

# HOUSE OF COMMONS

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**Friday, December 6, 1867**

The Speaker took the Chair at three o'clock, but the doors were not opened till a quarter to four. It is understood that the discussion related to restriction on the admission of strangers to the reading room and refreshment rooms.

The doors having been opened,

## ELECTION COMMITTEES

**Mr. Walsh** presented a report from the General Committee on Elections, reporting the following as the panel of Chairmen of the Select Election Committees:—Messrs. Blake, M. C. Cameron, John Crawford, Casault, Joly, Scatcherd, Webb and Pozer.

## GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COMMISSION

**Hon. Mr. Langevin** brought down the return to an address for the commission issued by the Governor-General and the instructions thereto attached.

## SATURDAY SITTING

**Sir John A. Macdonald** moved that when the House adjourns to-day, it do stand adjourned till Saturday at 2 p.m. Carried.

## DUTY ON COAL

**Dr. Tupper** presented the petition of the managers of several coal mines in Nova Scotia, praying that the same duty may be imposed on American coal as is imposed by the United States on coal from these Provinces.

## LETTERS PATENT

**Mr. Macfarlane** moved for leave to introduce a Bill to authorize the issue of Letters Patent to Joseph Walker Cull, for an improvement in Centrifugal Filtering Machines.

**Hon. J. S. Macdonald** thought special legislation of this kind objectionable, when Government had announced their intention to introduce a general Patent Law.

**Sir John A. Macdonald** said Government allowed the introduction of the Bill as a matter of courtesy, but it was not to be understood that they assented to it.

**Hon. Mr. McDougall** thought it would be well if members understood that the policy of the Government was not in favour of this special legislation, and if they discouraged parties from incurring the expense and trouble of having Bills printed.

**Hon. Mr. Holton** said if it was the fixed policy of Government not to allow such bills to go through, it would be no discourtesy to reject them at the first reading.

**Sir John A. Macdonald** did not think it would be right for Government to exclude a Bill of this kind before seeing it. Although the Government might have a general policy, yet a Bill, when printed, might be of such a nature as to warrant a departure in a particular instance from that policy.

**Mr. Smith** believed that, as the law now existed, there was no way of getting a patent for Canada at all. He thought that, during the time the Government required, before submitting a general measure, special legislation should be allowed.

The motion was agreed to.

## REPORTING THE DEBATES

**Mr. Mackenzie** moved the adoption of the fourth report of the Printing Committee on the subject of an official report of the debates.

**Sir John A. Macdonald** requested that the matter be postponed till Monday.

Agreed to.

## BANK OF HASTINGS

**Hon. Mr. Read** introduced a Bill to incorporate the Bank of Hastings.

## THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY

The House then went again into Committee of the Whole—**Hon. Mr. Campbell** in the

Chair—on the resolutions respecting the North-West Territory.

The first, second and third resolutions were adopted without discussion.

On the fourth resolution a debate arose.

**Hon. Mr. Holton** read the 146th clause of the Union Act, referred to in the resolution, and asked whether the terms and conditions upon which it was proposed to bring this territory into the Union were set forth in these resolutions, or whether it was proposed to amplify them in the address to be founded upon them.

**Hon. Mr. McDougall** said he thought the resolutions sufficiently expressed the conditions on which the Parliament of Canada would like to have this territory. They expressed as few conditions as possible. If further conditions were suggested, let them come from another quarter, and it would then be for the Government and Parliament of Canada to say whether they would accept the territory on these conditions. The fifth resolution was that Her Majesty should untie these territories to Canada, and empower the Parliament of Canada to legislate for their future welfare and good Government. The other conditions expressed were that the legal rights of the Corporation holding the territory, if any such existed, should be respected, and that the Indians should be settled with on the equitable principles which had uniformly governed the Crown in its dealings with the Aborigines.

**Hon. Mr. Holton** contended that the terms were not expressed in the way contemplated in the Union Act, which provided that on an address from the Parliament of Canada, specifying the terms on which we were prepared to undertake the Government of these territories, they might at once be incorporated by Her Majesty by an Order-in-Council.

**Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald** did not think it well to arrange with the Imperial Government any cast-iron rules for the transfer. They should ask that Government for powers enabling the Parliament of the Dominion to provide a Constitution which might be amended as necessary hereafter, to adapt it to the growing requirements of the new country. The Government must be the negotiators of the transfer, but no arrangements of theirs would, or should, be valid until they had received Parliamentary approval. The Government did not desire it to be understood that they recognized any rights whatever, as

vested in existing corporations, but these rights might be claimed at the proper tribunals, and the language of the third resolution would forbid the suspicion that any confiscation was mediated. They proposed to undertake the onerous duty of the protection of the Indian inhabitants from white aggression, and their guardianship as of persons under age, incapable of the management of their own affairs.

