet that he would have recourse to the civil courts of the Colony for the purpose of enforcing obedience to his orders. In fact, that judgment went to lay down the principle broadly and distinctly that the Bishops of the Established Church of England and Ireland, and the Bishops of the Anglican Church, as it is called in the Colonies, differ from one another in no other respect than that the former have the ecclesiastical courts to fall back upon, and the other the Colonial courts. I shall not have the presumption to set up my own opinion on the subject; but it is, I contend, in the opinion of ninety-nine laymen out of every hundred—I should hardly be far wrong if I added, in the opinion of ninety-nine out of every hundred lawyers also—impossible to reconcile that judgment with the others to which I have just referred. Indeed, it appears to me that there is a conflict between them as great as the English language is capable of expressing. It will, under these circumstances, I think, be very desirable that we should have some light thrown upon the subject, and see whether these judgments are actually at variance, for the matter involves the

highest interests of both the clergy and the laity. Having said thus much, I shall now touch upon the last point which the right rev. Prelate has brought under the notice of the House—the letter to the Bishop of Montreal relative to the appointment of a coadjutor Bishop of Niagara, for which he has moved. On that point the right rev. Prelate has taken me rather severely to task, and I feel it therefore necessary to explain to the House the circumstances under which that letter was written. The Bishop of Toronto being, as I believe, of great age and infirm in health, has become unequal to the discharge of the duties of his diocese. He has accordingly been informed by the Bishop of Montreal that a coadjutor Bishop has been elected by the Diocesan Synod of Toronto, and it was proposed to me that I should advise the Crown to issue the usual mandate for his appointment. I, however, declined to issue that mandate, and the right rev. Prelate complains that in doing so I have been guilty of a great error. Now, after giving the matter very great consideration, I have been induced to act as I have done in the matter, first of all, because the position of the Canadian Church is a peculiar one, amounting, in fact, to one of virtual independence. It has been the gradual growth of years. In 1851 an Act was passed which, after reciting in the preamble that

the recognition of equality among all religious denominations was a principle of Colonial legislation, proceeded to enact several provisions taking away from the Crown certain powers. In 1854 another Act was passed, in the third clause of which it was distinctly laid down that it was desirable to remove in the Colony all connexion between Church and State. The Act of 1854, I may add, was that which provided for the secularisation of the clergy reserves in Canada. In consequence of that Act Mr. Labouchere, then Secretary of State, pointed out in a despatch to Sir Edmund Head, the Governor-General of Canada, the fairness and expediency of removing all restrictions upon the Church now that all advantages had been taken away. Accordingly, two years after, another Act was passed, giving the Church in that Colony the most complete and ample powers of self-government. It was the charter of the Canadian Church: it enabled the Church to adopt regulations for the enforcement of discipline, and for the appointment, deposition, deprivation, or removal of any person holding office therein. There was no clear precedent for this Act at the time of its passing, and some doubts existed as to its validity, and the unusual course was adopted of testing it by a reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Before that tribunal the case was

argued by two eminent lawyers—the present Attorney-General and Sir Roundell Palmer—and the result was that the validity of the Act was confirmed and that it received the sanction of Her Majesty.

Ever since the passing of the Act Bishops have been elected with complete freedom, and the fullest measure of Church government in Church matters has not only been accorded to but actually enjoyed by the Church in Canada. Letters patent and the mandate still continue, however, as part of the procedure; but successive law officers, having regard to the facts which I have just mentioned, have raised objection to the issue of letters patent as being no longer necessary—delay and inconvenience were found to attend their issue; and accordingly, in 1863, they were abandoned by the late Duke of Newcastle, and nothing but the mandate remained. Looking, then, to the complete independence of the Church of Canada, and the circumstances which I have stated, I have declined to advise the Crown to issue the mandate in the case to which the right rev. Prelate has called your Lordships' attention. There are other considerations also which I think justified me in taking this course. I have to take into account the recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and to bear in mind that that decision declared that in Colonies possessing an

independent Legislature—as Canada did—it was beyond the competence of the Crown to create any bishopric with a territorial sphere of action. Under those circumstances, I could only come to one conclusion, and that was that it was not the part of the Crown to interfere in the creation of a new Bishop or bishopric in the present instance; and that it was not consistent with the dignity of the Crown that I should advise Her Majesty to issue a mandate which was not worth the paper on which it was written, and which, if sent out to Canada, might be disregarded. The right rev. Prelate appears to attach great weight to the issue of those mandates; but I do not think it is really of so much importance as he seems to imagine. The mandate was obligatory under the rubric, and the rubric was binding under the Act of Uniformity. That Act is, no doubt, very binding in this country; but when the right rev. Prelate says that it is of full force in the Colonies, he states that which I believe no constitutional lawyer would endorse. The mandate for the consecration of a Bishop here is a very different document from that which is applicable there. The mandate for the consecration of a Bishop in this country is regulated by the Statute of Henry VIII. That Act laid down a long series of proceedings. It provided for the Royal Licence, the letters missive, and lastly, the mandate. But when a Bishop is consecrated in

the Colonies, there being no dean and chapter, there can be no *congé d'élire*, there are no letters missive; and hence portions are struck out of the mandate, and the mandate itself is altogether a different document. And, therefore, if the right rev. Prelate relies on that Act as making it necessary to issue a mandate, the Act proves a great deal too much, for it also makes necessary the Royal Licence and letters dimissory. Throughout the whole of this matter, which I well know deserves careful attention, I have acted under the guidance of the law officers of the Crown; and so anxious have I been to obtain their full concurrence that when the recent judgment was given by the noble and learned Lord the Master of the Rolls, I referred the case back again to the law officers, before writing to the Bishop of Montreal, in order that there might be no danger of mistake in the matter. The opinion of the law officers only referred to the case of the Canadian Church, but I have no reason to doubt that it is equally applicable to other Churches similarly circumstanced; and, without pledging myself to adopt any particular line of action, I entertain little doubt that in a similar case I should act upon precisely similar principles. There is this distinction to be observed: if it were desired that the consecration of a Colonial Bishop should take place in England, then I freely admit that the Royal

mandate must be issued to the Archbishop, in order to untie the hands of the Archbishop and to enable him to perform the office; but if the consecration is to be in the Colonies, as in this Canadian case, then I should not advise the Crown to issue the mandate.

I should have been glad to pause here, but I am bound to say two or three words upon another point raised in the course of the debate. The right rev. Prelate, who has moved for these documents, has found great fault with me on account of some supposed desire on my part to separate the Colonial Church from the Church as by law established in this country. I beg to assure the right rev. Prelate that I am actuated by no such desire; I simply accept things as I find them; and in all civil and temporal matters I do practically find that the Colonial Church is entirely separated from the Established Church in this country. As to spiritual matters, that is a wholly different question. There never, probably, was a time when on the part of the Colonial Church there existed a stronger desire to maintain the same standard of faith and unity of doctrine with the Established Church in this country. But as to identity in temporal matters, that has entirely vanished, and it is idle to talk of it. Not a single Church of the Colonies is at this moment an Established Church. Canada, Victoria, New South



Wales, South Australia, one after another have repudiated the idea of anything like an Established Church; and matters have gone so far that in South Australia, if I remember rightly, the Legislature absolutely refused, on one occasion, to pass an Act merely referring to the Church of England because it might seem to give a legal existence to it. Therefore the Colonial Church at this moment is entirely in the position of a voluntary association, as Lord Kingsdown described it; it is precisely in the same position as the Wesleyan body, the Roman Catholics, or the Baptists—neither better nor worse than they are. The right rev. Prelate has spoken of the Royal supremacy. That is a delicate matter to touch upon, and a layman approaching its consideration can only speak of it with the greatest diffidence. It may not be very easy even in England to define all the powers of the Royal supremacy, which are circumscribed and limited by various Acts of Parliament. But I have no hesitation in saying that in those Colonies which are possessed of independent Legislatures the whole powers of the Royal supremacy, whatever they be, have not been exercised, and it may fairly be presumed do not practically exist. I believe that noble and learned Lords generally would be disposed to agree in this—that the Royal prerogative in regard to the Church consists, speaking broadly, of three great

powers: the power of convening ecclesiastical convocations, synods, or assemblies—whichever they may be called—the disposal of ecclesiastical causes in Ecclesiastical Courts; and lastly, the appointment of bishops. The power of convening ecclesiastical convocations and synods, I believe, has never once been exercised in any single Colony; the decision of ecclesiastical causes in Ecclesiastical Courts has been pronounced by lawyers over and over again to be wholly beyond the competence of the Crown in those Colonies; the appointment of bishops is the only power exercised, and that rather by way of patronage than as any part of the supremacy. But by the recent decision of the Privy Council, even the power as to the appointment of bishops is curtailed and reduced to the merest shadow of right. Therefore, as far as the Royal supremacy goes, it is really a misuse of the term to speak of it as applied to any of the Colonies. It is not desirable that Parliament should mix itself up with questions of this kind, or appear to side with a party either in this country or the Colonies. The only principle for which I have contended is this—that Parliament must be exceedingly jealous of doing anything which could in any way interfere with that principle of Colonial independence which has been so constantly laid down and so solemnly and deliberately sanctioned. Persons may talk of wishing not to separate the Colonial

Church from the Established Church of England ; but if those words mean anything, they really mean an attempt to build up again, on the wreck of Churches thrown down by the Colonies themselves, a superstructure of endowment and privilege. Anybody who knows anything of the feeling of Colonial Parliaments and of Colonial society, must know that it would be utterly impossible to carry out such a design. If the object sought to be attained were the benefit of the Church of England, it would be held, and not without reason, to be unfair to other denominations to place the Church of England in a position of superiority to any other religious body in the Colonies. If, on the other hand, it would not be for the benefit of the Church of England, then it would be unjust to impose on her growth and free action in the Colonies restrictions which are no longer balanced by correlative advantages. So much for the temporal connection between the two Churches. As regarded their spiritual affinity, not a single line can be brought forward to show that the warmth of feeling of the Colonial Church for the Church of England has in any way abated. On the contrary, I believe that the spiritual ties uniting the Colonial to the Established Church in this country are stronger now than they have almost ever been, and that in spite of the unhappy dissensions of which so much is frequently made. I am disposed

to believe that the ardour of Colonial attachment for the religion of the mother Church has increased, and will continue to increase, just as the loyalty and affection of the Colonists for the mother country itself has kept pace with the generosity and freedom of the gifts made to them in matters of purely temporal government.

## XIX.

### SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

ST. JAMES'S HALL.

MAY 9, 1867.

The 100th anniversary meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was held at St. James's Hall, May 9th, 1867, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the President of the Society, in the chair. The Archbishop, in his opening speech, said it must have been a matter of considerable astonishment to many of the Colonial churches to find that they were no longer considered as closely and intimately attached to the Church of England, but that they were to be regarded, according to the decrees of the highest judicial tribunal in this country, as voluntary associations on the same footing as the dissenting bodies around them. After the first shock their immediate object would be to cement as closely as possible that union which appeared to be in some degree shattered, and to unite themselves more closely with the mother Church, to whom he could not doubt their feelings and affections were most warmly attached. The first object which many of them seem to have had was in their Synods to frame voluntary constitutions by which they bound themselves to adhere to the doctrines of the Church of England as set forth in her Articles and Liturgy. That he believed was the best security they could have for combined reunion with the Church of England, and he very much doubted whether a better security could be desired. He was continually receiving memorials and addresses from all quarters of the world intimating anxiety on this point.

Mr. Gladstone moved the first resolution. It ran thus :—

“That the present internal organisation of the Colonial Church is the natural result of its growth ; and, so far as it is to be traced to the action of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, entitles the Society to full confidence and enlarged support.” He observed how wide was the scope of this resolution compared with the language and aims of resolutions which would probably have been moved in similar meetings twenty or thirty years earlier. At that period it was thought enough that this Society should attempt to assist individuals and groups of individuals slowly and laboriously forming themselves into congregations in our remote possessions, and little was thought of organisation and organic work. By the arrangements of the meeting he had been associated with the noble Earl who was to second the resolution, and this partnership reminded him that at this meeting political differences had, he trusted, no place whatever. He ended by expressing a desire that the Society might continue to grow and flourish, and see its work increasingly rewarded from year to year.

The Earl of Carnarvon said :

When your Grace was good enough to impose upon me the task of seconding this resolution, I felt how great was the variety of subjects which the resolution covered, and how especially they were important at the present moment. Therefore it was with no slight satisfaction that I heard the resolution confided in the first place to my right hon. friend near me, who with his unrivalled eloquence has ably recommended it in terms so fitting, and at the same time so perfectly true and clear. My right hon. friend said truly that we lived in times of

great change, not only in political, but religious matters. One thing at least is certain, that whatever may be the changes that are yet to come, it has in every age been the special virtue and privilege of the Christian Church that she has known how to adapt herself to each change, and each varying condition, whether of social or of political life. From time to time special difficulties may arise, special organisations may be necessary, and special aids and appliances may have to be called into being; but the Church has never found herself, so far as her own inherent powers were concerned, unequal to the discharge of whatever duties the time called forth. And I think you have a very apt illustration of this in the report that lies upon the table. It is impossible for any one to turn over its pages and study the enormous field of labour which is embraced in the operations of the Society without being astonished, not only at the diverse facts with which this Society comes into contact, but at the difficult phases, as it were, of civilisation and society in which the Church, with the assistance of this Society, is working. My right hon. friend said very truly that we were, after all, pretty much creatures of habit. We are so familiar with certain forms and phases of religious life here that we find it sometimes difficult to imagine that they do not also exist

elsewhere. In this country it has long been our privilege to see our Constitution founded upon the principle of a national Church. That national Church is recognised by the law—rests, I may say, upon the law, and is interwoven not only with the law, but with all the most ancient and greatest interests of the country. At the same time, let it be remembered that a national Church is of necessity the growth and product of many centuries. It does exist here; and happy for us—happy for any country—to possess such a national Church, because I think that a national Church pays a tribute by its very existence and being to something better and truer, and juster and nobler, than any mere earthly object. It recognises a better principle, and acknowledges a higher law than merely those of nations as the guide of its living. I am convinced that in the result a nation is juster and truer, and better in all its dealings, whether internally or externally, and even as regards the mere rule of worldly policy, for having such a representative of its religious feelings. On the other hand, as I said, a national Church is the growth and product of long time, and in other countries in which society is so organised that religious equality, so to speak, follows upon political equality, the Church must depend upon the voluntary efforts of her children, where an Established Church, in



one sense of the word, becomes absolutely impracticable. That is the case in many of the greatest of our Colonies. In Canada you have had legislation in which it has been distinctly stated that it was thought fit and right to dissolve the very semblance of any connexion as between Church and State. So, again, in the great Australian Colonies you have had legislation which has been tantamount to this, and in one of those Colonies (and by no means the least prosperous) such has been the jealousy of a national Church, that with an overstrained feeling, which we can certainly not understand in this room at least, the Legislature has been unwilling to do justice to the temporal interests of the Church even by allowing the name of that Church to creep into an Act of Parliament, lest perchance it should be thought by implication there was some sanction given to the pre-eminence and power of an Established Church. What, then, are you to do under circumstances such as those? Is the Church to abdicate her functions and duties because she cannot act in the Colonies in the same form and under the same conditions as she acts here? God forbid! Or, on the other hand, are we to attempt to force upon the reluctant Colonies the shadow of an Established Church? Why, that proposition condemns itself in its mere stating. What we have to do is to look all our difficulties in the face, to accept facts as they are, to treat things

as we find them, and have no doubt that the Church there, by her own inherent powers, will find herself not only capable of dealing with all those difficulties which will from time to time arise, but will become stronger in many ways than any Act of Parliament could make her. My right hon. friend touched upon a point which otherwise I should have said but a few words about. He asked—and very properly asked—what it was that caused the great apprehension which pervades the minds of many honest and sincerely conscientious persons respecting the views I have just expressed. There are two sections of these, if I might so classify them. There are those, on the one hand, who fear that such a view may lead to the disconnexion in the eye of the law of the Colonial Church from the Church of this country. My right hon. friend, by the very illustrations that he used, conclusively showed how little there was in such an apprehension. Your Grace knows well that with the Episcopal Church of Scotland there is no Royal Supremacy that can for a moment be asserted; there is no bond of temporal union; there is no legislation which can affect that Church. Yet we are in full and complete communion with the Episcopal Church of Scotland. So, too, with the Episcopal Church of the United States. It would be idle there to talk either of supremacy or of

legislation ; such things cannot of necessity exist, and yet the communion between ourselves and the Episcopal Church of the United States is not only complete and perfect, but perhaps growing in completeness from day to day. We need, then, fear no disconnexion in the eye of the law, because that has long since taken place. If ever there was a connexion it has long since been swept away by Colonial acts which have been allowed in this country, and, so far as separation could be, it does exist at the present moment. But we have something by which to guide ourselves in the mere matter of practical experience. Your Grace knows well what the position of the Canadian Church is at the present moment. I take upon myself to say that there is no Church which is more free as a national Church than the Church in Canada at this present moment. In full possession of every power of self-government and every right of discipline, she still is as loyal and true to the mother Church of this country as, politically speaking, the great province to which she belongs is true to the Crown of England. And you are struck in the same way when you look to Australia, and consider the constitution of those Synods to which reference was just now made. I have never heard a whisper against the complete religious loyalty of the Australian Churches to the mother Church of this country. On the contrary, I

believe that we may learn a lesson from those Synods. In this country there are persons who sometimes fear that the laity, being brought into closer partnership with the clergy in various matters, may become the advocates of rash change and innovation. On the contrary, I believe in the Australian Synods it has been found that of the two orders it is the laity especially who are strict adherents to tradition and ancient usage; it is the laity who are jealously fearful of overstepping the tracks which tradition has marked out for them; it is the laity who, in the broadest and widest sense of the word, are conservative in Church matters. For these reasons I believe we have nothing to do but to accept the facts of the case as they come before us, and not to attempt to battle against that which we cannot alter, and which no efforts on our part could possibly reverse. But, I would ask, what would really be the alternative of the view I have endeavoured to express? The Church in the Colonies at this moment presents us with a double picture. On the one side you have the Church in Canada self-contained, self-governed, self-constituted, attached by the closest bonds of religious loyalty, reverence, affection, and duty to the Church of the mother country—more than that, prospering, growing in strength, and day by day enlarging its borders. That is one picture.

On the other hand, you have in Southern Africa the picture, I grieve to say, of discord, and strife, and infidelity. You have a picture so dark that at times you would turn away from it in dismay if it were not illumined by those bright beams of courage, fortitude, and noble spirit which have shone out there more conspicuously than for centuries in the Christian Church. Which of those two phases would we embrace? Which would we adopt? I think there can be no doubt as to the choice, and I hope there never will be any doubt as to their choice on the part of the great body of the Church of England. I am sure there can be no doubt, and there has been none on the part of this great and venerable Society in dealing with this question. It is on these grounds I beg heartily to second the resolution, and, in its own words, to express my belief that, so acting, the Society is entitled to our full confidence and most hearty support.

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

## XX.

### NEWFOUNDLAND.

#### FRENCH CLAIMS ON THE TREATY COAST.

It is sad and not a little humiliating to observe that, notwithstanding the lapse of 32 years, Lord Carnarvon's clear statement of the situation in 1868 should remain almost precisely applicable to the circumstances of to-day. But there is at last a marked improvement in the temper and forbearance with which the two nations now uphold their respective claims: and it seems almost possible to hope that a final settlement of this dangerously irritating question may now be near at hand.

HOUSE OF LORDS. MAY 22, 1868.

The debate on this subject was opened by Lord Houghton, who rose to present a petition from the Commons House of Assembly of Newfoundland, praying that the restrictions with regard to grants of land on the so-called "French Shore," imposed on them by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch dated 7th December, 1866, might be removed. The petitioners stated that the right to make such grants was never questioned until the despatch mentioned was sent, and as the "French Shore" included at least one half of the territory of Newfoundland, the restriction was, in effect, a denial of the exercise of those rights which the Petitioners submit belong to the British Crown, and the result has been to deprive Her Majesty's subjects of the power of taking advantage of the mineral and other resources which exist in the land along that shore. The Petitioners therefore prayed that inquiry might be

made into the matter, and that the restriction might be removed. Lord Houghton presumed that the then Colonial Secretary (the Earl of Carnarvon, who had retired from office in March, 1867) must have had very strong reasons for his interference. Newfoundland had become a very valuable colony, and commanded such a position that it was matter of the greatest interest to us to consult the wishes of the population as far as possible. Besides the value of the coast as a fishing station, there had been discovered large copper mines, other mineral wealth, and marble. Although the French had, at different times, ventured to assert some right of possession to this land, no such right had ever been admitted by the British Government. He concluded by hoping that Her Majesty's Government would make every effort to remedy what appeared to him to be a great wrong.

I have no fault to find with the noble Lord (Lord Houghton) for presenting this petition, complaining of what I felt it my duty to do when filling the office of Secretary of State. It may, however, be more convenient to the Noble Duke, the present Secretary for the Colonies (the Duke of Buckingham), and to the House generally, if I interpose for a few moments with some remarks on the subject. The noble Lord has told us that the petition was founded on a despatch which I wrote during the autumn of 1866. The case which presented itself for decision was this: A certain gentleman in Newfoundland desired to prosecute some mineral researches upon that part of the coast which was known by the name of "The French Shore"; and I felt it my

duty to hold that for the present it would not be right for Her Majesty's Government to sanction such a proceeding. That may appear an arbitrary course, and perhaps an impolitic one, to the noble Lord; but there were grave reasons that led me to adopt it. There is no Colonial question of older standing, none more complex, none, perhaps, less understood in this country, and none more capable of mischief, than that of the Newfoundland fisheries. The subject is full of controversy, and the extent and validity of the French claims have been contested by successive Ministers in every form. Newfoundland was originally claimed for this country in the time of Henry VII.; formal possession was taken for England in the reign of Elizabeth; a portion was subsequently occupied by the French; and then after wars and a long series of negotiations and disputes, the right of this country to the island was definitely recognised in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French subjects being permitted to catch fish along certain portions of the coast and to dry them on land. The Treaty of Utrecht on this point was renewed at a subsequent period by the Treaty of Versailles. That is the basis on which all the claims on both sides now rest. It is important, also, to remember that the object of the fisheries to the French (unlike the object of the possession of Newfoundland to us) is not the foundation of a colony, but



the training up of seamen and the creation of a nursery for their navy. The notion of colonisation or settlement has been entirely foreign to their ideas. An enormous variety of points have from time to time been raised upon these Treaties, but substantially the questions of real importance which have thus arisen are, I think, these two: first of all there is the claim on the part of the French to certain rights in the sea; and, in the second place, there is the claim on the part of the French to certain rights on land. It has been argued, on the part of the French, that their right of fishery is absolute and exclusive, and on the side of the Colonists it is argued that it is a concurrent and not an exclusive right. The French claim not only the right to fish in those waters themselves, but to turn off others who wish to fish there. The Colonists contend, on the other hand, that they have a concurrent right to fish in those waters. In the second place, the French claim in respect of the shore really amounts to a claim to territorial rights on that shore. There have been questions as to how far inland that French right of occupation should extend — whether for a few yards or for a considerable way into the interior; and there has been the claim, which has been admitted on our side, of the French to demand the removal of British establishments from that shore, inasmuch as they might interfere with

their fishing rights. Then there arose the question what the nature of such establishments was—whether they were to be purely fishing establishments, or to include shops, warehouses, and other permanent buildings. The noble Lord has argued the case from a purely Colonial point of view. I do not, of course, object to the Colonial point of view being urged before your Lordships, but I must remind the House that in as far as it is a Colonial view, derived from only Colonial information, it is necessarily a one-sided view, and does not represent either the course which the negotiations between this country and France have taken, or indeed the opinion entertained at various times by successive English Secretaries of State, whether connected with the Colonial Department or with the Foreign Office. The noble Lord has quoted the opinion of Lord Palmerston as being very strongly against the exclusive right claimed by the French. On points of that sort the authority of Lord Palmerston is always entitled to great weight; but, on the other hand, other Secretaries of State, whose authority was perhaps as great, have held a somewhat different opinion; and, moreover, if one set of law officers have counselled one view on that subject, another set of law officers have counselled a view that is far from identical. When, therefore, the noble Lord says that the whole stream of authority ran in one direction, I cannot quite

assent to that assertion ; because as we go further back into the history of those treaties and negotiations I think we shall find that, in those earlier days, there was a greater inclination to admit an exclusive or very stringent right on the part of the French than in subsequent times. Acts have been passed and instructions issued to Governors in that sense ; and to such an extent was that view taken, that an Act was passed in the Colony many years ago which absolutely excluded the electoral franchise from extending over any portion of the Treaty Shore. I will not here express any opinion as to how far the French claim is or is not tenable, but the view urged by the noble Lord is by no means so clear and unmistakable as he supposes ; for there has been a large difference of opinion on both sides in the matter, and it would be very unwise for any English negotiator to overlook that fact. Formerly constant collisions occurred between the English and French fishermen on the fishery grounds, sometimes leading to very serious results, and ships of war have been ordered up to take part in the difference. More recently those collisions have, perhaps, been reduced to bickerings and quarrels between the two parties. But the Governments of the two countries have uniformly felt—and, I think, wisely felt—that it was desirable, if possible, to come to such a settlement of this long-vexed question as would at once secure the

Treaty rights of both parties, and give a just development to Colonial resources. In 1857, in consequence of the action of the Colonial Parliament, a Convention entered into for that object broke down. In 1859 the difficulties were felt to be as great and as dangerous as ever, and a Commission was issued by Her Majesty's Government to inquire on the spot. Upon the recommendations of that Commission a further attempt was made in 1861, and again the two Governments agreed on the terms of a Convention. But again the Colonial Legislature interposed, and would not consent to conditions which they stated were prejudicial to Colonial interests; and the hope of an adjustment once more failed. The difficulties were renewed; and in 1866, when I accepted the seals of the Colonial Office, I found there was some reason to anticipate that negotiations might be resumed with advantage. But I also felt very strongly that it was absolutely necessary, if they were to be resumed, that there should be a clear understanding on our part and on that of the Colony that they should not be subjected a third time to disappointment and failure from the same causes. Believing that the circumstances were favourable at that moment to the resumption of the negotiations, I knew well that, if the issue of grants of land were to be made in the manner which had been contended for, the existing

most injurious state of things must be indefinitely protracted.

