

and allow it to be spent there without submitting that proposition to the people, but that when you come to consider the proposition of improving our naval capacity and establishing a Canadian navy, you cannot do that without referring it to the people and taking a fresh vote with regard to it.

Another point in the resolution, which requires to be dealt with to some extent is, that it is founded on the idea that an emergency is actually in existence. One would imagine that we were in the midst of a long and arduous military and naval struggle with Germany, that the conflict between the British and the German empires was only now reaching the stage which required us to intervene and collect our resources into the shape of a bill of exchange and send it to Britain to save her from destruction. This matter of panics is not a new one in British history. Shakespeare, in Henry IV., indicates the cause of their origin, when he puts in the mouth of Henry IV. this advice to Prince Hal; 'Therefore, my Harry, be it thy course to busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels, that action thence borne out, may waste the memory of the former days.' In those days, when it was necessary to busy men's minds with foreign quarrels, the advice was addressed to stout-hearted men who believed: 'Come the three corners of the world in arms, and we shall shock them, nought shall make us rue, if England to itself do rest but true.' There was nothing like panic then. But in modern times a degenerate spirit has entered the minds of some men, because when they want to divert attention from domestic to foreign matters, they do not busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels, but busy giddy minds with dread of foreign countries.

If you come down through the years, you find as early as 1847, a change with regard to this, and that all these panics have been at one time or another, initiated by old men who have lost their nerve. Mr. Asquith, the British premier, says they have usually been initiated by old women of both sexes. I would not desire to use that expression, because coming from me, it contains a measure of insolence, but I say that from the first panic of 1847 down to the present time, there is not one of them which has not been instigated by some elderly gentleman who has completely lost his nerve. Get Cobden's history of the three panics, and you will find in each one the same little alarms we hear to-day; in each of them—heated speeches, plans of invasions and senseless talk about silent toasts—all those absurd things raised to-day to induce the British empire to imagine that the Emperor of Germany, without any reason or cause, is building up his power for no other reason than to make an unprovoked attack on the liberties and rights of Britain. There

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is a class of Englishmen who have inherited nothing but the tendencies of their old Saxon forefathers to dread foreign invasion—who keep peering out over the North sea, imagining that the Danes and Saxons are coming to invade their shores, sack their homes, and put their king to ransom. This endeavour to excite a panic by reason of anything in the relations between Britain and Germany is absurd—just as absurd as were those panics which took place in 1847, 1851, 1854, 1858 and 1859.

These panics exhibit in a most remarkable degree as has been well said by a recent clever essayist how much in the shape of illusion can be accomplished by the resolute lying of a few respectable men. There is no falsehood that has not been urged to prove in former cases that France was contemplating an invasion of England; that later on, Russia was seeking to attack Great Britain, and recently that instead of France or Russia, these old powerful enemies of Great Britain, Germany is taking their place and endeavouring to attack the British empire. In 1847-48 the panic was begun by a pamphlet written by Prince Joinville, a Frenchman. There was nothing alarming in that pamphlet. He pointed out what he considered the inferior position of the French navy, and paid what were considered by many thinking Englishmen, to be extensive compliments to the British navy. But it was seized on by some panic-mongers in England as an indication that the prince was endeavouring, not merely to induce the authorities of France to bring the French navy to a state of efficiency, but that it was intended to build up at once in France a navy that would threaten the integrity of the British empire and attack Great Britain. That brought forth a letter from the Duke of Wellington to John Burgoyne, which the duke afterwards said he never intended to have published, but which was secured by some person and published. That letter contained an expression to which only the venerable age and the great ability of the duke would have given any weight or influence whatever. In it he said that there was a portion of the southern coast of England which at any season of the year, in any state of weather, or any condition of the tide, could be assailed by France, and an army of 50,000 troops landed without difficulty. As was pointed out by Mr. Cobden, no one would have paid the slightest attention to such a remark from an ordinary man because there is no coast of twenty miles in the world in respect to which the statement of the Duke of Wellington could be considered to be true. There is no coast of that extent where in any state of the weather, in any condition of the tide, or at any time of the year it would be possible in the brief space of a few hours to land