

## HOUSE OF COMMONS

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Thursday, December 5, 1867

The Speaker took the Chair at three o'clock.

### GRAND TRUNK BILL

**Hon. Mr. Cartier** reported from the Railway Committee the Bill to amend the Grand Trunk Arrangements Act of 1862 with amendments.

### PRINTING COMMITTEE REPORT

**Mr. Mackenzie** moved the adoption of the third report of the Printing Committee, recommending a scheme of distributing the printed documents of the House.—Carried.

### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

**Hon. Mr. Langevin** brought down a supplementary return to the address for papers relating to the Hudson's Bay Territory.

### CIVIL SERVICE BUILDING SOCIETY

On motion of Sir John A. Macdonald the Bill respecting the Civil Service Building and Savings Society, was read a second time and referred to the Private Bills Committee.

### THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY

The House then resumed the adjourned debate on the resolutions for the incorporation of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory with Canada.

**Mr. Thompson, (N. Ontario,)** who asked the indulgence of the House on the first occasion of his addressing them, considered the question as one of vast importance, and one which should occupy their most careful attention. He looked forward to seeing this Dominion rise to one of vast importance in the scale of nations, and had no doubt, but that every member of the House must regard with favour the prospect of its extension to the Pacific shores. The question to be considered was the best mode of this extension, and whether this was most certainly to be reached by proceedings based upon the present resolutions. Above everything it was

desirable that unanimity of feeling should prevail amongst us, and that honourable gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces should act in concert with ourselves. We should show them that it is the interests of the whole Dominion that we have at heart, and not the aggrandizement of either east or west separately, and he regretted that this conviction was not gaining greater ground. The Intercolonial Railroad, to be constructed at so large an expense, was a work of paramount importance, as connecting us closely with these Provinces, but this connection could be best maintained, not by the influence of the iron horse alone, but by a pervading knowledge of our identity of interests. For the advantage to be derived from the Intercolonial Road, they of the west were paying perhaps extravagantly. These advantages to them were in the access provided to the seaboard, but the chief benefit must be reaped by the Lower Provinces, as it was in the places of outlet for trade that cities were accustomed to spring up. Of this benefit Ontario and Quebec were willing to pay the greater share of the cost, and this willingness, even more than the road itself, should serve as a bond of union among them. But, although it were conceded that an extension of the Dominion westward were altogether desirable, the question remained whether the present was the most opportune time to engage in such an enterprise, the details of which were as yet imperfectly understood. It was only by the encouragement of immigration to fill up these wilds that we could hope to make them valuable, and we had immediately adjoining us the territory of the United States, which could afford many superior inducements for settlement. The preservation of British Government and of British institutions would, however, weigh with Englishmen in favour of our own possessions. To such people it would be an injustice to bring them from the east to be confronted with so powerful a body as the Hudson's Bay Company, and to be settled on lands to which we held no clear title. At some future time, when the true financial position of the country had been ascertained, we might look to the acquisition of this property. Meanwhile the establishment of our prosperity was not dependent

upon territorial acquisition, but upon the good feeling which we should mutually endeavour to promote in the country and our home. (Hear, hear.) If we were to acquire this property it would be necessary to extinguish the claims, not only of the Hudson's Bay Company, but of the Indians by whom a great portion of it was inhabited, and it was right that we should know the expense at which this was to be accomplished. There had been careless and random mention of six or seven or eight millions of dollars, which had been treated as a mere trifling sum, but if the sum was not judiciously expended, it was they who should be made answerable for its outlay, and they would not be giving satisfaction to the people of the other Provinces if, in addition to the increased customs taxation which they should be compelled to lay upon them to meet expenditure in their service no less than that of Quebec or Ontario, they should proceed to impose additional burdens for such an object as the present. For a subject of such vast importance, time should be allowed for consideration, and he should therefore oppose the resolutions.