Therefore, while appreciating the unsatisfactory position of the British Colonists on the Treaty Shore, and being anxious to remedy it, I yet felt that the permanent interests of the Colony, not less than the interests of this country and of France, rendered it desirable that one more effort should be made to secure the settlement of the whole question, which, as long as it remained open, endangered the friendly relations of the two countries. I desire to speak of the Colony with great respect; but I must ask whether it has placed this country in a fair position? There are already in existence in British North America questions of a very difficult, complicated, and even irritating nature—questions of boundaries, such as those of San Juan and Vancouver's Island, questions again arising out of the events of the late war; and it certainly is not desirable to have in Newfoundland a fresh magazine of combustibles to be added on the first opportunity to those already existing in Canada, in New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Let no one suppose that these disputes are the less dangerous because they have lasted for so long a time. As long as our relations with a foreign State are perfectly smooth and friendly these matters are free from danger; but once let a feeling of

irritation arise, and they would assume proportions that they do not at present possess. It should be recollected that Newfoundland is the cause of very considerable naval and military expense to this country, and it is, therefore, not too much to ask that the Colony should meet us half-way in a matter of this kind. What, after all, are the real facts of the case? Partly by taking formal possession, and partly by Treaty, we acquired this territory of Newfoundland many years ago; and, at the same time, certain rights were secured to the French. Time went on, a colony sprang up—a circumstance which, at the time the Treaties were entered into, was not anticipated. Fishermen from England gradually abandoned the shores, and left them to the Colonists; and now, our direct home interests having virtually ceased, we are called upon in the interests of the Colonists to ask France to yield rights which it is unfortunately arguable that we had to some extent formerly conceded to her. That is not a position in which this country ought to be placed. But our duty is very simple. It is to secure to France all those Treaty rights and engagements to which she has a clear claim; the honour and faith of the Crown are pledged to this, and no servant of the Crown would have a right to recommend the Crown to evade its obligations. On the other hand, it is quite as plainly our duty to

recognise the present state of things, to admit the growth of population and the change of circumstances upon that shore, and, as far as we can, within Treaty rights, to secure the just and proper development of Colonial resources. Hitherto the attempts made to bring about a settlement of the question have been rather in the way of dealing with special difficulties as they arose out of the early Treaties than by placing the fisheries upon a new basis. But as I have held the office of Colonial Secretary, and am able, now that I am out of office, to speak with greater freedom than the noble Duke, the present Colonial Secretary, I venture to make a suggestion as my humble contribution towards the settlement of what may turn out a serious question. One thing is quite clear, that the French and the Colonists have power to do each other considerable mischief by insisting upon particular restrictions. The French might obstruct the formation of Colonial settlements on the Treaty Shore, and the Colonists might prevent the reasonable exercise of the French rights by refusing to sell them bait, and by similar impediments. Why should not both parties agree to place matters on the far simpler and truer principle of a pure commercial reciprocity? If, on the one hand, the French would consent to abandon their exclusive claim to particular fisheries and modify their assertion of right to demand the

removal of buildings on particular parts of the coast, and if, on the other hand, the Colonists would consent to throw open the whole of their fisheries to the French, these concessions would be largely for the benefit of both parties; but in the main the advantage, I am persuaded, would be chiefly on the side of the Colonists, who have always urged that the best fishing grounds are in the waters assigned to the French. It will be said, no doubt, that the fisheries along the Treaty Shore are not sufficiently large to accommodate both parties, and that the stock would be soon exhausted. But the report on our home fisheries, made a few years ago, showed that the resources of Nature were so prolific that the supply of fish was absolutely inexhaustible. Experience likewise, since American fishermen have been admitted under the Reciprocity Treaty to fish in Nova Scotian waters, shows that these waters can perfectly well bear the increased number of fishermen. Such an arrangement as I suggest might, at any rate, be made tentatively for a few years, and, when practical experience has been gained of its working, it could be seen whether it was desirable to renew it. In conclusion, I would urge strongly upon the Government the duty of not losing sight of this very important question; and I would also urge upon the Colonists that they should not stand on their extreme rights,



but having stated their opinions fully and frankly to Her Majesty's Government, taking a reasonable and not a one-sided view, should support this Government in negotiating with the Government of France with the view of obtaining, if possible, a satisfactory settlement. I would not, however, advise the Government to attempt a third negotiation which might end in the same manner as those commenced on two former occasions, when, after most of the Articles had been agreed upon to the satisfaction of the two great countries, the Colonial Legislature came in between the two Governments, overthrew the agreement, and set everything once more adrift.

The Duke of Buckingham said it did not appear to him when he assumed the seals of office that a settlement would be facilitated, or the views of the Colony advanced, by withdrawing those restrictions which his noble friend had thought fit to impose with regard to grants of land within the disputed territory. He thought the question was altogether one of great difficulty, and should be met in no other way than in a spirit of compromise on the part of the Colonists, the French Government, and Her Majesty's Ministers.

## XXI.

### CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF THE COLONIES WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

The proposal to withdraw the Imperial troops from the Colonies drew from Lord Carnarvon the important speech delivered in the House of Lords on the 14th February, 1870. The key-note of this speech was the essential unity of the Empire. It was pointed out that, while mistakes had in the past been made in regard to the great Colonies, there had always been "an honest and unselfish purpose" on the part of the mother country, and, as a natural result, "the old feelings of irritation . . . have been gradually fading away." Lord Carnarvon went on to show the practical difficulties of such vague schemes of confederation as had been suggested, but expressed his belief that the means of drawing closer the members of the Empire would be found, and indicated the steps which might be taken to further this great object. "Above all," he said, "it is necessary to consider what should be the principles upon which the military defence of the Empire should be based."

The official Colonial Conferences of 1887 and 1897 have led to useful results in the direction pointed out by Lord Carnarvon. The South African War has been a great object-lesson, and the way is now open to lay down the principles of national defence, and to harmonise national preparations.

Much remains to be accomplished, but the sense of universal citizenship has markedly developed. The "Confederation, of which England might be the centre, and of which all the members would be bound to her by a tie which might go on for uncounted generations," is an ideal towards

which many minds are now turning. The withdrawal of regular troops from the self-governing Colonies has not produced all the effects which Lord Carnarvon feared; but it is to be remembered that this measure was proposed at a time when views had been publicly advanced by both Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe which might well cause alarm to all far-seeing statesmen. There has lately been a movement for an interchange of troops between the Colonies and the mother country, which may lead to important results.

HOUSE OF LORDS. FEBRUARY 14, 1870.

The Earl of Carnarvon, who had given notice to call the attention of the House to the present relations of the Colonies with this country, and to move for copies of correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Governor-General of Canada and the Governors of the Australian Colonies on the reduction of the Military Forces stationed in those Colonies, said :

My Lords, the Speech which Her Majesty was graciously pleased to communicate to us a few nights ago was one of more than usual length, and the subjects with which it dealt were, perhaps, of more than usual importance. But there is one question to which some reference might well have been expected, but to which scarcely any allusion was made—that of our Colonial relations. Now with the exception, perhaps, of the various considerations with regard to Ireland, there are scarcely any subjects which have within the last few months been more in the public mind than the manifold questions relating to our Colonial Empire. We have had a grave and even dangerous crisis

in New Zealand; we have heard of a rebellion in the Red River Colony; we have had a petition from certain agitators in British Columbia, praying for annexation to the neighbouring republic; we have had the public mind stirred very much on the question of State aid to Colonial emigration. I propose, therefore, to draw attention to the relations which exist between ourselves and our great self-governing Colonies—first of all in what may be called the incidents of civil government, and afterwards in that which is, after all, one of the main ties which bind them to us—the question of military organisation and defence. We have a Colonial Empire such as perhaps no other people ever possessed. Spain had a great Colonial Empire, but it has almost disappeared. France had considerable dependencies across the seas, but she has seen them gradually absorbed to a large extent by other nations. England alone has built up a vast structure, and though we have lost a part, we have been enabled to preserve much and to add a great deal more. Our Colonial Empire has, indeed, been the child, sometimes of accident, and sometimes of mistake; but it is an Empire of which we have reason to be proud, and which I trust English statesmen will long continue to cherish. We at one time had great Colonies which we taxed injudiciously and contrary to the sound principles of government; they revolted, and we lost them; and let me say

in passing, that, of all the calamities which have befallen this country, I regard that separation as perhaps the greatest of disasters, not only in itself, but still more in the manner in which it was brought about. We gained other Colonies, some of which we have lost, others of which we retain. As time went on, new difficulties and differences arose. To some of our Colonies we sent our convicts; after a while they refused to take them, a struggle ensued, and we had the good sense to waive the point. Again we indulged in every conceivable theory of trade, sometimes theories which were obviously adverse to Colonial, and sometimes theories as obviously adverse to Imperial interests. Then constitutional changes were introduced. To some Colonies we gave self-government, perhaps, in too indiscriminate a manner, and in some cases prematurely; we lavished upon them a profuse expenditure from home resources, till we suddenly found that we had shifted upon ourselves burdens which had previously been theirs. At the present time, self-governing Colonies have little, I think, to complain of. They have the amplest measure of local self-government; they have personal and political freedom without stint; they have legislative and administrative liberty to do almost as they please; and whenever an Imperial veto has been exercised it has been exercised for their safety and welfare, so as to lighten their burdens,

correct the mistakes of their administration, and give them the facilities which it is our duty to afford them, but which it is also their advantage to possess. It may further be said that English statesmen and English Governments and Parliaments, without exception, for many years have acted towards our Colonies, sometimes no doubt under mistaken impressions, but always with an honest and unselfish purpose, and in perfect good faith. And the result has been that during the last ten or fifteen years the old feelings of irritation which used to exist—the jealousy of Downing Street influence and of the Secretary of State—have gradually been fading away into visions of the past, and the Secretary of State has come to be looked upon by the Colonies rather as a friendly arbiter and adviser, on whom they can count in times of difficulty.

Putting aside those Colonies which come under the head of military or commercial posts, and those which are, or ought to be, Crown Colonies, I will deal only with the self-governing Colonies, the Dominion of Canada, the Australian Colonies, and New Zealand. My Lords, schemes have been put forward for what may be called a confederation of the Empire. There has been a consciousness that this great Empire is Imperial in name, and local in effect and power; and there has been a desire to tighten the bonds which at present seem

to have a tendency to relax. Confederation, it has been said, might be accomplished either by giving the Colonies representation in the British Parliament, or by some such agency as is provided by the Supreme Court in the constitution of the United States. I do not, however, think it worth while to go into that question. I have often weighed the arguments for and against it, and though I would gladly accept such a confederation if I thought it possible, I am afraid it is at least altogether premature. Again, it has been argued by persons of considerable weight here and in the Colonies themselves, that the creation of an Imperial Council corresponding in character to the Council of the Secretary of State for India in this country would afford the Colonial Secretary more information on important Colonial questions than he is supposed now to obtain. But the objection to such a Council is that there is no analogy between our Colonial and our Indian Empire. Our Colonial Empire consists of a variety of countries in different parts of the world, in different stages of advancement, and under different forms of government, in most cases having little or no connection with each other, in many having almost absolute power of self-government, whereas the whole of India is placed under one almost despotic administration. With regard to the

composition of such a Council, it would be extremely difficult to obtain the presence in this country of the best men to represent the interests of the Colonies. All acquainted with the state of our Colonies are aware that there, as indeed in every country, the supply of first-class men is limited, and the best men, who would be really representative of the existing Governments, or Parliaments, or parties, could not ordinarily be spared to reside in England. Moreover, in Colonies so distant as those of Australia, changes of government making it necessary that their representation in the Council should be changed would cause a further difficulty. And finally, there is the fact that there is no strong connexion between the different Colonies which would enable you to form a homogeneous and steadily working Council.

With regard to information to be given to the Secretary of State, I quite admit that cases occur in which it is desirable that more information should be at his command; but I think such cases are few. In cases of real importance, of Imperial concern, you already secure the best men from the Colonies. On questions of vital interest the strongest men are specially sent over. When I held the seals of the Colonial Office, while the Confederation of British North America was pending, I received a deputation of twelve



or fourteen gentlemen, the ablest men who could be selected from the Provinces, and who represented every shade of opinion. They spent a considerable time here, discussing every clause, and almost every line, in the Confederation Bill, and it was by their assistance that the scheme was at last brought to a satisfactory conclusion. On great questions, therefore, you can command the presence of the very best representatives; while in ordinary cases the best men cannot be spared, and you would be forced to avail yourselves of inferior men. As regards, then, the supply of information to the Secretary of State, I have come to the conclusion that our existing system works at all events so well that we need not on this ground alone have recourse to the remedy proposed.

Another proposal has been made. It has been said that our Colonies have now reached such a stage of growth that they might pass into the character of allies, and the intercourse with them might be rather of a diplomatic than of an official character. I certainly should entertain no jealousy if I thought that the time for this had come, but I do not think that it has. It is needless to point out that diplomatic relations between England and her Colonies would now tend to weaken the connexion rather than to strengthen it. Lastly, there was a proposal thrown out by

the noble Earl on the cross-benches (Earl Grey), who believes that the concessions which we have made to our self-governing Colonies might, with their consent, and to the advantage of all parties, be modified. I think, however, that the force of circumstances was such as to render the concessions very often inevitable, and looking at things broadly it was best for our Colonies, and probably for ourselves, that those concessions were made. The attempt to recall them would now be hopeless and impossible. To quote an illustration—which is not mine—it is as if a father, rightly or wrongly, had parted with his estate to his children, and in later years, on re-consideration, was desirous of repossessing himself of his control. But he would find that it had really gone, and that he could only appeal to the natural affection of his children. That I believe to be our present position towards our Colonies. But does it follow that no improvement in our present relations is possible, and that we must drift on carelessly, reckless whither we are going? Certainly not; and I am confident that if on the part of English statesmen there exists—as I believe there does on the part of Colonial statesmen—a desire to find a remedy, and to knit the different portions of the Empire once more into closer bonds one with another, a way can be found, and more or less effectually the task can be accomplished. The problem is to secure

and preserve on the one hand the self-government which you have given to the different Colonies, and on the other hand to add to it a more real connexion than that which now exists. It may be hard, but I do not believe it in any sense impossible. There are several influences, at all events, which may greatly tend to facilitate such a result. In the first place a greater sympathy, a greater heartiness of expression, a greater affection, a more sincere pride in this great Empire, are all developments which would tend to promote the object in view. I wish that the noble Earl (Earl Granville) could come to some understanding with the great self-governing Colonies as to what it is which they conceive would really be best for maintaining the Imperial connexion, and what they consider necessary to be done. An influence to which he might appeal with perfect certainty of success is the influence of the Crown, whether we look upon it in the abstract or whether it represents, as it does in the Colonies, the virtues and high qualities of the Sovereign who now wears it. It is very much the fashion among a certain class of travellers to dilate upon the material prosperity and growth of the Colonies, and their national expansion, and everything which brings them apparently into a line with the republican institutions of the United States, while exhibiting a singular desire to leave entirely out

of sight the vast influence of the Crown and the feelings of loyalty which it calls forth. But there is no part of Her Majesty's dominions where there is a more ardent feeling of devotion than in these Colonies; no part, I believe, which would be prepared to make sacrifices with greater cheerfulness on behalf of the Sovereign or the national honour. Lastly, there is another mode of action which possibly might facilitate the object in view. There is an old English proverb, "Short reckonings make long friends," and I believe nothing contributes more towards a good understanding between man and man, and nation and nation, than a distinct understanding of the different powers they may both exercise, and the lines which separate one from the other. Now, there can be no doubt that in our Colonial Empire, which has been the gradual growth of time and circumstances, the powers which may be exercised by the Imperial Government on the one hand, and the Colonial authorities on the other, have not been clearly marked out. It would be well if Her Majesty's Government would consider the practicability of defining some of these powers. Time, no doubt, was when without much difficulty we might have had one great commercial system. That has passed by. Time was also when we might have had one financial system. I do not think it is too late even now to have one common coinage

in Her Majesty's Empire. Moreover, I can conceive many cases in which the law might, with advantage to England, and still greater to the Colonies, be made common and uniform throughout every part of the Empire. These are questions at which, of course, I can only hint, but which deserve the attention of the Government, and in which they might safely invite the co-operation of our great Colonies. Above all they ought to consider what should be the principles upon which the military defence of the Empire should be placed. They should bear in mind that the military organisation of the Empire ought to be a great source of strength, and that it is the one great tie which still holds the Colonies to England. I wish, indeed, it were possible that an Englishman and a Colonist, when they passed to their respective countries, should feel that they were members of the same great Empire, that they should know no difference whatever except in sky and climate, and that in all other respects the Englishman should feel himself a citizen in Canada, and the Canadian should feel himself no stranger in England. It is impossible not sometimes to indulge in the belief—though circumstances at this moment are adverse—that such a great confederation might even yet be achieved—a confederation of which England might be the centre, and of which all the members would be bound to

her by a tie which might go on for uncounted generations. Canada, no doubt, entails on us political responsibilities; but I believe that that great Dominion which Parliament three years ago built up was wisely created in the interest of Canada, in the interest of Great Britain, and also in the interest of that great continent of which she forms a part. New Zealand also entails political difficulties on us; but a minister must look beyond the present generation—and who can doubt that New Zealand, with her climate and her resources, is destined to be an England in the southern sea? Australia I will not say presents any difficulty, for it does not cost us a farthing; but Australia is interwoven with our Eastern trade, and if you would preserve that trade and retain the great commercial ascendancy which you have now created for yourselves, is it not wise to remain on the most intimate terms with Australia? I know it is sometimes said that if the Colonies go our trade will remain exactly the same. But depend upon it trade flows greatly in the channels of political influence, and if you impair your political connexion with Australia, your commerce with it will inevitably suffer. Or is it fear of responsibilities that is governing your present policy? Is it fear in North America of the political liabilities to which you would be exposed? Is it some misgiving of yourselves and your own

future conduct, if you come into disagreeable relations with the United States? If I thought that, I should say the feeling and spirit of this country had sunk very low indeed. God forbid that this country and the United States should ever be on other terms than amity! God knows that no calamity could befall the whole civilised world greater than a collision between these two nations; but we gain nothing by shrinking from the expression of our own opinion, by surrendering the duty and rights which unquestionably belong to us, and above all, by hesitating to do that which is right, and to which we are pledged in honour, towards our Canadian fellow-subjects. I say, then, if it is not fear of such responsibilities which is determining our course, is it—and that is the last supposition I can make—merely a question of expense? Is our object in the course we are adopting to make some miserable reduction financially, and is it for that purpose that we are jeopardising our connexion with the whole of our British North American colonies? Now economy, no doubt, is extremely good—no man is more sensible of its merits than I am—but, after all, gold may sometimes be bought too dear, and he is not a prudent man who will not insure his house simply because he grudges the premium. The civil charges on this country of the whole of our Colonies are so trifling, so insignificant, so absolutely trumpery,

that they are not worth a moment's consideration. The military charges are the only real burden that can be said to weigh upon us; and let me point out that they are not really a great burden to this country unless you propose to reduce largely your whole military establishment. If in recalling troops from Canada you are prepared to strike those troops off the roll of the British Army, you of course effect a reduction. That is a very large question, on which I will not now enter; but I may say in passing that last year you struck off some 10,000 men, and that if this year, as it is rumoured, you strike off another 10,000, and find yourselves, as you probably will, without an adequate reserve, you place the fortunes of this country in a very critical position. The military organisation for the defence of the Empire being now one of the main ties which bind the Colonies to us, I deeply regret, though on different grounds, the withdrawal of the troops, which I understand has been ordered, from Australia and Canada. As long as the presence of troops in Colonies like Australia is not such in point of number as to weaken the resources of the mother country, as long as their retention is not injurious to us, as long as the troops are retained under the control of the Crown—which I look upon as essential—and as long as a Colony is willing to pay its fair and reasonable quota towards their maintenance, so long it seems to



me to be unwise and churlish to withdraw them from our Colonies in their present stage.

Test the Australian colonies by these conditions. The number of troops was not large, they were under the distinct control of the Crown, and the Colonies paid on a fixed scale of charges, which, after long negotiation, I drew up with the Australian Governments when Secretary of State. The case of Canada is a wholly different and, I am bound to say, a much more serious one. There you have a large territory confessedly lying open to attack, and you know that that attack, if ever made, will be made in great force. That territory has been held by the most competent judges to be capable of defence, and if there be a population pre-eminent in patriotism and devotion to their soil and institutions and attachment to the mother country, it is the people of Canada. For a long time I could not believe the decision to withdraw the Imperial troops from Canada, but I am afraid the noble Earl will confirm it. Those troops form the nucleus of the military force of the country—they form a centre round which the national levies can be grouped, and in time of war would be of great service; they are a standing school of instruction to the Canadian Volunteers. To put the whole matter in one word, their presence is the visible presence of the Empire, and their absence, whatever you may say, will be

construed as the abandonment of the Empire. What excuse is there for the withdrawal of these troops? When I succeeded to the Colonial Office there were, I think, in British North America 11,000 or 12,000 English soldiers. Considerable danger from the Fenian aggression arose, and it was necessary, at much cost and trouble, to despatch a considerable force—far in excess, I readily admit, of the normal and necessary force. The noble Duke who succeeded me (the Duke of Buckingham), and whose absence to-night I regret, reduced it, and, I doubt not, properly, to about 8,000; but I am sure it is not safe to go one man below that number. I understand, however, that last year it was again cut down by nearly 4,000, that there are now not much more than 3,000 in Canada, and that orders have been sent out, even against the strong opinion of the local Government, to withdraw every soldier.\* Now, if that be true, what does such a course really mean? It was but three years ago that you built up this Dominion, and scarcely is it created when it is burdened with first one question and then another, which are really in a great degree questions of Imperial concern—the Hudson's Bay territory question, the fisheries question, commercial relations with the United States, self-defence, the

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\* Halifax was excepted.

construction of fortifications—perhaps, for all I know, the San Juan question and British Columbia. Look at what the Canadians have been and are doing and at what we do. As far as I know, we pay absolutely nothing except some £4,000 or £5,000 on account of the clergy, and I am not sure whether or not we have handed over to the Dominion the Indian Reserves. If so, the total amount of our payments to Canada is about £5,000 a year. We do not even grant them anything by way of a postal subsidy. More than that—until the present Government came into office, it was the custom, and a right one, for a certain number of gunboats to be placed on the American lakes; but last year, I understand, they were taken off, and that means of defence, which cost us very little, which was very valuable, and which can with great difficulty be undertaken by the Dominion Parliament, has been withdrawn and thrown upon them. In the same way we undertook, and still undertake, to superintend the fisheries—a most delicate question, as the noble Earl, the Foreign Secretary, well knows, between us and the United States, always liable to give rise to controversy—but, I understand, we have gradually shifted that duty, or a large part of it, on to the Canadians, and, not content with that, have accompanied it with instructions so hampering in their nature that it is absolutely impossible for the Canadian ships to

do the duty assigned to them and to exercise the proper control. Thus we have done very little for Canada. On the other hand, what has Canada, or rather what has she not, done for herself? There was never a case where any people in time of peace have shown a more earnest, cheerful, and hearty spirit in their own self-defence than the Canadians. They used to pay, while our troops were there, for their whole barrack accommodation, and in the short space of two years they raised their military estimates by millions of dollars. They maintain an active militia, admirably armed and equipped, very fairly trained, and on which no reasonable trouble or expense is spared, of upwards of 40,000 men. Upon that they have spent nearly half a million of money. And, lastly, they have voted—and that is no trifling sum—£1,100,000 for the permanent fortifications and defences of Canada. Consider what a sum £1,100,000 is to Canada! There are not more than 4,000,000 of inhabitants altogether; therefore, in effect, each individual must have taxed himself upon the average to the extent of five shillings simply to provide these fortifications. I say, then, that we have no reason to complain of what Canada has done. You have yourselves laid out within the last few years £250,000 upon the defences of Quebec, and about £250,000 for the defences of Halifax. If British troops are to

be withdrawn from Canada, what are you going to do with these fortifications—are you going to leave Quebec without a soldier? Having spent £250,000 of English money upon these fortifications, are you not going to leave a British soldier to keep guard over them? Are you going to keep Halifax? I presume you mean to do so. If you lose Halifax, you must also make up your mind to lose Bermuda, and with Bermuda go the West Indies. If you lose these, you will also lose all your Newfoundland seamen, and all that great tonnage which makes your commercial navy the first in the world. Your whole commerce on the eastern side of the Continent of America will be shaken—possibly your whole commerce on the western side, towards China and Japan—possibly, even your commerce with India, to which the Canadian is an alternative route. You are going out of your way, as it seems to me, to pledge this country to the first step towards national decay. I say again your policy is dangerous. There have been distinct threatenings of Fenian outbreaks, which have been happily put down by the vigilance and activity of the Canadian Government, but if made in force that Government would probably have needed the co-operation of Her Majesty's troops. But having withdrawn every British soldier, if these Fenian attacks take a more serious and larger form than has hitherto been

the case, what will you do? Are you going to send back the troops at great trouble and expense? If so, it seems rather idle to bring them to England in the first instance, and then send them all the way back again to Canada. On the other hand, if you do not send them back again, are you going to leave Canada to shift for herself? On this point I hope we shall have a clear and explicit answer from the noble Earl. I hope the noble Earl will tell us, as Lord Palmerston told the House of Commons on a former occasion—that it is no Colonial question—it is an Imperial question, that every part of the Empire is equally dear to this country, so long as the Colonies retain their affection and allegiance to the Crown, and that England is prepared to submit to any sacrifices rather than suffer the dismemberment of the Empire. The matter of the Red River Settlement is not one into which I wish now to enter; it is perhaps a small question, but I should be glad to know that Her Majesty's Government have offered their co-operation and in case of necessity have promised support.

Five years ago—and in these times five years means a long period and many changes of opinion—a debate took place in the other House of Parliament about this time of the year. In that debate many members of Her Majesty's Government took part; and a speech, which I well

remember, was made by a noble Lord who now holds office in the House of Commons, and who then also was in the Cabinet. Speaking upon this very subject of Canadian defences, the question being whether or not a certain sum should be voted in aid of these fortifications, Lord Hartington said :

“ I need say nothing of those hon. gentlemen who think that it is impossible to defend Canada, and that therefore it is impolitic to take any steps with that object in view. . . . That is an intelligible line of argument, and if the Committee thinks that the allegations upon which it is based are true, I hope it will say so at once, and will not wait to declare its opinions until we have induced the Canadians to spend a large amount of money and to raise a large body of men.”

There was another important speaker in that debate—he was then Secretary for the Colonies, and is now Secretary for War. Therefore, no man's opinions can be entitled to have greater weight than Mr. Cardwell's. Mr. Cardwell said :

“ I trust that the spirit to be found here will correspond with that which they have exhibited, and that, after we have been engaged for years in calling out the energies of the Canadian people, we shall not turn round on them at last and desire to recall the proposals which we have made.”

He went on to say :

“ The primary defence of Canada consists in the knowledge of every foreign country that war with Canada implied also war with England ; but the secondary defence of Canada is to be found in the spirit and energy of its own people.”

I entirely agree with every word of that extract, except that I think the right hon. gentleman rather reversed the order, and that the secondary defence ought to have been put first. Lastly, Lord Palmerston, then at the head of the Government, winding up the debate and speaking for the Cabinet, of which, by the way, there are still some six or eight members in the present Government, said :

“This is not a Canadian, it is not a local, it is an Imperial question. We think we can, by the fortifications now proposed, put Canada into such a state of defence that, with the exertions of her own population, and assisted by the military force of this country, she will be able to defend herself from attack.”

