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CONFIDENTIAL.

POSTAL AND TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION

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THE CANADIAN ROUTE.

Submitted at the Meetings of the Colonial Conference on the 19th and 20th April, 1887, by Mr. SANDFORD FLEMING.

I.

HAVING given some attention to the question of Postal and Telegraphic communication, I avail myself of the privilege afforded me of submitting my views to the Conference.

The Right Hon. the Chairman, in his opening address, suggested that it is desirable to consider improved communication as a whole, so as to bring into view a complete system. In the remarks which I now propose to submit, I shall endeavour to keep that suggestion prominently in view, although, perhaps, being associated with Canada, and more familiar with the thoughts and hopes of the Canadian people, it is not unnatural that I should speak more particularly of the position which the Dominion occupies in relation to the Empire and its needs.

The question cannot be considered without reference to the relative geographical position of the great self-governing Colonies. These are situated in three distinct Continents—America, Africa, and Australasia. According to our ordinary habit of thought, Canada, in the western hemisphere, and Australasia, in the eastern, are at opposite ends of the Colonial Empire, and are as far asunder as it is possible on this globe for two countries to be situated. We all know now that this is a mistaken idea, nevertheless it exists, and it is due greatly to the circumstance that immigration from Europe takes opposite directions to Australasia and to Canada. In consequence of this circumstance, (2) (2)

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the two sets of colonists have been completely separated, and they now find themselves perfectly distinct, without any social, commercial, or political intercourse.

There are those in Canada, and, I doubt not, there are those in Australasia, who have taken a somewhat enlarged view of the situation. They have seen that while the emigrant from England to New Zealand traversed 180° of longitude east, and the settler in Western Canada passed over 120° of longitude west, the two are nevertheless not separated by the sum of the two distances. By actual journey they are undoubtedly 300° of longitude from each other, but by actual fact they are only 60° asunder.

True, the sixty degrees of longitude which separates them, when it comes to be measured, is increased in mileage somewhat owing to another circumstance, but the application of science comes to our aid in connection with this question. If we resort to the agencies of steam and electricity, the people of Australasia and the people of Canada may, for all practical purposes, become And why, it may be asked, should they not be neighbours. neighbours as far as it is possible for art and science to make them? Are they not one in language, in laws, and in loyalty? Have they not substantially the same mission in the outer Empire, and would they not, as good neighbours, supporting each other, and with their energies directed to a common cause, be of great advantage to each other? Would they not, so united by friendly ties, add strength to the power to which they owe a common and willing allegiance ?

If we have discovered ourselves in Canada to be much nearer our sister Colonies in Australasia than we ever before supposed, we have also awakened to the knowledge that there is no land

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earer d, we land between us and Asia, that we look across the Pacific to India, and that to reach the east the true path is to go west.

These facts are recent revelations to many of us, and I ask your indulgence while, as briefly as I can, I relate the leading circumstances which have brought Canada to realize her new position—a position not any longer at the far extremity of the Colonial system, but midway between the British Islands on the one hand and her rich Colonies and Dependencies in the Pacific and Indian Oceans on the other.

I think it will be obvious, from the few facts and dates which I desire to submit to you, that it is in no small degree owing to the benign influence of the Home Government, bearing on the people of the Canadian Provinces for many years back, that British America has advanced step by step, and that successive administrations have from time to time been enabled to consolidate British interests on the Western Continent. The more recent efforts have succeeded in constructing improved means of communication between remote parts of the country, they have overcome obstacles once deemed insuperable, and their efforts have culminated in establishing across the widest part of North America a great national railway, destined, we believe, to become an essential factor in the defence and future prosperity of the Empire.

For a moment I shall refer to the records of history.

In the reign of King William IV., the Home Government, solicitious for the safety of British America, granted $\pounds 10,000$ to be expended on exploration for a railway from the Bay of Fundy to Quebec. The survey was entrusted to Captain Yule of the Royal Engineers. This was in 1836, fifty-one years back.

