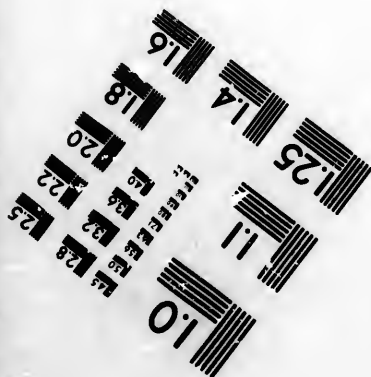
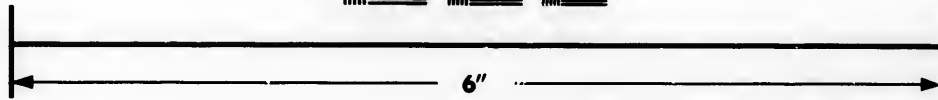
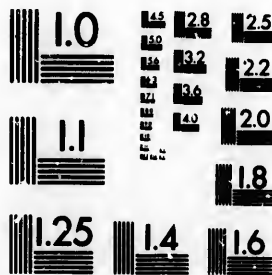


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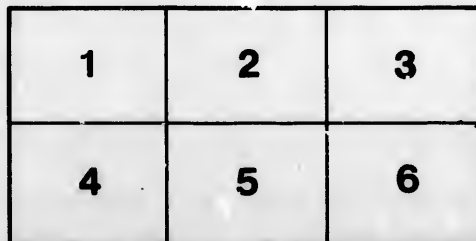
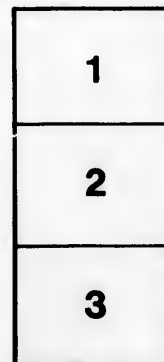
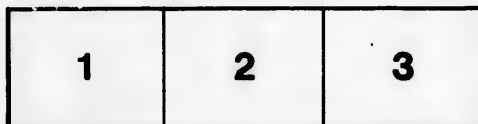
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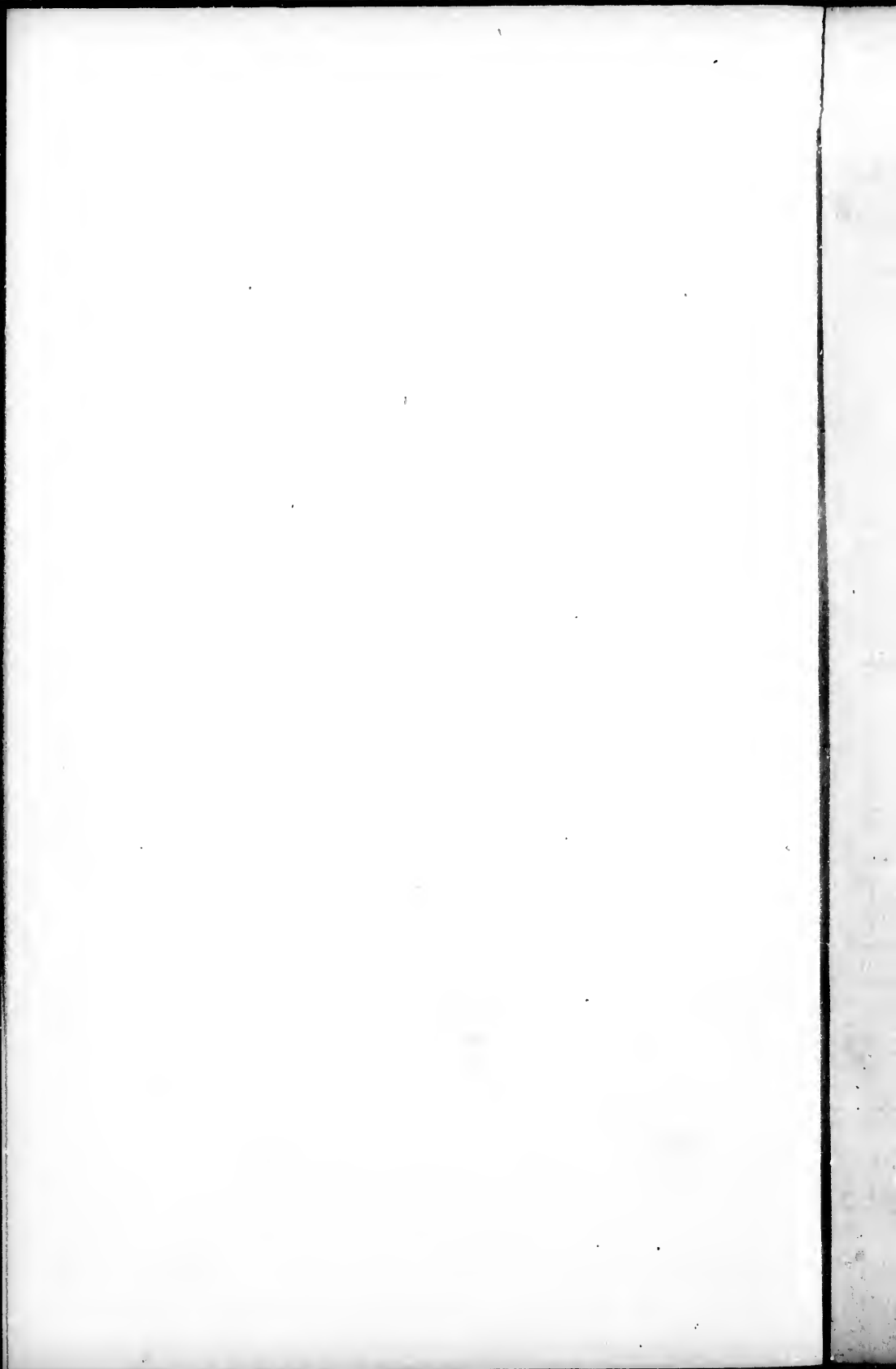
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PUBLIC MEETING

AT THE

LONDON TAVERN,

AUGUST 13TH, 1862.