But, my Lords, there was another speaker during that debate who was not then a member of Her Majesty's Government, and at that time spoke from the back benches—Mr. Bright; and I must say, in passing, I deeply regret, widely as I differ from Mr. Bright, that at this moment he is unable to be in his place in Parliament at this important period. Mr. Bright said :

“We are talking folly when we say that the Government of this country would send either ships or men to make an effectual defence of Canada against the power of the United States. . . . I do not object to separation in the least; I believe it would be better for us and better for them.”

There was yet another member of Her Majesty's present Government who spoke in that debate,



and with remarkable power—I mean the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Lowe said :

“ We ought, in my opinion, to tell Canada that we will defend her with all our strength, that we consider her interests bound up with ours, that we will fight for her to the last so long as she belongs to us, but that we see no chance of defending her on her own ground. If she chooses British connexion she must take it subject to this condition. . . . We should represent to her that it is perfectly open to her to establish herself as an independent republic. . . . It is our duty, too, to represent to her that if, after well-weighed consideration, she thinks it more to her interest to join the great American Republic itself, it is the duty of Canada to deliberate for her own interests and happiness.”

Now, I ask your Lordships, which of these three policies is most clearly shadowed out by the course now pursued by Her Majesty's Government—the policy advocated by Lord Hartington and Mr. Cardwell, and sanctioned so emphatically by Lord Palmerston ; or that urged by Mr. Bright ; or that recommended by Mr. Lowe ? For myself, I must say I read with feelings of deep misgiving the course indicated by Mr. Lowe, which, so far as I can judge, is being carried out literally and completely. I trust the noble Earl may be able to dispel these apprehensions. I do not complain of Mr. Bright, or Mr. Lowe, or of their views ; but I do say that it is too late now, for the honour of the country, to adopt that line of action. If the object of our whole national life

is to become the mere workshop of the world, to give no hostages to fortune, to run no risk, to incur no liabilities, but merely to accumulate money, well; but no nation, any more than an individual, can afford to live a selfish life, wrapping itself up in its own miserable interests. If it does it will inevitably come to disaster abroad and discredit at home—it will lose alike the respect of others and its own. If there is any lesson which we should draw from the loss of the United States, it is the misfortune of parting from those Colonies in ill-will and irritation. We parted with those great Colonies because we attempted to coerce them; and if we now part with our present Colonies, it will be because we expel them from our dominion. I will be no party to such a policy, and I beg to enter my humble and earnest protest against a course which I conceive to be ruinous to the honour and fatal to the best interests of the Empire.

## XXII.

### FENIAN INVASION OF CANADA.

On May 27th, 1870, Lord Carnarvon drew attention, by means of a question, to the Fenian raids across the Canadian Frontier. In the House of Commons on the preceding day a similar question had been put to the Under-Secretary of State by Sir Charles Adderley. Mr. Monsell replied that, according to the latest information, the Fenians from St. Albans had crossed the border near Philipsburg, and skirmishing was reported to have occurred at other points. The Canadian Militia had been called out, and preparations had been made. A proclamation had been issued by the President of the United States warning American citizens against the violation of neutrality, and General Meade had been authorised to send troops to the frontier. Lord Carnarvon pointed out that direct Imperial responsibilities were incurred. "It is," he said, "not a local, it is not a Colonial quarrel, for it is the connexion with England which has brought this upon the Canadians." On these grounds he pleaded that the recall of the regiments remaining in Canada, which had been announced, should be cancelled.

HOUSE OF LORDS. MAY 27, 1870.

I beg to remind the noble Earl of the remarks I made some time ago as to the possibility of a Fenian outrage. My words have been only too well justified, for we learn

that within the last two or three days considerable bodies of Fenians have crossed the frontiers, and that an engagement, though one in which happily little blood has been spilt, has taken place.

As far as I can judge from the reports that have been received, the invaders have been eminently unsuccessful, and the Canadians have gallantly repulsed them. What I wish to ask is this serious question, Whether, in the present state of affairs, the noble Earl is prepared to carry out the orders which he announced had been given for the recall of the regiments remaining in Canada? Those regiments are very few indeed. I believe there are not more than three regiments stationed in Canada, their total force hardly amounting to 2,000 men. Over and above this, we know that the insurrection in the Red River Colony has involved the sending of a military expedition which has withdrawn from Canada a further regiment of some 400 or 500 men. Then, again, while on the Canadian side there are great difficulties owing to the exposure of a long line of frontier, and the comparative absence of railroads, on the United States side there are many railroads, enabling the Fenians to bring up their force in almost any strength and to throw it on almost any point of the Canadian territory. In the face of all this it seems to me—hazardous and dangerous as it was

originally—still more hazardous and dangerous under present circumstances to recall the troops. I may express what I believe is the feeling of everybody in this House—a feeling of the utmost sympathy with the Canadians in these unprovoked attacks upon them, and of admiration of their gallantry and courage in defending themselves. But we should bear in mind that this quarrel is essentially an Imperial quarrel. It is not a local, it is not a Colonial quarrel; for it is the connexion with England which has brought this upon the Canadians. If, therefore, at this moment the miserably scanty force which remains in Canada is to be further curtailed or withdrawn, we shall place ourselves in a position which I should be sorry for this country to occupy. I have now said all I desire to say, and I therefore put my question, Whether the noble Earl is prepared to suspend, at all events for the present, the recall of the troops which still remain in Canada.

Earl Granville, in answer, said (after other observations) that it was difficult to imagine what object there could be in making the attack on Huntingdon. The only object which those brigands could have in view would be some plundering of farmhouses and the possible destruction of Government property. With regard to the reported movement of another portion of the Fenians from Buffalo, no news had reached them, and it was almost impossible that Sir John Young should not have been informed of it if any such movement

had been made. He trusted, therefore, that the report would turn out to be unfounded. He was happy to say the American Government had not only issued a proclamation, but had also advanced troops towards the frontier, and had put in prison, under a charge of violating the neutrality laws, the so-called General O'Neill. He thought it probable that there would be an utter collapse of this unfortunate movement. He was bound to remark on the admirable way in which the Canadians immediately rushed to the scene of action, which is the more remarkable considering the false alarms which had lately been circulated. Only three weeks ago there was a false alarm, which involved a great expense in bringing out a very large number of Militia. With regard to the disposal of troops, there was no change whatever in the policy of Her Majesty's Government, but he, the day before yesterday morning, requested the War Office and the Admiralty to issue orders suspending any directions for the recall of troops during the continuance of this Fenian raid.

## XXIII.

### ASSOCIATION OF IMPERIAL TROOPS WITH CANADIAN VOLUNTEER MILITIA.

On the 22nd July, 1870, Lord Carnarvon moved a resolution expressing "satisfaction that Her Majesty's regular troops were united with the Canadian Volunteer Militia in their prompt and vigorous efforts in defence of the Canadian frontier of the Empire from the recent so-called Fenian invasion."

After calling attention to the "spirit and gallantry" shown by the Canadian Militia, and to the fact that "the son of our Sovereign, influenced by that spirit of courage which has never been wanting to her race, marched with the English troops, fortunately not yet withdrawn from Canada," Lord Carnarvon pleaded for a more sympathetic attitude towards the Canadian Government in the difficulties imposed by the recurrent Fenian raids. "So long," he said, "as Canada knows that she has the entire sympathy and support of this country these difficulties will be cheerfully borne."

After showing the considerable sacrifices made by the Canadian Government in matters which were of more than local importance, he again expressed a hope that the policy of withdrawing the regular troops might be modified, since even a small force would serve "to give moral support and confidence to the Volunteers." Even a single battalion and a battery would form a practical school of instruction for all the troops which may be raised in Canada. "Let the Government by their acts, however slight, show every foreign nation that, in the words of Mr. Canning, where the flag of England flies there foreign domination shall never come."

The Government opposed this resolution, and it was withdrawn; but it had the result of eliciting a general and cordial recognition of the services of the Canadian Militia.

The whole of Lord Carnarvon's speech, and the discussion arising out of it, are not here reproduced, as exception was taken to some parts of Lord Carnarvon's statement. The object has been to show his argument in a non-controversial form.

HOUSE OF LORDS. JULY 22, 1870.

When I placed on the paper the resolution I am about to move, we were in ignorance of the great events which were about to burst upon us.\* Had I known what was coming I might, perhaps, have refrained from giving that notice; but, under all the circumstances of the case, I do not regret having done so, because it will tend, I think, to show to your Lordships the necessity of being prepared to meet contingencies which we cannot at present foresee. We are at the commencement of a great European War. We trust we may not be involved in it; but the extent to which it may develop itself no man can possibly foretell; and it is, therefore, I conceive, but common prudence that at such a crisis we should endeavour to set our house in order, and prepare ourselves for whatever eventualities the

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\* The outbreak of the Franco-German War.



future may have in store. It is in the recollection of everyone how five or six years ago Fenianism came into existence. After having struggled in vain for some time in Ireland to give effect to the spirit of disloyalty and disaffection, baffled and crippled, it took refuge on the other side of the Atlantic, and in 1866 an invasion of considerable magnitude broke on the Canadian frontier. The circumstances and results are too well known to make it necessary that I should recapitulate them. Fortunately there were British troops there, and the spirit of the Canadian Volunteers was excellent. The invasion was immediately repelled, and the schemes of the Fenians were baffled. In the following year assassination was substituted for open attack, and there occurred the murder of Mr. Darcy M'Gee, one of the most eminent Canadian statesmen, under the instigation of Fenian conspirators. Since then there have been repeated warnings from time to time along the Canadian frontier, and within the last few months once more an attempt at Fenian invasion was made. On the 22nd of May, a concentration of Fenian levies commenced, arms and ammunition were served out, and a so-called General assumed the command. On the 25th, an attack was made, but it was happily baffled without loss of life to any of our own troops or to the Canadians engaged. On the following day the attack was

renewed, when it was again repulsed. The United States Government issued a proclamation during the course of these proceedings, warning their people against allowing themselves to be mixed up in these movements; and after the first defeat they arrested the Fenian general. They also sent troops to the frontier on the occasion of the second attack. I think that, looking to these facts, we must be sensible of the good intentions of the United States Government. We may regret that it was beyond their power to send troops to the frontier in sufficient time to stop the attack altogether, but their good intentions were marked, and any one conversant with American affairs knows the political difficulties by which the United States Government are surrounded in such a case. If, however, there is any room for regretting the delay of that Government, there can happily be none as to the conduct of the Canadian Volunteers. Some of them, at a few days' notice, called away from their various occupations, men whose time was money, and who freely ventured their fortunes and their lives on the issue without a moment's hesitation—without the default, I believe, of a single individual—one and all repaired to the post of duty. They acted, as they were sure to do, with the utmost spirit and gallantry. And happily they did not stand alone; for on that occasion

a young Prince,\* the son of our Sovereign, influenced by that spirit of courage which has never been wanting to his race, marched with the English troops, fortunately not yet withdrawn from Canada, and added fresh confidence to the ranks of the Canadian Volunteers. On that day the Empire and the Crown were both represented, and Canada felt that she was an integral part of the Empire. I have, therefore, with little fear of a refusal, to ask your Lordships to agree to this resolution—

“ That this House has learnt with satisfaction that Her Majesty’s regular troops were united with the Canadian Volunteer Militia in their prompt and vigorous efforts in defence of the Canadian frontier of the Empire from the recent so-called Fenian invasion.”

But it has been hinted to me that Her Majesty’s Government find some difficulty in assenting to this resolution. I shall deeply regret should this be the case. I have endeavoured so to frame it as to avoid any possible cause of offence, and to render it easy for them to accept it. I shall deeply regret if this resolution is opposed by Her Majesty’s Government, on account of the effect that such action may have in this country, and still more in Canada. I am indeed totally at a loss to understand on what ground the Government

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\* H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, who has received the Canadian General Service Medal.

can find fault with such a resolution, which expresses an almost universal opinion, and which contains not a single word that is not an admitted fact. Until, then, I hear from the lips of my noble friend the grounds of his objection, I shall not take up the time of the House upon this point. My first object in bringing forward this motion is to render the acknowledgments which are due not only to the troops, but to the Canadian Volunteers for their gallantry; but my second object, which I approach with much greater difficulty, is to indicate to the House and the Government what I believe to be the feeling at this moment of the people of Canada. Now, everyone who knows anything of Canadian matters, knows that if there is a people with whom loyalty is not a mere profession it is the Canadians. They have grown up in feelings of loyalty to such an extent that it has become a ruling and an almost passionate sentiment. My knowledge of Canada runs back now for many years, and I can testify that the Canadians, in point of loyalty and devotion to the Crown, are absolutely more English than the English themselves. But with this feeling that ever animates them there is mingled at this moment another feeling—a feeling of soreness and irritation.

That feeling, I grieve to say, has since increased in intensity; and I must own that there are

reasons why it should exist. Every spring, since 1866, there has been the threat, at least, of Fenian attacks. Every year, more or less, Canada has been placed in great difficulties and exposed to great expense. So long as she knows that she has the entire sympathy and support of this country, those difficulties will be cheerfully borne; but if doubts are allowed to arise on this vital point, then it is natural enough that her feeling should be one of anxiety and dissatisfaction. If every year French troops or Volunteers were drilling at Havre with the avowed object of invading this country, we should have reason to expect the deepest soreness in England; yet that has been precisely the case with Canada for the last four or five years. Moreover, it must be remembered that, whatever may be the cause of Fenianism, Canada suffers from it entirely through her connexion with us. No reasonable man can doubt that if Canada were not attached to the British Empire, Fenianism would leave Canada alone. And I fear that unless this feeling is checked it may grow. I know that there are some persons in this country—a very small section—who believe that the connexion with Canada is one of trifling importance to us. But your Lordships will not be misled for a moment by such an idea. It is sometimes argued as if it were a question of the independence of Canada; but

it is and must be a question of annexation to the United States. And what does annexation mean? It means to this country the loss of the fisheries, the loss of the great commercial marine of Canada, numbering nearly 40,000 sailors, the loss of every port on that continent, the loss of trade, which may be ten-fold that which exists at the present moment, the loss of staunch allies, the loss of a great Empire. Moreover, it is not only a positive but a relative loss, for it means the addition to the United States of all these elements of power, and the departure of Canada with feelings of irritation and illwill towards us. God forbid that that should ever happen! Some, no doubt, may say that such things should not even be hinted at; but there are times when it is right the truth should be told, that men may see the drift of circumstances, and not disregard the warning of facts. Supposing such a catastrophe to occur, what would history say of us? It would proclaim that we were more stupid, more infatuated than the men who a hundred years ago threw away the United States. It would say, and say justly, that we sinned with our eyes open—that we had had every warning which reasonable men could look for, and that we had entirely disregarded them. And what would Canada say? She would say that we had encouraged her in confederating the British North American

Provinces, and that when we had induced her to adopt that great measure of policy, in an unworthy and pitiful manner we washed our hands of the responsibility. And lastly, what would this country say? She would say that while she had placed in power the strongest Government that had existed for years, that Government deliberately allowed to be alienated hearts than whom there were none more loyal throughout the Empire; and that Parliament, while discussing details of legislation like a parochial vestry, had lost or destroyed the greatest Empire the world had ever seen. I venture to say that a Government of which that could be said would not be worth six weeks' purchase. As long as Canada clings to England, loves the English connexion, and is prepared to submit to sacrifice and danger—greater indeed than we are likely to be called upon to submit to—England will never allow one inch of Canadian soil to be surrendered or sacrificed. This leads me on to the question of the withdrawal of the Imperial troops. In the early part of the Session I pressed the noble Earl (Lord Granville), who was then at the Colonial Office, to state the views of the Government on that subject, and I heard with grief that, in their opinion, the time had come for the entire withdrawal of the troops from Canada. On asking him again later in the Session, when

this Fenian invasion had occurred, nearly the same question, the noble Earl stated that Her Majesty's Government had consented, at all events, to suspend the order for the recall of the troops. I rejoiced at that announcement; and my earnest hope is that the Government may carry that intention a little further, and delay for a still longer time a withdrawal which, I am convinced, will be fraught with deep mischief—a withdrawal which is not only unnecessary to any part of their Colonial policy, but to which they are pledged by no conceivable reason—not even by the Report of the House of Commons Committee which sat six or seven years ago on Colonial Administration. I object to the withdrawal of the troops as unjust to Canada, and highly inexpedient to the interests of the Empire. I say unjust to Canada, because you have encouraged her to enter into this great confederation; and I venture to say that if, when that measure was before Parliament, it had been announced that its immediate result would be the withdrawal of every British regiment from Canada except a garrison at Halifax, it would not have been sanctioned by Parliament, and certainly would not have been accepted by Canada. You have induced her, moreover, on the faith of her connexion with England, to lay out the Inter-colonial railway on military principles, to devote



upwards of a million for fortifications, and to incur a great annual expense in training her Militia. You have from the same point of view imposed, directly and indirectly, many burdens on Canada, and Canada has made no mean return. She has freely accepted each burden and responsibility. She has no desire that all her charges should be paid for her. On the contrary, in this Red River Expedition she has cheerfully consented to supply three-fourths of the men and three-fourths of the money. She has consented to station ships at the fisheries in lieu of those you have taken off. She has embodied for permanent service for the next two years two entire regiments, which at the end of that time will be as completely organised and as effective as any Imperial troops. She has declined no military charge or expense. She has formed schools of practical instruction for her officers, and at this moment, at considerable cost, is prepared to form great military camps. It may, but I trust it will not, be said that because Canada has done so much, therefore we may do very little or nothing. That would be an argument unworthy of this country and this House. I know, indeed, it is said that you expect Canada to provide for her internal defence. She is prepared to do so, and has fully recognised that obligation. But I maintain that the repulse of Fenianism proceeding from the American

border cannot be classed under the head of internal defence and order. In the interests of the Empire, I assume that you wish to retain Canada as an integral part of the Empire; but every military man knows well that it is not safe to trust entirely to any Volunteer or Militia force, however gallant it may be. You must have regular troops; it may be in very small proportions, a mere handful—and I would gladly leave the Government to decide the proportion—but you ought to have a certain proportion of regular troops, in order to give moral support and confidence to the Volunteers, and to form a nucleus round which they may rally at any time. This is the view of every officer of eminence, and of some of the highest authorities in this country. Before the House of Commons Committee to which I have referred the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Herbert laid down that principle. They never contemplated the entire withdrawal of Imperial troops, but they thought that two or three regiments should remain as a nucleus round which Volunteers would be collected. You say you intend to retain Halifax as an Imperial port; but does anybody believe that to maintain Halifax will be sufficient? It would be exactly like a man locking his front door and leaving every window and back door open for persons to walk in at. It is true troops might, under favourable

conditions, be sent from Halifax to Quebec or any threatened point; but we are in the habit of forgetting how great the distances are in Canada. Under very favourable circumstances it took the Imperial authorities five or six days at the time of the Trent affair to convey troops by land from Halifax to Quebec. It is true that the Inter-colonial Railway will facilitate the movements of troops; but till its completion you must send them by road and along the frontier; and I would therefore urge the importance of maintaining a certain proportion of regular troops, let it be ever so small, till the completion of that railway. Retain, if you please, but one regiment at Montreal, and under any circumstances a regiment of infantry and one battery of artillery at Quebec. In two or two and a half years the railway will be completed, and you may then reconsider the whole question. And I urge this the more strongly as this country has already expended, I think, £250,000 on the fortifications of Quebec, and the Canadian Parliament have already voted a very large sum to add to those fortifications. That regiment of infantry and battery of artillery would form a practical school of instruction for all the troops which may be raised in Canada. Remember, also, that Quebec with these fortifications has become a place of no mean strength. He who holds Quebec probably holds Canada; and to

any objection that the troops might be cut off or jeopardised my answer is, first, that the force I ask is really insignificant, and next, that any one who has studied the question knows that Montreal is supported by Quebec, Quebec by Halifax, and Halifax—the base of our operations—by the naval supremacy of England, so that there is a complete chain from one to the other, which ought to ensure the safety of the troops. I am convinced that within the whole wide range of British politics there is no question which possesses greater importance. It is really the question of the Empire which is at stake—an Empire greater perhaps than any ever conceived by the mind of man—greater certainly than the strength or wisdom of man has ever before formed. Our possessions in the Western Hemisphere alone amount to an Empire. You have a boundless tract of territory which is open to every British subject—a territory where every Englishman can go and settle, buy land, and attain every step in civil life as freely as he can in England—a land where emigration is welcomed, where pauperism is almost unknown, where the English language is spoken, and where English institutions flourish; nay, more, a land where the practical difficulties of maintaining the connexion with this country are day by day diminishing, and which steam and electricity and all the appliances of modern science

are bringing into closer relations with us. On the other hand, our obligations to Canada have been and are of a wider political character than ordinary Colonial relations. It is the only one of our Colonies whose border is conterminous with a great foreign Power. Our relations with Canada must, therefore, have an international bearing, and on the horizon of Canada clouds must from time to time appear. Hence it is incumbent on the British Government to devote more than usual care and trouble to Canada—a task worthy of English statesmen and the English Parliament. But what is really required is very little—only a few words and a few slight acts. Let Her Majesty's Government so speak that Canada may feel that she is an integral part of the British Empire, and that as long as she clings to the connexion and is prepared to endure sacrifice and peril for it, she is as much a portion of the Empire as any English county; and let the Government by their acts, however slight, show every foreign nation that, in the words of Mr. Canning, where the flag of England flies there foreign domination shall never come.

Moved to resolve, "That this House has learnt with satisfaction that Her Majesty's regular troops were united with the Canadian Volunteer Militia in their prompt and vigorous efforts in defence of the Canadian frontier of the Empire from the recent so-called Fenian invasion."

The motion was opposed on the ground that it was

unusual and contrary to precedent. After some discussion, which served to show complete agreement in expressing admiration of the conduct of the Canadian Volunteers, Lord Carnarvon withdrew his motion, saying :

As far as the motion itself is concerned, I feel that the purpose which I had in raising this discussion has been answered in a great measure, and that by pressing it further there would be a risk of undoing that which has been accomplished. Therefore, although I think that Her Majesty's Government have undertaken a certain responsibility, and have placed themselves in an unfavourable position by rejecting my proposal on the grounds they have chosen, I shall feel it my duty to withdraw the motion.

## XXIV.

### THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON: LORD RUSSELL'S MOTION FOR ITS REJECTION.

On the 12th of June, 1871, a debate took place in the House of Lords upon the Washington Treaty. Lord Carnarvon, who in a previous discussion, in May of the same year, had expressed great anxiety as to the treatment of Canadian interests in this Treaty, spoke on Lord Russell's motion for an address in opposition to it. He went fully into the provisions of the Treaty, and gave expression to his dissatisfaction at the manner in which he considered British interests to have been sacrificed generally, and Canadian interests to have suffered specially, in the negotiations. In conclusion, however, he stated his assurance that Canada would loyally accept the Imperial view, and that notwithstanding the difficulties and disadvantages which the Treaty would inflict upon her, her high estimate of public duty and strong sense of national life would cause her to make a judicious exercise of her power, and that she would not withhold her consent to the Treaty, but with political wisdom would anticipate hopefully the advantages that would arise in the future from some of its provisions.

HOUSE OF LORDS. JUNE 12, 1871.

My Lords, this is a question which, as has already been pointed out, bears both an Imperial and a Colonial aspect. With respect to the former, I, for one, am prepared to endorse

the opinion generally expressed on this side of the House, and to say that the terms of the Treaty represent a poor bargain for this country. Indeed, the only justification of it that I can conceive is that it is to be looked upon not in the light of a bargain but rather as an exceptional transaction, by which we have conceded so much to the United States on the score of friendship, and, it may be, from a desire to maintain a good understanding with them—and by virtue of which we are doing for them what we should not do for any other country in the world. After the remarks which fell from my noble friend, it is right that I should say a few words on the second or Colonial aspect of this question, and I wish I could say that, viewed in that light, I have a much better opinion of the Treaty. If I put the gains and losses against each other, I doubt whether the result is altogether satisfactory. On the one hand, Canada surrenders the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and of the Canadian canals. On the other hand, the United States allows the navigation of Lake Michigan and certain canals. Well, so far as that exchange goes I see no great objection. I am not prepared to say that these last canals are of any great value, but I do not say that it is an unreasonable exchange. But the second and more serious point is that which has formed the subject of this evening's



discussion—namely, the surrender or exchange of the Fisheries. It would be wrong for us to say anything to prejudge the decision of the Canadian Parliament; but, at the same time, we ought not to flinch from the expression of any opinion which may be justly called for. Canada gives up her rights in respect of the inshore fishery, and nobody can doubt the value of that concession. The right to these Fisheries has been exercised by Canada for generations, has been secured by treaty, and has been guaranteed by our whole naval and diplomatic power. The Fisheries possess, moreover, a very great commercial value, to which my noble friend who last spoke failed altogether to do justice; and lastly, they constitute one of the most important political questions which agitate at this moment large portions of the Dominion of Canada. They form, therefore, as grave and serious a matter of controversy as any subjects we have lately discussed in this House. But, on the other hand, what does Canada receive? The United States surrender the right of fishing down to the 39th degree of north latitude. But this concession is almost worthless. My noble friend spoke of it as if it were a matter of exchange; but there is virtually no exchange, and to argue on it as a matter of exchange is a transparent fallacy. There is no fish worth mentioning on the American

coast except oysters and other shell fish; the Americans have taken good care to reserve these; and I am glad to say that we have, at all events, reserved ours. True, there is a money compensation to be made; but I should have preferred if there had been a commercial or a political rather than a pecuniary equivalent in its place.\* Formerly I have regretted the loss of the Reciprocity Treaty—it was undoubtedly a loss—but I am not sure that the absence of the United States market has not made Canada more self-reliant than she was before, and that her exclusion from that market has not, in fact, opened up others, and shown that in that respect, as in many others, it is out of the power of any one country to regulate and determine the commerce of the world.

But I own that I wish to ask for some explanation of a most singular part of these protocols. I have read with astonishment that at one stage of the transactions the United States Commissioners voluntarily and gratuitously offered to concede free fish, salt, coal, and lumber after a certain date specified, and that the English

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\* This money compensation, however, proved to be a very substantial sum, as the Commission appointed under the Treaty awarded to Canada as much as five millions and a half of dollars as the difference between the Fishery concessions which Canada made and received.