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In 1839 an Appropriation was voted by the Imperial Parliament for a military road through New Brunswick, leading to Quebec.

In 1843 the Imperial Government directed further surveys for a military road, having in view the same object.

In 1846 the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Gladstone, issued instructions to the Royal Engineers to make a survey for a railway from Halifax to Quebec. At this date the Imperial Government was strongly impressed with the importance of this work, in a political point of view, as being essential for the military defence of the British American possessions.

Sir John Hervey, in opening the Legislature of Nova Seotia in 1847, spoke of the Halifax and Quebec Railway as being not second to any project which had ever engaged the notice of any Colonial Legislature in any part of the British Dominions, and which would "constitute the most important link in that great line of communication which may be destined at no remote period to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans." I quote the exact prophetic words used by the Queen's representative forty years ago.

A letter from the Colonial Secretary (10th March, 1851) made mention of the strong sense entertained by the British Government of the extreme importance, not only to the Colonies directly interested, but to the Empire at large, of providing for the construction of a railway by which a line of communication might be established on British territory.

The Home Government despatched in 1857 a scientific expedition to examine the interior of British North America, extending from the settled portions on the St. Lawrence westerly to fin te

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vientifie merica, vesterly to the Rocky Mountains, with the view, among other things, of finding a route for a great line of communication within British territory to the Pacific coast.

Some years later the Home Government took active steps to arrange with the Hudson Bay Company for the surrender of its territorial rights, and encouraged the then Province of Canada to acquire those rights and assume authority over the vast region occupied only by scattered tribes of Indians.

In 1867 the Imperial Parliament passed an Act by which the several British-American Provinces were united, and the Dominion of Canada formed. One of the essential conditions was that the confederated Provinces should construct a railway from Halifax to Quebec, the Imperial Government assisting so far as to guarantee the interest on three millions (\pounds 3,000,000) of its cost. A further provision of the British North America Act was the entrance of British Columbia into the Confederation, and the construction of a railway across the Continent to the Pacific coast.

It will be manifest from this brief reference to historical facts that there has been a continual solicitude on the part of the Home Government for the maintenance and extension of Imperial interests in North America. That it was deemed of the greatest possible importance to establish the best means of communication (1) between the fortresses of Halifax and Quebec, separated by 700 miles, and (2) between Quebec and the Pacific coast, some 3,100 miles. That Canada, in deference to Imperial wishes and needs, has adopted the policy of establishing these great lines of communication, and that she has steadily pursued that policy, step by step, until the present time.

It will be borne in mind that the population of Canada is

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comparatively small, confined for the most part to the older Provinces. This limited population has incurred an enormous expenditure in overcoming obstacles of very great magnitude in opening up for colonization the fertile region recently acquired. She has had no little difficulty, and incurred no small outlay, in connection with the Indian population, but the greatest and most costly of all her undertakings has been the railway across the Continent; and, in establishing this undonbtedly great work, she has been impressed with the conviction that she was promoting the general interests of the Empire, and contributing not a little towards its consolidation and defence.

There is now a continuous line of railway from Halifax to the Pacific, entirely on British soil. The Pacific Railway was opened for public use last year. Eight months before it was opened for public traffic the last rail was laid; but the last rail had not been laid many days when a consignment of naval stores passed through to the station of the North Pacific Fleet from Halifax. The time occupied on the then unfinished railway was seven days and a few hours, from tide water of the Atlantic to Esquimault. Without the railway it would have taken some three months to have sent the same stores in a British bottom to their destination. This one fact must be recognised as of striking significance, as it clearly shows the immense political value of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This new line practically brings what was once the most remote naval station, in the most distant colony of the Empire, within about two weeks of Portsmouth.