**Mr. Mills** said he did not rise to discuss any of these collateral matters, but to resume the general discussion of the question interrupted last night. He reminded the House of the claims formerly set up by the Government of Canada with reference to these territories. When Chief Justice Draper went home to England as agent of the Government in this matter, he laid claim to the North-West territory lying east of the Rocky Mountains as territory belonging to the late Province of Canada. Had the Government now abandoned that pretention? It appeared to him there was sufficient evidence to show that the North-West territory was within the limits of the Province of Ontario, and that it was with the Government of that Province, the Government of the Dominion should deal for it and not with the Government of Great Britain. Looking at the question in this light, he took exception to the fourth, fifth and sixth resolutions which appeared to proceed on the assumption that we had no title to any portion of the North-West territory. He objected also to the fifth resolution on another ground. It was proposed to confer on this Government power to organize a Government in the North-West territory. This would not give the people there any rights of local self Government. He thought the resolution should express on what principles we intended to govern it—whether or not we were to organize territorial Governments like those in the United States, so that the territory to be organized, after acquiring a sufficient population, should have the right to have a certain number of Senators in the Senate Chamber, and certain representatives on the floor of this House. He would therefore add to the fifth resolution words which would secure to the people of the new territory the same rights of local self-government, free from federal control, that are enjoyed by Provinces already within the Dominion.

**Mr. Blake** had believed that the Government's intention was merely to bring the resolutions before the House, and state their policy regarding them, without pressing them,

so that the Joint Address should take place this Session. They had been introduced comparatively late in a short session, and the Minister for Justice had already, in reply to a question which he had asked time to consider, read a statement of the measure proposed to be submitted this session in which they were not included. (Hear, hear.) These Resolutions, if passed, would pledge the country to a policy, which during the recess might culminate in the Order-in-Council, with no sufficient time allowed for its consideration. The Imperial Government would take the earliest opportunity of acting upon their decision, which, unlike other of their Acts to be repealed at their discretion, was final and irrevocable. No one could state correctly the sum to be paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, and upon a measure requiring, from the vast responsibilities which it involved, the most careful consideration the House had been taken by surprise. The Government had a large majority at their back to carry any of their measures, and he asked them as a favour to stay their hand after the discussion, and to let the matter go forth to the country while they were yet uncommitted rashly to the scheme. He had not been present during the earlier stages of the debate, but he had been told that important reasons of State were said to demand its being carried out without delay. He would ask had these reasons of State arisen since the 20th November, when the Hon. Minister of Justice made his statement of the measures with which he proposed to occupy the session—measures in his (Mr. Blake's) opinion quite sufficiently numerous to occupy them in the short time allowed. The House should be made acquainted with these reasons, which had had power to induce the Government to press so hastily a project, which on the 20th November they had considered might lay over for the remainder of the session, and the mere statement of their existence was not sufficient to justify the Ministerial change of programme. He would not enter at length into the discussion, partly because the absence he had referred to occasioned him the risk of advancing arguments which had perhaps been more ably urged already, but principally because he had given his attention hitherto to those subjects which he had been led to believe would be alone brought forward, and had not devoted the necessary time to the close examination demanded by so important a question. But he could not refrain from stating what he considered some good reasons for caution. In all the negotiations upon this

matter they had been constantly retrograding from a more favourable to a less favourable position. These resolutions contained the least favourable proposition yet propounded. The first proposition for the acquisition of a portion of the North-West Territory denied its inclusion in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, and suggested steps for the assertion of the rights of Canada. Former Canadian policy had been to throw on the Imperial Government the responsibility of arrangement with the Company, and in June, 1864, we find the Imperial Government engaged in negotiating such arrangements, and accepting the views of the Committee who, upon their completion, proposed to assume authority, not indeed over the whole of the North-West, but over such portions of that region as might be made available for cultivation. In November, 1864, the Committee had announced that Canada would be prepared to treat with the Imperial Government for such portions of the territory as were desirable, when that Government had fulfilled its duty of bringing to an end the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly, which had been created under its authority, for the existence of which Canada was not responsible, and the benefits of the extinction of which she would only share in common with the rest of the Empire. In 1865, however, a change was made in the proposals of our delegates, who then agreed that the burden of the indemnity should be borne by the Province, by which the amount was to be raised under Imperial guarantee. The effect of this guarantee would be to lessen the yearly cost to us of this loan from 60,000 pounds or 70,000 pounds to 40,000 pounds. The reasons assigned by the delegates for this change were that protracted and vexatious litigation must ensue, and that the interests of Canada required speedy legislation upon the subject. To this proposition also, the Imperial Government consented. From the first proposal to take a selected portion of the territory free, we had then come to taking the whole of it, upon payment of indemnity. The present phase of the scheme has shifted our position so unfavourably as to contain no assurance of providing for us the guarantee at that time agreed upon. It was not sufficient that our obtaining this guarantee should be implied. If there were intention of exacting it, how came it that it was not so stated in the resolutions, in the silence of which we might know that it could not be depended on, and he, for one, would not consent to the passing of the