Commissioners declined the proposal, whereupon the American Commissioners immediately withdrew the proposal and declined to be further bound by it. I know that the Commissioners included Sir Stafford Northcote, who has as much knowledge of Canadian affairs as any man; and it also contained a most eminent man of whose judgment and sagacity I have had personal experience—I mean Sir John A. Macdonald; and I am at a loss to understand how, if he had been left free to act for himself in such a matter, this offer on the part of the United States Commissioners was declined, and one which was by no means an equivalent afterwards accepted. I can only imagine that some pressure was placed upon him. But even stronger criticism seems to me to be called for by the absence of one matter from this Treaty. It is with dismay I find that it does not contain any allusion to the Fenian raids into Canada. For several years Canada has been exposed to these lawless incursions, which, if not fostered by citizens of the United States, have, as a matter of fact, originated on their soil. On two occasions they have involved serious loss to the Canadians, and on one of them a grave loss of life. Throughout the whole of this time there has been a standing menace maintained on the borders of Canada, involving perpetual expense to their exchequer, and deep irritation to the community.

Whatever you may say of the Alabama claims you may say, with at least ten times the force, of these Fenian raids. I have searched in vain in the Treaty for any allusion or reference to compensation for these raids, and I am sorry I do not find them mentioned in the Treaty, although I do find them mentioned in the protocols. The Americans may, perhaps, be pleased with the way in which these transactions have been conducted, but in England we can have little cause for satisfaction. On the 4th of March the British Commissioners proposed to consider the claims arising out of these Fenian raids; the United States Commissioners simply declined to consider them. On the 26th of April the British Commissioners again expressed a wish to consider them; again the United States Commissioners declined. On the 3rd of May the British Commissioners expressed their regret that the United States Commissioners declined to consider them, and asked them whether they still declined, and they naturally did decline to entertain the proposal. The British Commissioners thereupon say that they will not urge the matter any further, alleging as a reason that some of these claims are in their nature constructive and inferential. But if they are so, I want to know what the Alabama claims are. If this plea is to be allowed as regards the Fenian raids, why is it to be disallowed as regards

the Alabama claims? The noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) did touch upon this question, and he went so far as to express regret that there was a total omission of the Fenian raids from the Treaty, but when he came to justify the omission I was astonished. He said that the Government did not press the matter, because they had regard to discretion as well as truth; but there is an old saying that discretion is the better part of valour, and that suggests an explanation which appears to me to be more plausible. All through the protocols, the British Commissioners invariably propose and the United States Commissioners invariably decline, and the result is the view of the latter prevails. It is practically the same with regard to the Alabama claims and to the Fisheries. On the 6th of March the English Commissioners proposed the restoration of the Reciprocity Treaty; the United States Commissioners declined. Then the British Commissioners proposed to throw open the coasting trade; the United States Commissioners declined. Subsequently the latter made a proposal which was accepted. The United States Commissioners offered \$1,000,000 for the joint use of the inshore fisheries; this the British Commissioners declined. Subsequently the United States made the offer to which I have alluded of coal, fish, salt, and lumber; and the British Commissioners, through some

extraordinary understanding or misunderstanding of the case, refused it; the Americans retracted the offer, and the bargain ended by the British getting only fish and fish oil and money—half the original proposal. The San Juan matter has been alluded to by the noble Marquis as one of extreme difficulty, but I can hardly congratulate him on the mode in which it has been disposed of. Let me point out its solution. In the first instance the British Commissioners proposed arbitration on the basis of the Treaty of 1869; this the United States Commissioners declined. Then the British proposed the adoption of the Rosario Channel, which is favourable to British claims; and the United States Commissioners proposed the Haro Channel, which is adverse to England. Subsequently the British Commissioners proposed the Middle Channel as a compromise; the United States Commissioners simply stood upon their original proposal of the Haro Channel, which was supposed to be adverse to us, and favourable to the United States. Then the British Commissioners proposed arbitration; the United States Commissioners accepted it on the condition that the arbitration should be confined to the Rosario and the Haro Channels; the British Commissioners proposed that the arbitrators might have power to select any one intermediate channel; the Americans declined, assigning as their reason

that they would not have any compromise on the subject. In this case, as in the others, what the Americans proposed was adopted in substance, as it generally was adopted in form. That really is an illustration of the manner in which this business has been conducted.

But now, little as I admire the terms of the Treaty, or the manner in which those terms have been arrived at, I still must ask myself this question—Were I Canadian, what view should I take of this subject? for Canada has, undoubtedly, the power of withholding her consent from some portions of the Treaty. As a Canadian, then, I should not say that Canadian interests have been disregarded, but perhaps less justice has been done to them than they ought to have received. Canada might even say, with a certain amount of force, that while we had settled for ourselves the Alabama claims we had left the Fishery question to be arranged in an unsatisfactory way. On the other hand, I should feel, as a Canadian, that this is essentially an Imperial question in all its bearings; and I should feel, above all, that Canada is a part of the Empire, having cast in her lot for good or ill when the great Confederation of the Dominion was accomplished. Canada then assumed her place in the Empire of this country, prepared not only to fulfil her duties and responsibilities, but to make sacrifices if such were necessary. I know

there are those who prophesied that Canada would prove incapable of bearing the slightest strain on her material interests; but I do not agree with those prophecies, and I hope and believe that the prophets will be disappointed. No doubt this Fishery question will press hardly on some of the maritime Provinces. But, on the other hand, I have confidence in the loyalty of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and I believe that, looking at this as an Imperial question, even if it involves sacrifices, they will make them cheerfully for the sake of the Empire. However low national feeling may have ebbed in this country, I believe it swells very high in Canada. I believe that there is, in some respects, a higher estimate of public duty and stronger sense of national life in Canada than in this country. I, therefore, trust that Canada, in the wise and judicious exercise of the power she enjoys, will not take it on herself to withhold her consent. She has now an opportunity for showing great magnanimity, and also great political wisdom. These measures are not to be weighed by the mere appearances of the moment, or to be estimated by immediate results. There are reasons which should induce the Dominion of Canada, and every part of the maritime Provinces, as well as the western districts, to feel that at some future day advantages may arise from some of the provisions of the Treaty. The Fishery



question has been a source of irritation and risk, and there are other questions, to which I need not now allude, but in which Canadian interests are involved, and which I honestly believe will not be prejudiced by the ultimate operation of this Treaty. For the rest I have no apprehension as to the future if these questions are met by an united Empire, and in a spirit of moderation, good sense, and kindly feeling on all sides. My only fear is that England and Canada might have to meet these difficulties separate and single-handed; and my one great hope and earnest desire is that Canada may now act in the spirit of an integral part of this great United Empire.

After some further debate Lord Russell's motion was negatived without a division.

## XXV.

### LORD CARNARVON'S SECOND TENURE OF OFFICE AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

In February, 1874, Mr. Disraeli returned to power, and Lord Carnarvon accepted the office of Colonial Secretary in his administration. He held the seals of the Colonial Office until February, 1878, when he resigned, rather than sanction measures which in his opinion tended immediately to involve England in a European war; and thereby most reluctantly gave up his work at the Colonial Office at a moment when questions of unusually absorbing interest were in his hands.

During this period, from 1874 to 1878, many Canadian questions of varying interest occupied Lord Carnarvon's attention, and were the subject of a voluminous correspondence, private as well as public, between himself and Lord Dufferin, who became Governor-General of Canada in 1872, in succession to Lord Lisgar. Among these subjects we find the status and condition of the Canadian Indians, and the difficulties arising from the outrages of American desperadoes, as well as the cases of the rebels Riel and Lepine, which, after an almost interminable correspondence, ended in their banishment from Canada. This leniency, it will be remembered, was forfeited by Riel when he again raised a rebellion in 1885, for which crime he paid the penalty due to high treason. Other questions of pressing importance were the extradition of criminals, Canadian fortifications, military affairs and military schools. The Military College, to which allusion has already been made,

was established at Kingston at this time (1875). The party politics of Canada presented many difficulties, not least of which were the differences which arose with British Columbia in respect of the long unfulfilled promise of direct communication with the Eastern Provinces. This last difficulty found its happy solution in the patriotism and enterprise which grappled with that magnificent work—the Canadian Pacific Railway. To complete the list, we find the continually recurring Fisheries question, the reciprocity Treaty with the United States, and the Treaty of Washington.

Many questions also arose with regard to the relations between the local Legislature and the Central Parliament and Government, and had to be decided or compromised ; and it was a source of the greatest satisfaction to Lord Carnarvon, intimately connected as he was with the passing of the Confederation Act, to be able to assist in easing friction, and developing the working power of the new constitution.

The three following were among the principal speeches relating to Canada delivered by Lord Carnarvon during his second tenure of office. The first has reference to the difficult and almost interminable question of copyright, which has not even yet reached a solution satisfactory to all concerned.

It will be convenient to state briefly what the position was when Lord Carnarvon spoke in 1875, and how the question now stands.

The Imperial Copyright Act of 1842, following the example of the Act of Anne, extended British copyright to the whole of the empire, but did not give a reciprocal privilege to the Colonial author.

This mistake was not remedied till 1886, long after the speech made by Lord Carnarvon.

As far back as 1847 the Foreign Reprint Act was passed, which enabled editions of English works published in any foreign country to be imported into any Colony permitted to

receive the same under authority of an Order in Council on payment of an *ad valorem* duty to the author. Canada was authorized by Order in Council to import these reprints, but the duty was in practice hardly ever paid. In time, however, Canada found that foreign reprints destroyed her trade, and consequently she passed the Act of 1875, which was understood to grant a Canadian copyright of 28 years to authors publishing their books in Canada and to prohibit foreign reprints of such book from being imported into Canada.

This is the Act in respect of which Lord Carnarvon brought in the confirming Bill referred to in his speech on the Canadian Act. The subsequent legislation which has taken place is very difficult to understand, but the only requisition now made by Canada is that they should be allowed to pass an Act under which a Canadian publisher having the copyright assigned to him by an English author for the publication of his work in Canada should be protected from the importation into Canada of copies of the same work printed in England.

An attempt is now being made to secure the passing of an Imperial Bill consistent with this principle, on which, subject to some disagreements on details, the British and Canadian publishers and the Government of the Dominion appear to be agreed; and as the Bill has the sanction and support of the highest authority on the subject, Lord Thring, and was in fact drawn by him, it may be hoped that a settlement is at last within reach.

There is no reason to doubt that the principle thus agreed to will be equally acceptable in Australia and in other Colonies; and the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia will, no doubt, address itself to similar legislation as soon as its more urgent engagements permit.

## XXVI.

### CANADIAN COPYRIGHT BILL.

HOUSE OF LORDS. JUNE 24, 1875.

The Earl of Carnarvon, in moving that the Bill be read a second time, said :

This measure touches only a part of a large and important subject—it deals with the question of copyright only so far as it affects Canada and the Canadian people, and therefore I do not intend to trouble your Lordships by entering upon the general question of the law of copyright. Up to the year 1842 the importation into Canada as well as into this country of foreign reprints was absolutely prohibited; but it was found that as regarded the Provinces of Canada the prohibition could not be effectively maintained, and that a very considerable amount of smuggling of reprinted works from the United States into Canada took place. This gave rise to many complaints, both in this country and in Canada; and the result was the Imperial Act of 1847, which provided that whenever a colony made such provisions as should be considered satisfactory for the

protection of British authors and publishers, the Queen, by an Order in Council, might suspend the operation of the Act of 1842 in respect of such colony. The matter was, therefore, practically left to the Colonial Legislatures. Subsequently, the Legislature of Canada passed an Act by which it was provided that foreign reprints introduced into that colony should pay an *ad valorem* duty of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., which should be paid to the owner of the copyright; and this, it was believed, would secure a fair remuneration for those authors reprints of whose works might be so introduced. The Queen by Order in Council gave effect to that Act, and it has been in operation for some time; but the *ad valorem* duty of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. has proved an absolute and entire failure. The works of some of the most eminent English authors of the day continue to be reprinted in the United States, and passed across the Canadian frontier without the payment of any duty whatever; and the result is that—unintentionally so far as the Canadian Government are concerned—those authors have been defrauded of the benefits of the provision which the Legislatures—both the Canadian Legislature and the Imperial Parliament—had made for them. In some cases they received from the duty trifling sums, but in most cases they received nothing at all. I have heard that the amount received by one eminent author was 40s., and

another, whose works have a very large circulation, and influence the public as widely as any writings of the present day, has fared still worse, the copyright duty paid to him having amounted to only 25s. Indeed, the entire produce of the duty for the year 1872-3 is as small a sum as \$400. English authors and publishers are placed in a worse position as regards the fruits of copyright in Canada than they are on the Continent of Europe. If there is one property which belongs to a man, it is surely his property in the works of his own brain—works which affect not only his own generation, but generations to come. Under the existing system English authors and publishers are not the only sufferers. The Canadian publishers and the Canadian public suffer also. The United States publishers have the advantage of the Canadian publishers. What are called “advance sheets” of works about to be published in England are sent to publishers in the United States, and by means of those advanced sheets they get the command of the Canadian market. Perhaps it is that the Canadian publishers are too heavily weighted in other respects to compete with the publishers of the United States for “advance sheets”; but, from whatever cause, those sheets do get into the hands of the latter and not into those of the former. The Canadian booksellers cannot get a sale for such expensive

editions of new books as are published in England, and accordingly they are driven to the pirated editions. Copyright is a difficult subject to deal with even at home, but when in addition to the English author and the English publisher the Colonial publisher and dealer have to be considered, the question becomes more complicated. I have said that the *ad valorem* duty plan has failed. It is not difficult to see the reason why. There are some 200 or 300 frontier stations on the line of boundary between the United States and Canada; but there are some thousands of miles of boundary. Your Lordships may imagine, then, the difficulties of supervision to enforce the payment of duty on the reprints brought into Canada. The necessity for the colonies of cheaper and more portable editions of new works than those published in England must be admitted. I believe that long ago Lord Macaulay and Sir Charles Trevelyan thought it necessary to sanction the introduction of such reprints into India. The fact is that a different system of copyright is required for Canada from that which exists in this country. The Parliament of Canada takes that view, and has given effect to it in an Act, which, if the Imperial Parliament passes the Bill now before your Lordships, I shall be able to advise Her Majesty to sanction by Order in Council. Without this Bill I could not do so, for a reason which I will presently



explain. The Bill does two things. In the first place it affirms the principle that copyright in England should carry copyright in Canada. It makes the owner of an English copyright secure of a copyright for twenty-eight years in Canada ; but it does so on one condition—that the work should be printed and published, or reprinted and republished, and registered in Canada. The Bill further provides that Canadian reprints of English copyright books shall not be allowed to enter England. The principle of the latter provision is not a new one. The existing law prohibits an entry to reprints, and the assent of English publishers to a Bill of this kind could not be obtained if they were not to be protected from cheap reprints which would be imported into this country for the purpose of underselling their own editions. The reason why I am unable to advise the Crown to sanction the Act passed by the Canadian Legislature without this Bill is, that sanction cannot be given by Order in Council to any Colonial Bill which is repugnant to an Imperial statute. Now, as the Imperial Act of 1847 allowed the importation of foreign reprints on payment of a certain duty, the recent Act of the Canadian Parliament is in form repugnant to it. The plan which will be sanctioned if this Bill becomes law is a compromise. I believe it to be a reasonable one, and that most authors and

publishers will avail themselves of it. Those who do not wish to do so will remain under the existing law and take their chance of what they may receive under the  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *ad valorem* duty. My noble friend the late Foreign Secretary found it was a very complicated and arduous task to deal with this question of copyright in the colonies, and last year I myself felt obliged to advise the Crown to refuse assent to a Colonial Act on this subject which was repugnant to Imperial law. The Act to which I now wish to see the assent of the Crown given is, as I have already explained, repugnant to a provision in an Imperial statute; but the repugnancy is only technical, and I think it would be much to be lamented if Parliament were not to accede to the proposals in the Bill now before your Lordships, though it only deals with one part of the subject. I may state that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to issue a Royal Commission to deal with all the questions connected with copyright. I believe, then, that this Bill will facilitate a settlement of the subject, and bring about much larger results than for the present could be accomplished by the action of the Canadian Legislature.

The Bill was passed in both Houses of Parliament, and received the Royal assent on the 2nd of August, 1875.

## XXVII.

### THE LAND QUESTION IN PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.

The next speech, delivered in July, 1875, was on the Land Question of Prince Edward's Island, and gives an interesting account of a very curious history. The question in its complexity recalls similar troubles in our Sister Isle. The circumstances are so fully set out in the speech that no preliminary explanations appear necessary.

HOUSE OF LORDS. JULY 26, 1875.

LORD CARNARVON, in answer to Lord Penzance, who had urged a just and reasonable consideration of the rights of the proprietors, said :

I find some little difficulty in replying in any detail to the noble and learned Lord (Lord Penzance), and for this reason—that the Act which he has brought under the notice of your Lordships is not on the same footing as an ordinary Colonial Act. In the ordinary course of Colonial legislation, an Act passed by a Colonial Legislature is sent home to this country for sanction or disallowance by the Crown; and, of course, the responsibility in such cases rests with the Minister who advises the Crown. This Act, however, stands on a different footing. It is passed by a Provincial Legislature within the

Dominion of Canada; and under the Canadian Federation Act of 1867 it is provided that Acts so passed shall be allowed or disallowed, not by the Crown on the advice of the Minister in England, but by the Governor-General. This Act has accordingly been so dealt with. It has come under review by the Governor-General, who has, I think, exercised his judgment properly in sanctioning it. I should exhaust the patience of the House if I were to go minutely into the history of this legislation. The noble and learned Lord has alluded to it as a matter of extreme difficulty, which has existed for a great number of years. It originated, curiously enough, in a lottery which was held in London rather more than one hundred years ago. The lottery, which affords a singular picture of the Colonial administration of the day, was held for the purpose of disposing of a large portion—if not the largest portion—of Prince Edward's Island in lots. In one day no fewer than sixty-seven lots were raffled for, each lot containing 200,000 acres of land. Certain conditions were attached to each lot; but, in most cases, they have not been complied with by those who accepted them. The consequence was that property which was then lightly won was lightly treated. The conditions as to settling the lots with colonists were, in the main, not complied with; and in addition to that, the properties

were subjected to the difficulty of absenteeism. The outcome of these two evils was that complaints not unnaturally sprang up in the island. The tenants who held the properties found that the owners were not complying with the conditions. They themselves, on the other hand, departed from their conditions with their landlords, and either did not pay the rent at all, or else allowed it to fall into arrear. The ultimate result was a complete state of confusion and recriminations between the two parties. This went on, and about ten years ago a tenants' league was formed in the island for the purpose of disputing the possession of the property with the descendants of those who held the original lots. A Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the matter. The Commissioners say in their Report :—

“The tenantry of Prince Edward's Island share the common sentiment of the continent which surrounds them. The prejudice in favour of a freehold tenure, if it is one, is beyond the power of reason. The proprietors cannot change the sentiment ; the local Government have no power to resist it ; and the Imperial Government, having become weary of collecting rents and supporting evictions in Ireland, can hardly be expected to do for the landlords in Prince Edward's Island what has ceased to be popular or practicable at home. It is, therefore, imperative upon all the parties concerned to convert this tenure. Agrarian questions now occupy the public mind incessantly in this fine colony, to the exclusion of all sound politics. A public man is valued in proportion as he is subservient to the proprietors

or friendly to the tenants, not for the measures of internal improvement or inter-colonial policy he may propound ; and the intellectual and social life of this people is exhausted and frittered away by disputes and contentions detrimental to the interests of all parties."

The Report of the Commissioners presented no exaggerated picture of the state of things in the island, and showed the urgency of putting an end to it by any system of legislation likely to meet with a reasonable amount of acceptance by the contending parties. I am not at all disposed to say that the Act is perfect. Indeed, I quite agree with the noble and learned Lord that its provisions are in not a few respects open to exception. The main purport of the Act may be taken to be this. It requires that a certain notice shall be given to the proprietors of the intention of the Government to purchase the land, and provides that three Commissioners shall be nominated, who are to have the power of determining the price. A proprietor may appear by counsel, and he may appoint a solicitor ; and although he has no appeal from the decision of the Commissioners, yet the Supreme Court of Canada may remit the report of the Commissioners for subsequent revision. I cannot state that the Act is in every respect satisfactory ; but I am bound to say that, in my opinion, it is not altogether unfavourable to the proprietors. This Act does not lay down the

principle of compulsory purchase for the first time. That principle was laid down before in Prince Edward's Island, and this is a supplementary Act, which is rather in favour of the proprietors than otherwise, as it provides on the whole a fair and equitable machinery to enable them to obtain compensation for their land. My noble friend opposite (the Earl of Kimberley), when he was Colonial Secretary, accepted an Act passed in 1872 on the subject, and also the subsequent Act passed in 1873. Those Acts embodied the principle of compulsory purchase. I think the House will admit that a very wise and proper choice has been made of the gentlemen who are nominated Commissioners, and who will give a fair consideration to the claims of the proprietors. The Home Government is not in any respect whatever responsible for this Act. It is a measure which was disposed of in Canada by the decision of the Governor-General, and consequently instructions from home would really be superfluous, or, rather, more than superfluous. At the same time, Mr. Childers has been placed in personal communication with Lord Dufferin, and it is quite understood that his Lordship will give whatever consideration is proper to all the representations which may be made to him on either side. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Penzance) has referred to the sum of \$800,000 mentioned in the

Act. If I understand rightly, the question of the noble and learned Lord is whether the compensation to be awarded under the Act is limited to this sum of \$800,000. I do not think it is; I have no reason whatever to believe that it is so. The only allusion to this sum is to be found in the preamble, and not in the enacting part of the measure. In conclusion, I will only remind the House of what I originally stated, namely, that this measure is one which has been passed by the Provincial Legislature of Prince Edward's Island, and which consequently receives the sanction, not of the Crown through the Imperial Government at home, but the sanction of the Governor-General of Canada. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, I quite admit there is much to be said on both sides. I think, however, my noble friend the Governor-General of Canada has exercised a wise discretion in assenting to this measure, which I trust will not only put an end to a controversy which has raged for fifteen years, but will put an end to it as much in the interest of the proprietors as to the advantage of any other class of the community.



## XXVIII.

### MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

Lord Carnarvon's next speech, in 1876, dealt with a Bill for the better protection of sailors in the Mercantile Marine, and as the manner in which this measure would affect Canadian interests had been much discussed in the Dominion, it came specially within Lord Carnarvon's province, as Colonial Secretary, to say some words on this aspect of the question.

HOUSE OF LORDS.      JUNE 23, 1876.

The Duke of Richmond and Gordon moved the second reading of the Merchant Shipping Bill, which he described as a measure to provide security for the lives of the sailors carrying on the commerce of this country, adding that, considering the magnitude of the interests involved, the subject required to be dealt with in a spirit of the greatest caution. He referred to previous proposals in connection with the subject, and then proceeded to explain the provisions of the present Bill, observing that it contained all the law relating to unseaworthy ships, and made it an infraction of the criminal law to send a ship to sea in an unseaworthy state. He described in detail the various clauses now inserted in it, providing that timber cargoes should not be carried on deck during certain periods of the year. Without exaggerating the probable effect of the legislation proposed by the Government, he said he felt he was justified in hoping that it would tend to diminish the avoidable risks which it was intended to remove, without checking the commercial enterprise of the country.

After a discussion, in the course of which it was noticed by Lord Carlingford that the provisions of the Bill in regard to deck-loads might come into collision with the legislation of Canada, the Earl of Carnarvon said :

Nothing can be fairer than the way in which the Bill has been commented upon, and nothing can be more satisfactory than the general measure of approval with which it has been received by the noble Lords who have preceded me in the debate; but I would draw attention to that very large Colonial question which has been touched upon by the noble Lord opposite and by the noble Duke. The noble Lord (Lord Carlingford) was perfectly right when he said that this Bill affected not only British ships, but those of Canada also; but whilst there are serious considerations in reference to humanity, there are also considerations almost as important on the other hand. The question that has been raised will affect the whole Dominion of Canada, with its 4,000,000 of population, and it is most difficult to appreciate how large a stake the Dominion has in this matter. My noble friend opposite who preceded me in the Colonial Office (the Earl of Kimberley) will remember perfectly well what the condition of Canada was in 1867 as compared with the state of things that exists now. Canada has since that time grown largely in wealth and power, and in everything that

creates national prosperity. It is now one of the largest shipowning countries in the world. It has about 1,200,000 tons of shipping, worth from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000; and there are also 1,000 ship-masters, 2,000 officers, and not less than 20,000 seamen. These figures are also year by year steadily growing. Canada is a colony of whose commercial marine this country may be justly proud. I am also satisfied that, whether we look to public men or to private individuals, the Canadians are equally proud of their connexion with this country. I have watched with great satisfaction the course that has been taken in Canada with regard to this particular question. It has been my duty to read every word of the debates which have taken place in the Canadian House of Commons, and I can bear testimony not only to the ability, but also to the extremely friendly and loyal feeling which has been displayed. The Canadian people are, above all, loyal. Though they feel that their interests may be injuriously affected by certain parts of this measure, there never has been in Canada the slightest doubt that the British Parliament and Government will entertain every reasonable objection, and deal with the matter fairly and reasonably. The conduct of the Canadian Government also has been loyal in the highest degree; and when questions have been raised which it would have been undesirable

to discuss, they have, with temperance and forbearance, put them aside for the time and dealt with Her Majesty's Government in the most considerate manner. I would not say that there are not difficulties connected with the question, but I am satisfied that, with patience and forbearance on both sides, all those difficulties are susceptible of solution. Some misapprehension is, I think, entertained as to the scope of the Bill. Allusion has been made to the fourth clause, which imposes the penalty attending the crime of misdemeanour on the shipowner for sending an unseaworthy ship to sea. But the answer is that that is the existing law; such a penalty is imposed at this moment under the legislation of last year. By the Act of last year the Legislature marked its sense of the gravity of the offence of the shipowner who sends his ship to sea in an unseaworthy condition; but it ought to be borne in mind that the Bill provides this safeguard, namely, that there can be no prosecution under it except with the consent of the Board of Trade. The noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Somerset) has pointed out the inconvenience to which the Canadian shipowners would be put in having to bring witnesses to this country, while the English shipowner who thinks himself aggrieved can have his case brought before Parliament. *Primâ facie* there is much to be said on behalf of the Canadian shipowner; but, in the

first place, the Canadian shipowners who are likely to fall under the penal provisions of the Bill are very few in number. From all I can ascertain as to the Canadian commercial marine, I cannot doubt that it is so well found and the ships are so seaworthy that it is extremely improbable any Canadian shipowner would come under the clause referred to; and even if they did, of this I am certain, that the Act would be administered with that amount of caution and, so to say, with that delicacy of touch which is absolutely necessary in the administration of such a law. I am, however, far from saying that at a later stage there might not be further securities introduced without at all affecting the principle of the Bill, serving to remove the apprehensions which it appears Canadian shipowners now entertain, and to show them that their interests are practically safe in dealing with this matter. Allusion has been made by the noble Lord who spoke earlier in the debate (Lord Carlingford) to the subject of deck loading. Now, the Canadian law on the subject I believe to be a satisfactory law, namely, that at a certain season no ship should go to sea with a deck load exceeding three feet of light timber. That rule has worked well in the interests of humanity, and many ships have been built with a view to the adoption and carrying out of the provision in question. It was a consideration of those facts

which induced Her Majesty's Government to adopt the Canadian law; but unfortunately that decision was reversed elsewhere without, as I believe, a due consideration of the terms of the Canadian law, the results which that law has attained, and the interests of the sailors and the trade of Canada which are at stake. It will, I believe, be, under the circumstances, within the province of your Lordship's House to reconsider that point, and to see how far that particular matter might be more satisfactorily dealt with. Not only is the clause open to objection as setting aside the Canadian law, but as opening a way to all sorts of evasion, while affording no securities for the protection of life at sea. Another point has been alluded to, namely, the inequality which, under clause 25, is supposed to subsist as between foreign and British ships. The inequality is said to be this: that while a foreign ship might be detained in port for improper loading, a British ship might be detained not only for overloading, but for unsoundness. I do not deny that there is a seeming inequality on that point, and I am not unacquainted with the opinions of the Colonies on the subject, or of that of British shipowners. This is, no doubt, a difficulty that might arise in the construction of such a Bill, pregnant as it is with complications which it is hard to avoid. We must trust to the caution and delicacy with which

the Act will be administered ; and I fully concur in what the noble Duke the President of the Council has said as to the ability and prudence of the permanent officials of the Board of Trade. It is to be admitted that the constitutional question which has been raised as to how far it is possible to draw a distinction in this matter between England and her Colonial possessions presents some difficulty. I agree that it is undesirable that the discussion which has recently taken place in the newspapers on that subject should be resuscitated in this House. The question is of such a grave and delicate nature that it ought to be dealt with—if it be at all necessary to discuss it—by carefully written arguments, so that no misunderstandings may arise through accidental inaccuracy of expression. I believe the ship-owners of Canada know the advantages they receive from the connexion of the Dominion with this country, and would be as loth as I should be to surrender those advantages. The constitutional question involved is a great and fundamental one, inseparable from the maintenance of so great an Empire as ours ; but approached temperately and in a proper spirit, I believe it is capable of a satisfactory solution.