I will not venture to take up your time by dwelling upon the naval and military and political importance of the Canadian Railway to the Pacific. The highest authorities in England have te

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the gov testified to its value to the whole Empire. I only desire to draw attention to the fact that it is the outcome of a policy initiated by the Home Government and continually pressed on Canada by the Home Government. This great Imperial line of communication is the growth of half-a-century; it has been established by the Canadian people without cost to England. Even the expenditure made by the Home Government on the preliminary surveys for the line between the fortresses of Halifax and Quebee has been refunded. The railway across the Continent has involved an expenditure of $\pounds 48,000,000$, of which about $\pounds 24,000,000$ (the exact amount is $\pounds 23,966,000$) has been paid by the Government of Canada in subsidies, or without prospect of return.

Canada does not ask to be relieved of any of the burdens she has assumed; she brings all her costly works as a contribution to the common defence, and she desires that they may be made available in the most advantageous manner to the Empire.

There are several ways in which the line through Canada may be at once utilised for Imperial purposes. I may mention the following three, $v_{1,2}$:--

1. As a postal and passenger route from England to the Australasian Colonies.

2. As a postal and passenger route from England to Asia.

3. As a telegraph route, protected by the British flag, from the seat of Government in London to every one of the selfgoverning Colonies, and also to India.

IMPERIAL POSTAL ROUTE,

First, as a postal route. In your opening address, Sir, you

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, upon nadian 1 have referred to the possibility of reinforcing the navy with fast merchant steamships. You pointed out how desirable it would be in the event of war to have the means of strengthening the fleet by the addition of fast eruisers with armaments ready prepared.

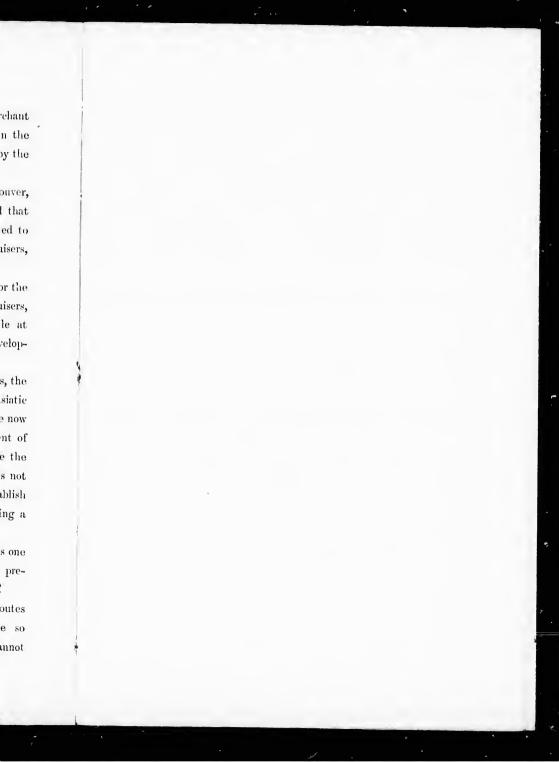
It is suggested that mail lines be established from Vancouver, the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that the ships employed be of a high speed, specially constructed to meet the requirements of the Admiralty with respect to cruisers, and with the most approved accommodation for passengers.

It is obvious that a sufficient number of such ships for the two postal services across the Pacific, available as armed cruisers, would be of immense advantage in any emergency, while at ordinary times they would be actively engaged in the development of commerce.

It is calculated that, by powerful steamships of this class, the mails could be carried from England to Australian and Asiatic ports in considerably less time and at less cost than they are now conveyed; and it cannot be doubted that the establishment of such lines would develop commercial activity, and promote the general interests of the Empire on Pacific waters. It is not necessary to abandon the old postal routes in order to establish the new, but it is important that no time be lost in initiating a service so pregnant with possibilities.

The principle of growth is familiar to all colonists: it is one in which they all have faith; but there is one essential preliminary—there must be a beginning! Seed must be sown!