**Mr. Magill** said, that as far as his observation extended, the resolutions had been opposed mainly by the representatives of the Maritime Provinces, who had hitherto been in the habit of looking eastward over the ocean prairie, and as the whole Dominion might look out towards the Rocky Mountains, and over the great Pacific Ocean. They (from the Maritime Provinces) had among them gentlemen with a grasp of mind sufficient for the management of the affairs, not only of their own Provinces and of the Canadas, but of an entire Continent. After reference to the purchase by the United States of the Russian Territory, the honourable gentleman took objection to the procrastination recommended by the last speaker who had agreed to the advisability of the measure itself. Now, or never, was the occasion to take action, and the old adage was not the less a true one that procrastination was the thief of time. From the statement of the honourable member for Algoma, it was evident that the protection of civilization and mortality required our prompt interference. How had it happened that no good results had flowed from such missionary labours as had been productive of the happiest influence in Canada? Was it not, because it was not the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company to encourage missionary effort, knowing that the further the Indian was removed from civilization the more he was disposed to hunting the buffalo and the

[Mr. Thompson (Ontario North)]

muskrat (a laugh). Seeing around him such an array of intellect, he could not but feel regret that they should not be prepared to join hand and heart in so great an undertaking to which he could remember the time when no representative of Western Canada, avowing reform principles would have ventured to raise objection.

**Dr. Parker** said that an appeal had been made to them to acquire this increase of territory for the purpose of Christianizing its Indian population, as we had already Christianized our own, but thought that it might be doubtful whether we had any reason to regard the result of our efforts among the latter with any great complacency. A Mexican Indian, upon being told of the happiness of the hereafter, enquired whether he was likely to meet any Spaniards there, as in that case he should prefer to stay away, and he thought the Indians of this country might fairly hold the same opinions of ourselves. The control of the North-West Territory by the Hudson's Bay Company, the continuance of their charter, and the manner of its exercise, reflected opprobrium alike upon the country and the British Parliament. He would have no hesitation whatever in voting the necessary large expenditure if, by so doing, they could raise the Indian to the position of civilized humanity, but here there was no question of philanthropy, but of profit and loss, and they should be in a position to show the people that their outlay in this direction would be more than compensated by the consequent advantages. The Minister of Public Works had pointed out no such advantages. The sequence of the resolutions was most illogical, and he was astonished to find the House invited to draw such conclusions, from such premises. In support of the first resolution nothing had been advanced but a statement of the opinion of leading statesmen here. But public opinion, even though friendly to the annexation, had never declared itself in favour of the terms of annexation now proposed. Passing from the Atlantic Ocean through Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, we came upon a large tract unfit for occupation—the declaration written across the face of the earth that the districts which it set apart should remain divided. Similarly from the limit of western Canada to the first settlement at Fort Garry, on the verge of the valley said to contain ten thousand people, stretched eight hundred miles of desert, while beyond this valley lay a waste solitude, and past the Rocky Mountain barrier, but a nar-

row strip on the Pacific shore. Districts so sundered were impossible of union. The progress of the United States had been instanced, but that progress has arisen from the continuity of their fertile soil, and the variety of its capabilities. An American standing on the southern shore of Lake Erie could pass a watchword to the Gulf of Mexico, transmitted from one settler to another across the whole breadth of the land. But a union of isolated settlements, of isolated territories, and of isolated peoples, would not fail to prove a source of danger, and of overthrow to the Government and the Dominion. As to the commercial advantages anticipated by the resolutions, he asked was there any article of commerce to be transmitted between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the value of which would not be consumed three times over in the charges of its transit. The abstract proposition that prosperity was to be secured only by stable Government, he might pass over as axiomatically true, and as being equally applicable to Mexico. The fifth resolution drew a perfectly illogical conclusion from the preceding four, and it had been by no means shown that it was expedient to address Her Majesty in the terms proposed. There had been a change of position on the part of the Ministry with respect to the extent of territory they required. The Government of the late Province of Canada had desired the annexation of the North Western territory only, and had never, as was done now, made any claim or pretension to the less fertile region of Rupert's Land, where the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company are strongest, and for relinquishing which they will require the greatest amount of compensation. The late Government had proposed the extinction by the Imperial Legislature of the Company's claims, which had been approved by the Secretary of State, Mr. Cardwell, and consented to by the House of Commons, on the condition of Canada's providing a proper system of Government. We now are asked to purchase, in our generosity, what was then tendered as a free gift to our predecessors. The national policy that caused the remodeling of the East India Company, called for the extinguishing of this charter also. It was our duty to petition the Imperial Government with this object, and until our petition had been denied, we were not justified in laying burdens upon the people for the acquisition of territory, which should be ours free of charge. It had been said that the Company's claims were to be settled in the courts, but whether in our own courts or in those of