resolutions, if they were to pass, without their distinct expression that the guarantee should be forthcoming. These he held to be sufficient grounds why even those who agreed with their policy should pause before committing themselves by an irrevocable consent. The honourable and learned member then read extracts from correspondence with the Colonial Office, showing the apprehension of the Department in the event of the possible discovery of gold, of a large influx of adventurers, chiefly from the United States, who might be disposed to the assertion of their political independence, and whose presence would necessitate the control of a strong Government. (Hear, hear.) Hear, hear, indeed, but the strong Government necessary was that of England, not of Canada. A letter from the Secretary of State of the 23rd of August, states that the Hudson's Bay difficulty had become so urgent, that no time should be lost in finding its solution. When Western extension was originally proposed the people of Western Canada were told that the arts of peace were to be promoted, and the country filled with prosperous industry. The whisper was to-day of trouble, and of collision, and of military occupation. The extension was urged upon us now as an Imperial consideration, but our strength was unequal to Imperial burdens. If in the new phase of affairs England shrinks from the establishment of a Crown colony, is that not good reason why we should shrink? (Hear.) The extension of our system of canals was a subject upon which we were all agreed, yet the condition of our finances would not permit us to commence an undertaking of unquestioned utility, and of which we could estimate the cost and foresee the extent of responsibility, while at the same time we were invited to embark upon a scheme, the maximum of whose unascertained first cost was not to be compared with the expenses which its possible contingencies might occasion. We were required to make and to maintain a military road westward to carry Canadian troops hundreds of miles from their Canadian homes, for the maintenance in this outlying territory of the name, and fame, and honour of Great Britain. We were as yet satisfied to see our own country protected with British soldiers, but here we were asked to protect these new acquisitions with our own. The cost of any of the little wars in which we might involve ourselves, might be estimated from the Indian wars across the border, and from our own Abyssinian expedition, for which 2,000,000 pounds sterling had been already voted.

[Mr. Blake (Durham West)]

In the present state of our finances, and until the Intercolonial Railroad is ascertained, he would be unprepared to assent to an unknown expenditure. After gracefully complimenting the representatives of Nova Scotia the honourable member proceeded to refer to their assurances of using every effort to obtain a repeal of the Union, which we had been all along led to believe had been acceptable to the Nova Scotian people. Our first duty was to consolidate our present Dominion, and to make it what it is said not to be now, a union of hearts as well as of territories. While the cloud hangs over our eastern limits, we would show greater prudence in addressing ourselves to its dissipation than in entering upon a scheme of western extension. Were we, when told that our present territory was not contented to remain with us, to grasp at extensions? Upon the policy of the resolutions, he held no decided opinion, not having bestowed adequate attention upon them, but he held so strongly that it was right and proper that the country should have opportunity of expression upon them that if necessary, he was himself prepared to move an amendment.

**Hon. Mr. McDougall** said if he thought the views of his honourable friend from West Durham were those of any considerable portion of the people of Upper Canada, he would be prepared to advise his colleagues—he would be prepared himself—to withdraw these resolutions. That honourable gentleman came into this House as a member of the great Liberal Party of Upper Canada, and as such he had a right to speak; but when he took the course he had done on this question, he (Mr. McD.) in the name of that party—in the name of the people of Western Canada, both Liberal and Conservative—repudiated his sentiments. It had been said that there was danger in acquiring this territory; but it could have no such effect, for we did not by it relinquish one jot of our claims upon British protection, nor of the oft repeated assurance that the last man and the last dollar of Great Britain would be expended in our defence in case of foreign aggression. Mere political or partizan views had no part in determining the course of the Government on this question. They took the broad ground that it was necessary for our advancement as a nation to open this great territory for the benefit of immigration, and to open a road to the enterprise and industry of the people of the Dominion. The honourable member for Lambton had truly said that our public domain, eligible for settlement, was at present