If it be not practicable at once to place on the two routes across the Pacific weekly lines of steamers, let it be so arranged that they will leave at wider intervals. If we cannot





have 52 departures a year, let us have at first 26. Rather begin with a service of first-class steamships leaving every two weeks than none at all. There are those in this room who can well remember the time when the service between Enrope and America was confined to one line of small steamers leaving once a fortnight. We all know to what gigantic proportions that service has now grown. May we not confidently look to similar results on the Pacific?

Thus, by means of improved lines of postal communication across the Pacific, could +' > Empire take advantage of the facilities offered by Canada. All must admit it to be in every way desirable that commercial and other relations of intimacy should spring up between the great Colonies now represented in this room. The establishment of a direct postal service such as suggested would plant the germs of a commerce which in a few years may develop into a magnitude now little dreamed of. I need searcely say that the people of Canada would hail with great satisfaction the sympathetic co-operation of the Imperial Government and the Governments of the Australasian Colonies in an effort to call into existence a new field for commercial enterprise-an effort which is well calculated to strengthen British interests, and establish British predominance on the Paeific. The question is a practical one of common concern to all; and I feel warranted in saying that, although Canada has already from her own unaided resources sunk an enormous amount in rendering the new Imperial postal services possible, she will be prepared, as Sir Alexander Campbell will explain to you, still further to render substantial aid.

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THE CANADIAN TELEGRAPH ROUTE.

Н.

Yesterday I referred to the value of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a postal route to Anstralasia, and to the British Dependencies in Asia. The other means by which the public works of Canada may be turned to the use of the Empire is as a telegraph route. There can be no efficient intercourse nowadays without the telegraph. The Chairman, on the first day of the Conference, quoted from an excellent authority to show that general mercantile business cannot be economically conducted without the telegraph, that, in fact, the telegraph is an indispensable auxiliary to all commercial transactions between persons separated by distance. In this view I do not see it possible that any profitable business intercourse can spring up between Australasia and Canada without a direct telegraphic connection. It is quite true that already telegraph wires extend from Canada to England and from England to Australasia; but imagine for a moment business men on opposite sides of the Pacific being obliged to communicate with each other by sending messages round the globe no less than five-sixths of its whole circumference !

The heavy charges by the circuitons route, the delays and the risk of errors consequent on the numberless repetitions in the transmission of messages, would prove such an impediment to general intercourse as to render the existing line by way of Europe of little or no use. It could only be resorted to in extreme cases,

There cannot be a doubt that, if there are to be more intimate relations, if any progress is to be made towards a closer

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union or intimacy of any kind, the first thing to be thought of is a direct telegraphic connection; without it the young mercantile marine on the Pacific would be ruinously handicapped, and the successful development of commerce rendered impossible.

But beyond the promotion of commercial and social relations, there are other considerations of the highest importance.

It is only necessary to look at a telegraph map of the world to see how dependent on foreign powers Great Britain is, at this moment, for the security of its telegraphic communication with Asia, Australasia, and with Africa—in fact, it may be said that the telegraphic communication between the Home Government and every important division of the Empire, except Canada, is dependent on the friendship (shall I say the protection?) of Turkey. Is not Turkey continually exposed to imminent danger from within? Is she not in danger of falling a prey to coverous neighbours, whose friendship towards Great Britain may be doubted? What has it cost in British blood and treasure to obtain the goodwill and give strength to a Power so weak? And yet the Ottoman Government, on which we depend for communication with India and Australasia, appears continually exposed to impending disaster.

The Suez route has proved convenient in the past, and it may prove useful in the future, but when our object is to strengthen the Colonial system, is it wise to be so dependent on a Power the condition of which is so critical ?

I venture the remark that the patriotism and enterprise of Canada has opened up the way by which the British Empire may be placed entirely independent of any foreign Power with respect to its telegraphic communications.