England, was not clear, and we should find ourselves involved in long and tedious litigation. If the purchase money were to be a small matter, would it have been proposed that an Imperial loan should be resorted to? To undertake the government and settlement of this territory comprehended the opening of communication, the establishment of a police force, and it might be of a military force also to act against the Indian tribes. The statement of the Minister of Militia that half a million would be sufficient for the eight hundred miles of road was utterly absurd and preposterous. The communication, to be in the least effective, should be by railroad or steamboat, for what immigrant, who had, perhaps, expended all his resources in travelling to this country, would undertake to travel with his family this distance by a wagon road? Seven or eight millions would not be too high an estimate of the cost of establishing a police force and of opening this road, which, like the Intercolonial Road, would prove of political, if not of commercial, necessity. If the young Dominion was not satisfied to confine itself to consolidation, but was to set about planting a new colony, it would in future years come back as a reproach to us that we had undertaken what we had been unable to fulfil. Unless we were to grant licenses to trade and protect these licenses by police, he did not understand what greater advantage would accrue to ourselves than to Americans from our occupation. We were in fact pledging the country to an unknown expense; he thought of, perhaps, twenty millions—the Ministry thought of less—but it still remained an indefinite matter of opinion. The slightest spark might kindle an Indian war, one year of which, as the experience of the neighbouring Republic might teach us, would almost reduce us to bankruptcy. It had been said the mineral wealth of the country was abundant, but without coal it would be entirely unavailable. He differed so far from the Ministry that, if he were prepared to accept the resolutions, he would not hesitate to go in and take possession against the Hudson's Bay Company on the broad principles of the right of a settler's spade, and axe, against the Company's charters and royal arms. Upon the broad principle of the double right of man to cultivate the earth, and the earth to be cultivated by man, any charter forbidding which, we held worthless and invalid. We had expelled the Indian whose right was a thousand times that of the Company, and were we to treat the white savage with more considera-

tion than the red? Were the people to be called upon to respect, and to purchase a charter divorcing half a continent, condemned by it to sterility, unchristianity and barbarism? (Hear, hear.) He held that the Company's claims to the exclusive right to trade were not worth a dollar. Traders from the Red River and Americans had penetrated into the fur-bearing region, and introducing their supplies cheaper, were enabled to undersell the Company, which, finding itself subjected to a ruinous competition, now desired to resign its business and to make a handsome profit by its sale. He hoped the Government would postpone the question, and let it go for decision to the country. He would never consent to make this leap in the dark, unless in accordance with the wish of the people, clearly expressed upon a full understanding of all the facts.

**Mr. Connell** regretted that almost the first time he rose to address the House it should be on resolutions brought down by the Minister of Public Works. These resolutions no doubt were prepared with much care and with a strong desire on the part of the Government that they should pass the House. He regretted that the Government considered it their duty to bring forward these resolutions at the present time. The House had been in session nearly 30 days and they had not yet had a financial statement before them, so that they could judge whether they were in a position to deal with this all important subject. He had been elected by a large constituency to aid the Government in giving effect to the consolidation of this Union, and it was his duty to so vote in this House that acts should not be passed to increase the burdens upon the people. In his opinion the acquisition of this territory would involve a sum of no less than \$6,000,000 for the purchase of the rights of this mammoth company. He was not prepared to give his vote for a measure of that kind, and the people of the Province from whence he came were opposed to it. If these resolutions pass does not Parliament pledge itself to settle this question, and to provide for any amount awarded by arbitration or judicial decision? This is not all. We must at once provide for the government of this newly acquired territory, and it must have its governor, council, and assembly. He believed the time would come, and it might be at no distant day, that they would have to take action in this matter, but now their finances were not in a condition to do so. At the Quebec Conference, it was agreed that this subject should be dealt