R. W. CRAWFORD, ESQ., M.P.,

IN THE CHAIR.

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LONDON:

1862.

**PRESENT:—**

The Hon. A. T. GALT, late Finance Minister of Canada.  
The Hon. B. WIER, of Nova Scotia.  
The Hon. R. B. DICKEY, of Nova Scotia.  
JOHN BOYD, Esq., of New Brunswick.  
T. DANIELS, Esq., of New Brunswick.  
The Hon. A. T. LANGLEY, of Vancouver Island.  
The Hon. JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON, of Canada, M.P.P.  
H. HAMILTON, Esq., of Canada, M.P.P.

B. CHAMBERLIN, Esq.  
THOMAS BARING, Esq., M.P.  
The Hon. A. KINNAIRD, M.P.  
The Right Hon. E. P. BOUVERIE, M.P.  
T. W. WEGJELIN, Esq., M.P.  
WM. SCHOLEFIELD, Esq., M.P.  
H. DANBY SEYMOUR, Esq., M.P.  
GEO. G. GLYN, Esq., M.P.  
ROBERT GILLESPIE, Esq., Jun.  
JOHN CHAPMAN, Esq.  
H. WOLLASTON BLAKE, Esq.  
WM. MURDOCH, Esq.  
ROBERT BAXTER, Esq.  
J. CAPEL, Esq.  
Captain MANGLES.  
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GEO. CARL GLYN, Esq., M.P.  
K. D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.  
J. POPE HENNESSY, Esq., M.P.  
Captain JERVIS, M.P.  
STEPHEN CAVE, Esq., M.P.  
WM. NEWMARSH, Esq., F.R.S.  
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# BRITISH NORTH-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION.

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## PUBLIC MEETING

AT THE LONDON TAVERN,

AUGUST 13<sup>TH</sup>, 1862.

ROBERT WIGRAM CRAWFORD, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.

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THE CHAIRMAN :—Gentlemen, I need not remind you, at all events the majority of those present, that a meeting was held in this house in the latter part of the month of January last, when it was determined to form an institution, under the name of the British North-American Association, for the purpose of affording, amongst other things, a place of meeting and of re-union for gentlemen connected with the North-American provinces in this country, and for giving them an opportunity of seeing each other when they came here, and of meeting gentlemen in this country also interested in these provinces, and, in point of fact, of affording all who are in any way interested in these provinces, of meeting together at some acknowledged place of rendezvous, where they might, apart from politics or any other consideration of that kind, freely discuss matters relating to British North America. The idea received considerable encouragement from gentlemen in this country. It was warmly supported, and, in point of fact, there are few gentlemen who have an interest in British North America who have not joined the Association. Many meetings have been held, rules have been adopted, a committee has been formed, and, at the present moment, the Association may be con-



sidered to be satisfactorily established. On the other side of the water, however, it has not yet received that full amount of support which might have been desired, owing, probably, to Mr. Vankoughnet being promoted, on his return to Canada, to a high position on the bench, and to other events which have occurred in Canada, to elections going on, and to a variety of other considerations. One of the objects of this meeting is, I think, rather to remind our friends on the other side of the Atlantic of the establishment of the Association, and to point out to them by what we may here say to-day, that it ought to be an object with them to give us the full support of the various provinces in such a way as may seem best to them to give it. We have received from gentlemen very handsome support in a pecuniary point of view. We have a good many subscribers to the Association, and we have also a considerable number of gentlemen who have commuted an annual subscription for a fixed sum. On the whole, we have a fair foundation established for the Association. But it may be said, that an institution of this kind can hardly be expected to succeed, unless it proceeds to show in some way that it can make itself of practical use. Many events and circumstances have occurred during the last few months, which show that an Association such as this may be made exceedingly useful. Various subjects important to the interests of the various colonies have arisen. I need not refer to more than one or two of them,—such as the proposed Inter-Colonial Railway, and that other great question of emigration to Canada, which will more or less engage the utmost attention of this Association, in the way of giving information to persons desirous to go abroad, which they cannot obtain in any other way. It is true that they can go to the office of the Grand Trunk Railway and seek that information, but we know that persons of the general character of emigrants going abroad are rather suspicious, in their way, of receiving information of that kind. They naturally think that, in going to the Grand Trunk Railway, the only object of the railway is to procure traffic, and to obtain part of the sum which they would have to pay for going abroad, as part of their

receipts. It occurs to us who have been engaged in the formation of this Association, that it would be a decided advantage to emigrants going abroad, to know that they could come to the office of the Association, and there receive information of an authentic character, upon which they could rely, which would be to them a foundation of views upon which they would go and colonise in any of these provinces. Vast numbers of emigrants are still leaving and going to the Australian colonies, many of whom, I believe, if they could have been correctly informed of what awaited them in Canada or the other provinces, of the advantages they would there receive, would perhaps have directed their steps in that direction. That is one of the advantages that this Association holds out to intending emigrants. Then again, with regard to the Inter-Colonial Railway, I know the great advantage that there is in the prosecution of designs of this kind, which are intended, not for the purpose so much of individual benefit, as for great national objects, in having the support of large establishments, consisting of persons whose interests are bound up in the colony or province to which the proposed enterprise is intended to apply. I have myself, during the Parliamentary session, been actively engaged, in common with many other friends, in pressing this question on the attention of the Government; and the Government have been good enough, as you are aware, to give the matter their consideration, and they have addressed a despatch to the various Governments abroad, which has placed before those Governments distinctly the views of the Imperial Government upon the question. I think it would be of some advantage to the various legislatures, if they were to know that the proposition made by the Government has met with general support and concurrence in this country. I need hardly go into the merits of this question now. The whole subject has been thoroughly well discussed; but, as we are met together, it would not be out of place if some reference is made to that proposed railway, with a view to show our friends on the other side of the Atlantic that public interest in this country is strongly directed to the question, and that we view the establishment