The western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway-Vancou-

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ore ser ver—is in telegraphic communication with London. Communications have passed between London and Vancouver, and replies returned within a few minutes. From Vancouver cables may be laid to Australasia by way of Hawaii, or they may be laid from one British Island to another, and thus bring New Zealand and all the Australasian Colonies directly into telegraphic connection with Great Britain, without passing over any soil which is not British, and by passing only through seas as remote as possible from any difficulties which may arise in Europe.

Again, India can be reached from Australasia by the lines of the Eastern Telegraph Company; South Africa can be reached through the medium of the Eastern and South African Company; and thus, by supplying the one link wanting, the Home Government will have the meaus provided to telegraph to every important British Colony and Dependency, around the circumference of the globe, without approaching Europe at any point.

I respectfully submit that the establishment of a telegraph from Canada to Australasia is, for the reasons given, a question well worthy of earnest consideration; and as a Canadian, it is a matter of great gratification to me that it has been brought, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the notice of this Conference.

My own views are given at some length in printed documents, which have been circulated within the past few days. I need not, therefore, take up your time further in expounding them. I will only notice very briefly the letters of Mr. John Pender, which have also been placed in the hands of Members of the Conference. Mr. Pender speaks on behalf of the existing Telegraph Comparies, and it is not unnatural that he, and they, should be hostile to a anicaeplies ay be from ad all ection s not ssible

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ents, not, will nave nce. pies, to a new line which would undoubtedly destroy their monopoly, and reduce the exceedingly high charges which they have so long enjoyed.

Mr. Pender objects to the proposal to connect Canada with Australasia, telegraphically, on several grounds. He states that the line "would necessarily consist of long stretches, aeross enormous and practically unsurveyed depths, terminating in coral reefs," and he leaves the impression that the project is impracticable, or next to impracticable.

In Canada, and I doubt not in the other Colonies, we have learned to disregard objections of this kind. At one time it was declared by a very high authority, an Imperial Scientific Officer specially commissioned to examine and report, that it was quite impracticable to establish a railway through the Territories now forming the Dominion. This officer was not Chairman of any Company whose profits were at stake; he was an able, earnest man with a deservedly high reputation. He was assisted by a staff of scientists equally able and reliable, who were engaged with him in exploring the country for a period of four years. I shall give a paragraph from his report, addressed in 1862 to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary.

"The knowledge of the country on the whole would never lead me to advocate a line of communication from Canada across the Continent to the Pacific, exclusively on British territory. The time has now for ever gone by for effecting such an object, and the unfortunate choice of an astronomical boundary line has completely isolated the central American possessions of Great Britain from Canada in the east, and also debarred them from any eligible access from the Pacific coast on the west." Notwithstanding this exceedingly disconraging declaration, the work has been grappled with and the railway is constructed, and, I may add, that a magnificent train service, with appointments for the most luxurious travellers, passes over it every day in the week.

Is it surprising that Colonists are disposed to reserve their judgment when any project of a similar kind is pronounced even by good authority to be impracticable ?

It is perfectly true that our information respecting the Pacific Ocean is incomplete, but so far as it goes there is nothing on which to base an unfavourable opinion. Two years back I personally looked with attention into the whole matter, and I put on record the conclusion which I arrived at. I beg leave to read a paragraph from a published letter, which I addressed to the Premier of Canada, Sir John Macdonald, Oct. 20th, 1885:—

"There are, indeed, extensive coral reefs in the central "and sonthern Pacific; but the most authentic hydrographic "information establishes that those reefs are generally in "great groups, separated by wide and deep depressions free "from obstructions. It is further revealed by the latest "bathymetric data that those depressions or troughs present "(as far as ascertained) a sea floor precisely similar to that "of the Atlantic, so suitable for submarine telegraphy. "Those ocean depressions, alike by their geographical "position and their continuity, open up the prospect of "connecting Canada and Anstralasia by a direct cable."