The Bill, after going through Committee, received the Royal assent August 15th, 1876.

## XXIX.

### VISIT TO CANADA.

In 1883 Lord Carnarvon paid a visit to Canada. He landed at Quebec on the 1st September, and stayed for two days with Lord Lorne and Princess Louise in the Citadel on the day of his arrival. Among other things he saw the Convent Hotel Dieu, of which he wrote, "It is like a page torn out of the history of old France, nothing changed for the last two hundred years—the same language, rule, mode of life, habit of thought, dress, hours, without any alteration. The buildings, except for the introduction of some hot air, are just the same." On the next day the battery of artillery was paraded for him to inspect. On the 3rd September he proceeded to Montreal, where he was most cordially received by Mr. George Stephen (now Lord Mount-Stephen). From there he went to Ottawa, where he was the guest of his old and valued acquaintance, Sir John A. Macdonald, of whom he wrote, "he is emphatically a statesman, and I think a really great statesman."

Other visits followed—to Sir Richard Cartwright at Kingston, when he was able to visit the Military College, in which he was so specially interested, and to Mr. Blake and Colonel Gzowski at Toronto, and a day was devoted to the wonders of Niagara.

He then returned to Montreal, and to the hospitable roof of Mr. Stephen. He was present at the meeting of the Provincial Synod, and attended two Freemasons' meetings—one being that of the Carnarvon Chapter under the Quebec Grand Lodge, the other a meeting of the three Grand Lodges which had retained their allegiance



to the Grand Lodge of England. At Montreal also he met the greater number of his Canadian friends, old and new, at a banquet given in his honour, and he was touched and pleased by "perhaps the greatest and warmest public welcome that I ever received." He wrote at the time—"Nothing can exceed the kindness and hospitality which we meet with everywhere and from every one." Canadian hospitality is almost proverbial, and Lord Carnarvon's experience of it could but add to his warm regard for and interest in Canada.

## XXX.

### THE PROVINCIAL SYNOD OF CANADA.

The Triennial Session of the Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada was held at Montreal under the presidency of the Metropolitan, the Bishop of Fredericton. Lord Carnarvon's speech was delivered on the 18th of September, 1883, being the sixth day of the meeting, to which he was introduced by the Prolocutor, the Rev. Charles Hamilton, of Quebec.

Mr. Prolocutor and gentlemen of the House, both of the clergy and laity, I wish to say that I feel greatly flattered by this invitation to address you, although it takes me altogether by surprise. I am here in this great town of Montreal—I would not say a stranger, because I have felt too sensible during the last two weeks that an Englishman is no stranger here—but I am here as a guest, and a passing guest, and such is the feeling of affection and sympathy that I bear the Canadian Church, that I could not allow this Synod to close its meetings without presenting myself to you this day. Sir, I came here not to

speak, but to learn how you do your business here in Canada. I have heard much, and heard with the deepest interest, of the progress of the Church of England in Canada. You have in Canada absolute political freedom in legislation and self-government. In this Canadian Church you also enjoy the benefits of self-government. But in Canada I find at every step where I go evidence of the most unbounded loyalty to the Crown and affection for the old mother country. And so, sir, I think I can say that in the Church in Canada there are the same evidences to be found of unstinting hearty loyalty and affection for the old mother church in England. And, sir, we in the Church in England heartily and lovingly reciprocate that affection. We have watched your progress with admiration for the way in which you are surmounting your difficulties, admiration for the spirit of conciliation with which you conduct your business, and we all heartily hope for your future welfare. We, in England, have our difficulties, our anxieties, our labours, and, worse than all, we have our party divisions and strife. There is much to cause sorrow and perplexity of heart, but I am not one of those who take a gloomy view of our future in England, for I believe that the same God who has befriended the Church and overshadowed it with the wings of His protection through so many

generations and through so many changes will be still with us. I should be worse than infidel if I could doubt this; still, there are seasons of anxiety and grave doubt which must occur to the mind of any English Churchman. But I do say this, that when we look abroad and see the work which, under God, the Church of England has been enabled to do, when we see your flourishing Church here in Canada, when we look across the borders and see the same feeling, the same system, the same churches arising in the United States, when we go to the great Southern Colonies and see the same phenomenon in Australia and New Zealand, then we in England thank God for the work, the great work, that you in the Colonies are doing. When I think of the work which the Church of England has accomplished it seems to me that she is like some great tree that can put forth her branches, like the goodly cedar, across the sea, and even down to the great River St. Lawrence. Sir, I am a most unworthy messenger on such an occasion as this to bear any message, yet I would, in conclusion, like to be allowed to say that I do bear a hearty message of loving affection and sympathy from the laity. I am not equally entitled to speak in the name of the clergy; yet I will venture to take upon myself, on behalf of the clergy and laity of the Church in England, to offer a hearty message of loving sympathy and

goodwill to you here in Canada, assuring you that we wish you God-speed in your great work, and that I, at all events, shall carry back the recollection of unfading gratitude for having been allowed to take this little part in your proceedings.

## XXXI.

BANQUET AT MONTREAL. SEPT. 19, 1883.

The Chairman (Sir Francis Hincks, K.C.M.G., C.B.) proposed the toast of the evening, the health of their distinguished guest.

The Earl of Carnarvon, in responding, said :

Sir Francis Hincks, honourable gentlemen and gentlemen, the welcome that you have just now accorded to me touches me most deeply, and my words can indeed but feebly acknowledge my deep sense of it. I have long desired to see Canada. Long official relations with this country, long personal friendships that it has been my good fortune to form with Canadians, have led me earnestly to desire it, and now at last I have that great pleasure, and believe me that the pleasure is doubled when I find myself receiving this most kindly welcome, this most splendid hospitality in the fair city of Montreal. I am reminded, Sir Francis, by what you have just said, that round your board this evening are gathered representatives from all parts and sections of this great Dominion. We have the representatives of old France with their kindness, with their

courtesies, with the chivalry that belongs to that race, and all of them united in hearty loyalty to our beloved sovereign. We have also representatives here in no small number of English, Scotch, and Irish, those who speak the tongue with which we are familiar, and which it does one good to hear again, after crossing three thousand miles of salt water. We have representatives of all shades of party politics and opinions; most grateful to me is the sight, and most gratefully do I acknowledge it to those gentlemen who have so deeply honoured me. Sir Francis, you have been good enough to refer to the Confederation Act of 1867, and to the share, whatever it was, that I had in passing that important measure. As you were speaking I bethought me of those who were my colleagues in England on that occasion. I have the happiness of saying that three of them at least, most distinguished men, are present here to-night; my old friend, if I may say so, Sir Leonard Tilley, Sir Alexander Galt, and Sir Hector Langevin, with whom I have been so pleased to renew an acquaintance interrupted now for many years. I wish I could number more. Some are unavoidably absent through the grave cares of office and other pressing business, but some are no longer on this side of the great river. If I might, for one moment, single out the remembrance of one for whom I had a deep regard, and I may say a personal affection,

it would be the memory of Sir George Cartier. English and French alike may remember him with pleasure and pride. I recall all his charming qualities, and I delight to think that one whose name was so familiar with his generation, and who played so important a part in Canadian politics, is destined to have a statue in Ottawa.

In 1867, as you have said, it was my good fortune to take a small share in the enactment of the Law that created the Dominion. I have looked on this as the greatest privilege in my public life, and I deeply prize the recollection of it. I indeed played but a small part. It was only given to me to place the coping stone, as it were, upon the edifice which others had built. Jealousies were laid aside; we adopted the practical unanimity which you, sir, have described. These were the true foundations upon which that great measure rested. I try now to recall what the position of Canada was before that measure became law. There were separate provinces, jealous, and proudly jealous, of their rights. There was need of much sacrifice of personal feeling and of legal rights, and there was, as those of my colleagues who are here will remember, much anxiety in regard to the great difficulty of adjusting the balance of power between the Dominion Government and the established rights of the several states. How



great that difficulty was can be best imagined when we remember that it cost the great Republic across our border a long and bloody war to determine it; and that after that war, and after one hundred years of national existence, even now questions involving the rights of the Federal Government and of the States will from time to time come up to be decided by the peaceful arbitration of the tribunals. It was, therefore, no easy matter, I say, to adjust skilfully that balance of power; and for fifteen or sixteen years the political machinery of this great Dominion has worked without any great friction. We may claim, then, that the engineers who framed the machinery did not greatly miscalculate the power of the respective parts relatively to each other.

Gentlemen, pray think for one moment how isolated was the position of those several provinces. With separate custom houses along the frontier guarding the commerce of each State, and hostile tariffs interfering with the free transmission of goods, men bought and sold in those different States with different currencies; they weighed out the articles by a different scale of weights and measures; banking was carried on under different conditions; and the postal service, which now ranges, with perfect uniformity, from one end of the Dominion to the other, was a different system in each different state. Now all their differences

have been united, and brought under one common system. More than that, we have seen every political question peaceably and naturally solved. There was the Hudson's Bay Company question, which, I remember, was the perplexity and vexation of every politician that came within the walls of Downing Street, a question that ranked second only to the Newfoundland Fisheries in complexity, a question that was made up of charter rights, and historical researches, and local opinions, and conflicting views, all heaped one upon another, Pelion upon Ossa; and all this has been quietly and, I think, successfully solved to the satisfaction of both parties, if I can judge, by the present price at which the Hudson Bay Company's shares stand. And lastly, when the Confederation Act was passed, the great North West was a lone land of mystery and of myth; it is now added to and incorporated in the Dominion, and the Canadian Pacific Railway, stretching like a great link of iron from sea to sea, traversing that vast Continent which is washed by two oceans, opens up boundless realms of fertility to the resources, to the industry, to the happiness of the human race. I was told the other day that just after the Confederation Act was passed the number of letters sent, I think it was in a week or fortnight, from the Red River territory, as it then was called, to England, was some fifty or sixty; I

am told now that it numbers over ten thousand. What does that mean? It means this: that children are writing to their parents, that fresh bonds of affection are growing up between individuals and, I trust, by their good and worthy example, hold you by another tie of loyalty to the mother country. More than two thousand years ago Plato said, "Time, infinite time, is the maker of cities," but had Plato lived in these days, he would have had to qualify that assertion, if he had seen Winnipeg start into existence in the course of two years.

Sir Francis, it has been my good fortune during the last few weeks, all too short for my own pleasure, to see much of old and settled Canada. I have seen Quebec with its picturesque ramparts and its historical associations; I have seen Montreal with its fair palaces; I have seen Ottawa with its stately Parliament House; I have seen Hamilton embosomed in trees, Kingston with its Military College and its Thousand Islands, and Toronto with its English spirit and energy. All those I have seen, and while life remains the recollection of them will never fade from my memory; but I have also seen, and with inexpressible pleasure, on every side of me, the evidences of prosperity, of comfort, of content. I have recognised a land, not of luxuries, but a land where the necessaries of life abound, and where the life of her citizens is manly, simple, vigorous.

May that condition long last, may that long be your lot; and I trust that neither the corruptions of modern civilisation, nor the love of money and the feverish pursuit of speculation, may ever tempt you to forfeit that which seems to me to be your crown of glory. But I know that it is sometimes said that questions and difficulties, and even, perhaps, some little friction present themselves in different parts of your constitutional machinery. Well, my comment on that is twofold: First of all, I remember the words of a very wise sage of old, who said that every well-constituted state required a discordant concord. From time to time it is needed that the waters of your lake should be stirred, in order to keep them pure; and, in the next place, these difficulties, these slight frictions are incident to all human workmanship. I would venture to say to your statesmen, and I believe that it would be the opinion of the highest tribunals, that your Federation Act is not to be construed merely as a municipal Act; it is to be viewed as a treaty and as an alliance; and I would say to the great mass and body of the people that no legislative or constitutional machinery can be maintained in its efficiency unless there be sobriety of judgment and plain common sense on their part. Gentlemen, what is it that has created this great prosperity that I admire so much; what magician is it who is waving his wand over your

magnificent country? I believe, first of all, that you owe deep obligations to your statesmen, those who originally conceived the design, those again who, whatever their differences of opinion might have been, loyally accepted it when it had become law. Next I believe you owe much to this noble country, so rich in all gifts, and lastly to the free and great people that live within it.

Gentlemen, the greatest gift that the Crown and Parliament of England have bestowed upon you seems to me to be this: that they have given you absolute, unqualified, unstinted freedom in self-government. I say, unstinted freedom in self-government, combined with a union with the ancient monarchy of England. But, gentlemen, no gift, no heritage, if it is to endure, can remain unimproved. Nations, like men, either rise to a higher conception of their duties or they sink. And I apprehend that the law of all individual and political life is this, that there must be constant progress, orderly, harmonious progress. May such be your lot, may you go on from political strength to political strength in the course which you have already adopted. The nations of the older world are passing through a time of difficulties and trials, which perplexes many and strains the nerve of many. I am not myself gloomy; I believe in the triumph of right principle; but in our evening sky there are many clouds which may cause at least anxiety. With you on

this side of the Atlantic the difficulties are very different; you have great and new problems to work out, problems as important to yourselves as they are important, I believe, to the welfare of the whole human race. May I only express this hope, that in working out these questions, they will be worked out on the old lines of a God-fearing and law-abiding people. One word more. Canada is no ordinary possession of the Crown; none ranks entirely beside her, even in the group of noble nationalities which England, the mother of nations, has planted abroad. But as your position, gentlemen, is great, so also are your duties and responsibilities great. You have to deal with many of the questions that in ordinary circumstances an independent power would have to deal with—questions arising out of your Federal Government, out of your settlement of new countries; ay, and I would even say, out of your foreign relations. I pray you to administer this great trust which has been confided to you in an imperial and not merely a colonial spirit. We have, thank God, many ties, some visible, some hardly perceptible, and these latter are not the least strong to bind us together. One, very important, is the most visible of all, to which you, Sir Francis, alluded, a short time since, when you gave the health of His Excellency the Governor-General. He is the representative of the Sovereign

in this country, and if, on the eve of the departure of my noble friend (Lord Lorne), I may be permitted to say one word without presumption, it would be this: it has been my fortune to have to deal with several Governors-General of this country, and I may truly say, to the best of my belief, none of them ever administered their great trust in a more single-minded and unselfish spirit; none have ever sought more fully than Lord Lorne to identify himself with Canada and Canadian interests. It will be hard, I think, to find his equal, but though his successor, I doubt not, will labour to follow in his footsteps in this respect, I cannot view without regret—for pray, believe me, I was before I came here half a Canadian at heart, and now I am an entire Canadian—I cannot, feeling as a Canadian, view his departure without sincere regret.

There are yet some other ties of connexion between Canada and the mother country which are very powerful; I fain would see more Englishmen enjoy the happiness of a welcome in Canadian homes. I am quite sure that both parties gain largely by the intercourse. Canada may gain somewhat from the accumulated wealth of learning, of literature, of mental activity in England, from the great heritage which has come down to us in these respects through unbroken centuries of civilisation; but England may gain, I am

confident, still more largely by contact with the free and simple and natural life of Canada. Coming as I do from the artificial and the sometimes overheated atmosphere of European life, I welcome the air-bath in which I am plunged here in Canada. I would almost venture to bring to your minds those exquisite lines of Milton—

“ As one who long in populous city pent,  
Where houses thick and sewers annoy the air,  
Forth issuing on a summer morn to breathe  
Among the pleasant villages and farms  
Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight.”

Such, gentlemen, have been my feelings during the last few weeks I have spent in Canada. I have trespassed on your forbearance much longer than I could have desired. I only wish that I could find words adequately to express the pleasure with which I have seen this great country, and to acknowledge the boundless kindness and hospitality which has overwhelmed me from the first hour that I set foot on Canadian soil, to the last hour that I am with you ; that I could express the sense that during the whole time that I have been here I have been in England, and in the happiest parts of England, and lastly, that I could express my ardent desire that the connexion of this great country may strengthen with her strength and grow with her growth. In legislation, in self-



government, you are, and may you ever remain, free as the winds of heaven, but in loyalty to the Crown, in love to the mother country, may you ever be bound in chains of adamant. Individuals pass swiftly, like shadows, across the mortal scene, but the life of the State is a long one; that which to the individual is so long, is to the State a very short affair. Party politics may seem to divide us; statesmanship may make trying demands; but, in spite of all these, individuals may do much. Let us in our generation teach our children on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean that we in Canada and in Great Britain are kith and kin, members of a common family, subjects of a common Sovereign, and united to each other by ties of loving affection that time in its course can only strengthen.

## XXXII.

### HIGHCLERE WORKING MEN'S CLUB: LORD CARNARVON ON CANADA.

On November 9th, 1883, the Earl of Carnarvon delivered a lecture at the Working Men's Club at Highclere, recounting his experiences whilst on his recent visit to Canada, in company with the Countess of Carnarvon. Although of no special permanent importance, the conversational sketch of the impressions formed by a visitor will be interesting to readers who do not concern themselves with the more intricate political questions.

After some preliminary remarks and references to the outward voyage, Lord Carnarvon said :

I shall not enlarge upon the political part of this great subject, my task is rather to try to bring before the minds of the members of this club some—and they must be few indeed out of so many—points of interest connected with our fellow-subjects in Canada, and with that great dominion to which it was my privilege and honour some years since to assist in giving legislative form.

There are many various and changing incidents of sea life which interest and amuse till the steamer at last finds its way across to the Straits of Belleisle and enters upon the great gulf of the St. Lawrence.

On one side of it lies the cold country of Labrador and on the other the low cliffs of Newfoundland. And so we steam on, and pass the comparatively desolate island of Anticosti, where the bear, in considerable numbers I believe, still has his haunt. Then the mouth of the St. Lawrence opens, and I know no river that for breadth and dignity ever struck me so much as this one, except the Nile. At its extreme mouth it is so wide that it resembles a great inland sea, where it is impossible to see the shores on either side; but by degrees the banks grow plainer, and the great range of Lawrentian hills, as they are called, come into sight—hills which are supposed to be of the earliest geological formation. And so you go on until you come within the actual channel of the great river; when the shores seem to be clothed with green scrub and thick fir trees, broken at intervals by clearings with perhaps a group of wooden but not uncomfortable white-washed houses, and a church. As the steamer glides up the river you see picturesque and homely scenes which remind you that the new world is not so very unlike the old—settlers employed in agricultural pursuits, with their cattle and children about them, or fishermen in their boats setting their nets.

In winter, for a considerable distance, I believe, from the shore, there is a sheet of thick and rugged

ice—a climate and winter of much severity. A case was mentioned to me of a village on the shores of the St. Lawrence, which, cut off from all communication, narrowly escaped starvation, and was only saved by the fortunate, if it may be so said, wreck of a ship which was laden with beans and peas. But when we saw the country it was bathed in sunshine and smiling in autumnal beauty. As we gazed, I remember that the whole of the view grew dark by clouds of smoke, which rose from some forests that had taken fire. Everything in America is, as has often been said, on a great scale; thus when a forest fire occurs the smoke is so great as absolutely to shut out the whole landscape. When I was in Canada a party who had returned from an expedition to the Rocky Mountains, on my asking for some details of the scenery, were obliged to confess that they could tell me nothing of it, because at the time they were there a forest had taken fire, and the whole of those gigantic mountains were obscured in clouds of smoke.

The traveller continues to ascend the St. Lawrence, and suddenly there breaks upon his view the ancient and picturesque city of Quebec. Often as it has been described, it never has been described as more beautiful or more striking than it really is. Bluff and abrupt the cliff rises out of the river; the houses of the town gather all round

it; the square lines of the citadel, with the Imperial Standard of England, crown its heights; and varied shipping, with masts and funnels and white sails, nestle under the shadow of the great rock. That picturesque town became English territory only about 120 years ago—the prize in a great struggle between England and France. Both parties fought well and gallantly, and each of them were commanded by a general of the highest reputation and honour. That struggle is one of the most memorable in the history of the New World. General Wolfe died in the moment of victory, bewailed by the whole nation, and every man, high and low, rich and poor, felt that a great national loss had been sustained. I am afraid that a great many in England have forgotten, if not General Wolfe's name, at least all the incidents of that gallant struggle; but on the spot his fame has lived longer. Happily and honourably, too, as I think, on the monument which is erected in the Government gardens the names of General Wolfe and the Marquis de Montcalm are both placed together as those of noble rivals in this great engagement. As I stood on the ramparts of the Citadel and looked down upon the river and the Plains of Abraham, I understood the whole of the battle and the capture of Quebec far better than I had ever done before from the historical accounts of it.

But let me now endeavour briefly to describe to you some of the principal points of present interest in this great country. To begin then, there are four divisions of Canada which you must keep separate and distinct in your minds. First, come the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; secondly, the great French province of Quebec, where the French language is spoken, where the people are French and their customs and habits are French, where you may almost fancy yourself in France, only it is France before the Revolution, and not France such as we now know it across the Channel; thirdly, there is the great British province of Ontario, skirting the lakes in a westerly direction; and, fourthly, and much larger than all that I have hitherto described, is the whole of that vast territory that stretches west from Ontario to the Rocky Mountains, and across them to British Columbia and Vancouver Island and the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

Sixteen years ago all those several provinces were distinct in their administration, their customs, tariffs, and their currencies. Now the whole of this vast territory, which is somewhat larger than all Europe, has been consolidated into one single dominion. Canadians, or rather I should say British subjects, pass from one extremity to the other, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, without let or hindrance, as freely as we can travel from

Hampshire to Yorkshire. In such observations as I can make this evening I must confine myself principally to the British province of Ontario and to the great country beyond it, and even so I can but touch it very lightly and briefly. I have no time to speak of the Maritime Provinces or of French Canada, interesting as these are, and much as might be said of them. This only I may say, that it is a very remarkable thing in the history of the British Empire that there should be two French provinces enjoying their rights and institutions as they were when they came into our possession, essentially French in their character, and still heartily loyal to the English Crown. I honestly believe there are none here in England, within the four seas, who are more truly and devotedly loyal to Queen Victoria, and more attached to the connexion with the country of England than are the French-Canadians of Quebec. I might say the same of most of the French inhabitants of the Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. Remember that both these Colonies came into our possession before the time of the French Revolution, and so have not imbibed the anarchical doctrines which it has brought in its train; thus it is that at present French character is to be seen in these Colonies in truer and, as I venture to think, in pleasanter colours than it can be seen elsewhere. The French-Canadians, like all other

people, I suppose, have their defects, but I am bound to say that I only saw their virtues.

To return, then, to the province of Ontario, and to some of the characteristics that most impressed me on my visit there. First and foremost you hear there the English language spoken just as purely as we speak it here; you see English law administered with the same courts and formalities as here; you listen in church to the same form of words, you see the same externals of worship. You live in their houses much the same old English life as that to which you are accustomed here. Everywhere there is a genuine English look in everything and on every face, and you can hardly doubt that, although you have crossed the whole breadth of the Atlantic, you are still in England. When a traveller approaches a country by land many differences or similarities come upon him gradually, but when he comes by sea they strike him suddenly; and thus, in Canada, it is remarkable how, after traversing 2,000 or 3,000 miles of sea, you find a state of things so similar to those you have left behind. What shall I say of the scenery? In many ways it is very English. The apple orchards, the wheat fields (because you must remember that when people on the other side of the Atlantic speak of corn they mean Indian corn), the cottage gardens, the roads, the fields, have often much the same aspect. I often fancied



myself back in England. On the whole old settled Canada is a flat country, and the great lines of railway run very straight through it, often through woods.

But these are not such forests as we think of in connexion with the old history of Canada and Fenimore Cooper's novels of Indians and pathfinders, or such as when children we read of in story books. The trees are, for the most part, small, and this difference strikes an English traveller, for this is no doubt a country of large timber, and such large timber you do not see much of in passing across Canada. That there is large timber in the forests to the northward, whence comes the lumber, is true; but as you pass along the railway in Ontario the timber is comparatively small.

One thing wherever you go never fails to impress you; on every side you have always the signs of a young country. The fields tell their own tale. In many of them are the rough blackened stumps of trees left by the settlers who first occupied the land. In Canada and North America generally the great enemy, after the Indian had disappeared, that the settler had, or thought that he had to encounter, was the forests; and he persuaded himself that his first object was to burn, cut down, and get rid of the trees. This process of destruction was, like many other acts of reformation and

so-called improvement, often carried too far, and trees were got rid of that he would now be glad to have back again. We are accustomed in England to our trim, well-cut, closely shaven hedges. They scarcely exist in Canada. There are what are called the "snake fences," not that these have any connexion with reptiles, because the country is singularly free from them, they are fences put together of rough and irregular timber, which effectually serve their purpose, but sometimes are far from ornamental. It is very long before a young country becomes in its externals an old country. I remember noticing at Newport, in the United States, where probably more money is spent upon the adornment and embellishment of houses and grounds than almost anywhere, two or three "snake fences" still left standing, relics of an old past amid the civilisation of the country. The appearance, I believe, of Canada and of many parts of the United States, in these respects, is very much the same as this England of ours was 200 or 250 years ago.