of a great line of railway communication, independent altogether of American relations, with great interest, and that there is a strong desire to see our friends warmly take up the question, and adopt the suggestions of Her Majesty's Government. There is another reason why we may fairly invite gentlemen who are interested in these colonies to meet here to-day. Several gentlemen have come over to this country, partly to see the Exhibition, who have kindly signified to us their desire to be present here to-day. Mr. Galt has been kind enough to come here, and I think, considering the objects for which the Association was formed, it would not be out of place if Mr. Galt is afforded an opportunity of giving us any information in reference to the affairs of the province with which he is connected, which he may think fit to do. It is not necessary for me to occupy your time by going into the many questions of general interest which occur at this moment in connection with our colonies. The object of the meeting is to promote the objects of the Association, and I think we may fairly invite any gentleman who has anything to say in relation to British North America, to address the meeting, that we may show, not only to the people in this country, but to our friends on the other side of the water, that the British North-American Association has been formed for purposes of practical utility. (Hear.) My friend Mr. Kinnaird, who takes great interest in all matters relating to the North-American colonies, and who devotes a great deal of time, with much benefit, to matters relating to the colonies generally, is desirous of offering some observations to the meeting. I will therefore call upon him to move the first resolution. (Cheers.)

MR. KINNAIRD, M.P. :—I entirely agree with the remarks which have fallen from you, and I am happy to have an opportunity of expressing the satisfaction we have in seeing Mr. Galt and our other friends this day amongst us. I have great pleasure in moving the first resolution. I am equally glad that these gentlemen are now visiting us, because you are all aware that a debate took place in our House of Commons late in the session, when few members were

present, and some misapprehension may exist that what was said by a few members might be interpreted as being the feeling of the House. My friend Mr. T. Baring happily was in the House, and did express what I believe to be the decided sense of the majority of both Houses of Parliament, and the feeling prevailing in this country. There is not the slightest diminution of interest in the North-American colonies on the part of Englishmen. Quite the reverse. Recent events which have occurred have united and cemented those bonds stronger and stronger, and the expressions made use of in the House, which might have been mistaken for the opinion of that body, are in reality only the expressions of a few. I am convinced that the people of this country are anxious to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations with those great and noble provinces which are attached to this realm. I was present, in January, when we founded this Association, and I can assure our friends that we have not been idle since then. We have done much, and the result of the exertions of the Association, as regards the Inter-Colonial Railway, in pressing upon the Government the necessity of rendering assistance, is the proposition made by the Duke of Newcastle. I think we are greatly indebted to the Duke of Newcastle. He has shown personally the warmest interest in the object, and I believe it is owing to his personal exertions in this matter that it has been brought to what I will assume to be a happy issue, because it will form the basis of negociation, the result of which will be the formation of that important communication which both countries have so earnestly wished to have. (Hear.) The resolution which I have to propose is as follows :—

“That this meeting has heard with satisfaction, that a convention is to be held in Quebec, early in the ensuing month, of delegates from the several British North-American provinces, to consider the liberal proposition made by the Duke of Newcastle, in his despatch of the 12th of April last, with reference to the Inter-Colonial Railway; and it desires to express the hope that necessary measures for carrying out this important national undertaking will be then adopted.”

I hope our friends who will be present at that convention will express the deep interest felt in this country in the promotion of this Inter-Colonial Railway communication. I share entirely the feelings expressed by Mr. Baring in this matter, that it is of immense importance to this country to keep up the most intimate relations with her North-American provinces, and that, so far from there being the slightest feeling in this country of a desire for severance between those colonies, the closer we can maintain those ties, even at a great expense, the better it will be for us. That, I have no hesitation in saying, is the feeling of the vast majority of people in this country. (Hear.) I trust that the result of this Inter-Colonial communication will be to increase the trade of the two countries, and also to maintain in the firmest possible manner those bonds which we all so greatly rejoice in. (Cheers.)

MR. POPE HENNESSY, M.P. :—I beg to second the resolution. I do not regret that a number of members of Parliament are absent on this occasion. The whole question, as far as Canada is concerned, is not a political, but a commercial question. It is worthy of observation, that whenever the interests of our foreign dependencies have been at stake, it has been through the influence of politicians, and not of commercial men. I have heard some talk about representatives from Canada sitting in our Parliament here. Such a proposition showed that some channel of communication was wanted between ourselves and our colonies; but it also showed a great want of the knowledge how to remedy the defect. It is a great mistake to imagine that that representation should be parliamentary and political. What we want is a commercial representation of the kind afforded by this Association, and particularly that mutual representation of which we find in this resolution such an example, as the gathering together of delegates in Quebec for the purpose of considering important points connected with this question. (Hear.)

The resolution was then put from the chair and carried unanimously. The Chairman then called upon Mr. Galt to propose the next resolution.

MR. GALT, who was very warmly received, said :—I am thankful to be permitted this opportunity of addressing the Association, and I am the more pleased that the opportunity has been afforded me of proposing a resolution to this meeting which expresses the confidence that we colonists have in the administration of the Duke of Newcastle. I am particularly glad that I am permitted now to address this meeting of an Association which has been organised for the purpose of giving correct information to the people of England with reference to the colonies, because on no previous occasion has there been greater necessity for that information to be given. It is unfortunately the case, that frequently misapprehension arises in regard to the colonies;—mistakes, not of the heart, but of the head. They re-act, unfortunately, upon your fellow subjects abroad, and tend to produce a state of feeling which every one must deprecate. I am glad to have heard from Mr. Kinnaird, that the tone and sentiments adopted in the House of Commons and the House of Lords were not the sentiments which actuated the people of this country. I am certain that the sentiments which were imputed to Canada and the other provinces were equally erroneous. On this subject I can speak with some assurance: having been a member of the Administration by which the Militia Bill was proposed, I cannot be supposed to speak in any way that would tend to convey a false impression of the feeling of Canada on this subject. Notwithstanding the Government of which I was a member was defeated, that defeat in no respect marked the feeling of Canada as in any way altered from the time when the *Trent* difficulty occurred. We have our difficulties in Canada, the same as you have here. We have our political parties, which take what, to them, appears the best opportunity of attaining power, and no doubt making the improvements which they think can be made in the administration of affairs. Similar attempts are made in the House of Commons here. Why, not long ago, certain honourable gentlemen proposed a course with reference to the armaments of the country, which, if adopted, would undoubtedly have led to the retirement of the present Government;