confined to small patches; but here was a great country in the west—three or four thousand square miles of the finest soil in the world—offered to us, and it was our true policy to seize the offer, and strike off the incubus which had so long hung over that region in the shape of Hudson's Bay Company. There had never been such favourable terms offered with regard to this great question as those pointed to by these resolutions. When the territory became incorporated, it would be for us to say how fast or how slow we should proceed in its development. The Government had from first to last denied the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company. They (the Government) claimed the territory as a part of New France ceded to Great Britain. But this was a question which would come before the judicial tribunals of this country. With regard to Rupert's Land, whatever its value, he held that it would not be for the interest of this country to permit any power to exist between us and the North pole. A great deal had been said about the demands of the Hudson's Bay Company: and no doubt, when they saw that they could no longer bar the gates of the fertile valley of the Red River and Saskatchewan, they took steps, like every other monied incorporation, to make the most of their falling power. But they would get no more than the strict letter of the law would give them. The position of the unfortunate Indians had been wretched under the rule of the company, which never for a moment hesitated to sacrifice them to its trade; and the system pursued in the United States had led to border wars of greater or lesser magnitude. But the system which Canada had hitherto pursued had been very successful, and under that which was proposed for the Government of the territory, there need be no fear of disturbances. If any weight were to be given to the assertion that our water communication with the North-West must be through an American canal, the same logic must apply to a great portion of our frontier, in the proximity of which forts might be erected, whose guns would command our shipping. If such considerations were permitted to interrupt our progress, we might as well at once abandon Western Canada. In their diplomacy and Government in this country, it must be admitted that Downing Street made mistakes from a want of knowledge of our interests, but here the territory was offered to us to do as we please with. We could use our own judgment as to the manner in which we should deal with it; and how fast or how slow we should proceed in its

development. If the country were opened up the Government could sell the land for many times the sum it would cost to organize it and extinguish the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the American Government were paying enormous sums for regions of ice, how much more would they give for this fertile tract, and thus even putting the question on such low grounds the acquisition of this region would be a splendid speculation. The honourable gentleman referred to the course pursued by the thirteen American colonies when they first became confederated. With debt hanging over their heads and an impoverished treasury, they were not afraid to move forward by the acquisition of new territory till they became one of the most prosperous and powerful peoples in the world. As now, with the blighting effects of the great war hanging over them, with an enormous debt and burdensome taxation, they did not hesitate in purchasing ever more ice fields, in their desire for expansion. If we did not expand we must contract. As a Canadian, and an Upper Canadian, he desired to see this country progress westward. When his honourable friend from West Durham saw we were moving too fast in this matter, he merely gave what was the best reason he could offer for voting against the resolutions. His honourable friend, the Minister of Militia, had been accused of opposing western extension, but the charge was unjust. That honourable gentleman was willing and desirous to see progress in that direction. He was not, of course, so deeply interested as gentlemen from Western Canada, but he gave it a generous and hearty support. The honourable gentleman went on to show that Confederation would be incomplete without the incorporation of the North-West, British Columbia, and Vancouver's Island. The question had been brought before the House as one of practical value, and there could not be a question that the people of Upper Canada were in favour of the measure. Whatever might be their opinion of the course of his honourable colleagues—whatever might be their opinion of his own conduct—he implored honourable gentlemen, and especially those from Western Canada, to stand fast by the views which they had so constantly expressed, and which the people of Upper Canada endorsed; and in the interests of their country stand up manfully for the principles contained in the resolutions before the House. During the delivery of his speech the

honourable gentleman was repeatedly applauded, and took his seat amid loud cheers from all parts of the House.

It being six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

**After recess,**

**Mr. Blake** said he was glad he had aroused the mind of the Minister of Public Works to feel the importance of this great question—as he had now discussed the question with more zeal than he discussed it when he introduced it to the notice of the House. He did not arrogate to himself the right to speak for any party, but he spoke as an independent member of the House. He had told his constituents that until he saw the state of our income and expenditure, and how far the construction of the Intercolonial Railway would increase our debt, he would oppose any measure that would tend to add to our indebtedness. He did not think it should be made a party question. His honourable friend, the Minister of Public Works, had warned them not to be swayed by the considerations of party, and he had imputed to them low, petty or mean motives. He thought his honourable friend had better leave it to others who had a more consistent record to whom to impute these motives. His honourable friend had not answered this point, that so late as the 20th Nov. last, it was not the policy of the Government to carry these resolutions at the present session, and having now changed their policy, it was their duty to make some explanation to the House. He was not disposed to take the statement of the Government on trust; but, thought they had a right to demand an explanation from the Government. As no explanation had been given, he could find no reason for it than this: if this Government do not act in this matter, the British Government will be obliged to act, and erect that territory into a Crown Colony, or cede it to the United States. We would not be deprived of it by its being erected into a Crown Colony. Therefore, this haste must be to prevent its being ceded to a foreign power. If Great Britain in consequence of difficulties is prepared to cede away this territory to some foreign power can there be a stronger argument for our not taking up that which Great Britain is unable to bear? His honourable friend had pointed out that his arguments on the question of defence were futile because we would still have Great Britain at our back. There was no doubt that in time of need we would have help from Great Britain;

[Mr. Blake (Durham West)]

yet it is incumbent upon us to provide for our defence to the extent of our means, and if we assumed control of this territory we would have to do something to put it in such a state that law or order would be carried out. He quoted from a report made by Gen. Michel to prove the difficulty of defending that territory and to show that without a military road to Fort Garry it would prove a source of weakness instead of a source of strength, either to Great Britain or Canada.