Not less striking to a traveller are the vast lakes, on the shores of which stand several great towns. They are, in fact, inland seas, only differing in that their waters are fresh instead of salt. Along their shores are scattered the wooden houses, which are far more common in many parts than brick or stone. When I first made acquaintance

with a wooden house I thought it might be noisy, cold, and not very solid. Experience soon disabused me of the idea. I found them extremely comfortable, and I was told that even in winter, with the appliances which are necessary in that climate, they can be made abundantly warm. But if the houses are physically comfortable, let me say that the whole atmosphere morally and socially is still more comfortable. There is no limit to Canadian hospitality and kindness. From morning to nightfall I was overwhelmed with kindness, and I doubt whether I have ever experienced so much delicate consideration in England as in Canada. In what words can I do justice to the loyalty of the Canadians to the Queen and the old country? They yield in no way to the most ardent loyalist here, and they look back to England as the old home from whence they came, and with which they are still connected by a thousand ties of love and sympathy. When they speak of crossing the Atlantic and going to England they love to talk of it as going home. I know that while in Canada I never said anything at once truer and more acceptable than that after crossing the Atlantic I could find no difference of feeling on that side, and that I was as heartily and warmly received by them as I could be by my own friends in England.

There is yet another feature on which I must

say a word, as it is one which strikes an English traveller with delight. From one end of Ontario to the other I saw scarcely any signs of poverty, and no signs of distress. It is, perhaps, hardly too much to say that in every town and farm and house, and on every face there was a look of general solid comfort and well-doing. It is not a country where there are many luxuries. Happily, as I think, for them, the people of rural Canada have not arrived at that stage of so-called civilisation, but there are all the necessaries of life; enough, indeed, to give refinement and comfort, and with them there is a singular simplicity of life. I was never wearied of admiring, perhaps even envying, this simplicity which seems to me to characterise so large a part of Canada. In every country there will always be two nations—the rich and the poor. It is inevitable. No known art of man, no legislation can ever alter that condition of things, though foolish philosophy and foolish laws can easily aggravate it. From one point of view we may recognise a certain moral advantage in the dependence of one class upon another, the necessity of good-will and mutual help to keep the complicated fabric of society together. But there is in Canada less of the conflict which unhappily we see in the old world between the rich and the poor. The time may perhaps come when that vast continent will become filled up, and there

will be the same struggle for existence which distinguishes older communities, but meanwhile there is happily less of that jarring and embittered controversy which we too often see in Europe.

I must now give a few words to the vast and marvellous country which lies to the west of Ontario, and which exceeds Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces, in point of area, over and over again. A few years ago all this great country was a comparatively unknown wilderness. It was roamed over by herds of buffaloes, trodden by bears and other wild animals—the haunt of the trapper, the hunter, and the wild Indian. The greater part of it lay under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company, a company which received an exclusive charter of trade in the reign of Charles II. They enjoyed a strict monopoly, and were often abused for this; but it deserves to be mentioned that they used their powers on the whole well, and while they supplied the markets of Europe with valuable furs they dealt humanely with the wild Indian tribes who inhabited this land.

Twenty years ago, then, this was a wild unknown wilderness, a land of myth and mystery, a great lone land. Now that it has been explored we begin to know what it contains, what marvellous natural wealth is stored there, and what abundance of scope there is for human industry,

prosperity, and happiness. From the Red River to the Rocky Mountains the ground rises, I believe, gradually some 3,000 feet. In the northern portion there are forests, but in the southern portion it is open prairie, with no trees to clear, no stones to remove, and with a soil which is the finest and richest imaginable. Over that great prairie, which spreads like an ocean, wonderful scenes may at times be witnessed; at sunrise, when, as has been sometimes described, the whole plain flashes into rose-coloured light; or again at noonday, when the refraction exaggerates each little hillock into a mountain, each clump of bushes into a forest, and the hills on the distant horizon into tremendous mountain ranges; or again at sunset, when floods of light pour over the illimitable space; or by moonlight, when the green waves of grass are tipped with silver; or, lastly, in the darkness, when perhaps some distant wood has caught fire, and forked flames are seen playing on the horizon, with heavy clouds overhead betokening the waste and havoc which that fire is making below. These scenes can be witnessed now, and probably will be witnessed for many years to come, because they are part of the great natural features of the vast prairie, whether more or less inhabited and cultivated. But a great change has occurred in this country in all that concerns human life and settlement there.

About thirty years ago an exploration was made at the desire of the Government by Captain Palliser, who reported, or was supposed to report, unfavourably of much of the land which we now know to be very fertile. Now this territory is being opened out, and, more helpful than anything else to open it, an iron belt of railroad is rapidly being carried from Montreal, north of Lake Superior, to the Rocky Mountains, and so through passes which have been discovered in the Rocky Mountains, down to the waters of the Pacific Ocean opposite to Vancouver Island. On each side of this track, and over a great portion of the country, on the rich, loamy soil, farms are springing up, settlements are being formed, towns built, and an extraordinary concentration of men of all races and tongues and habits is taking place. Italians, Dutch, Germans, Russians, Jews, Scandinavians, Icelanders—all are collected here; and though now separate in their several nationalities may one day become fused into a common nation under the strong and moulding impress of the Anglo-Saxon element. It is a striking picture, and what is quite as striking is the astonishing rapidity with which all this is taking place. In a single year buildings, often very rough, come into existence, or a farm is carved out of the waste, or a town arises where the green grass waved twelve months before. I have no doubt you have

heard of the extraordinary speed with which Chicago and some of the so-called mushroom cities have sprung into being, but there is a town in Canada where the growth has been quite as rapid—the capital of Manitoba—the town of Winnipeg. There a few years ago the population was but a few hundreds. Now, I believe, it approaches, perhaps even exceeds 40,000. Handsome buildings, broad streets, great manufactories, churches, schools, and even a university have all been created within the last few years. It is a town of great wealth, where money has been quickly made, perhaps quickly lost, with much and often feverish speculation, but still a place of great prosperity. It is not unreasonable to predict for it from its geographical position the future of a considerable town, because railroads east and west, north and south, all converge there, bringing the produce of all parts of the Continent, and men of every nationality, creed, and race—a scene as varied as it is picturesque.

One word, lastly, on the wonderful railroad which is knitting together the broad continent, and of which I have already spoken—a railroad where an army of 15,000 men is employed, under the command of, I might say, a general, and where the average rate of progress—of good work, too, steel rail and solid work—is not less than three miles a day. I do not believe that the work lately



done in Canada has been equalled in the history of railway construction in any part of the world, even in the United States. On one occasion I was told that not less than five miles of railway were perfectly laid in a single twenty-four hours. It is this part of the Dominion of Canada which is becoming the home of a great and new emigration: and as this is a question full of present interest, both here and in Canada, I must say a few words to you about it. And first as to the climate. The winter there is a very different winter from ours—far sharper and colder—and the snow lies on the ground much longer. The province of Manitoba occupies a central position, about halfway between the Pacific and the Atlantic, and again about halfway between the Pole and the Equator. The conditions of climate are undoubtedly those of considerable heat in summer, and equally marked cold in winter. Snow disappears, I believe, in April, and the ploughing begins; the crops are harvested in July and August; and generally during that time for about eight or nine weeks there is very fine weather, unbroken by a single drop of rain. Autumn begins about the latter part of September, and lasts until November; then winter sets in, and through December, January, February, March, and up to April the colonist must reckon on its continuance. The thermometer sometimes sinks to 30, and even to 40, degrees below zero. At the

same time the cold is not to be reckoned, as in England, by the mere fall of the glass. The atmosphere is so much drier that it does not affect the people or their occupation to the same extent as it would in England, provided that there is no wind; and I believe it is, generally speaking, calm and serene weather. A great part of the time there is bright sunshine, an exhilarating air, and a cold which is very endurable. I have heard of men driving or riding with their coats off when the thermometer has been below zero.

In this great tract of country there is a large portion of the land which is admirably suited for cereals. A great deal of it is of magnificent loam, I am afraid to say how many feet deep, and often without a single pebble in it; so rich that it encourages, perhaps, a wasteful system of husbandry—for no scientific cultivation is given to the land, and men are simply content to go on year after year growing wheat crops without any thought to the future. Such a system, though for the moment profitable, is wasteful if too long continued, and must, I imagine, one day have an end. Beyond that corn-growing belt the prairie extends on to the Rocky Mountains, and fuller information as to this territory is gradually coming in, all of the same satisfactory nature.

It seems to be clear that where it is not equally well suited for corn-growing the Canadian

North-West is a country extremely well fitted for the breeding and raising of cattle. It is remarkable that whilst we send out to the States and to Canada for breeding purposes our best English cattle, so admirable has been the effect of the Canadian climate upon the animals which have been raised on the Canadian soil, that they have in some cases improved upon the English stock, and cattle are now being re-exported from Canada to England for the improvement of our stock at home.

But it is not merely in corn and cattle that this country will be rich; it abounds in rich coal fields, and in some cases the coal lies so near the surface that it requires very little labour to raise it. Canadian locomotives are fed by it, and when I was at Ottawa, the seat of the Government, I saw in the recently-established Museum numberless specimens of coal which had been discovered in that country, and some of them of very fine quality.

And now I have, though very rapidly, brought you up to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They are gigantic mountains, and for a long time were supposed to be impassable; but recently passes have been discovered of comparatively easy gradients, and the Canadian Pacific Railway has already been carried, with the exception of one or two intervals, from Montreal to their foot. The

iron horse and car, with their freight of human lives, are preparing to scale and wind their way through these fastnesses. What of wealth and employment for human labour these mountains may contain it is impossible to say; all we know is that there is a great store of minerals, and that the rivers flowing there are among the sweetest, purest, and fullest of fish that can be imagined. Between the Rocky Mountains and the sea there is a country which is very much broken by hill and valley, and which is no doubt in parts well fitted for cultivation, but it is rugged. On the western slopes of the hills there is, I believe, a magnificent climate; and when the traveller finally reaches the sea coast, where within two years the railway will probably come, and looks across the narrow strait to Vancouver's Island, he may see there a country which promises to be one of these days another and smaller Britain in the Eastern Pacific. All speak well of its mild and healthy climate; all know of the large coal fields which are being worked there, and of the magnificent harbours; though perhaps few are aware that already there is an hotel at Victoria, the capital, which is said to be as good as any in North America.

In bringing my task to an end I ought not to conclude without saying one word as to the question of emigration, which is of great interest here as it is

across the Atlantic ; important alike to those of us in England who desire to push our fortunes in these new countries, and to those of our Canadian fellow-subjects who desire to recruit their national life from the old English stock, and to welcome good emigrants to develop the great natural gifts of their soil. A great deal might be said on this part of our subject. I will only mention two or three things that seem to me to deserve your attention. Anyone who emigrates to this new and unsettled part of the continent must reckon upon finding few, very few, hired labourers there ; he must be prepared to do almost everything for himself and by his own hands, though he may look to machinery to help him wherever it is possible ; and he must be ready to face very severe and rough work. Next, I should say to any intending emigrant who takes with him any small capital, let him save that capital, and, as soon as he arrives, let him learn his trade on the spot. No one is likely to succeed who at once sets up, so to say, for himself in business. There are methods to be learnt there just as there are in the old country, for each land has its own natural laws and conditions, needing its own special experience, and the man who would succeed should in the first instance hire himself out to learn his trade on the spot. Having said thus much in a general way, I will add these particulars. There are, I

believe, at this moment two methods by which anyone possessed of a small capital may perhaps turn it to good account. At this moment many of the farmers of Ontario, who know the country well and are first-class men of their own kind, are selling their farms and pushing out into this wild and as yet unsettled country of the north-west. They are, many of them, men who are sure to succeed, because they carry with them all the accumulated experience and knowledge of a life-time; and they are amongst the most vigorous and best of their class. In order to go out to this unsettled land they are anxious to dispose of their own farms in Ontario. I believe it is well worth the consideration of an emigrant possessed of a small capital, whether when once he has learnt his business he should not invest that capital in an already settled farm, with houses and buildings and fences, and the rough part of the work already done, and so remain in a settled country near towns and good roads, and with many of the advantages he possessed here in England. The change of life and the break with the past would be far less. The other method is boldly to attempt the wilder country of the north-west; but he who desires to do that must make up his mind to rough it in the full sense of the word. I have here a Report that was presented to Parliament by some Commissioners who went out to inquire into the

state of agriculture in Canada and the States in 1880, and who published a very interesting account of all they saw. They say in regard to this country of the north-west :

“ No man should emigrate to the far west who is not prepared to work hard and live hard. He may successfully transplant an English family into this region of ‘rude abundance,’ but he cannot expect to take with him the comforts of an English home. For years all new settlers, but especially the females, must expect to rough it. The old, the sickly, and the faint-hearted should never emigrate, however poor and sad their lot may be in the old country. But to the young, the vigorous, and the courageous, who cannot get a comfortable living in England, Manitoba offers a home which will soon provide all the necessaries of life, and in which a few years of steady and well-directed toil will probably ensure a competency, and possibly a moderate fortune.”

I believe that, though difficulties are diminishing, and though every year that goes by makes things easier to the emigrant, this statement is not too strong, and that still for many years to come it must be a rough life, and he who undertakes it must have both vigour and courage. Those really are the qualifications ; he must be physically competent to do the work ; and in the next place he must know something of agriculture. It is of no use sending out mere townsmen into the wilderness ; but those who are thus competent may and probably will succeed. Whilst I was in Canada I

heard many instances of men of all classes, states, and conditions of life, who, having the courage and the vigour, and a certain amount of knowledge, were already making their way successfully in that rough life.

The Canadian Parliament and the Canadian Government are doing all they can, both as a matter of duty and interest, to facilitate emigration. They give the land upon most easy terms, and the land regulations, so far as I can judge of them, are very wisely and judiciously drawn up. They have established in Ontario—and the system, I believe, as far as circumstances admit, is carried out further west—a system of admirable schools, both general and technical, and they are giving information wherever they can to all settlers, intending and actual.

The fact is, the whole mind of the people in Canada is at this moment turned to the settlement of this new country, and it is to them the question of questions. Happy, I say, the people to whom such questions stand first amongst national objects and interests, far better and more wholesome than the feverish and fantastic speculations which engross so large a part of public attention in too many of the communities of the old world. No man can doubt, I think, who has seen that country, how great the future of Canada must be if only the people persevere with the same solidity



of judgment and good sense which has characterised their public life and legislation now for many years past. It is a very noble country, and a very fine people, born and bred and reared in northern latitudes, such as have ever been the nursery of the best races of men and women. They have many of our best qualities; I saw very few of our faults; and I will say this in conclusion, that though I never would advise anyone hastily or lightly to leave the old country, yet if once he has made up his mind to go, I honestly believe that he will find no healthier life, no friendlier welcome, and no better home than he will in British North America.

## XXXIII.

### EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

Lord Carnarvon spoke in the House of Lords early in 1884 on the subject of emigration in connection with some schemes which had been suggested to deal with the congested condition of our great towns and some parts of Ireland. Similar difficulties were present to his mind when he advocated in November of the same year an inquiry moved for by Lord Dunraven into the depressed state of trade and agriculture. Lord Carnarvon, himself a large landowner and farmer, was persuaded that some form of commercial and fiscal union with the Colonies was our true policy.

HOUSE OF LORDS. MARCH 28, 1884.

The Earl of Carnarvon, in rising to move,

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies or extracts of correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway in regard to State-aided emigration to Canada ; also for copies or extracts of correspondence on the same subject between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Mr. F. Boyd,” said :

The motion of which I have given notice needs some brief explanation. First of all, I desire to call attention to the congested state of the labour market. The state of things, as your Lordships know, is grievous. It is even more than that—it

is dangerous. Of course, there are many modes in which this great difficulty might be met. A great deal might be done by improved accommodation with respect to houses ; but, although that touches one very important side of the question, it does not cover the whole ground. In order to produce any real and permanent improvement, nothing short of emigration, and emigration on a large scale, can meet the case. Migration from the country to London has been one great cause of the distress, and now emigration from London must take place. Here, in London, we have an excessive population, stagnation of the labour market, low wages, or rather in many parts no wages, and high rents, combining to make a state of things only to be described as utter misery, and that condition is increasing. In our Colonies, on the other hand, within only a few days' sail from this country, there are large tracts of magnificent land, high wages, ample work, and a desire—in fact, a demand—for labour. It has been asked why it is that no advantage has been taken of this. It is partly due to the ignorance of the classes themselves who are affected, and partly to the absence of proper machinery for the purpose. Voluntary organisation has done, and is doing, a great deal to remedy the evil. The Colonial Governments themselves subscribe largely to the expenses of emigration, Canada paying a quarter, and Australia

nearly one-half of the cost; but something over and above all that is needed, and the question I desire to bring before your Lordships by my motion is, how far the Government may assist that emigration? It is true there are many objections that may be urged against this course. It is constantly said, sometimes in speeches and sometimes in print, that the aid of the State involves the principle of Communism; but it is very easy to blacken the merits of a scheme by giving it a name of that sort; and it is always to be remembered that, if Communism is in any degree involved in such aid, we already have that principle in our Poor Laws.

A more practical objection is that there would be great difficulty in selecting the emigrants; but I feel confident, for my own part, that machinery qualified for dealing with the subject could be devised. It never could be contemplated as desirable to send out the worthless portion of the class we are endeavouring to relieve; the emigrants must be such as would be approved of by the Colonial authorities of the places to which they go. I admit that there are a great many who are disqualified by the life they have led for the agricultural life of the Colonies; but there are undoubtedly many, also, that are by character, habits, and occupation, perfectly well fitted for it. Another objection which is raised is that by State emigration we are taxing the mother country to

send out labour for the benefit of the Colonies. The answer to this, however, is simple. No doubt, by that system, great benefit accrues to the Colonies; but the benefit to this country is quite as great in sending the unemployed elsewhere. Then the schemes referred to in the correspondence in question are not designed to provide cheap labour for the colonists; the idea is that the emigrants are to be settled upon land of their own, and to become farmers and small proprietors, not that they should work for any other persons. The next objection made against the aid of the State in emigration is, to my mind, perhaps the most important of all. It is said that when the State interferes, there is great danger of injuring voluntary effort. If I thought that voluntary effort would be seriously injured by such a change in policy, I certainly would not advocate any scheme of the kind; but, in this case, voluntary effort has proved unequal to the great strain put upon it. A very large number of emigrants, it is true, has been sent out, but they form, in reality, merely a small portion of those who should be assisted, and there is necessity for larger means and stronger organisation. A further objection made is that there is no surplus labour to send out of the country. I reply, "See with your own eyes." I think that no one could hold such an argument who has ever witnessed the

piteous scenes that take place at the dock gates in London. Even in agricultural districts, machinery has thrown a quantity of labour out of employment. It is sometimes said that in sending out emigrants in this manner we should not send out the best class. I quite admit that those sent out would not be the best class, and for my part I should be sorry to see the best class sent out of the country. There is, however, an intermediate class between the best and the worst, who, under more favourable circumstances than those under which they now have to exist, would easily be convertible into excellent workmen, and would become admirable colonists.

There is only one other objection which I can remember having heard against the proposed plan, and that is that in any of these schemes there might be considerable difficulty in getting the money refunded by the colonists to the Government. A certain portion of the money might, perhaps, be lost, but the security to be taken is sufficiently good to guarantee a very large proportion of the outlay being recovered; and even if a small portion of the money should be lost, I maintain that the experiment is worth trying. It may be urged that what I am advocating is a new doctrine, but I do not think that it is so new as many suppose. My noble friend opposite will be aware that Boards of Guardians are entitled to

raise money in aid of emigration, and during the last sixty or seventy years there has been a steady advance in this direction. A statute of the reign of William IV. gave power to owners and occupiers to raise money for this purpose, and by a statute of the present reign the power has been largely increased. The whole tenour and tendency of recent practice and legislation on this subject has been to remove restrictions and give fresh facilities. And further, there is a department at the Colonial Office which has existed for rather more than thirty years—between 1840 and 1871—and is charged with the duty of superintending the conveyance of emigrants, and during that time it has superintended the departure from this country of between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of emigrants. I have not been able to satisfy myself how far that emigration has been assisted by votes of Parliament, or by grants in aid, but in certain exceptional instances, at any rate, public money has been voted for it. The Irish famine, I think, was one of them. And the expense of the Emigration Office itself and the establishment connected with it is defrayed from public sources. Therefore it can hardly be contended that the doctrine is altogether a new one. Your Lordships will remember that three years ago, when the Irish Land Act passed in this House, there was a clause which enabled the Government to raise money without limitation

as to amount for purposes of emigration. In the other House of Parliament, at the instance of certain Irish Members, that clause was very much cut down and limited. When the Bill was before your Lordships I endeavoured to give the provision some additional scope and enlargement; but the amendment was not accepted. The clause was consequently much reduced and stunted in its operation; but even so the Irish Government was empowered to raise £200,000 for emigration; and, therefore, so far as the principle goes, it has been admitted in recent times. In advocating such a system of emigration I hold that certain limits and conditions must be laid down. The principal conditions should, it seems to me, be, first, the emigrant should be a fit and competent man—that is, by knowledge and capacity for an agricultural life, and also by physical strength; secondly, there should be a satisfactory and competent machinery for selection—a machinery which would adequately represent the local authorities, and pass, as it were, through the sieve the various applicants for emigration; thirdly, it is important that the emigration should be so sufficiently gradual as to be absorbed without inconvenience by the new country to which the emigrants are sent; and, lastly, some security should be taken for repayment by the emigrant, either in whole or in part, of the money advanced.

In the correspondence will be found various



proposals that would, more or less, carry out those objects. I now refer to the correspondence that has passed between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Mr. Stephen,\* the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as well as to the correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr. Boyd, who is greatly interested in emigration from the East End of London. I believe that there is no secret about the proposals which Mr. Stephen made rather more than a year ago to Her Majesty's Government. The Canadian Pacific Railway, connecting ocean with ocean, is one of those gigantic enterprises which are being pushed forward in these days with an energy and a vigour truly marvellous. The railway company has received from the Dominion Government large concessions of land alongside of the line, and that land is the subject-matter of the present proposal. Moreover, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company are owners of vast tracts of land, and it is also their object to secure emigrants for their territories. Mr. Stephen's proposal, I believe, is that Her Majesty's Government should advance without interest a loan of £1,000,000 sterling for ten years; that the Company should allot to each settler a block of 160 acres, reserving an adjoining block of the same extent

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\* Now Lord Mount-Stephen.

for the Company. The emigrant would be transplanted, provided with a house, agricultural implements, seeds—in fact, everything required to settle him on that block of land, such precautions at the same time being taken as would secure his ability to maintain himself for the first year. The next step would be to take a mortgage on the land at 6 per cent. The English Treasury were to advance the money, and so should have ample means of seeing that it was properly expended; and the land assigned to the emigrant, with the adjoining block reserved, would constitute the security for repayment. That is the scheme proposed in reference to Irish emigration alone. The plan proposed by Mr. Boyd is, I think, in its general principles, so nearly like that of Mr. Stephen that I need not particularly describe it. The Irish scheme has fallen through. Objections have been taken and difficulties made by Her Majesty's Government. I do not know in what condition the East London scheme stands, but I fear that little or nothing has been done.

I am not here to advocate either Mr. Stephen's or Mr. Boyd's scheme. I do not desire to support any particular proposal, still less to urge any broadcast and indiscriminate expenditure on the part of the Imperial Treasury. But I hold that the time has come when the whole question should be considered from different points of view as it

has never yet been considered, and that the State may properly intervene, at all events, to help those who are doing their best to help themselves. Under that condition, I think it is the duty of the Government not to leave the matter to voluntary effort entirely, but to see whether they cannot devise some sound and practical method of assisting the work. The Irish scheme, as I have said, has failed. I do not know what the reason of that failure was; but I believe my noble friend (Lord Derby) is not wholly averse from the principle which I have mentioned. Last year he gave a very encouraging reply to a question on this subject. He said that there was a great congestion of the labour market in the East of London, and that the difficulty was growing; and he went on to say, speaking for the Colonial Office, that he did not know that any great difficulty need be apprehended as regarded this proposal, because it was no doubt possible to make arrangements with the Colonial Governments. Therefore, I do not anticipate, so far as we may judge from the utterances of my noble friend, that there would be any invincible objection on his part.

What, then, is the objection, if there be one, on which opposition to this scheme is based? Is it an objection of principle, or is it merely an objection of Treasury detail? If it be an objection

of principle, then I think it is important your Lordships should know distinctly what it is; and if it be an objection on the part of the Treasury, I should equally like to know the nature of it. I have heard it said that the Canadian Government were perfectly willing to give every facility, even to provide substantial security, for the repayment of this loan, to undertake the collection of the money, and to assume, as it were, the position of landlord in relation to the emigrant tenant. I could perfectly well understand the Canadian Government objecting to do this, but I do not think that the same objection should occur at all to this Government. The risks and evil of allowing the present condition of things in our large towns to go on growing in its present ratio are tremendous, and it can hardly be doubted that it is a wise and sound policy to run some risk in its alleviation. I have little further to add in moving for this correspondence, except to press to the utmost of my power on Her Majesty's Government and the House the great evil and danger of a state of things such as exists at present in many of the large towns in the Kingdom. However continuous the emigration may now be, more persons come into this town than are taken away. Emigration from Scotland, Ireland, and foreign countries pours into this large town, and the evil is enhanced by the fact that the foreign workman undersells the

British workman in our labour market. Lastly, there is the migration from our own country districts. Poor country people come to London, and by their presence contribute to swell still more the already enormous population. London at present is, in point of population, nearly equal to Scotland, and it is still increasing in size. No one can think of the condition of the metropolis and the bonds which loosely hold its immense population together without being made aware of the numberless difficulties and dangers which present themselves at every turn. I think we are approaching a crisis in the existence of this and other great towns to which the attention of the Government ought to be most seriously directed. It is surely the duty of the Government to bring their minds, free from prejudice, to a consideration of the question, and to accept the facts as they are. It is their duty to devise a timely and well-considered measure to avert an evil of overwhelming and increasing proportion.

Lord Carnarvon concluded by moving the Address for papers.

The Earl of Derby (Secretary of State for the Colonies) said there was no doubt that of late years Government had been in the habit of sanctioning the employment of public funds for many purposes which formerly were thought better left to individual enterprise, and he willingly conceded that there were many worse uses to which public funds could be applied than that to which his noble friend proposed to

apply them. He was also quite right in citing the case of Poor Law and State assistance in education. If we found that we were better off by getting rid of a certain amount of labour which is not wanted in this country, and could save our pockets by transferring it elsewhere, it was certainly no reason against taking that step that the Colonies also would be gainers. If the returns were examined it would be seen that the present rate of emigration was equal to one per cent. of the whole population. He agreed with Lord Carnarvon that in considering this subject the absorbing power of the Colonies themselves must be borne in mind, and he did not believe that the present outflow could be very largely increased without pressing unduly on the labour market of the Colonies. He did not think he should be asked to discuss in detail the Canadian scheme of last year. It fell through because the Canadian Government declined to absolutely guarantee repayment of the sum proposed to be spent, and other securities were not deemed sufficient. He doubted whether there was at the present time any sufficient need for such State emigration as his noble friend proposed, and he questioned, moreover, whether the scheme would be generally well received in the Colonies, and if not cordially received it would not work.