but no one supposes that they were actuated by other than patriotic motives. Equally so is it in Canada. I am quite sure that no response would be made in Canada to any attempt to break the connection with this country, or to take any step to weaken it. It is an unfortunate circumstance, that misapprehension should exist on this subject, that it should receive utterance in the halls of the Legislature, and receive the support of an influential part of the Press of England, because it cannot fail to produce rejoinders on the other side. In order to settle questions of mutual obligation, it is necessary that they should be approached with a degree of good temper and mutual forbearance, and with a desire to promote those objects which are common to all—the greatness of the empire to which we all belong. I am glad that the formation of this Association has enabled me to make these remarks. I trust that the influence of the members of the Association will be in the direction of that good understanding which ought not to be interrupted. In that way all questions may be dealt with in a right spirit, and instead of entertaining for a moment the idea of severance, we shall see the united strength of both used in promoting the objects which I believe are promoted by the great power of England—the spread of civil and religious liberty throughout the world. (Cheers.) It would not become me here to make reference to local politics. Here in England we Canadians know no local politics. We feel that what affects Canada affects all equally. I do not desire to offer an opinion in regard to the course taken in Canada, further than to say that I deeply regret that that course has been so greatly misunderstood in this country. There are other subjects which have attracted attention in England, and which may be explained through the medium of this Association. It may be shown that the course of legislation in Canada towards Great Britain has not been that which has been attributed to it; that it has not been hostile to the industrial interests of the mother country, but that it has rather been endeavouring to follow her, as rapidly as the state of affairs would permit, and to adapt itself to the altered state of commercial business which has been



induced by the free-trade legislation of England. All the gentlemen who hear me must be aware that it is but a few years since the fiscal policy of England was that of protection. The change that, in the interests of the empire, was made, operated, for the moment, prejudicially to the colonies. They were not in a position to make those changes instantly to accord with the mother country. I speak more particularly with regard to Canada, because it has been frequently quoted as having voted and systematically increased duties on British goods, with a view to adopt a policy similar to that of the United States. In considering this question it is necessary to consider the condition of Canada such as it was a few years ago, without canals or railways, and with very indifferent roads. The cost of goods was necessarily augmented by the charges of conveyance, and to that extent the ability of the people to become the purchasers of British goods was diminished. For the same reason, the mode by which the payment was made for these goods was diminished. The grain and timber of Canada were subject to heavy charges before reaching the English market, while British goods cost more to the consumer. The Government has, therefore, pursued the policy of developing the channel of the river St. Lawrence, so as to cheapen the means of communication. That has been a policy which has been systematically adopted. It was adopted first in Upper Canada, and subsequently to the time of the union of the two provinces, it received the sanction of the Imperial Government, by way of a guarantee of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling for the purpose of completing the St. Lawrence canals—a guarantee, I may here observe, that has been fully met by the Canadian people. The whole amount of that advance is now in the hands of the British Government, for the purpose of meeting that advance; consequently not a sixpence has ever been charged upon England for it. In addition to the outlay expended for this object, a large public debt has been necessarily incurred by Canada, for the purpose of completing them—a public debt which has been augmented by the necessity, forced upon us by improved railway communication in the United States, of com-



pleting railway communication also. I may say that the result of this improvement has been to reduce the cost of conveying British goods to the consumer to a minimum, and at the same time very largely to augment the value of the bread-stuffs and timber with which we pay for those goods. This result must be as beneficial to this country as it has been to Canada. The fact is, that, whereas twenty years ago the cost of conveying goods was nearly in the proportion of 100 per cent. of their value, it is now reduced probably to 15 or 20 per cent. The creation of this debt has obliged us to increase our customs duties to meet it; but those duties represent a much smaller charge than what was represented by the cost of conveying goods formerly. Therefore, although there may be a duty of 15 or 20 per cent. levied on British goods, still the amount of charge on those goods is much less than it would have been if the duty and means of transport had remained as they were fifteen years ago. The policy of Canada has been one not merely beneficial to our own people, but really beneficial in developing trade with England. The proof of this is found in the enormous increase which has taken place, which is still going on, and which has not been materially affected by any legislation which Canada has adopted. It may be said that it was possible to make provision for the public debt other than by customs duties. To that it might be sufficient to answer, that, in a new country, it is almost impossible to impose direct taxation. It is difficult even in England. If objections are felt here and they are made here, gentlemen may be certain that, in a new country like Canada with a sparse population, it would be next to impossible to collect direct taxes. There was, therefore, no way to raise the necessary taxes but by customs duties. Now, in reference to the imposition of customs duties, it is obvious that their amount has to be fixed with reference to the tariff of the United States. With a land frontier of nearly 1000 miles, it would be plainly impossible, with a whole army of custom-house officers, to maintain very high duties. The result of such an attempt would be an amount of smuggling which would defeat that object. Now, the policy of the United States,

until recently, has been to impose duties on manufactures, and to leave certain articles, such as tea, sugar, tobacco, and spirits, free from duty. These articles, it will be remembered, form the bulk of the indirect revenue in England. We found that, though we could raise certain small duties on these articles, we could not venture to impose large duties, because they would then all have been smuggled. It was not until the necessities of the United States compelled them to increase their revenue that an opportunity was offered to Canada to raise any material part of her revenue from these sources. That was the course which would, I have no doubt, have been taken by Canada. During the last session, it was recommended by the late Government, and would, I have no doubt, have received the support of the House, had not political changes taken place. The policy announced by the late Government was to increase the duty upon tea, and sugar, and tobacco, and largely to increase the Excise duty upon spirits. It was, in fact, to take advantage of the changes which United States legislation have afforded, to raise a considerable portion of revenue from those articles which form the subjects of indirect taxation in England. At the same time the imposition of a stamp duty in the United States afforded an opportunity to Canada to introduce that as a source of revenue. That scheme was accompanied by a proposed reduction on British goods. It was proposed that the additional revenue to be obtained from these sources should be reduced on goods from this country. There can be no object in Canadians desiring to impose additional taxes upon themselves. Their object must be, the same as here, to divide the burdens as equally as possible over the whole community. They know that England is their great market, and therefore I think it is a very great mistake that many gentlemen in this country, and especially many organs of public opinion in the Press, have fallen into, in supposing that the course of Canada was dictated by other than a liberal and wise reference to their commercial relations with Great Britain and the rest of the world. I might point to the fact that Canada has made the St. Lawrence perfectly free of all charge from the Atlantic to the extreme west; that the