**Mr. Jones (Halifax)** thought the question had been considered too much with reference to old Canadian politics. The question was comparatively a new one to representatives from the Maritime Provinces. He thought, in view of difficulties arising from opposition to Confederation in Nova Scotia and a large portion of New Brunswick, the Government should have delayed bringing down these resolutions until the Dominion became more consolidated and they were better prepared to assume the expense and responsibility of more extended territory. However, if the resolutions were passed, and he supposed they would be, he had sufficient confidence in the integrity, ability and judgment of the gentlemen who administer the affairs of the country, to believe that they would negotiate for the best arrangement that could be made for the interests of the Dominion at large. The honourable member for Saint John had argued in favour of opening up the territory, as the people of that territory were in need of a Government such as ours; but that gentleman should remember that charity should begin at home. The Government should seek to remove the objections of the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the Union, and consolidate the present territory before going further. Large numbers of young men were annually leaving Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for the United States. This evil demanded attention. What with finances, defence, tariff, assimilation of currency, laws, and other important measures. Government had enough to do at present, without meddling with the Red River Settlement. When Confederation was first talked of in Nova Scotia, an estimate was made of the expense; but the expense connected with the opening up of the territory was not considered in that estimate. Already this estimate had been exceeded and he thought there was too much haste in entering upon this question and incurring additional expense. At any rate, the financial statement of the country should first have been brought down, and then we could

have been in a better position to judge of our ability to undertake this work which will require a large expenditure of money. He would only ask the Government to "hasten slowly," to take time and deliberate on this great question. In reference to his position to the Government, he would neither support nor oppose them, but would support such measures as in his judgment were for the best interests of the Dominion at large. (Hear, hear). For the reason he had stated, and for others, he would feel it his duty to oppose the resolutions.

**Mr. Cartwright** believed that this measure would open up a great source of national benefit. We wanted land for immigrants at present. We had no wild lands to offer to immigrants, and the result was that a great portion of them went through to the United States, but by the acquisition of this territory we would have a home for thousands of immigrants who would be settling and opening up the country, and be in time a source of considerable revenue to the country. They had been told of an exodus of people from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to the United States. This was a strong argument in favour of opening up this territory. He would strongly support the resolution.

**Mr. Tremblay** briefly addressed the House, expressing his intention of voting against the resolutions.

**Mr. Killam** followed, in so low a tone that he was not heard in the gallery.

**Hon. Jos. Howe**, regretting that the last speaker had not been more audible, begged the house to regard his opinions rather in the light of his works, than what they could have heard of his words, as those of a representative man of Nova Scotia, the largest shipowner of the whole Dominion. For himself he could never enter a shipyard where a thousand ton vessel stood ready to be launched without feeling of how little value and importance had been any act of his life compared with the toil that it was necessary to have expended before the British flag could be hoisted at her masthead. He had no wish to delay the business of the House, being most anxious to be able to leave for home on Saturday, and therefore, although scarcely prepared, would address himself to the question at that hour. The Hon. Minister of Militia had quoted him as stating that this North-Western extension would cost the country only to the five or six millions. His statement was that it should cost only five or

six millions. The stock of the Hudson's Bay Company was worth last year in London only one million sterling, but when it had been known that Canada was about to bite for their territory, their stock had been watered. When he said watered, he meant that a transaction had taken place in the metropolis fraudulent to the whole country. A meeting was held of four or five knowing ones, who thought that they had some influence in Canada, and perhaps they had, and who, in conjunction with the Company, formed themselves into a financial association to put the Company's stock into the market at a value of two millions sterling, and by whom in less than a fortnight the people of England were cheated, or were attempted to be cheated, out of the difference. The four or five knowing ones said Canada wants this property, and we can get two millions out of Canada. Now two millions sterling were ten millions of dollars, and that was the price we should be called upon to pay. They might do it if they liked—what odds was it to him—his country was ruined, (oh, oh,) her credit was ruined. His honourable friend (Mr. Jones) on leaving Halifax had left an order on the Treasury for \$800, and that order was not paid yet. In the whole history of Nova Scotia when was her credit damned until now? At a moment when our stocks were discredited and disgraced, we were asked to vote two millions sterling to a knot of financial schemers for a country, God knew where, and bounded by God knew what. (Laughter.) A pamphlet of Mr. Joseph Neilson, which he held in his hand, disclosed the history of the whole transaction. The Hon. Minister of Militia had declared upon his honour that the Hudson Bay Company had no right to a large portion of this territory, and which was really the property of ourselves. If this were the case he called upon the Hon. Minister to raise the *posse comitatus*, (laughter) and to go in and take possession of what belonged to us, and for which, if it did so belong, he would rather shed his blood than pay Canadian money. Let the Hon. Minister raise a body of young men to go in and occupy this territory of ours, and if any one obstructs them we would ask the reason why. The moment this House decided that it was ours, and that we meant to take it—that moment the Stock of the Hudson Bay Company would go back to where it was before it had been watered. He had only one wish in his heart—let him go home next week and he would vote for anything. (Much laughter.) But he could not see London speculators laughing at the poor French