Motion agreed to.

## XXXIV.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE: MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE BY THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN.

The questions touched upon in this speech—whether we should be dependent for most of our food supply on foreign countries, and whether we can, without detriment to our foreign trade and commerce, devise some form of commercial connexion between the Colonies and the mother country—have increased in urgency during the seventeen years that have elapsed since it was spoken. This is, of course, not the place for their discussion. But it is understood that the British Empire League in Canada proposes to raise them seriously in this country next year.

HOUSE OF LORDS. NOVEMBER 6, 1884.

The Earl of Carnarvon, after heartily concurring in the expression of regret at the loss sustained by the country through the death of Mr. Fawcett, whom he had the good fortune to know, said :

In considering the subject before your Lordships, there are two things we should bear in mind. First, we have to consider whether there has been a case made out worthy of inquiry ; and then, in the next place, whether the procedure suggested is the best way of dealing with the matter ? The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of

Kimberley) deprecated any inquiry, because it would imply a preconceived opinion as to the measures to be adopted. With regard to the condition of the trade and commerce of the country, I am not prepared to agree with the argument that, in accepting the motion, the question would practically be that of Free Trade *versus* Protection. I deny that Free Trade ought to be made a sort of idol or fetish, before which everything should be prejudged. It seems to me that nothing can be more unreasonable or absurd than to say that, because we took off the duty on corn forty years ago, we should not now have an inquiry into commercial and agricultural distress. That depression exists no one can doubt. It is only depression in some cases, but in others it is misery and almost ruin; and it affects not one but many classes. There has been none of that recuperative vigour and force which we have seen on former occasions. The depression which now exists has continued over a period of eight or ten years, and there is no sign of recovery. On the contrary, every sign there is points to a still further downward course. It is true there is abundance in the exports of manufactured articles, just as there has been, this year, in the harvest; but, on the other hand, there is a diminution of profits. One man may attribute that state of things to one reason, and another to another



reason ; but we ought, in my opinion, to try and ascertain what this phenomenon, which is new to us, really means.

It has been stated that the cause of the depression is the removal of British capital to foreign countries. In such a case as the present no sign could be more alarming ; but is it so ? The answer is, Inquire. By instituting an inquiry the truth of such statements may be ascertained. Then there is the enormous competition which exists at this moment in many trades. That competition exists in large as well as in small trades. It was only the other day that I heard that the whole of the ironwork of an enormous railway station in the Midlands had been imported into this country from Belgium, and I know from my own knowledge that iron for railway bridges has been brought over from abroad. It is precisely the same in smaller industries. When all these matters are put together they produce an alarming result ; and when I look to the terribly trying winter which is in prospect, I, for one, cannot contemplate the future without apprehension. I greatly regret that the Government has opposed the investigation asked for. Scarcely anything has been said about agricultural distress, a subject which by itself would deserve a long discussion. During the last few years a vast amount of land has been thrown out of cultivation.

No doubt no blessing can be greater than that which we have enjoyed through cheap bread, which has carried us through many seasons of distress during the last thirty years. Still we ought to recognise what the throwing of land out of cultivation really means. During the last ten years 1,000,000 acres have been changed from arable to grass; 1,000,000 acres of grain would be about one-fourth of the total grain production of the country. All conversion of arable into pasture involves two consequences, one social and the other political. It means the displacement of so many families and individuals, who are driven either to emigrate or to contribute to the overcrowding of the large towns. I am not one of those who object to emigration, for I have seen its advantages; but I do say that the driving of agriculturists and their families into the towns is in itself an unmitigated curse, increasing populations for whom the means of industrial employment are already too limited, and so increasing the struggle for life, and the general distress. Then it means another very serious matter; it practically reduces the area of land devoted to the food supply of this country. We already depend for two-thirds of our food supply upon foreign countries, and it is a very great risk for the country to live on the sufferance of foreign nations.

It has been said by the Prime Minister that

farmers should recover their losses by growing fruit and rearing poultry. I cannot understand anyone who knows anything of agricultural matters advocating such small and petty agricultural pursuits as substitutes for growing corn; and, although these minor industries may be developed, we cannot depend upon them as a means of subsistence, and the bulk of the land in England must always be farmed upon different principles. It is a mere fraction of the land of the country that could be applied to these purposes. Little has been said about our commercial relations with our Colonies; but for many years our Colonies have been our best customers, and a merchant or tradesman generally desires to meet the wants of a customer. Why have not we done anything of the sort? Our Colonial Empire is one of such extent, fertility, and variety of production, that we could get everything we want from within its boundaries. Canada could supply us with all the wheat we want at 30s. a quarter, and in time of war we could hold the lines of communication, which would be a much more simple matter than living upon the sufferance of other nations.

One of the best things we could do would be to see if we could not devise some form of commercial connexion between the Colonies and the mother country. I believe that the case made out by the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven) is one worthy

of inquiry, and that it is wise to ask for a Joint Committee of both Houses, because the weakness of this House in its knowledge of commercial subjects could be made up by the abundant knowledge in the other House. It would save public discussion and public time if the inquiry were granted, and in proportion as Free Traders are confident of the soundness of their principles, they ought to be willing and eager to submit them to the test of an inquiry. The Government are making a mistake in refusing an investigation on which the heart of the country is more set than it is on any other matter, and public feeling will be intensified by the distress of the coming winter.

The motion was ultimately withdrawn.

## XXXV.

In 1885 the Liberals went out of office on the Budget and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister, with, however, a minority in the House of Commons.

Ireland was the most difficult question with which the Government had then to deal. Lord Carnarvon consented to accept the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland with a seat in the Cabinet, and thus his long connexion with the Colonies, dating from 1858, was to his great regret not renewed. He accepted the office, however, under exceptional circumstances, and only for a given time, and in accordance with the arrangement made, he resigned in January, 1886.

### CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY : LINE OF ROYAL MAIL STEAMERS FROM VANCOUVER CITY TO THE EAST.

In 1887 Lord Carnarvon spoke twice on the subject of a proposed subsidy to a line of steamers to be instituted from Vancouver Island to the East.

The first of these two speeches was made on a question asked by his life-long friend Lord Harrowby. Having become intimate at Oxford, they travelled together in the East, and their friendship ripened and increased as year after year they endeavoured loyally to serve their country, whether as Members of Her Majesty's Ministry or of Her Majesty's Opposition.

The Earl of Harrowby asked what course Her Majesty's Government intended to pursue respecting the proposal of the Canadian Pacific Railway to establish a first-class line on this route, and moved for papers. He stated that many Englishmen had large interests in the Colonies, but he, personally,

had nothing to do with any Canadian matter. His motive of interest arose from his connexion, in 1857, with the Hudson's Bay Company. He would ask their Lordships to remember the extent of the revolution the Canadian Pacific Railway had created in the history of Canada, and instanced the fact that Lord Wolseley took 76 days to accomplish the journey between Toronto and Fort Garry, whereas now it could be comfortably performed in two. He pointed out how much more accessible China, Japan, and our Indian and Australian Colonies would be, and that the fact that soldiers would reach India from the East as well as the West would, as Lord Dufferin said, be most impressive to the Eastern mind. All this could be accomplished with the assistance of a Government subsidy of £100,000 a year, and he could not believe the Government would really reject a proposal to take possession of the Pacific by means of a line of mail steamers, whose readiness for conversion into armed cruisers could not fail to be of incalculable use in time of war. We must beware, he urged, of the danger of being forestalled by Germany or Japan, both of which countries were anxious to open up commercial lines in the Pacific; it was clearly the duty and interest of England to acquire the control of the vast Pacific routes—and that at once. This acquisition would make for the general peace of the world, for it would convince other nations of our strength: and we must not shrink from the great responsibilities that our Empire is continually crowding upon us.

HOUSE OF LORDS. APRIL 29, 1887.

I support as fully as I can the admirable, clear, and statesmanlike statement of my noble friend (Lord Harrowby) who brought this question forward. There is every reason why the Government should accept the suggestions of

my noble friend, because, as I understand from my noble friend (Lord Onslow), the Under Secretary, the original subsidy asked of the Government for the Pacific service was £100,000 a year; but this sum had been reduced to £60,000, and ultimately even to £45,000, with a monthly service. That is a comparatively trifling sum, but the expenditure would bring great benefits with it. I doubt, however, whether the saving of the £15,000 on the £60,000, or the £40,000 on the £100,000, was worth making if it involved a monthly instead of a fortnightly service. But I would accept the monthly service, in the hope that it would ultimately lead to a fortnightly service, and that a large and profitable commerce would grow up between Vancouver and China and Japan. I can add nothing to the well-deserved eulogy which my noble friend has pronounced on the Canadian Pacific Railway, so admirable in its conception, in its construction, and in its completion. The service which it is proposed should be established consists of three parts. First, there is the steamer service between England and Canada, which is to be carried on in swift vessels subsidised by the Canadian Government; secondly, there are fast trains across the Continent; and, lastly, there is the service on the Pacific Ocean which we are now discussing. Now, there are five distinct Imperial and commercial advantages which would

arise from the establishment of this route. First, a rapid through postal and passenger route to the East; secondly, before long a complete and independent British telegraphic line; thirdly, rapid and cheap transport for troops and stores across the Continent to our Eastern possessions, it being part of the bargain that troops and stores should be carried at cost price; fourthly, as my noble friend has pointed out, the establishment of a third route to the East in addition to the Suez Canal, which in time of war might be blocked, and to the Cape route, which is undefended. The land portion of this route, moreover, is entirely through British territory. Fifthly, the ships for the Pacific service are to be constructed so as to serve as cruisers. I heartily concur in this last provision, which was one of the recommendations of the Defence Commission, whose opinion it was that the exigencies of a great war could only be met by arming our merchant vessels as cruisers. I also understand that the service has been guaranteed for efficiency by one of the largest commercial houses in this country, whose name I will not mention, as I have not seen it in print. I will only say further on this point that we must bear specially in mind that, since this Canadian Pacific Railway has been completed, the whole character of the naval docks at Esquimalt has undergone a material change. Those docks have now been



finished, and a great deal of Imperial money has been spent upon them. There is now at Esquimalt a dock capable of receiving the largest of our ships. In addition to that, guns and armaments may be sent there, and the House must bear in mind that Vancouver Island is the only coaling station we possess in that part of the world. There is only one other point which I would add to my noble Friend's admirable statement. For several generations this country has pursued a continuous course of policy with regard to Canada, and large sums have been expended in the construction of roads and railways for military purposes. The great Canadian Pacific Railway has now been completed, and I submit that it would be a misfortune to stop here when we are in sight of the goal which we have been striving for so many years to attain. My noble friend has referred to a delicate subject to which I will only allude briefly, but it is right that your Lordships should fully understand that if we do not establish our claim to this great maritime highway—if we do not meet the Dominion on this particular question—the service may fall into the hands of another European Power. We must not think that others will be equally negligent of their obvious interests. If that were so, the direct advantages which must flow from the establishment of the service would be lost to us, and would be transferred to others; and, worse

than that, another foreign influence would, and must be, established in the Pacific Ocean. However, I will not dwell further upon that point, but I hope Her Majesty's Government will weigh it carefully. The establishment of a commercial line of steamers to and from Vancouver would also give a footing to the commerce of the South Pacific. I trust, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government will come to the conclusion that this is a good bargain, commercially, at the present time, and that it would be a great misfortune if this opportunity were allowed to be lost.

The Earl of Dunraven said that they had been told that all the military authorities and most of the naval were in favour of the line. This appeared to him an unanswerable argument for subsidising the line of steamers. He did not think it was a question as to whether it was worth £40,000, £50,000, or £60,000 a year. What this country had to consider was whether it was worth the reasonable sum of money they were asking. It was not a matter that should be looked at from the narrow view of economy, and he hoped the Government would not allow themselves to be influenced by small considerations at the present, but would consider the great advantages in the future.

Earl Granville said that when he was at the Colonial Office he had examined carefully into the matter, and had come to the conclusion that on the whole it was a thing that should be done, and he was very glad there was some likelihood of a satisfactory arrangement.

The Earl of Harrowby expressed his gratification at the announcement that Government was still considering the matter. He must take exception to one or two statements of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies. The Government

thought the question too large. If this was worth doing at all it was a very large question indeed, and it would be better to leave it alone than deal with it in that spirit. If this country wanted to dominate the Pacific, they must approach it in such a way as would impress the world. If they did it in a poor and petty spirit, they would defeat the object they had in view, and leave the position open to more enterprising nations than ourselves.

Motion (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

## XXXVI.

### CANADIAN IMPORT DUTIES AND THE PROPOSED PACIFIC LINE OF MAIL STEAMERS.

Lord Carnarvon's second speech on the importance to England of the line of steamers from Vancouver to the East arose out of a discussion in the House of Lords on the decision of the Dominion Government to increase very considerably the Canadian import duties on iron, in the course of which it was suggested that such hostile treatment of British products might lead to a disposition in Parliament to retaliate by declining to grant an Imperial subsidy to the proposed line of Canadian mail steamers in the Pacific. Our policy, Lord Carnarvon maintained, should not be affected by measures adopted by Canada in self-defence. He again alluded to the commercial union he desired to see adopted between England and the Colonies but, however that might be, he deprecated in the strongest manner allowing a question of Canadian internal policy to influence a decision which had to be taken not in the interests of Canada alone, but in the interests of the British Empire.

HOUSE OF LORDS. JUNE 17, 1887.

First of all as regards the disadvantage to this country of the new Canadian tariff, I frankly admit it; no one can doubt it for a moment. It is almost in the nature of a truism. I am disposed to go further and agree substantially with the noble Earl (Earl Granville)

that it is disadvantageous to all, and not least to Canada itself. This, however, is an impost clearly not directed against this country; it is an impost which I believe to have been put on for reasons of home domestic finance by the Canadian Parliament; and it must be remembered that it is an impost which has already been reduced, as I understand, by from 20 to 25 per cent. in deference to the wishes and representations of this country.

Now, it is very easy to criticise the Canadian Government and Parliament, but the Parliament here must remember that they have had great difficulties, and that, as far as I know, for many years past they have not applied for any assistance from the mother country, while the loans made to them have been faithfully repaid; and that they have so managed their finance that their securities will stand comparison with any securities in the European markets, while they have been led to undertake such great works as those of the Canadian Pacific Railway, of which it may almost be true to say the like has never been before achieved. Therefore, I say it is not fair for us to criticise from a distance the finance of Canada. Still less do I think we should require the Canadians to make sacrifices for us, when it is perfectly clear that we can make no sacrifices ourselves. Our system of Free Trade is such that

we have given away to every other nation whatever power we may originally have possessed of making a bargain. We have nothing left, practically, to give to Canada, and, therefore, we are not entitled to give credit to ourselves as against Canada in the matter. If we were prepared to make any movement towards those closer fiscal relations which have been discussed in this country, and which have many partisans in the Colonies, it would be a different case. But we have done, and will do, none of these things. Allusion has been made to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and it has been questioned how far Parliament might be influenced in considering the question of supporting the scheme of Trans-Pacific steamers by the adoption of this new tariff. My Lords, I quite admit that this new tariff has come at an unfortunate moment. No one regrets it more than I do; but, at the same time, I should regret very much more if Her Majesty's Government allowed it to weigh with them in considering the very grave question as to whether they should give a subvention for the proposed new line of steamers, and for two reasons. First of all, it is not so much a question of Canada which is at issue, as it is a question of the interest of this country and the Empire at large. It is, I hold, our interest to have another through route to our Eastern possessions.

It is our interest to have a class of steamers applicable to military and naval purposes, such as I have already described in a previous debate. It is our interest to accede to the extremely favourable bargain which was more or less discussed the other evening. In default of our acceding to their views, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, in the exercise of its own judgment and undoubted rights, have already entered into preliminary negotiations with other great foreign companies to take up that line of steamers. Now, your Lordships may remember that when the subject was previously discussed Her Majesty's Government were asked to take that possibility most strongly into account, because it would be a direct misfortune if that line of steamers, which, undoubtedly, will be set up and established whether we like it or no, should fall into the hands of a foreign Government. This is not merely a question of Canada—not merely a question of our Eastern possessions—but it is the whole question of the South Pacific, of Australia, and New Zealand, which is involved; and, therefore, though I may agree, for the sake of argument, with all that the noble Earl opposite said with regard to the disadvantages to this country from such a tariff as that adopted by Canada, I will still say that it ought not to weigh with Her Majesty's Government in deciding the important point whether they will keep open and maintain in their

hands a third great Imperial route towards New Zealand, Australia, and our Eastern possessions. There is still ample time to adopt a prudent resolution on that subject; and I sincerely trust that my noble friend at the head of the Government, with that breadth of mind and that political wisdom and experience which he can bring to bear on these subjects, will think once, twice, thrice, before he acts on the unwise counsel from the other side of the House.



## XXXVII.

### IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION.\*

[From the *Fortnightly Review*, No. CXLIV., Dec. 1, 1878.]

This forcible exposition of our Imperial functions and duties is added to the speeches on Canadian affairs as a fitting close to a volume the first speech in which shows the early interest felt by Lord Carnarvon in the British Empire.

His definition of the "true Imperialism" may be read with profit at all times. It emphasises the fact that our strength lies in the steady fulfilment of the duties we have undertaken—in defending and developing the lands for which we are already responsible to the world, and in doing this we are not seekers of new territory. *Debellare superbos* may become our duty at times—but *parcere subjectis* must always continue to be our principle and our best policy. And the nations understand, better than some politicians and writers pretend, that *Pax Britannica* means freedom, safety and profit to all dwellers within the King's dominions, and not only to the people of our own race.

True Imperialism, as Lord Carnarvon has well said (page 368), should look "not to the bulk of territory, but to the men that are bred up, and the qualities which those men have. Steadfastness of purpose, simplicity of character, truth, and the preference of that which is solid and substantial, are the qualities by which nations truly live and kings rule." And again, Great Britain's Imperial duty is not only to "recognise the obligations which we owe beyond the limits of the four seas, but also to breathe into the whole of the mighty mass a common unity."

I HAVE chosen my theme for this address partly at the suggestion of some of my Edinburgh friends,

and partly because it has been my fortune twice to hold the seals of the Colonial Office—the second time for a period of nearly four years, and during that time to take some share in the Imperial administration of the country. I shall avoid all party politics. This is no political gathering, in the party sense of the word: the *genius loci*, and the necessarily mixed character of the audience, impose upon me limits and restrictions which I am content to accept. At the same time, whilst it is my desire, in addressing the members of a Philosophical Institution, to confine myself within the temperate zone of general and almost abstract politics, if I should seem to go a little beyond these bounds, and to touch the debateable territory in which so many interests are involved, so many feelings are awakened, the fault is not so much mine as it is in the nature of the subject, and in the fact that it is hard, when speaking on any question even of abstract politics, to steer absolutely clear of those great issues which, exceeding in number and magnitude any raised during a corresponding period within the memory of the present generation, have lately been forced upon the public attention. I shall, nevertheless, endeavour, as far as it lies in my power, to abide within the circle which precedent and practice have traced.

Three years ago Mr. Forster, when occupying the position which I have now the honour to fill,

addressed his audience on the Colonial Empire of England, and this is one of the reasons that induce me to speak on the same subject; because, though agreeing generally in all that he said, I yet feel that there is something that may be added to what he then expressed so well. It is unnecessary to follow him in his review of the British Empire. He dwelt mainly on the relations and position of those of our fellow-subjects who, Anglo-Saxon by birth, have their homes in the temperate climes of the world. Nor is it necessary to supplement his able statement by tracing the history, whether commercial or political, of our great Anglo-Saxon Colonies. Their commercial history, if we look back some hundred and twenty or thirty years ago, offers but a melancholy retrospect. It is the history of restrictions and of monopolies, of a system which, in our American Colonies, forbade the manufacture of iron, the erection of forges, the making of hats, the export or import of produce which could be thought in any way to interfere with the privileges of British trade, and in which colonial interests were jealously subordinated to the supposed policy of the Empire. Scarcely less melancholy is the tale of political mismanagement. It was said that when the Duke of Newcastle left office he left a closet full of papers, and that when Mr. Grenville succeeded and read those papers he lost the Colonies of America.

Another and somewhat later illustration of our political relations with our North American Colonies may be found in Mr. Charles Greville's *Memoirs*. On one occasion, in 1828, a nobleman who had recently been appointed Governor of Jamaica complained to him that he was wholly without any instructions or communications from the Secretary of State, although very important legislation was anticipated in Jamaica; and when it was suggested that he, as Governor, at all events should suspend his departure till certain bills of considerable moment had been received from Jamaica, the answer given was that that would be of little use, as Parliament by that time would be sitting, and it would be wholly impossible to attend to colonial legislation. "And this is the way," Mr. Greville not unreasonably concludes, "in which our Colonies are governed!" It is a typical story of colonial government from Downing Street in the year 1828. But then followed a period of uncertain, fretful, and irritating administration, in which both parties—alike in the Colonies and at home—hunted about, as it were, for a solution of the problem which was pressing upon men's minds, hardly knowing themselves what they desired. More than once that irritation took the form of active opposition to authority, and men who subsequently have rendered great service to the State were misled and for a time

became valueless in regard to the duties of constitutional life and good citizenship. It has been my good fortune to know three such men. Sir George Cartier, who I believe in early life was proscribed, rose to be the second Minister of Canada, and to become a baronet. Mr. Darcy McGee, if not convicted, yet viewed with distrust by the law and Government, crossed the Atlantic, became a centre of loyal feeling in Canada, was prized and valued there, and lost his life as a victim of Fenian violence. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, who was the subject of a Government prosecution in Ireland, now lives—and long may he live—as a valuable and loyal servant of the Crown, and as Speaker of the Assembly in Victoria. In the history of those three men is a picture of the change of relations between our Anglo-Saxon Colonies and ourselves, if measured by the last thirty or forty years.

Now, indeed, the main principles of local freedom and absolute self-government on which these Colonies are to be governed have been settled and accepted on all hands, and the controversies which baffled Lord Durham and Lord Sydenham, which saddened the last days of Lord Metcalfe, which tried the administrative strength of Lord Elgin to the utmost, and which had in earlier times caused blood to flow in civil contention, are at rest. There may be grave and even anxious questions

of government in store: these belong to young equally as to old communities, and their solution will depend on the wisdom of those in authority at home, and the forbearance of those in the Colonies: but they are growing up—those great countries—and the main question which men debate now is, how this vast empire is to be held together, and how we are to prevent those particles from flying, as it were, into political space.

But I desire to call attention to a point on which Mr. Forster, as far as I remember, did not touch, and of which the importance is hardly appreciated in England at its true value—the administration from home of a large portion of the empire. And first let me say one word as to the Colonial Office itself. I believe that very rarely has any department in the State had the good fortune to be guided by a series of permanent civil officers so able. In Sir James Stephen, Mr. Merivale, Sir Frederic Rogers (the present Lord Blachford), and now a relation of my own, Mr. Herbert, there is a continuous succession of highly cultivated and able administrators such as can be matched in few, if any, public offices. And what an enormous task it is which that office undertakes, greater than probably has ever been undertaken in the history of any country, not one Englishman in twenty thousand ever considers. Many fine generalities are uttered in praise of the Empire of

Great Britain, but very few understand or appreciate the machinery and the labour by which the great fabric is held together. The late Sir William Molesworth, some five and twenty years ago, declared that it was an absolutely impossible task : that the Colonial Office of his day had no policy at all—that it was everything by turns and nothing long, that it was saint and sinner, protectionist, free-trader ; that the Governors were briefless barristers, electioneering agents, or discreditable partisans ; and he wound up by declaring that it was universally held in hatred and contempt. A very different story would be told now, because I have found that the Colonial Secretary who does his duty is regarded by those free colonists not as the representative of the once-hated and suspected Downing Street, but as the friend to whom they may safely appeal, who considers their interests as his own, and is perhaps sometimes tempted to take a view favourable rather to his colonial than to his English clients. A somewhat similar task of administration was undertaken by Spain, and we all know the contrast which their colonial history and ours presents. Freedom of trade and government was unknown ; restriction, monopoly, and regulations in the minutest details of political life, as vexatious in practice as they were often false in principle, ruled the relations of the Colony and the mother-country. Of all the towns in Spain,

Cadiz and Seville alone had the right to trade with Mexico; it was at one time actually proposed to destroy all the banana trees in order to stimulate native industry; and Humboldt himself had to seek and obtain a personal authorisation from the Home Government to enable him to travel in the countries which his pen has immortalised.

It is right, in dealing with such a question as this, to remember that the Colonies fall into at least four classes. First, there are the great Colonies endowed with free and responsible self-government. It is the fashion to suppose that self-government with them has effaced the other obligations of the Imperial Government, and has reduced the duty of the Colonial Office to the simple task of registering the local decisions. But this is far from the case. It is perfectly true that those great colonies deal, and deal, as I think, admirably, with the questions which concern themselves, their local institutions, and the sphere of their internal life; but there also arise great constitutional questions which can only be settled, I will not say at home, but at all events with the help of the Home Government, and questions also with which the relations and interests of foreign nations are interwoven. Secondly, there are military posts, such as Gibraltar and Malta, where the civil government has to be wholly controlled by the Colonial Office. Thirdly, there are



Governments of a mixed nature, such as exist in the West Indies and Natal, where much labour and little credit go to the share of the Home Government. Lastly, there are the Crown Colonies, which no doubt provide the Colonial Office with a very large proportion of its work. Such is that work, that it is almost like the management of a great estate. All questions of public works, of legislation, of taxation, are wholly or in part initiated by and carried through the Colonial Office. The great colony of Ceylon, for instance, has, if I am not mistaken, spent during the last few years, upon a single work, its breakwater, no less than a million sterling. In the same way it is building a very expensive and, at the same time, productive network of railroads in and for the coffee districts of the interior. So in the case of Natal; so in the case of the Mauritius. Or take the case of legislation. All the Acts that are passed in the various Colonies are every year sent home to the Colonial Office; and it is the business of the Colonial Secretary and his assistants to review every one of them. But more than this—there is a remarkable system of native law which has grown up, and which has been more or less codified, under the auspices of the Colonial Office, and which is worked under the superintendence and close attention of that office. In Natal there is a large body of native laws: at the Gold

Coast, by the side of the native king there sits an English assessor to direct his judgment, and, as far as may be, to infuse into his mind the principles of a rough natural equity. In the Mauritius, while I myself was in office, we compiled a very elaborate code to bring into harmony the complicated and long-vexed relations of the coolie and his employer; and in Jamaica it was my good fortune to complete a penal code commenced by my predecessor, a work of great labour and care, which I hope may be the model for similar legislation in other Colonies.