trade of the American Western States now passes through Canada without being subject to any charge whatever ; that the whole of the magnificent systems of canals are now free, and without any charge to those who use them. That clearly must be a great benefit to the trade of this country. It cannot but be satisfactory to gentlemen to know that, without one single item of charge, they can and do trade to Chicago as cheaply and as well as to New York. At this moment, when the additions to the Morrill tariff have rendered it still more difficult to send goods to the United States, it cannot but be satisfactory to know that Canada is now, at the smallest possible charge consistent with the maintenance of public faith, placed at the disposal of the trade of the world. The charge upon goods, which Canada adopted from necessity, has not been imposed in such a way as to cripple trade ; it has, in fact, I think, rather had a contrary effect. With regard to the importance of the colonies to this country, I feel that the very formation of this Association is the strongest evidence of what our opinions on this subject are. But when we see the vast country of the United States broken up into two parts, convulsed with civil war, with all its industry suspended, it ought to be a matter of regard to England to see that her own colonies should be protected from these disasters, and that trade with them should be maintained without interruption. The colony of Canada now carries on an import trade with Great Britain equal to 30s. a head. The imports of the United States, before the civil war, were at the rate of something less than 10s. a head of the population. It is clear, therefore, that if Canada was a portion of the United States, which is its fate if separated from England, the financial measures would apply to it, and the amount of import trade per head would be the same as for the rest of the United States. If that be the case, how can it be said that the loss of these colonies would be a matter of no consequence to this country ? I believe it would be the beginning of serious disasters ; that it would be an injury to the prestige of this great empire, and an injury to her material prosperity. I am not sorry that discussions with reference

to the subject of defence have taken place, because I think that self-defence ought to march *pari passu* with self-government. While recognising that, I think the subject ought not to be taken up in ill-temper ; but ought to be calmly and fairly considered, as I have no doubt it will be, by the Government and people of England, and equally so by the people of Canada. The policy which ought to be pursued is that of development, and not of separation. Canada possesses not merely, within her present bounds, the means of affording a home to the many unemployed of this country, where their industry will meet with a large reward ; but it possesses, in the immense regions of the West, a country almost equal to the at present occupied part of the United States. The question, therefore, concerns the whole northern part of the continent of America. It is not a question of an ordinary province, but almost of an empire. Surely it is better that that empire should grow up in connection with Great Britain ; that her institutions should be derived from, and based upon, those of England ; that her trade and financial policy should follow as near as possible in the footsteps of this country. Surely it is far better that that should be the case, than that the course should be pursued of saying that England has no interest in those possessions, and that her trade would be as large if they were separated from her as if they remained her colonies. These are mistakes, which, if adopted, will entail great disasters on this country. I am sure they would impose great disasters on the colonies. We could not stand alone. We could not maintain ourselves in face of the vast armies now being mustered by the Northern States ; therefore the change to us would be one from the beneficent government of this country, where we enjoy all the rights of self-government, and all the other advantages, great in every respect, of our connection with England, to a share in the disasters which are now overcoming that once great republic. In relation to the preservation of the connection between the colonies and England, it has been a great gratification to us all to see the warm interest displayed by the Chairman and other gentlemen of this Association on behalf of the Inter-Colonial Rail-

way. It is a work in which all abroad must feel a deep interest. Had it been in existence six months ago, an enormous amount of money would have been saved to this country in sending troops to Canada. We know not when the necessity for it may again arise. We hope it may never arise; still, provision against future danger is the duty of every statesman. With regard to the proposition of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, it is, of course, impossible for me to express any opinion upon the result; but I say this, without referring to the proposition he has made, that I view it as a step by the Imperial Government which must bring about that very desirable connection. Whatever modifications may be required in it, I am sure that the interest which has now been awakened will, in a short time, give practical effect to the efforts which the Association has made. The Railway, however, has a more important connection in which to consider it. The colonies are now separated by different governments, and by separate systems of taxation and finance. It has been urged that a federation of these provinces would be desirable. I am entirely of that opinion. I believe that, while the colonies are necessarily weakened by being separate, the time has come when it might be desirable to consider whether their strength would not be increased by federation, whether they would be better able to defend themselves from foreign foes, and whether the connection with this country might not be made more beneficial to this country. At present there are fifty different colonies, each organised on a different system, and each having representative self-government. It would be very important that those colonies should, as far as possible—as far as their interests permit—be grouped together. In the case of the British North-American colonies, whose products are almost the same, and whose interests are almost identical, if united, they would bear the relation to Great Britain of being one large and important confederacy, instead of six or seven minor ones. For the purpose of extending the principles of free trade, it would be far easier to deal with a confederacy of that kind than to deal with the separate colonies as they now exist. So, with regard to the Austra-

lian colonies, there is no doubt that, if they could be brought together into large and important dependencies, their relationship with each other would be improved, and it might be possible gradually to bring them within the sphere of the fiscal policy of England itself. (Hear, hear.) The resolution which I have to propose is this :—

“ That this meeting desires to record its appreciation of the statesmanlike policy of the Duke of Newcastle, as Colonial Minister, and also its thanks for the ready assistance he has at all times afforded to any matter in which the interests of the British North-American colonists are concerned.”