[Dr. Parker (Wellington Centre)]

with as soon as our finances permitted. When that time arrived he would be prepared to deal with the question. They should look first to the settlement of their own Dominion and the development of their own resources before they sought to acquire new territory. When Mr. Brown went to England to negotiate in connection with a settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, the whole of this territory could have been secured for a sum not exceeding two million dollars. Has it increased in value to such an extent that its new owners demand a sum exceeding \$6,000,000 for their interest in the territory? Was the Government afraid of losing this bargain that they bring forward these resolutions in such haste? It is said that, unless we take action in the matter, these parties will sell to the United States. If the right of the British Government rests on so doubtful a title, it is well for this House to pause and not go into competition with the United States. He had heard it said that Railroad Bill and this must pass together. If this is the policy of the Government, he would say to them that even the Railroad would not induce him to vote for the expenditure of so large a sum of money, without proper consideration of the subject. He (Mr. Connell) then referred to the various resolutions, and after commenting upon them, said the 6th resolution was the one to which he particularly objected. He was quite prepared to go for an address that would carry out what was done by the late Parliament of Canada—that is showing to the British Government that no rights existed in this country; and if so, that the Government of England had a right to deal with the subject. When it was so dealt with and the transfer made, it would be time enough for the House to consider it. He was prepared, so far as the finances of the country would permit, to aid in opening the country; but, until he had the means he was not prepared to record his vote in favour of the 6th resolution, because it would be injurious to the trade and commerce of the country, and interfere with the payment of interest on our existing liabilities, which amounted to upwards of 77 million dollars. This, with our new liabilities of twenty million dollars for Intercolonial Railroad and the local tax of the country, was as much as we were prepared to bear, particularly in view of the present financial condition.

**Mr. McMillan** could not understand how any person could be in favour of Union and opposed to the carrying out of a policy with-

out which the Union is incomplete. He had supported the Union policy, and if there was a question which he had explained to his constituents more than another, it was the advantages to be derived from extending this Union from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They were forming a new nationality, and without this extension they would not attain the importance which they would with a territory extending from ocean to ocean, united under the protection of the mother country. They should adopt the policy of the United States in regard to its territorial expansion. He regretted to see in this country a fear of giving umbrage to the United States in regard to matters of our own internal economy. A great deal had been said about the naval and military power of the United States. True, they were to some extent a military power. They had with twenty millions of people succeeded in conquering four millions. We should not be afraid of difficulty arising with the United States on account of our policy here. We should not live by sufferance, for as long as we had the Mother Country to help us we need fear no danger from any attack being made by the United States. In regard to the extent and resources of Rupert's Land, there was but one opinion. The productiveness of its soil was unsurpassed, while its climate was far superior to the climate of the Maritime Provinces, and equal to the most favoured parts of Canada. The country would not remain long in its present condition. If pressmen were correct the Government of the United States had a desire to negotiate with the Hudson's Bay Company for its purchase. He did not think these resolutions committed them to purchase that territory, but if they have legally rights they should be considered, and if proved to be of value they should have a fair remuneration for them. It had been made an argument against Union in the Maritime Provinces that they would be under the control of Canada and that large expenditure would be incurred in enlarging the canals of Upper Canada. Therefore it was made one express stipulation in the Quebec resolutions that the expenditure would not be made until the finances of the country justified it. But he had no recollection of any opposition being made by the Union party on account of the desire to extend this Union from the Atlantic to the Pacific. If half a million dollars would make the necessary connection, they should not endanger this Union by any hesitancy.