Canadians, the ignorant Bluenoses, and the penniless West Canadians, (laughter) and he appealed to them not to let the understanding of the country sink into contempt in the derision of our simplicity. Could anyone with the report of Gen. Michel in his hand honestly ask them to take possession of this impracticable country? They were told what the U.S. had done—how they had bought up everything in their way and gone ahead at a tremendous rate, but the United States had a population of six millions before they had purchased a single acre. (An honourable member—we have four millions.) True, we had four millions, but not a compact population like that of the old American Colonies, but scattered over the deuce of a line of straggling country. (Laughter.) When he saw a small sturdy man, muscular, broad shouldered, and well knit, like the breed of horses called in England a Suffolk Punch, he had respect for his physical powers, but when he saw a long fellow, seven feet high, (laughter) narrow-chested, and ill-jointed, he knew that if he were to take him in hand he could pitch him over his shoulder in half a minute. (Laughter) The U.S. had been of the Suffolk Punch type, and yet, led by the foremost men who had ever appeared on this continent, they had waited for a population of six millions! It had been said that he undervalued the country, but when on the other side he had heard it depreciated, he had stepped forward in its defence, and would do so still. But the men of the country would defend themselves, and, if the men did not, the women would. (Laughter and cheers.) We should, however, undertake only what we could do, and not attempt enterprizes beyond our strength. The territories purchased by the United States lay close by no enterprising neighbour. We were asked to buy a country, every road of which was dominated by another Power—wealth and trade on one side—poverty and desolation on the other. If the honourable gentlemen opposite wanted to strengthen the Ministry, let them say so frankly, and, rather than this, he would go over and help them. (Much laughter.) We had the Imperial Government pressing the Governor-General pressing the Ministry, the Ministry pressing the House. The Hudson Bay Company's property was being offered as at auction with a cry of Going! Going! but let honourable gentlemen trust themselves to the manliness and good feeling of the Legislature, and when it is found that we are not ready to bite so quickly there will be a change of tone. It would not cost one-fiftieth part of the

[Mr. Howe (Hants)]

money to sent our young men in, and let us see who will stop them. With trade made free, what becomes of the Hudson Bay Company? Their watered stock would sink to its true value, and this Dominion of yours—I had almost said of ours (loud cheers)—remain undishonoured by a bad bargain. When the United States annexed Texas her population was eighteen millions. When she annexed California and Northern Mexico—districts outlying as is this from ourselves—her population was twenty-four millions. The speculation which was wise and just in a man worth twenty-four millions would be madness in a man not worth a tenth of the money. We should make things straight and sound at home, before we began to extend ourselves abroad. We were asked to imitate United States precedent, but what would be said to the man who proposed to the United States the purchase of a territory unapproachable by sea, and every high road to which was dominated by another power? Did anyone ever hear of any country in the world, such as Canada, with a territory so vast, and a population so scanty, proposing to purchase extension? How was it that Rome had become the mistress of the world? By stretching herself out in this ridiculous fashion? No! She grew no faster than her cultivation. We were asked to grow like Jonah's gourd, to grow up in a night, and to wither in a night by and by in shame and desolation. How had our own little England made her progress? The population of England had been double ours before she opened her first colony of Barbadoes. When she planted her standard in the first of her great eastern colonies of Australia, her population was twenty-four millions. It was folly trying to make the world accept a counterfeit as sterling gold. Was there no waste land here—were gentlemen from New Brunswick so anxious to send away population, and leave their own country unsettled? Was ever Englishman, or Roman, or Greek, guilty of such madness? The natural outlet of the territory, if settled, would be the Pacific, and were we to legislate against the laws of nature? From Nova Scotia to Sarnia was 1,500 miles, from Sarnia to Fort Garry 800 miles, while from Fort Garry to Vancouver's Island was about 1,000 miles more. Were we to divert the commerce, which would flow, if at all, over the shorter course Westward, 2,300 miles in our direction? He put the question to the Hon. Minister of Militia, whom he was glad to see asleep (laughter.) He only wished that he would sleep for the rest of the session (much