Before putting that to the meeting, I desire to express my high opinion, shared universally by my fellow-subjects in Canada, of the colonial policy of the Duke of Newcastle, which has been such as to deserve our warmest thanks. Whatever may have been the feelings of others in this country, or the views held by gentlemen of the Peace-at-any-price party, we have never had, in the case of the Duke of Newcastle, reason for one moment to doubt that his best efforts were being directed towards the maintenance of the best interests of the colonial empire over which he presides. In that I am sure he has had the support of his colleagues, and especially of the noble lord at the head of the Government. I am, therefore, glad that this opportunity has been afforded to me to propose this resolution, which I hope may be taken as a recognition of the thanks which we, as colonists, think are due to the Duke of Newcastle, not merely for the general administration of colonial affairs, but also for the warm interest which he has displayed in the matter of the Inter-Colonial Railway, with which this Association has combined its own efforts so successfully. (Cheers.)

MR. DICKEY, of Nova Scotia, seconded the resolution. In doing so, he said: Having understood that Nova Scotia would be represented by two members of the Provincial Government, I did not expect to be called upon to address the meeting; but, since I came in, I have been asked to second a resolution, which I shall do with the

greatest possible pleasure. In following Mr. Galt, after his able and eloquent speech, I rise under considerable disadvantages, and, at the same time, I am happy to acknowledge the advantage that he has left me but little to say on this resolution, or on the objects of the meeting. I have great pleasure in seconding a resolution which accords the thanks of this meeting, and, I may add, of the colonies, to the Duke of Newcastle for his colonial policy; for two reasons—first, because the Duke of Newcastle, so far as I am aware, is the only Secretary of State who has ever visited the colonies in his official capacity; and, secondly, because of the deep interest which he has taken in this great question of the Inter-Colonial Railway. In that connection I must follow the line of Mr. Galt, and, without going into the details of the proposition in that despatch, say that I recognise in it a means whereby this great work will eventually be accomplished. (Hear.) Having been for many years interested in the forwarding of that great work, I feel the greatest possible interest in its completion. Mr. Galt has said that, if it had been in operation last winter, it would have saved a large amount of imperial treasure; he might have added that, in an emergency like that which occurred last year, it might possibly have been the means of saving the incurring of any expense at all, because the weakness of Canada is sometimes the opportunity of another country; and, with the knowledge that troops and munitions might at any time be sent in twelve days to the centre of operations, I will venture to say that you will find rather less of those threats, which are "*brutum fulmen*," I hope, but which might be followed up, if England were not in a position to defend herself. A work of greater importance to the colonies and to this country I know not of than that same Railway. With regard to the defences of the colonies: in listening to Mr. Kiinnaird's observations, I was inclined to say that I did not share the regret that he expressed that the remarks in Parliament had been made, because they have elicited from this meeting a warm expression of sympathy and interest, which I was most happy to find, and which I trust represents the general sentiment in this country. With reference to



that subject, therefore, I need not say anything, except the statement which Mr. Galt has made, that no action which has been made the foundation of these observations is any way connected with the smallest desire to evade the duty which that country owes to this country, to assist in resisting foreign aggression. With reference to my own little province, it is not necessary to say much with regard to its readiness to assist, because, twenty-five years ago, when Canada was assailed, Nova Scotia, by an unanimous vote, placed an entire year's revenue at the disposal of the Imperial authorities, and nearly all the militia force, to oppose aggression, and to maintain the honour and integrity of the empire, when it was to be attacked in Canada. While Nova Scotia has been able to supply to Her Majesty's service persons to fight the battles of the empire, it has also been enabled to supply, in the persons of Sir Fenwick Williams and Sir John Inglis and others, men who would lead the sons of the empire wherever they were disposed to follow. With reference to the objects of this Association, I am happy to say this much. In my place in the Legislature last winter, when I heard of its formation, I at once recognised its importance, and I then tendered, as I now do, the thanks of the colony of Nova Scotia, collectively and individually, for the interest which you have taken in the colony. You, Mr. Chairman, have referred to the expectation of support in the colonies. I may, perhaps, on that subject be allowed to say this much,—that I am satisfied that when your Association is properly organised and submitted to the consideration of the several local legislatures, that it will, at all events, give considerable, and I trust something like substantial, aid. In the general objects of the Association I am sure you will meet not only with the sympathy of the colonies, but with substantial support. With regard to the resolution, I think the sense of the meeting will be unanimously accorded to convey the thanks, not only of this meeting, but of the entire colonies, to the Duke of Newcastle for his policy with reference to the colonies, and particularly that part which relates to the completion of the Inter-Colonial Railway. (Hear, hear.)



MR. JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON said :—I feel, Mr. Chairman, much pleasure in being able to attend a public meeting called in the City of London for the purpose of forwarding the views of the North-American Association—in other words, for the purpose of promoting the interests of the North-American provinces. It should be a matter of congratulation to every Canadian that a number of gentlemen of the highest worth and standing in this city and country had formed themselves into an Association for the promotion and advancement of Canadian interests. Canada had long felt the want of some proper representation in this country, and she should be right glad to hear that that want, owing to the patriotism of gentlemen here present, had been so well supplied. (Hear, hear.) Australia, New Zealand, and other colonies, had their representatives or agents in this country for the advancement of their interests, and had vastly benefited by them. (Hear.) And I hope that immediate steps will be taken to make this Association better known in the colonies than it is, for I myself have not ever seen any advertisement of its existence. I feel persuaded that when its objects are made known to the people of the provinces, they will not only support it by their own subscriptions, but will urge upon their respective Governments, as a matter of public policy, financially to aid and assist it. (Hear, hear.) How important, for instance, at this moment, when Canada has been so unnecessarily found fault with on account of its tariff, as well as on account of the fate of the Militia Bill, that there should exist an association of gentlemen such as those to whom I have just alluded, who, from their knowledge of Canada itself, as well as from their standing and position here, could not only place Canada in its true position, but keep it there aright before the English public. Mr. Galt has explained to you the nature of our tariff, and the circumstances, or rather the necessities, under which it was established. I have myself a word or two to say about the Militia Bill. Of course I am not supposed to be here for the purpose of upholding the conduct of those by whose votes that measure was lost, particularly as I was one of the Ministry who, along with my friend Mr. Galt, have been very seriously affected by,

