

provides for a permanent navy separate from and independent of the imperial navy. By section 18 it is provided that the government may send that navy to the defence of the empire. If the government does that, then by section 19 the government must convene parliament within 15 days to have that Act ratified or the fleet recalled. For the whole people of Canada, speaking through parliament, to recall that navy at a time when between the empire and its enemy a state of war exists, and the international laws and usages of war obtain—what does it mean? What would the other nations of the earth, whose sacred duty it is to enforce those laws and usages, be bound to declare that Act to mean? What but Canada's neutrality on the high seas as between two belligerents? And then what follows? By those same laws and usages of war, and by such treaties as the treaty of Washington, negotiated in 1871, it follows, as the night the day, that the Canadian government is bound to prevent either belligerent, either the empire or its enemy, from fitting out, arming or equipping in Canadian waters any vessels with which to cruise or carry on war against the other—from using Canadian ports and Canadian waters as a base of naval operations against the other belligerent. So that worse than useless to the empire shall then become not only the Canadian navy, but Canadian ports and naval stations and coaling stations and dockyards—yes, and Canada herself. Because what does a declaration of neutrality mean but a declaration of independence? Not only are those provisions silly and unworkable beyond the dream of folly; not only is there planted in them the seed, the loathsome seed of separation and independence, planted at a time when every dictate of conscience and honour tell us that we should be adding to the fighting strength of the British navy, instead of striking a fatal blow at British prestige; not only all that, but there is a reverse side to this picture, a negative side to this provision—a side more offensive still, if that be possible, more out of joint with Canadian manhood, Canadian aspirations and Canadian sentiment. As I have said, by section 18, the government may send the navy in defence of the empire; in other words, the government may place that navy at the disposal of the King. The obverse side of that permission, the reverse side of that picture, the negative side of that statement, is that the government may not send that navy to the defence of the empire. In case the government withholds that navy from the defence of the empire in case it is kept at anchor in Canadian ports at the hour when the empire is engaged in a life-and-death struggle with its enemy, then, forsooth, the government does

not need to convene parliament to have that Act either ratified or reversed. The Bill assumes that the citizens of this part of the empire, the people of Canada, will endorse beyond peradventure that doing-nothing policy. The Bill assumes that the people of Canada will say to the government; Well done, thou good and faithful servant; true, the empire is in danger, but what care we? By your wise statemanship our little navy is not endangered; to make assurance doubly sure, however, have that navy seek further safety and security up the shallow creeks of Canada beyond the reach of bomb and battleship.

Take the reverse side of that picture, and I contend that that is the only meaning of that side. What a spectacle we are presenting to the gaze of the world. We cannot find any parallel for it in colonial history. The American colonies, the most fanatically independent and self-contained of all the colonies, at a time when they, unlike ourselves, had a real grievance against the motherland, expressly declared their willingness to continue contributing, as they had done in the past, to the defence of the empire and to tax themselves for that purpose, and they spurned the suggestion that they were cowardly enough to shirk that duty. Before the bar of the British House of Commons, in 1764, Mr. Benjamin Franklin made this clear, when he said that the colonies were willing to raise a special revenue to be devoted without an 'if' or a 'but' by parliament to the defence of the empire. And, as we know, the American colonies, in the great wars of the 18th century, out of their own blood and treasure in a foreign field, without waiting for the ipse dixit of parliament, did valiant service in defence of the empire. For Canada to do less, for Canada, without a grievance of any kind against the motherland, and while professing lip loyalty, and accepting protection from the British navy, for Canada now to do nothing but take the power to lie in waiting until the empire becomes embroiled in a life and death struggle with her enemies, and then with a kiss to betray that empire into the hands of her enemies—that act could have but one parallel in all the annals of the human race. But it is said, and may be said again, that although power is given by this Bill to the government to withhold the navy from the defence of the empire and although power is given parliament to recall the navy from that defence, yet no government in Canada will exercise that power to withhold and no parliament in Canada will ever exercise that power to recall. If that be so, why give the power, why insert that provision in the Bill? But let that Bill once pass, with that provision in it, and let the empire be again engaged in