**After the recess,**

**Mr. Joly** said he accepted Confederation frankly, and was willing to turn it to the best account for our prosperity, but we must not go too fast or too far. We have first accepted unanimously the Intercolonial Railroad which would tax to the utmost our resources; but now, on this question, there is general opposition, even in Ontario, where public opinion and local interests favour the scheme. We don't know the cost of this annexation, and likely we cannot pay for it. French Canadian members cannot support these resolutions with the consent of their constituents, who would not consent to such an expense without any visible profit. He condemned the haste with which the measure was pressed upon the House, and quoted General Michel's opinion against the military importance of that country. He did not believe the Red River people want annexation with us, but the Hudson's Bay Company was threatening us to obtain a higher price. If this people see that we take interest to their position, but are not willing to wait till we can help them, let them be annexed to the States. We could not take the Company's place without establishing a perfect Government and complete organization. The United States began to annex other territories when they had a greater population than we have, and they had no powerful people to deal with as neighbours. He hoped the Government's friends would press upon them to obtain the withdrawal of the resolutions, otherwise they must vote against the resolutions, even if that be taken as non-confidence in the Administration.

**Mr. Masson (Terrebonne)** said there was a difference between carrying on Confederation and voting such annexation. He could perhaps favour the annexation of Red River, as possessing guarantees of wealth and prosperity, where American influence is small, and where great confidence exists in the British constitution. But beyond the interests of that country there were the interests of Canada. These interests were not known yet, and new members must have more time at least, and would not be till the second part of the session, so as to form a clear opinion. He was not able now to take the responsibility of that purchase, and he thought the Government ought to know the exact amount to pay for the Hudson's Bay Company's rights. If the Government persists in hurrying the question, he would vote against the resolutions.

**Mr. Harrison** said he had examined the resolutions with considerable attention, and had come to the conclusion to support them. The subject was second only to Confederation in importance. There was no doubt of the great natural resources and vast extent of the Territory in question. It consisted of three hundred thousand (300,000) square miles of land, one hundred thousand (100,000) of which was as good prairie land as any in the world, every acre fit for cultivation. Some writers had put the extent of the prairie land at four times that amount.

**Mr. McDougall**—Mr. Hind represents that there are ten millions (10,000,000) of acres of arable land.

**Mr. Harrison**—Let the quantity be less or more than that, there is no doubt that it is enormous, and was provided with great natural highways in its large rivers and lakes, rendering it a comparatively easy matter to open up communication with it. There was no doubt the opening up of that Territory would be beneficial to Canada. We had need of immigration. Why was the United States securing so large a share of immigration? Because of the attraction of her fertile prairies—affording to agriculturists easy means of securing wealth, or at least competency. In this North-West, we had prairie land equal to any in the Western States. Possessing these lands we could not only give to immigrants land equal in fertility and natural facility of cultivation, but also the protection of British laws. The moral power we would acquire by this acquisition of territory would be something very great. We would have territory half the size of Russia, and thirty times the size of England, Scotland and Ireland put together. He denied that the former Government of Canada could have had this territory for nothing. It was an express condition of the negotiations between Canada and the Imperial Government at that time, that Canada should pay an indemnity to the Hudson's Bay Company, raised by loans under the Imperial guarantee. He held that delay on this question would be dangerous. If we were to receive that territory at all, we must take action in the matter now. The United States were eager for territory, and if we did not take possession of that territory and open it up for settlement, the Americans would. They were willing to pay for it, while we can get it for nothing. He expressed surprise at the opposition to this measure of some members of the Reform party which for years had adopted it as a plank in their

political platform. It had been said that this territory would be a source of weakness, but it would be remembered that we should have the protection of the mother country. As things are, that Territory was as liable to be invaded, and Canada was just as much in danger as if we possessed it. He did not think the Hudson's Bay Company had proprietary rights in that Territory; had no right to prevent its being opened up to civilization. The monarch who granted the charter had no right to do so, and the conditions of that charter had not been fulfilled. The question should be submitted to the courts, and he had no doubt the decision would be favourable to Canada instead of to the Company. The Company, instead of claiming damages, should pay damages for preventing the march of civilization. He would support the resolutions, first, because the object sought for would be advantageous to Canada; secondly, because it would be advantageous to the territory itself, and the work must be done now or never.