that vote. (Laughter.) I have, as is well known, supported that measure, because I felt that the Legislature of Canada should have made every provision for the proper defence of the country. (Hear, hear.) Still, though I was, and am still, strongly of that opinion, I never supposed, as was erroneously thought here, that in that vote was involved any question, direct or indirect, of loyalty or disloyalty to the Crown or people of England; or that those who voted against that measure were not as anxious to maintain the connection with this country as those who voted for it. (Hear, hear.) As a Canadian now addressing Englishmen, who, it is well known, feel uneasy on this point, I take the first occasion, in common justice to my political opponents in Canada, manfully to state these facts. (Cheers.) The Militia Bill was defeated, Mr. Chairman, by those who voted against it, on the ground that in their opinion it was too expensive for the country, and that the same result, viz., the defence of the province, could be secured by less expensive machinery, and that the volunteer spirit of the country should have received greater encouragement. It was defeated by those who asserted that the Americans, having expended almost all their strength in a vain attempt to subdue the South, would not be in a position, supposing they had the will, to make a raid upon the North. These were some of the reasons given by gentlemen in the Canadian Legislature for their opposition to that measure; and I take pleasure in again asserting it, that there was no question of loyalty or disloyalty raised on the part of those who voted for or against it. (Hear, hear.) It was, in fact, a party vote given for party purposes—to turn out a Ministry; which being done almost every year in this country, I had thought would have been better understood. (Laughter.) There is one way, however, sir, of remedying all such difficulties as have arisen by the loss of this Militia Bill, caused chiefly, as before asserted, by a dread of the expense, and that is by the construction of a railway from Halifax to Quebec. (Loud cheers.) It would not be necessary then for Canada to keep up so large a militia force, and it would not be as necessary for England to maintain in Canada so large a body of troops. Great expense

might thus be saved to both countries. (Hear, hear). Besides this, there would be a feeling of security created both here and in Canada; no sudden panics about American invasion would then disturb either country. It would have the effect also of turning the attention of the Americans themselves away from any idea of invading Canada. If, during the last wars, the Americans vainly endeavoured in the winter months to take our country, the knowledge that England, by means of the Inter-Colonial Railroad, could at any time pour a large military force into the colony, might for ever deter them from again making the attempt. I can speak, Mr. Chairman, more disinterestedly, perhaps, of the benefits to be derived from the construction of this road than some gentlemen present who advocate its being built, inasmuch as I and the people whom I represent live at least 700 miles distant from any part of the country through which that road would pass. It would only affect our interests indirectly; but as a matter in which the safety of the whole country was concerned they were all equally interested, and would reap great advantage from its construction in the feeling of security which it would inspire. On every ground, therefore,—national, provincial, and even American,—I most cordially advocate its construction. (Hear, hear.) It has been said by some portions of the press here that Canadians are given to boasting of their loyalty, while at the same time they have afforded very little evidence of their attachment to this country, except in words. A short reference, however, to the history of Canada will show that this is a mistake, and that if we do occasionally indulge—perhaps too much—in our professions of attachment to this country, we can show at least some justification for so doing. In 1776, when the feeling of the North-American colonies was of the most bitter kind against England, leading immediately afterwards to war, the feeling of the people of Canada was then as sound as it is now. So strong was this attachment, owing to the free constitution given to them by England, that the Canadians resisted the alluring representations at that time made to them by three eminent men, sent by those revolting colonies to Canada to wile them from their allegiance, and Franklin, Chase,

and Carroll had to return unsuccessful to their own country. Their mission was followed up by two hostile armies, led by two of the most dashing and intrepid generals that America has ever produced, viz., Benedict Arnold and Montgomery; and though the Canadians were at that time but few, and had but a handful of soldiers from England to assist them, they successfully resisted the siege of Quebec, drove the Americans back, Montreal was recaptured, and Canada saved to the Crown of England. (Loud cheers.) Years afterwards the feeling of loyalty, of which it is true we sometimes boast, not having subsided, the same deeds were again repeated. Canada was invaded at almost every point during the years 1812, 1813, and 1814. American generals, previous to their crossing our borders, scattered broadcast amongst our people insidiously-worded proclamations, telling Canadians that they only came to give them their liberty, and if they remained quiet all would be well. Their proclamations remained again unheeded, their armies were met with the most determined courage and everywhere driven back, while at that time also there was only but a handful of British soldiers to assist, and Canada was again saved to the Crown of England. (Cheers.) Speaking of the conduct of the Canadians during the last war with America, the Duke of Wellington, thirty years after the events which I have thus cursorily described, stated in his place in the House of Lords—"That the Canadians had; by their vigorous exertions in that war, carried this country through—aye, Mr. Chairman, carried England through a period of great difficulty and danger, and had, by their gallant conduct at a time when England's hands were tied in European wars, raised a monument to their honour equal to that which any country of the civilised world could boast of." (Cheers.) I mention these things now, because it is the recollection of these glorious events that induced the Canadians of the present day to show their willingness to repeat, if need be, the conduct of their fathers, of which they are justly so proud. It was the recollection of these things that induced them at the time of the *Trent* emergency, when a warlike result was anticipated in Canada, to fall again into the ranks, and to show to Englishmen, as well as to