Mr. Pender says that a telegraph from Canada to Australasia would not benefit the Colonics, and that "it would be inimical to the interests of the telegraphing public."

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It is not at all necessary to occupy your time at any great length in refuting this contention. I shall only remark that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have made arrangements to transmit all Australasian telegraph business over their wires across the Continent for twopence half-penny (21d.) per word, and that the ordinary charge across the Atlantic is sixpence (6d.) per word, making a total charge of eightpence half-penny (83d.) per word from Vancouver to London. Vancouver is 5,500 miles from London, and the nearest point of Anstralasia is 6,500 miles from Vancouver. Vancouver to London is therefore the shortest half, but if the actual charge for transmission on the short half he 81d., at the same rate messages sent the whole distance would be a little more than double, or say 1s. $8\frac{1}{2}d$. per word. On reference to the published tariff of the Company, represented by Mr. Pender, I find that the charges for ordinary messages are as follows, viz.:--

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••	South Australia	•••	•••	•••	9/4
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••	Western Australia	•••			9/4
,.	Tasmania				9/11
••	New Zealand	•••	•••	•••	10/6

From this it appears that the lowest charge for the transmission of ordinary messages, by the existing line, to any one of the seven Colonies, is nine shillings and fourpence (9/4) per word.

I ask if a reduction from 9/4 to 1/8 per word would be inimical to the interests of the telegraphing public, and no benefit whatever to the Colonies?

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ia to I have based the comparison on the actual Atlantic charges at the present time, and on a decision deliberately arrived at by the Board of Directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company with respect to Australasian business. On this basis I have reckoned one shilling per word for the Pacific service, but even if that rate be doubled, it needs no words of mine to prove that the gain to the telegraphing public and the Colonies would be enormous.

I am sanguine enough to believe that the moment Canada and Australasia are telegraphically connected there will be a wonderful development of telegraphic activity, and business will far exceed present conceptions.

Mr. Pender alludes to the Pacific as if its depth was a serious objection to telegraphic submersion. The soundings which have been made on the route to be traversed go to show that the greatest depth is from 3,000 to 3,100 fathoms. This is indeed greater by about 100 fathoms than the depth of waters in which cables have been successfully laid, but the excess is triffing. I must, however, bring to your notice that the depth is itself an element of security. The cables in deepest water at the present time are those of the Brazilian Submarine Telegraph Company,* and it is a singular fact that this Company, with cables sunk to a depth of 2,960 fathoms, has paid far less than any other Company for cable repairs. This Company owns to-day some 7,340 nautical miles of cable ; if I am correctly informed, it has never owned a repairing ship, and I believe it has only carried out two, or three, repairs in the thirteen years it has existed.

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epth was a serious dings which have to show that the This is indeed f waters in which ess is triffing. I depth is itself an er at the present graph Company,* a cables sunk to a a any other Comday some 7,340 med, it has never y carried out two, ed.

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far the most secure in deep water? Only cables in shallow water, such as those of the Eastern and Eastern Extension Companies are exposed to the ravages of marine insects, and, in consequence, continually need repair and renewal.

Mr. Pender urges that in case of war it would be impossible to protect cables laid across the Pacific. I venture to enquire, v 'd it not be infinitely more difficult to protect the cables and the land lines of the Companies represented by that gentleman? Look at the telegraph map of the world and judge of their respective security. The lines of the Eastern and Eastern Extension Companies have stations in two foreign countries — Egypt and Java—the one under the sovereignty of Turkey, the other of Holland. All, or nearly all, the cables of these Companies are laid in shallow water, and nothing could be easier than to drag them to the surface anywhere. From England to Egypt they skirt every country in Southern Europe, and are exposed at every point for the whole distance.

The Pacific cables, on the other hand, would not be so exposed. They would be far removed from every country likely to prove hostile to England, they would be laid in deep water, as the Atlantic cables are, and they would be laid under circumstances which would render it no casy matter for a foreign ship to find them.