laughter.) It reminded him, when he viewed those slumbers of a certain worthy deacon who, during his own Minister's sermons slept constantly, but was always wide awake, when a stranger happened to occupy the pulpit. Hurt by the contrast the Minister took him to task, and asked him why he made such a distinction, when the deacon explained that he did so, because he knew that he could safely trust him, though he must be watchful of a stranger (laughter.) His position was converse. He could trust the Hon. Minister, asleep, but not in his waking hours. He forgave the honourable member for South Lanark (Mr. Morris) his attack of last night, in consideration for the splendid burst of manly indignation, it had elicited from his friend, (Mr. Huntington), to whose eloquence he paid a high tribute. His heart warmed to the name of Huntington, as that of one of the noblest men Nova Scotia had ever known, to whom, on his death, the Legislature had raised a monument, but he hoped that it would be long before a monument were raised to his friend (laughter,) who, if ever he should want a constituency, had only to set foot in Nova Scotia (renewed laughter.) The honourable member (Mr. Morris) had spoken of himself as his (Mr. Howe's) disciple, but he knew what he would have done had he been at an earlier age his pupil—he would have picked a twig off a birch tree, and applied it to a particular part of him. (Loud laughter.) He would put his printed speeches upon the organization of the Empire into the hands of any three members, and if, on reading them, they gave the verdict that they did not sustain the views he now held, he would be contented with Union. Reference had been made frequently to Professor Goldwin Smith, with whom he was not here to express his agreement, but his school was largely increasing, and becoming a power in England. The honourable member, glancing also at the influence of Mr. Bright in passing the Reform Bill, went on to speak of the ignorance of Canadian affairs displayed by authorities at home, to whose enquiry, at the time of the TRENT affair, as to whether the transportation of the Guards from Halifax were possible, he had promised that, if necessary, they would be driven over by the Halifax Tandem Club, and, while paying a compliment to the ability of H.R.H., Commanding-in-Chief, declined to take him as an authority upon American topography. He depreciated the tendency to universal travel in these days of locomotion, when everybody went abroad, and nobody stayed at home. He had not

observed that it improved young Nova Scotians to rub off the honest simplicity of their homes, nor had he noticed that the Nova Scotian girls, who returned from foreign excursions with parasols and jewellery, were greatly the better in health or virtue. He had, himself, travelled a good deal, but he had known no country superior to his own, where he, who had worked for more hours in 365 days than would be possible perhaps elsewhere, could sit down under his own oak or maple with no man to make him afraid. Referring to the attack of the honourable member for Northumberland, which he dared say he had not lost greatly, by not hearing (laughter) he compared him to the sixty feet tide flow of the Bay of Fundy, which makes a great noise, and is called a "bore". (Laughter.) As the tide rises nearly every day and nearly every night, people become accustomed to the bore and do not mind it. (Continued laughter.) He then, after complimentary reference to the speech of Mr. Simpson, who had amused him by the information he had given of the Hudson Bay Company's determination to establish the Church of England, he asked were we to be called upon to pay the debts of mother country? Suppose his old father was to be extravagant and die, was it necessary that he should pay his debts? And here was our old father, who ain't dead, but alive and kicking, and were we to pay his debts? He would say to such a proposal, "Look here, old fellow, this won't do, you are bringing the whole family to disgrace." The establishment of a moral power had been spoken of, but he wished that somebody would establish a moral power over the rulers of the country, the honourable gentleman had said that love of country might be seriously affected by taxation, and the leader of one of the Local Governments had given the warning to his people to prepare for an income tax. The high taxation in the United States now expelled any feeling of admiration for that country among our population; but by and bye, when we by pursuing such schemes as this, which would add vastly to our expenses, had brought our taxation up to theirs the feeling would change, and there would be many who would long for a connection with that country. The late distractions of the United States had arisen because their country was too large. The illustrious States of ancient times were not large. Rome and Greece laid the foundations of their greatness by their concentrating forces at first, and not scattering them abroad. When his honourable friend the Minister of Public Works had

made the country which we at present possessed all that it was capable of being made, it would be time for this country to talk of colonization and conquest, and other grand ideas. The honourable gentleman sat down amid applause.