**Hon. Mr. Langevin** said Lower Canada had in the past opposed the annexation of Western Territories, because Representation by Population would have endangered their institutions. By Confederation we got rid of these. The question was before the people for many years and was included in the Confederation Act and approved by the electors. Expenses incurred in such enterprises were refunded in an indirect way. There was not money to vote now; if money became necessary Parliament would decide. Western extension was as important to Quebec as the Intercolonial Railroad to Ontario. The Hudson's Bay Company was ready to sell to anybody and would sell to the United States. French Canadians always fought for their institutions, their rights, their language, and now they cannot refuse to favour our extension, our political progress, and our future liberties. We must respect everybody's rights as we have done for our seigniories. He said Indian incursions into American territory could be a cause of war or conquest. We must establish Government, and law and justice to favour immigration. There were ten thousand Canadians there. The exports were two million dollars worth a year. There our countrymen will be at home with the same language, same institutions, and same religion. A loyal subject could not suffer the Red River territory to be annexed to the States, but must press their annexation to Canada.

Mr. Mackenzie said we must consider this important question from a national point of view, and he was quite disposed to deal with it in the broadest sense, believing that the future of the country depended to a great extent upon the course the Legislature would take at present upon this subject. Many years ago he had taken the ground that the prosperity of the British North American Provinces depended in a great measure upon the means which would be taken by England and these Colonies to open up for settlement that vast space which was now almost totally unoccupied by civilized man. One of the objects he desired to see effected by Confederation was the stability of British power on this Continent. (Hear, hear). He had an aversion to the republican institutions of the people living alongside of us. He had an aversion to the system of politics there, and he had no wish to see this country fatally absorbed by the Republic of the United States. (Hear, hear). It was for that reason he had given his most hearty, ardent and he might say enthusiastic support to the Union of these British Colonies, and it was solely for this reason he had given a reluctant assent to the Coalition which was formed in 1864 to carry out the proposal of Union. At present he felt that it was necessary for the consolidation of the British power on this continent, that we should take a firm hold of the vast country that lay to the West of Canada. He was aware of the grasping, avaricious spirit that prevailed in the United States in regard to the acquisition of territory, and he had no doubt many people there were anxious to lay their hands on the rich and fertile regions of the North-West. That very fact should only stimulate us to active exertions in order to prevent any such communication by bringing that country within the influence and jurisdiction of the Government of the Dominion. (Hear, hear). If it were the case, as the honourable member for Hants said, that English statesmen had shown culpable, almost criminal negligence in regard to these Provinces, as well as to the North-West Territory, it might be safely said that such negligence was confined to individuals actuated by commercial motives; and that as far as the official action and language of the Imperial Government were concerned, we had received all the support and encouragement we could reasonably have asked. He took for granted that Great Britain was disposed to act in good faith in this matter, if we should take upon ourselves, as far as our resources would permit, the duties

and burdens in regard to that country, which were now borne by the British people. He looked upon the acquisition of these regions as necessary for various reasons, among them being that an outlet would thereby be afforded for the energies of our young men who were now compelled in consequence of the limited field for settlement offered in Canada, to seek for homes for themselves in the United States. He went on to speak at some length of the capabilities and resources, agricultural and mineral resources, of the country now ruled over by the Hudson's Bay Company. He admitted that a rocky sterile belt intervened between it and Canada, but by judicious encouragement of mining settlements he thought connection could be made which would ultimately, in conjunction with the growing wealth which would be developed in the agricultural country west of Lake Superior, call for and support railway communication. He was not willing, however, in order to acquire that territory to place in the hands of Government power to come to an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company and determine the precise terms upon which that Company would abdicate whatever rights it possessed in that country. This was a power which no Parliament should ever give any Ministry, and it was a power he was amazed any Government would come down to the House to ask. He was quite willing to give the Government power to open negotiations with the Company, but no decisive step should be taken until it was fully explained and had received the sanction of Parliament. He believed that a large portion of the territory would open a wide field for settlement to immigrants and become a valuable addition to the territorial possessions of these Provinces. A line of communication could be opened at no very great cost for summer travel and it would become Parliament to consider whether it would be wise to enter into any considerable expenditure for that purpose. He enlarged upon the necessity of obtaining control over this Territory, and expressed his belief that if institutions were established there which afford the social protection and political rights enjoyed in Canada, thousands of immigrants would be attracted thither, who would speedily develop the abundant resources of the soil. In regard to danger of war with the United States in consequence of the possession of this country, he would repeat what he had said on another occasion, that he would not consent to live in a country which existed simply on the suffer-