Nor is this all, for amongst the difficulties which meet a Colonial administrator are the differences of race in each different part of that great empire. In Jamaica we have the long-emancipated but still only half-educated Negro; at the Cape, those wild savage tribes, of which we have heard very much of late, each in its different stage of civilisation; in New Zealand, picturesque Maories, who are gradually dying out before our advance, and in their death clinging to their traditions and their lands; whilst the Fiji Islands, the last of our possessions, are occupied by a far milder race, a race among whom Wesleyan ministers—I rejoice to do them this bare act of justice—have achieved, in my opinion, their greatest triumph. In Ceylon there is again a wholly different class—men who, like the Indians of the continent, are,

as I venture to think, in a higher and, on the whole, a better condition, with an ancient civilisation, and complicated laws, and lands, and religious endowments. In the Straits are to be seen the gentle and yet warlike Malays, and the Chinaman with his patient, dogged, industrious instincts, and his secret societies. And, lastly, to close a catalogue which, though long, might be much further extended, there live on the West Coast of Africa a race of men rising by painful and most slow degrees in the scale of civilisation, and still so barbarous that one of their most competent rulers said to me, "that if English rule were withdrawn, within six months human sacrifices would probably again be offered up." Now, what conclusion is to be drawn from all this? First, that the problem of administration differs immeasurably with each different country and race; and, secondly, that as regards all those native races the obligation is laid upon us, and has been accepted by us, of giving them protection, and of gradually raising them in the scale of human knowledge and happiness. And this is the reason why, in many of these Colonies, it is impossible to give "self-government" to the people; for to give self-government in such a case would be to vest the whole authority in the hands of a very small white minority, and to open a chapter of incalculable abuse and

misgovernment. Until, in the fulness of time, these uneducated beings are raised to a far higher degree of independence, the Secretary of State must be their protector. He must endeavour to reconcile their interests with the interests of the white minority, to hold the scales as evenly as he can, and, if I may so express it colloquially, to be the member for a great unrepresented constituency. Nor is the whole work exhausted when all which I have described is done, for many of these Colonies, bordering<sup>s</sup> upon the territory of foreign nations, bring us into relations sometimes difficult, sometimes complicated, with those nations. We have to deal with a French population in Canada and in the Mauritius; with a Dutch population at the Cape; we are on the borders of Spanish territory in America; whilst in Canada our long line of frontier is conterminous with that of the United States. I may here say that amongst the recollections of four years of office none affords me greater satisfaction than to reflect that during the whole of that time, as far as the Colonial Government was concerned, I am not aware that one unfriendly word ever passed between the English and the United States Governments. This could not have been said in former times; and now it is due to many causes—to the right intentions of each Government, to the goodwill which exists between the two peoples,

to the gradual passing away of old jealousies and irritations, and, let me say, also—and I rejoice to say it—to the singular tact, judgment, good feeling, and sense of Lord Dufferin, who has just returned from Canada. I rejoice to pay that tribute to him; and I trust that the Royal daughter of England who now goes forth to Canada to discharge duties which, in one sense, have never fallen to the lot of any English lady, will find her course smooth and prosperous, and may be the means in her own person of binding still closer the links of union between the two countries.

In conclusion, and in illustration of this part of my subject, I may, I hope, without the appearance of egotism, mention some, and only some, of the subjects which it was my duty during the four years of my tenure of office to decide. They were, undoubtedly, years more than usually crowded with serious questions; but the record of work done over and above the ordinary business of the office is some evidence that the office of Colonial Secretary is still at all events not a sinecure. First, on entering upon office, I found a war and closed it; I saw a second war through, which, but for the vigorous measures taken, would have been a large one; and, I am sorry to say, I left a war at the Cape. Secondly, there were riots to deal with in the West India Islands—different from riots in many other parts of the Empire,

because violent class feelings and the animosities of race were roused. Thirdly, there was, if not a famine, the anticipation of, and precautions against, a famine. Fourthly, there were arbitrations, both official and personal. Fifthly, there was the creation of a new Colony, with its system of laws, its land settlements, the difficult adjustment of financial liabilities and debts, and its legislation for maintaining justice as between European and native. Sixthly, there were new constitutions to be framed, and—not less difficult a task—to be pressed upon the Colonial legislatures where local interests and sentiment were not unnaturally opposed to change, as in the Gold Coast, Natal, and several of the West India Islands. Seventhly, there was the carrying through Parliament in this country of a Confederation Bill for the Cape, in the face of such delays and obstacles as a small body of Irish members could impose upon an almost unanimous House of Commons. It was my good fortune years ago to frame and carry the Confederation Bill which bound all the provinces in North America into one great Dominion; and, as I then received from my predecessor the materials for that large work, so I have left to my successor the task of completing the Confederation of South Africa, which I began. Eighthly, there was an annexation of territory—a measure adopted with

reluctance, and justified only by the critical condition of the whole South African frontier, but when adopted carried into execution without active opposition or the slightest disorder. And lastly, there was a measure which I recall with perhaps as sincere a feeling of gratitude as any other act of my official life—the emancipation of the slaves on the West Coast of Africa. It removed the last blot on the escutcheon of England, and it was the crown placed upon the generous sacrifice which this country performed in the last generation.

All that I have now said with regard to the Colonies, properly so called, applies, I think, to the greatest dependency of the Crown, India, and perhaps even in a stronger degree, because the population is larger, the issues greater, the calamities more serious. We have seen India lately brought forward much more prominently than is usual. Personally, I am not reassured by this; for I have noticed as a matter of experience that when Indian affairs become a great source of interest in this country, political trouble is at hand. But be this as it may, all must agree that the result of recent policy is undoubtedly to make the relations between India and this country much more close than in former times; and that, as a consequence of this policy, whether it be right or wrong, everything that affects India

affects us more directly—the burdens and the calamities of India as much as the Oriental pageantry and splendour of the Empire. And in conjunction with this change we are bound to remember that the present financial condition of India is very far indeed from satisfactory. We have charged ourselves with some hundred and eighty or ninety millions of human beings, their lives, their interests, their happiness. The figures are so incalculably large that they hardly seem to convey any distinct meaning to us; yet it is certain that of this vast mass of human beings, a very large proportion are in a poverty-stricken condition. The taxation has, according to some of the highest Indian authorities, reached, or nearly reached, its limits; it is unelastic, and it rests upon comparatively few articles. The expenses, on the other hand, have largely increased, and are increasing; and there are some who contend that even the condition of the people themselves, after all that we have done and striven to do, is yet worse than it was a generation ago.

One fact only is perfectly clear, that we have undertaken to provide for the protection and maintenance—all, in fact, that a civilised Government undertakes to do—for an incalculably large portion of the human race, and that when we examine the condition of these people we become aware that



we are still frightfully distant from the result which we are bound to have in view.

There is, indeed, another question connected with India, which has of late only emerged into importance, and which is fraught with cause for reflection and anxiety—the relations of the Home and the Indian Governments. Steamers, and still more telegraphs, have greatly altered that relationship, and whilst they have in some respects simplified, in other respects they have greatly enhanced the difficulties of government. Little more than two years ago there were keen debates in both Houses of Parliament as to the relative powers of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. It was then obvious—it was acknowledged on all hands—that there was a conflict of opinion and authority between the two Governments; and in the information which daily reaches us from India there are signs of some such conflict existing at the present moment. It is unnecessary here to analyse the causes of this unseemly and deplorable contention; there clearly ought to be no variance between those two authorities; they are both servants of the Crown, and a struggle between them, still more when paraded in the open light of day, is fraught with danger to the whole Empire.

I have now endeavoured, though briefly and roughly, to trace the outlines of the picture of

our Empire. It is a very great picture. The poet Heine, when in England in the earlier part of the century, acquired a very unsatisfactory impression of us. He has left on record that we were "the most repulsive set of people whom God in His anger ever created," and he expanded that proposition by asserting that the Colonies of England were a worse reproduction of a bad model. It would be melancholy, and it is happily unnecessary, to think that this expresses the truth. To me the Colonial Empire of Great Britain seems one of the most magnificent pictures of administration that the labours of man have ever created, or that the eye of man has ever seen. But, on the other hand, it is replete with difficulties of the largest kind, unknown to the majority of the nation, often invisible to the public eye, hopelessly involved in details which few will or can master, yet so serious as to jeopardise the whole machinery of government, and needing the exercise of the highest tact, patience, and skill—difficulties, in short, such as may well make us pause before we gratuitously accept other burdens and liabilities. There is no precedent for the English Empire except one—the great Empire of Rome; but the history of that Empire will furnish many precedents and illustrations. I will mention only four of the difficulties with which the Roman administrators had to deal, and which lie across

our path like sleeping lions at this day. First, they had a series of discordant nationalities, as we have; secondly, they had to encounter the difficulties arising from conflicting religions. On those two points it is unnecessary to say anything; but, thirdly, they had, as we have, the greatest political problem to solve in the reconciliation of the Western and Oriental elements of the Empire. We know how some of their ablest statesmen endeavoured to conciliate these jarring influences, and we know how, after generations of trial, the attempt was at last given up, and the Eastern and Western Empires were divided. They were unable to assimilate the two inharmonious elements. We have the same task before us, and it would be idle to disguise its difficulty. Not only have we never succeeded in so assimilating them; we have yet to find the true point of contact between the Eastern and the Western mind; and in illustration of this there is a question neither easy to answer nor flattering to our national vanity, but very significant—How is it that we, when other nations have found great and reliable generals in nationalities that were not their own, have never succeeded in being so fortunate; for I cannot regard the Irish as aliens? And, fourthly, there was another difficulty which the Roman world had to meet—a difficulty which is shared by us, and in which peace or war,

prosperity or misfortune, were often involved: how to maintain, extend, or modify their frontiers. Every great empire bordered by native tribes will find in this a cause of constant embarrassment. It is an old schoolboy story, that when once the god Terminus had set down his foot, the Roman boundary never receded—a story which has been repeated over and over again till Roman and English schoolboys learnt to believe it; but every student of History knows that it is absolutely false, that the Roman Empire was governed by men far too wise and able as rulers to accept so silly a doctrine, and that the frontier constantly varied with the requirements of the Empire. Four of the ablest of the Roman Emperors occur at once as responsible for large frontier variations—Augustus, after the destruction of the legions of Varus, contracted his boundary to the Rhine; Trajan annexed the province of Dacia and fresh territory beyond the Euphrates; Hadrian, retaining with some unwillingness the Trans-Danubian territory, gave up Trajan's Eastern acquisitions; and Aurelian in the full career of success withdrew from Dacia.

Every great empire situated as we are is confronted by similar difficulties of frontier—the same arguments for or against—the same provocations, real or supposed—the same questions as to the key of the position—the same temptation of those who are on the spot to acquire territory, forgetting

that the acquisition of territory is as a rule the last resource; that with an enormous empire it is an evil in itself, and that in proportion as men extend their boundary so they multiply their perils and difficulties. Plutarch tells us that Pyrrhus, when talking to his friend Cineas, who was said to have won more battles with his tongue than Pyrrhus with his sword, said that after he had conquered Rome he should make himself master of Italy, to which Cineas replied, "And what next?" "Why," said Pyrrhus, "Sicily is very near—we should take that." "And what next?" "There are Libya and Carthage—we should take them." "And next?" "We would conquer Greece." "And what next?" "Why, then," said Pyrrhus, "we will, like wise men, sit down, and eat and drink and be merry." "And what," said Cineas, "hinders us now from taking our ease without incurring the calamities and dangers which, if we go to war, we must cause and suffer?" And Cineas did not belie his reputation; for rarely in the world's history does the time on which great conquerors count to sit down and feast and make merry arrive, either to them or to the nations over whom they preside.

We have of late been much perplexed by a new word, "Imperialism," which has crept in among us. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer has

written an extremely able and interesting article on the subject,\* and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when recently travelling through some of the Midland counties, could not confine himself to his political subjects, but was led by the attraction of the subject into a disquisition on the meaning and value of the word Imperialism. Under the shadow, therefore, of two such great names we may very well give a few minutes' consideration to the meaning of the term. It is not free from perplexity. I have heard of Imperial policy, and Imperial interests, but Imperialism, as such, is a newly-coined word to me. In one sense the British Constitution knows nothing of Imperialism. It would be unfair, however, to deny that the British constitution recognises much that partakes of an Imperial character. The Constitution has often seemed to oscillate between the two extremes in a manner which, though perplexing to a careless or ignorant bystander, has been, I doubt not, extremely advantageous to our liberties and our national life. On the one side, Sir Robert Walpole used to say that the Government of England was a republic in everything except the name; and, on the other, the great Statute of Appeals, in the reign of Henry VIII., speaks of the realm of England as "Imperial."

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\* *Fortnightly Review*, October, 1878.

Personally, I have little predilection for the name, for the obvious reason that it suggests uncomfortable continental associations. But I cannot forget that Mr. Burke has used the word, and Shakespeare has consecrated it; and so we, too, may be prepared to accept it, though with an understanding of its true meaning. Do not let us, as it was said of the Greeks at Troy, fight for the mere shadow of Helen. I believe there is a true and a false Imperialism. But what is the true and what is the false? We can, perhaps, best tell what Imperialism is by ascertaining what it is not. It is certainly not Cæsarism. It is not that base second-hand copy of continental despotism—that bastard monarchy begotten in the slime of political and financial corruption. It has nothing in common with that. Despotisms do not easily die. As Mr. Burke has said, they change their furniture and their fashions; but the evil principle prevails and reappears in successive generations. They dazzle, indeed, by enlisting false teachers, by arraying themselves in false colours, by professing false arts; but they are hateful from top to bottom. They are utterly false; the benefits that they confer are short-lived, and they poison the very fount from which their own waters spring. Nor, again, has Imperialism, in the true sense of the word, any connection with what has been called “personal government.”

Our Constitution is clear on this point. We know that the Crown has certain prerogatives, and that Parliament has certain rights and duties, but that neither Parliament nor the Crown may act alone. They cannot be relegated to independent spheres of political action, any more than the confines of day and night can be parted by a hard and visible line of demarcation. They must act in concert and in reference to each other; and their combined action is that which the Constitution contemplates and desires. Nor is Imperialism, again, mere bulk of territory and multiplication of subjects. We hear sometimes the words, "A great England and a little England," but we do not measure nations by their size or numbers, any more than we measure men by their inches. If we did, China would be the model of our admiration; and the hosts of Xerxes, and not the handful of Athenian citizens, would be the people we should reverence in the past history of the world. No! what we look to is not the bulk of territory, but the men that are bred up, and the qualities which those men have; and setting aside the highest of all, we may say this — that steadfastness of purpose, simplicity of character, truth, and the preference of that which is solid and substantial for that which is merely glittering and deceptive, are the qualities by which nations truly live and kings rule; and that these



qualities have been the characteristics of Englishmen in past generations.

But if Imperialism is none of these, what is it, if indeed it has a meaning? Clearly its first duty, all will admit, is to recognise, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer very fairly said the other day, that there are obligations which we owe beyond the limits of the four seas; but secondly—what he omitted to say—its duty is to breathe into the whole of that mighty mass I have described a common unity; to find for it that animating and binding principle which is the nearest approach to the spirit of patriotism that you look for in an individual. But it may be said, What is patriotism? Like Imperialism, it has varied greatly; like the word Liberty, it has often been abused. There is a true and a false patriotism. Horace Walpole says that at one time there was no declaration a public man could make that was more popular on the hustings than that he neither was, nor had been, nor would be a patriot; and we all know Mr. Canning's definition of a patriot, as the man who was the friend of every country but his own. But a true patriot will be included in neither of these descriptions. Nor is patriotism to be recognised in the nation which, so to speak, swaggers down the High Street of the world with its hat cocked, and on the look-out for some fancied insult or affront. For such public

characters we occasionally find a counterpart in private life; but all would agree that such a man is an eminently disputatious, quarrelsome, disagreeable companion. No; both patriotism and Imperialism, if they are to be true, must rest upon the one sole foundation on which all true things can rest. We cannot with impunity divorce our system of politics from our system of morals. There are not two sides to that shield; or two codes to be observed, as convenience may dictate. But this is an unfashionable doctrine; it is even occasionally denied: and I have lately read with amazement in a periodical of high repute the proposition laid down with regard to one of the most unspotted characters of the Italian fourteenth century, that he failed as a statesman because in his political conduct he paid obedience to the laws of morality. But such a doctrine contains all that is detestable and abhorrent to public virtue: and though it may find a sanction in Machiavelli, it will find no echo in the great body of the English people, until at least they depart much further than they have yet gone from the political faith and practice of their fathers.

One word more as to foreign Imperialism. Thank God we have nothing to copy there. Foreign Imperialism means vast standing armies; and at this moment we have before our eyes the nations of Europe divided into hostile and

suspicious camps. The 350,000 men who in the earlier period of the Roman Empire were sufficient to guarantee the peace of the world, have now grown into something like 6,000,000 of armed men. It is the day of great empires casting their colossal shadow over the smaller States; and through the gloom of that shadow those small States look up and, as they may well do, tremble. It is the day of restless intrigue and of reckless expenditure. It is the day of violence, and we may depend upon it, it is a day to be followed by a certain reaction. So we have heard the hollow moaning of the wind, or seen the sullen break of the wave upon the shore, presaging the great tempest which is to come; and so, when we look round the horizon of Europe, and see how heavily the thunderclouds are piling up, who can resist a feeling of deep apprehension for the future, or the earnest hope that this country at least will not be tempted by anything, short of the clearest and most paramount duty, to join in this mad race of waste and bloodshed? But if we turn our eyes from that gloomy spectacle to the great Empire of England, we see, at all events for the present, a brighter and more peaceful picture in the self-government of the great Anglo-Saxon Colonies. Here lies the true strength of our Imperialism. Mistakes they doubtless have made, are making, and will make; but the manner in which they

govern themselves is splendid. No other type of government has tempted them away; they are content to follow in the track of English traditions and belief, and they remain to the backbone Englishmen.

“These are Imperial Arts and worthy thee,” it may be truly said; and though at this moment the future prospects of the world may seem to some to be overclouded, we may cherish the hope that as time goes on the common instincts of language, faith, laws, institutions, of allegiance to a common sovereign, may draw the bonds between them and us yet closer. We should be indeed closely wedded to the dull prose of daily life if we banished wholly from our imagination that noble dream, which may yet in the fulness of time be realised, of a great English-speaking community, united together in a peaceful confederation, too powerful to be molested by any nation, and too powerful and too generous, I hope, to molest any weaker State.

Or, again, if we turn to that far larger empire over our native fellow-subjects of which I have spoken, the limits expand and the proportions rise till there forms itself a picture so vast and noble that the mind loses itself in the contemplation of what might be under the beneficent rule of Great Britain, if faction could be still and selfish ambition be held back, and rest from war

and war's exhausting burdens could be given. There we have races struggling to emerge into civilisation, to whom emancipation from servitude is but the foretaste of the far higher law of liberty and progress to which they may yet attain; and vast populations like those of India sitting like children in the shadow of doubt and poverty and sorrow, yet looking up to us for guidance and for help. To them it is our part to give wise laws, good government, and a well-ordered finance, which is the foundation of good things in human communities; it is ours to provide them with a system where the humblest may enjoy freedom from oppression and wrong equally with the greatest; where the light of morality and religion can penetrate into the darkest dwelling-places. This is the real fulfilment of our duties; this, again, I say, is the true strength and meaning of Imperialism. And lastly, while we speak of an Imperial spirit abroad, let us never forget how much depends upon maintaining a free and generous spirit at home. Here in England—and, thank God, in the word England is included Scotland; for dull indeed of apprehension, and ill-read in the history of their country, ill-read, too, in the events of our own age, would they be who do not recognise that without Scotland England would be shorn of half her true strength—here in England is the true

centre of Imperial life and power, the spring of influence, the fount of all inspiration; here are born and bred up the men who are to maintain and defend, and, still more, to govern, this great Empire. England is the heart of the Empire. If that heart be overtaxed and feeble, then the whole body politic is sick and faint—faint to weakness, faint it may be to death; but if the heart be sound and vigorous, then in a right cause, and under the blessing of God, there is no duty which our country need ever decline, there is no burden, however great, which it ever need be afraid to bear.\*

*Note by Lord Carnarvon.*—The foregoing remarks on Imperial Administration are the substance of a speech delivered on Nov. 5, 1878, to the members of the Philosophical Institution in Edinburgh. The slight omissions and additions now made, in revising the excellent report of the *Scotsman*, do not, as far as I am aware or intend, affect the sense of the original address.

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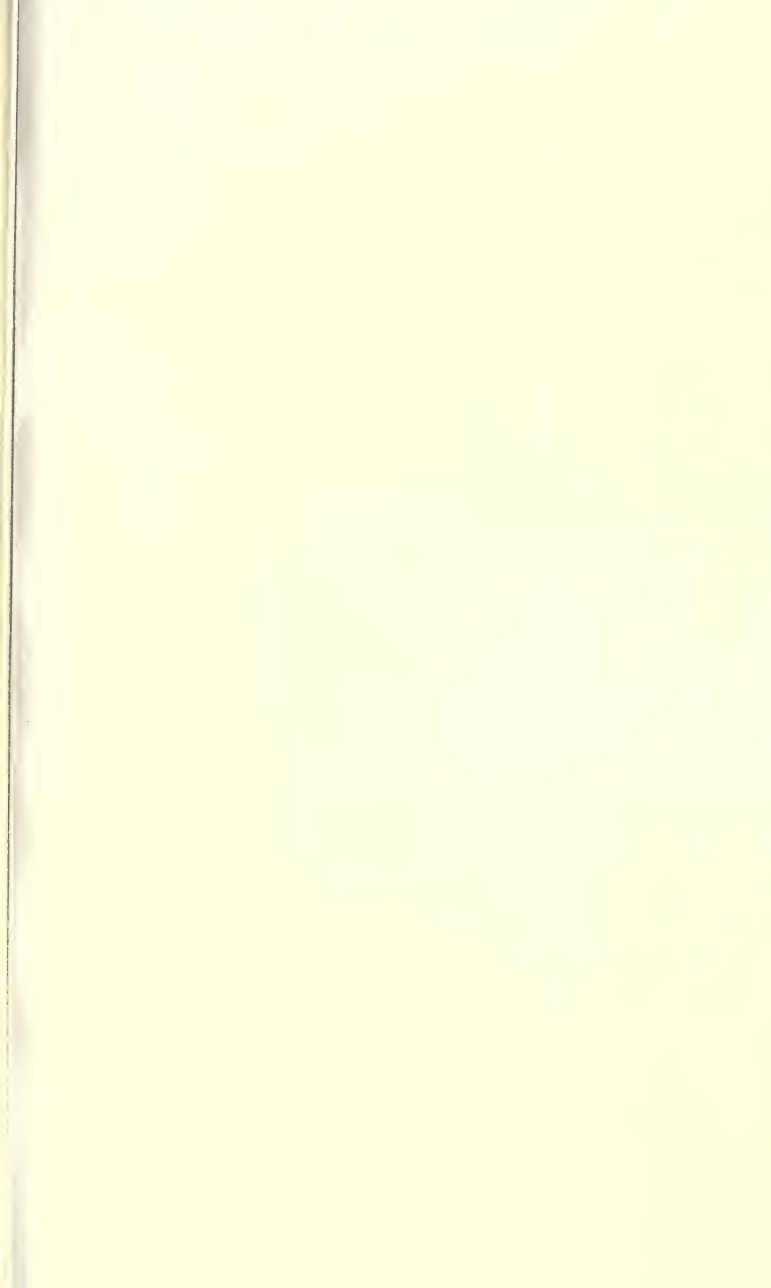
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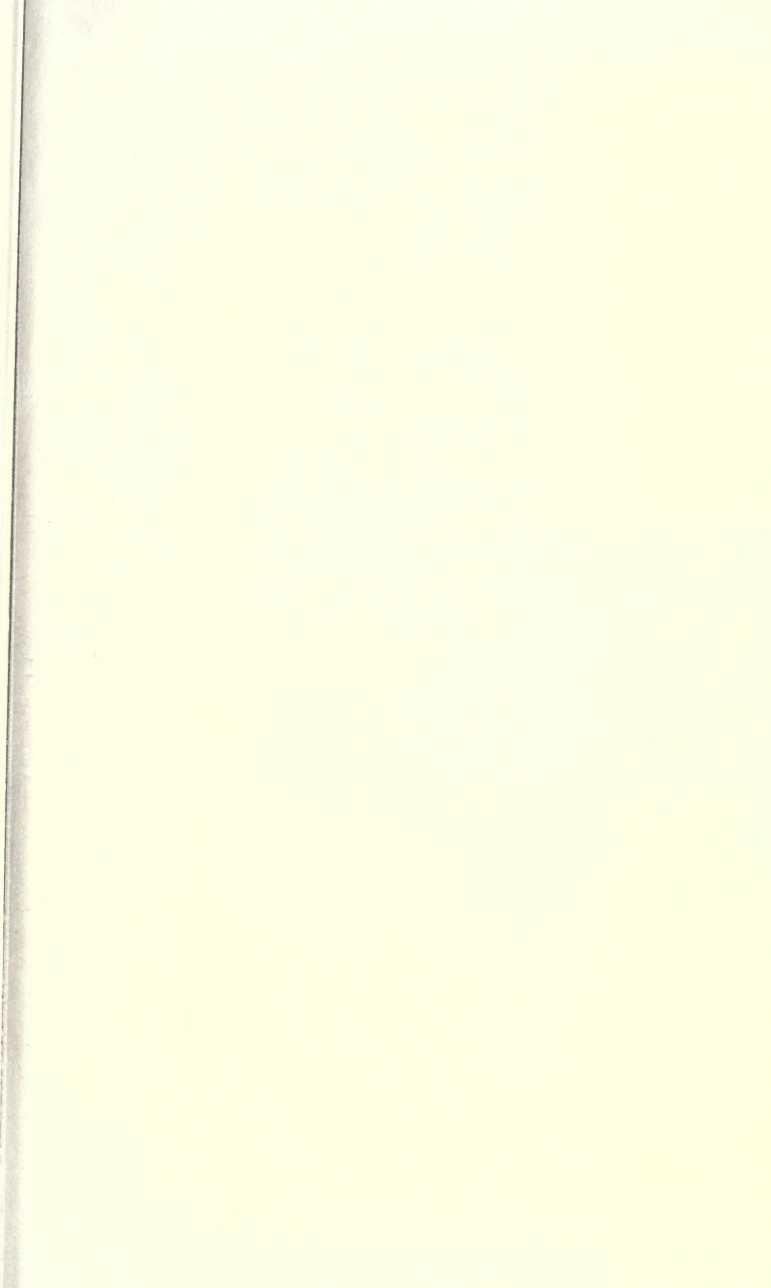
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