**Hon. Mr. Tilley** said he had never listened with greater pain to any speech than to the one just delivered by the member for Hants, not because he (Mr. Howe) had changed his views, but because his statements were calculated to damage our position in the eyes of the world. (Hear, hear). Then he speaks of this country being indefensible, that it is utterly impossible to defend us. It cannot but produce a powerful and injurious effect upon our position with reference to the United States. He (Mr. Tilley) referred to the occasion when he and Mr. Howe were in England together, the time of the TRENT affair. The Minister of War sent for them to confer on the situation. He would ask the honourable member for Hants if he did not with his own hand draft a document which Mr. Van-koughnet and himself (Mr. Tilley) gladly signed and submitted to the Foreign Office, stating that if the Intercolonial Railroad was constructed and backed by British power, we would be able to defend ourselves against all aggression? (Applause). With reference to the Hudson's Bay Company, he asserted if these resolutions should pass and legal claims of that Company were left to the Courts, their stock would soon be not two millions, but less than one. This question had been thoroughly discussed in New Brunswick during the last election, and they decided for Union on the understanding that the North-West would be brought into the Union. On the hustings he had stated that in his judgment three years would not pass before this Dominion would embrace the whole of the territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The financial statement would be made to-morrow, and he believed it would be found that the finances were not in such a bad state as some honourable gentlemen imagined. He believed the majority of the people in New Brunswick would support these resolutions, because they deemed them absolutely necessary to make Confederation what they had desired and expected to become when they voted for it. Talk about expenditures. Thirty-five million acres of arable land in this territory, if opened up for settlement, would, being at a mere trifle per acre, repay all expenditure. This revenue would go, not to the treasury of Ontario, but to the treasury of the Dominion. He would not enter into the merits of the

[Mr. Howe (Hants)]

question at any length to-night, but he thought it necessary to offer a few remarks in answer to the member for Hants.

**Hon. Mr. Smith** in reply, agreed that the Minister of Customs did not correctly state the opinion of the people of New Brunswick when he represented them as in favour of acquiring this territory at any cost to the Dominion. While the question of Confederation was pending there, it was said that no steps would be taken in this matter until the state of the finances permitted, and yet before any attempt was made to show our condition, these resolutions were suddenly introduced and Parliament was asked to commit itself to a scheme which might involve an expenditure of millions. He (Mr. Smith) believed this action would stir up and stimulate opposition to the Union in New Brunswick. Nine-tenths of the people, notwithstanding the assertions of the Minister of Customs, were opposed to any movement at present in favour of acquiring this territory. He implored the Government, if it desired to avoid the creation of bad feeling in the Maritime Provinces, if it desired to establish the Union on a firm and stable foundation, not to force this measure through the House now, but at least to postpone it until it could be fully discussed and considered by the people of the Dominion.

**Hon. Mr. Howe** again spoke briefly in reply to some personal observations made by the Minister of Justice.

**Hon. Mr. Fisher** addressed the House in favour of the resolutions, contending that the acquisition of the North-West Territory had been approved by the people of New Brunswick, who looked upon it, together with the enlargement of the canals, as justly due to the West in connection with the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, for the benefit chiefly of the Eastern Provinces.

**Mr. Anglin** was opposed to the resolutions, and that this was not a proper time to bring them forward. If they sent an address to Her Majesty, founded on these resolutions, the Imperial Government would issue a proclamation, and by virtue of that proclamation, that territory would be annexed to us with all its liabilities. Then the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company would be settled by mutual agreement of judicial decision. This would put it entirely out of the power of this Parliament to legislate upon this subject. The resolutions should be so modified that we

would know exactly what powers we were giving the Government, and they would know what powers they received.

The remaining resolutions were then adopted, with the understanding that further debate might take place on the question of concurrence on Monday.

On motion of **Mr. McDougall**, the sixth clause, referring to the agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, was amended by the addition of the following words:—"Such agreement to have no effect or validity until first sanctioned by the Parliament of Canada."

The House adjourned at a quarter past 2 o'clock till Saturday at 2 p.m.

#### NOTICES OF MOTION

**Mr. Drew**—Amendment to the Bill to render valid certain appointments by the London Board of Trade, providing that no suits now

pending relative to said appointments shall be interfered with thereby.

**Dr. Tupper**—That the return relative to election expenses be referred to the Finance Minister, with a view of bringing under the notice of the Government the fact that in Nova Scotia these are mainly paid by the candidates, while in the other Provinces they are charged on the Treasury of the Dominion.

**Mr. Harrison**—Inquiry whether Ministers will place in the estimates an appropriation for erecting a new Post Office in Toronto.

**Mr. Harrison**—Address for the report of Col. Woolsely as to the camp at Thorold, in the Fall of 1866.

**Mr. Harrison**—That the petition of John Gooch, asking the House to subscribe for a certain number of copies of his work, entitled "Manual of the Constitution of the Dominion of Canada", be referred to the Library Committee.

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