Mr. Pender contends that the cables of his Companies would "be the special object of the vigilant care of the Royal Navy." If I may hazard an opinion, it is not improbable that the ships of the Royal Navy would have other work more urgently demanding their attention than standing sentry on every mile of the cables extending from England to Aden. I think it must be obvious, without further argument, that all the cables of the Eastern Telegraph Company are so vuluerable, that the existence of an alternative line through Canada and the Pacific, would be of incalculable advantage. The possibility of sending a single message in an emergency, *via* Canada and the Pacific, might actually be worth more to the Empire than the whole cost of the new line.

Mr. Pender submits "that the existing Company, as the pioneer of telegraphic communication with Australasia, is entitled to a large share of consideration at the hands of the Colonies." There may be much truth in this, as I am not familian with the history of the work of extending submarine telegraph service to the Australasian Colonies. I will only observe that this is not the first time that a company or an individual has been called upon to relinquish a monopoly by the exigencies of the public welfare.

I do not wish that any injustice be done to this Company or to any individual. If they have any claims for consideration or compensation, these claims should undoubtedly be met in a fair and honourable manner. But, I ask, is it for a moment to be thought that Canada and Australasia are never to hold direct telegraphic intercourse because a Commercial Company stands in the way? Are commercial relations between two of the most important divisions of the British family for ever to remain dormant in order that the profits of a Company may be maintained?

Has Mr. Pender's Company more claim to consideration than the Australasian Colonies themselves? And are the people of these Colonies never to be relieved of the exorbitant charges which that Company exacts ?

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Is Canada entitled to no consideration? Are all her efforts, all her expenditure, all her aspirations, to go for nought?

Are the vital interests of the British Empire to be neglected? Is the permanent policy of England to be thwarted? Is the peace of the world to be endangered at the bidding of a Joint Stock Company?

In 1823 the instructions given to that distinguished Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, contained these words :----

"To preserve the peace of the world is the leading object of the policy of England. For this purpose it is necessary in the first place to prevent to the utmost of our power the breaking out of new quarrels; in the second place to compose, where it can be done by friendly mediation, existing difficulties; and, thirdly, when that is hopeless, to narrow as much as possible their range; and, fourthly, to maintain for ourselves an imperturbable neutrality in all cases where nothing occurs to affect injuriously our interests or our honour."

I believe, Sir, that these noble sentences define the policy of England to-day as they did sixty years back. The eircumstances are, however, not the same, and there are, if possible, stronger reasons for adhering to that policy than there ever were. Colonies are planted in the four quarters of the globe, and British interests are world-wide. The Eastern question has long been a burning question, but England is now less concerned with Europe than with Australasia, Africa, Asia, and America. If to preserve the peace of the world be the leading object of the policy of England, that object may most surely be attained by England concerning herself less with Europe, and more with the English people and the Queen's subjects beyond Europe. To follow such a course is to my mind dictated by a proper apprehension of the situation, no less than a sense of duty to ourselves. The entire future of the British Empire may largely depend on our wisely availing ourselves of opportunities which are now presented, to strengthen the cohesion of the Colonies to each other and to the mother country.

If that end is to be accomplished, I respectfully submit that Canada's contribution, on which she has incurred liabilities which will tax her people $\pounds 1,000,000$ sterling a-year for all future time, should not be lightly regarded.

If there is to be any practical progress made in consolidating the Colonial Empire, the establishment of such new lines of Imperial communication as I have alluded to, by telegraph and by fast merchant cruisers, is to my mind an absolute necessity.

Would not the establishment of such communications open the way for securing to the Empire in perpetuity a masterful hold on the Pacific? Prepared for the worst that may happen in Europe, would not England, occupied with her own people, and pursuing her own noble aims, be in a position to regard the Eastern question with comparative indifference?

'chese views, suggested to me by my own more immediate range of thought, are submitted to the Conference with all deference.

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