ance of a foreign power. He believed that international courtesy, not to speak of the power of Great Britain, would restrain aggression from that quarter, and if from causes beyond our control war should deplorably break out between the two countries, he was proud to believe we were prepared to maintain our position; and he did not think the Empire was so weak as to allow the British flag to be lowered before the Stars and Stripes. (Applause). After further remarking upon the benefit which would ensue from the accession of the North-West, he concluded with reiterating his objection to the 5th resolution, which would give the Government power to make arrangements that ought to be submitted to Parliament before being finally decided upon.

**Mr. Morris** referred to the inconsistency between the position now taken by the member for Hants on this and similar questions, and the position he took years ago in his pamphlet on the organization of the empire. He had then indoctrinated into the minds of young America visions of the consolidation on this continent of a great British nationality, which he (Mr. Morris) and others who learned these lessons, still as ardently cherished as ever. He read from speeches of Earl Russell, the Duke of Cambridge, and others, to show that the statements of the member for Hants as to the feeling in England with regard to the defence of the British American Colonies did not truly represent the feelings of the leading minds of England. Coming to the question more immediately under discussion, he enlarged on the vastness of the fertile Territory in the North-West, and contended that it was quite practicable to open up available means of communication. He then alluded to the history of the North-West adventurers in the earlier annals of Canada. The Jesuit Fathers and other early French pioneers passed up the valleys of the Saskatchewan and the Red River of the North, and settled themselves there with an enterprise which we would do well to follow. He trusted the descendants, both in Lower and Upper Canada, would be ready to follow in their fathers' footsteps, and to do what they could to retain for themselves and their posterity the great country to which they were bound by so many ties of interest and sympathy. He thought the course suggested by the Government was the only practical one of dealing with this great question. That under the terms of the Confederation Act we should approach the British Crown and say we were desirous of being placed in a position to

control the interests of that valuable territory, and that if any legal rights on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company would be established—which he exceedingly doubted—we were prepared to recognize these rights, while rigidly maintaining our own to every inch of soil which belonged to us. He then referred to the necessity for an outlet for the young man of the country who found all the available land within the present limits of the Dominion taken up and concluded by expressing the hope that as we had seen realized the dream of a great colonial Union we would yet see it extended on a sure and stable basis from one ocean to the other.

**Hon. Mr. Huntington** thought it unfair and undignified for honourable gentlemen to be continually hurling across the House imputations of political inconsistency against the member for Hants, (Mr. Howe) based upon his utterances of twenty years ago. If political inconsistency were a crime, what should be said of the career of the honourable leader of the House. What was the course of politicians in Canada, those political gentlemen who talked to us of cloud-capped hills and golden valleys, when they found that the sentiment of Nova Scotia had declared itself unmistakably against Union? They declared that the honourable member for Hants must be bought, and were not ashamed to refer to his visit to the United States as being highly suspicious. The honourable gentleman on his left (Mr. Mackenzie) had gone so far as to say that all who opposed Union must be annexationists. The honourable member had entered the House free from obligations or allegiance to any of the old Canadian parties, and the Government had no reason to complain of the fairness with which he had met them, and judged their measures upon the merits of each. He had no idea to take part in discussion of Nova Scotian politics, but there could be no doubt, but that the people of that Province had sent their representatives here with the conviction that they had been led into captivity. He would be false to his principles, if he could say that he believed that his own Province under the constraint of all the influence which a Government could bring to bear—in which even the sacred name of Majesty was included—could have remained true to their convictions, and could have maintained their political consistency as nobly as had been done in Nova Scotia. He had been forcibly struck by the observations of the member for Hants, regarding the attitude of English opinion during the passage of

