

from Halifax to Quebec. The deputation, however, is purely Canadian, and it has come to obtain guarantees of political and commercial value. We cannot think the era of its arrival is so improper a time to re-open the question, as far as the question is still open, and to warn those whom it may concern against rash concessions and precipitate pledges. We hail, then, the opportunity which now offers for asking some light on these questions. The deputation asks for light, and will be ready to give some in return.

"In the first place, what is that we are to defend—a soil or a people? All the sentiment of the question goes for the people. In these days territorial pride is announced, and people are cared for. Our Imperial relations are with the inhabitants. But by far the greater part of the Colonists themselves are far away from Quebec, utterly out of our reach, and absolutely dependent on themselves for independence. Mr. Laird, of course, would be glad to receive an order to build twenty gunboats, and place them on any lake we pleased to mention—Victoria, Nyanza if required—and no doubt he would fulfil the order, barring the interference of Governments or the contingencies of war. But colonial audacity itself does not venture thus far to invite our engineers higher up than Quebec, and the merest glance at the great lakes is enough to show that we cannot go there. So by far the greater part of the people are out of the reach of our defence, and could hardly obtain the least benefit from them. But it is even a more serious consideration that another large portion of the Colonists does not ask for our assistance, or show any anxiety about the matter. The Maritime Provinces, in declining to join the Confederation, thereby indicate, what had been fully anticipated, that they will not commit themselves to any plan of defence or any policy whatever. They will not entangle themselves before their time in either Colonial or Imperial quarrels. Commercially they have much more to do with the States than with their own fellow-Colonists, and they would rather be friends with both, if it is possible. Here, then, is our case as regards the people. Those whom we could defend do not want our defence; and the greater part of the rest are utterly out of our reach. England is asked, in the first instance, to strengthen Quebec, chiefly by works on the opposite point, which happens to command it. We have said above how little way that will go. Perhaps, the deputation will be able to say more in favor of this outlay; but with their own shore of the river above Montreal, and with half Lake Ontario, we cannot see why an obstruction at Quebec should be so serious an inconvenience to the Americans.

"If, however, it be not the soil, or a fortress, or a river, that is to be defended, but a people, then, whether we can reach them or not, and whether they choose to be defended or not, we really do not see why they should not defend themselves on their own frontier and their own soil. By all ordinary estimates they ought to be able to turn out 400,000 armed men, which would probably be as great a force as the Americans could bring against them for some time to come. Of course we suppose them to be in earnest. The Canadians have only to let it be known that they are really in earnest, and we are disposed to hope they will have no occasion for our aid. As to the plan and manner of that aid there cannot be two opinions. Whatever earth-works we make at Quebec we shall be

cut off from that place for many months of the year. Even the Railway recommended by General Peel is too near the States to be depended on. All that we can do in the event of war is against the ports and the shipping of the foe. It is a weary work, we know, and England is the very last nation in the world to hint at such horrors before their time; but we are obliged to mention it, for it is all we can do. Soldiers of course we should require, for we could not attempt the destruction of an American dockyard or arsenal without having a large force ready to land if necessary; and the twenty or thirty thousand we could keep on hand for such purposes would be much better employed on that kind of service than five hundred miles up the St. Lawrence. But we should want men elsewhere. So far, then, as regards the frontier and the soil, this must be left to the people, and they are safe enough if they are ready to defend their hearths resolutely. They are as good men as the Americans; better, they often say. The Americans boast to have enlisted more than 40,000 Canadians into the Federal army, so there can be no question as to the stuff they would have to deal with. It only rests with themselves to say to whom they will belong."

AFTERNOON SESSION.—2.30 P. M.

Mr. CONNELL resumed.—From this extract we see what is the feeling of the people of England with regard to us. In case of difficulties arising the soldiers would be sent to the seaports of the enemy rather than to our immediate assistance. But they not only go thus far; there is evidently a desire in the minds of many that we should be cut off from all connection with England. A gentleman of distinguished abilities, A. Allison, Esq., author of the *Philosophy and History of Civilization*, has recently issued a pamphlet on the Independence of Canada, in which he says:—

"I am of opinion that England should not only interfere with the civil war now raging in America, but that she should retire altogether from the North American Continent by declaring Canada an independent state. So long as Canada belongs to us we hold out a bait to the United States to go to war with us with a view to its annexation. That being so, it manifestly the interest both of England and Canada to separate. The press and all our leading statesmen are unanimous in expressing their readiness to give up Canada if the Canadians themselves are willing to accept independence, and if these liberal professions on our part are sincere there will be no difficulty in effecting that object."

"If Canada should prefer dependence, that would be no reason why we should not make her independent. We must look to our own interest as well as to the interests of others, and if it can be shown that it is the interest of all parties that Canada be independent, we ought not to hesitate in making her so even although she should object to it. Two great nations like England and the United States meet each other in every quarter of the globe, and all the disputes which are ever occurring between them must eventually be settled on Canadian ground. But let Canada be an independent state and she will be a neutral power in the event of a war breaking out. Let this view of the question be clearly explained to the Canadians in a despatch properly drawn up from the Foreign Office, and the objec-

tions which they have hitherto had to independence will be removed."

"Now is the time for us to make up our minds to give up Canada, for that step will not only save us a world of money for the armaments which are now called for, but it will prevent the danger of war with the United States. To postpone the consideration of this important question until after we have spent the money, or until we have drifted so far into war that it is impossible to give up Canada consistent with honor, would be the height of folly. I trust therefore that this important question will be taken up at once with a view to its immediate settlement."

I make this quotation to show that the attention of public men is being called to this matter, and stirring up their minds to consider the result, and so far do they go as to speak of cutting the Colonies off together! There must be some cause for this, or it would not be spoken of.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN.—I beg the hon. member's pardon, but I have in my hand a quotation from the London *Times*, which he considers so good an authority, and as I may have to send it away in a few minutes, I wish to read—

Mr. CONNELL.—I wish to go on, and if the hon. member is anxious to read it he can do so after I am done. I was about to say that with this writer, I think, that the time has arrived that something should be done. Canada is taking up the matter in earnest, and why should we be left behind? We are told that in case of war the only protection we should be likely to receive would be such relief as a man-of-war could afford at Halifax, or Quebec. If this is the case it is folly for us to devote \$30,000 to Militia purposes; it would be much better to lay it out on the public roads. I hope, however, that whatever amount is granted it will be appropriated in such a way as will be of real benefit to the country. And now in closing, I will refer the hon. members of this House to a distinguished authority—a name known throughout the world—Sir F. Williams, of Kars, a gentleman, who, holding a seat in the English Parliament, and having performed actions in the field as great as any recorded in modern times, at once a soldier and a politician, may be regarded as good authority in military and legislative matters. In an address delivered by him in Toronto, he said:—

"The principal object of my visit to this Western district was to inspect the Military Schools in Toronto and in Hamilton, and I regret a similar institution intended for London is not yet organized. It would be impossible to conduct these establishments without drill-shed, and I was much gratified in seeing the spacious edifices which Toronto and Hamilton have recently erected. They do these two cities great honour and credit. Never was money better spent."

When you hear and read the various conflicting opinions daily expressed as to the defences and armaments which are proposed for the safety of these great Provinces, you will call to mind former similar discussions as regards the defence of the United Kingdom—begun by the famous letter of the Duke of Wellington to Sir John Burgoyne. In the midst of that controversy and apparent indecision, the Imperial Government steadily matured its plans; and England with its present defensive works and 170,000 volunteers is no longer menaced with invasion. It is my present prayer, and lively hope that Great Britain and Canada will show equal wisdom and decision in the proposed