[Mr. Mackenzie (Lambton)]

the Union Act, and he believed that there had been a disposition to throw very hastily upon the young Confederation the burdens of a nationality. He was the last man to believe that Britain would, by leaving us defenceless, become guilty of any act which might tarnish her honour, but he greatly feared that this Confederation was the first step in the direction of an independence which might be thrust upon us before we were prepared for it. The threat of the risk of annexation had been freely held out in argument, but the real danger of the country was of drifting toward a premature independence. We had no interest in attempting to sever our connection with England, under whose protection our integrity was secure. If English statesmen should consider that it was advisable to leave us to our own protection, three months would suffice for the accomplishment of the project, which would be hustled through this Legislature with only the delay occasioned by the common forms of society. This young Confederacy of to-day might assume place as a nation to-morrow, but, Sir, what a nation! Nationality cannot be consolidated by Acts of Parliament. Consolidation must be the result of steady growth, and of no hot-house precocity.

**Hon. Mr. Johnson**, as a lawyer, could not agree that the Hudson Bay Company's grant from the Crown was capable of being called in question, except by the source from which it was derived. He quoted the circumstances of the annexation of Texas as furnishing a reason for taking immediate steps to guard against any dangers from the passion of the United States for the increase of territory, and believed that the heart of England was with her colonies, which she could not afford to lose under the penalty of sinking to a third class power. So far from considering the resolutions as premature, he was of opinion that all delay in taking the action which they recommend was dangerous, and if the securing of this territory depended upon the present vote of a large sum of money, he would be prepared even now to grant it. He did not believe that there was a likelihood of rupture between Great Britain and the United States, whose destiny was rather to work together for the common progress of their common race, and to curb absolutism and tyranny throughout the world.

**Hon. Mr. Cartier**, after cries of "adjourn," stated the wish of the Government to go into Committee at once, and, reporting progress, to ask leave to sit again to-morrow. There

were reasons of State which made it advisable that the Address to the Imperial Parliament should be passed without delay.

**Hon. Mr. Holton** did not think that the Government would act wisely in pressing the resolutions, which affected the possession of half a continent, upon which every member at all in the habit of addressing the House was desirous of speaking.

**Hon. Mr. Smith** also urged the adjournment of the debate, but after some brief discussion and explanation from Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald the House went into Committee *pro forma*, and resuming after progress reported and leave given to meet to-morrow, adjourned at twenty-seven minutes past midnight.

#### NOTICES OF MOTION

The following notices are given:—

**Mr. Sproat**—Enquiry whether Government intend to make any appropriation during the present session for the improvement of harbours on the east coast of Lake Huron.

**Mr. Tremblay**—Address for the amounts paid and still due to Lower Canada township municipalities in compensation for seigniorial indemnity.

**Mr. Lawson**—Address for reports and other correspondence relating to the Hamilton and Port Dover plank road since January 30, 1855.

**Mr. Sproat**—Address for the report showing the quantity of the lands purchased, under the actual settlement system, in the townships of Amabel, Albermarle, and East Norwich on the Saugeon Indian peninsula with the average price per acre.

**Mr. O'Connor**—Address for particulars in relation to the Municipal Loan Fund of Upper Canada, and the amount paid from the consolidated revenue to the credit of the fund, under the Seigniorial amendment Act of 1859, advances to municipalities, the amount paid out of the consolidated revenue under the Seigniorial Act of 1854, in excess of revenue from some special appropriation by that Act. What municipalities had borrowed from the fund, and how much has been repaid; and the amount still due, and what municipalities are in default.

**Mr. Metcalfe**—Address for correspondence between the Government and the American, or any other Bank Note Company, from January, 1864, to January, 1867, on the subject of engraving notes for the Government.