Americans, that they were determined, as of old, and at all hazards, to maintain their connection with the Crown and people of England. (Loud cheers.) It would be well, therefore, if English statesmen and the English press would recollect these events, and not use harsh language to the people of Canada merely because they neglected to pass a Militia Bill not quite suited to their tastes. We think, sir, that Canada has a glorious future in store for her. Taxes on every American product in the States—be it in the form of agriculture or of manufactures—have been imposed, in order to carry them through this foolish war. This will naturally stay emigration to that country, and will turn the tide to our shores, where the taxes are but light, where good institutions prevail, and where liberty in its best sense is to be found. (Hear, hear.) We look forward to the time, even with impatience, when an overland route to the East shall be made through our country. This year, owing to the attractions of the mines, numbers have travelled by that route to Vancouver; and the time is not far distant when, as alluded to in Her Majesty's speech from the throne two years ago, there shall be one continuous settlement of people enjoying British laws and British freedom, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. (Loud cheers.) We give great praise to our Colonial Minister, his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, for never losing sight of this great object, and hope that, under his statesmanship and guidance, this continuous route will at no distant day be accomplished. (Hear, hear.) I have great pleasure, sir, in repeating that which I at first alluded to—that this Association is deserving of all thanks from the people of Canada for their desire to promote Canadian and British North-American interests, and should on that account be liberally supported by them; and that you, sir, representing as you do the City of London in Parliament, have conferred upon our country a great obligation by taking the chair on all occasions in which the interests of Canada could be advanced. (Applause.)

MR. WIER, of Nova Scotia, said:—I have been entrusted with a resolution, which I have great pleasure in moving. It is as follows:—

“That the gentlemen now present have pleasure in recording their appreciation of the valuable services which have been rendered to their interests by this Association; and they pledge themselves to promote, in their several provinces, the object contemplated by its operations.”

Certainly, as far as I am concerned, I shall endeavour to place the subscriptions from my province on a more respectable footing. There is no doubt that the ignorance of the British North-American colonists is partly owing to the colonists themselves. This Association will convey a vast amount of information, not only to the colonists, but to the world at large. I fully appreciate the sentiments of this resolution. I believe that the North-American provinces are all under an immense amount of obligation to the gentlemen forming this Association, and I hope they will respond to it. There is no doubt of the correctness of the view which has been taken, that this matter is a commercial, and not a political one. Mr. Galt has so fully explained the position of Canada, that it is not necessary for me to say anything further, than to observe that I find, in conference with commercial gentlemen here, that the greater part of the feeling which has been excited against Canada has arisen from the high rate of her tariffs. Now, I am a free-trader, but we all know that revenue must be raised, and I am bound to say that her high rates of duty have proceeded from the construction of the canals and railways, which have promoted emigration, and induced people to fill that country, and that, of course, has increased imports from this country. The difficulties which have existed in the provinces with reference to the tariff, on account of the fiscal system of the United States, will, from the recent modifications in that country, be materially modified. In fact, the whole condition of things will be reversed. In our province, for instance, a good deal of tea and manufactures were, until recently, smuggled in from the United States. Now the matter is reversed, and the importation of tea has been entirely from England. For these reasons, I believe that, if Canada can reduce her rates, a vast number of those who live across the border will take their manufactured goods by smuggling, and

therefore a duty of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. less than the Canadians now place on British goods, will, in the course of a year or two, raise a larger duty than they are now doing. All the goods for the far west would then pass through Canada. That is a result which men of business understand perfectly. As regards the Inter-Colonial Railway, if we succeed in obtaining that, we shall be largely indebted to the Association. I believe the offer of the Duke of Newcastle to be one of immense value to the provinces. It is, in fact, equivalent to a gift of half the cost of the railway; for, with the Government assistance, we could, in the present state of the money-market, obtain money at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and, without it, it could not be done under  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. As far as our province is concerned, I shall advocate the acceptance of that offer. I do trust that the first object of the delegates will be the acceptance of the offer, and not what each province is to contribute towards the interest. Let the preliminary matters with reference to the proportion of each province be settled afterwards. With regard to the Militia Bill, and the remarks which were made upon it in this country, I am happy to hear gentlemen now say that it is not the intention of England to give up her colonies. I believe that when England consents to give up one of the fifty colonies which she holds, her power as the first nation of the earth will be on the wane; and certainly if she gives up Canada, she will no longer be able to say that the sun never sets on her empire.

MR. BOYD (New Brunswick):—I beg leave to second the motion. I am very happy to say that the difficulty which existed in my mind three weeks ago, as to the feeling entertained by England towards the colonies, has been entirely dispelled by the result of this meeting. If it were necessary to say anything as to the feeling of the provinces towards this country and her institutions, I would merely state, that I am a citizen of St. John's, which received 6000 British troops in so princely a way last winter. We went to an expense of £2000 in giving them a series of military entertainments, a sum equivalent to what £2,000,000 would be from the City of London. With regard to



the Inter-Colonial Railway :—if New Brunswick has received the proposition of the British Government rather coldly, it is not because we feel the want of improvement, but because the credit of New Brunswick is dear to us, and we are anxious to maintain our position. We feel that we require this Railway, but we are not anxious to undertake a responsibility which we are not fully able to carry out. With reference to the defences of Canada and the Militia Bill, it has been a matter entirely misunderstood. The error, however, is one rather of the head than of the heart, both on the part of England and Canada. The importance of the Militia Bill has been altogether overrated. We have one in force in New Brunswick, but I think that the defences of New Brunswick would this day be in a much better position if the Militia Bill had never been presented. The volunteer movement would be quite sufficient to defend the provinces. Why, in New Brunswick, out of a population of 250,000, we have 5000 volunteers, a larger number in proportion to the population than in Glasgow, which stands highest of any place in the United Kingdom. I do not much regret the tone of the discussion in the House of Commons, because, when Mr. Roebuck made such misstatements, Lord Palmerston placed us in our true position. Depend upon it, it will be found that we shall be one of those loving daughters who will come back to aid our dear old mother if ever she requires our help. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

MR. G. F. YOUNG said :—I think it would be desirable to give expression to what seems to be the general feeling of the meeting. I have, therefore, hastily penned a resolution, which I beg to submit to you, Mr. Chairman, for the general acceptance of the meeting. It is as follows :—

“ That this meeting is firmly convinced that the almost universal desire of  
 “ the British public is to preserve and strengthen the bonds which unite  
 “ the British empire with its North-American colonies; and that, relying with



“confidence on the reciprocal disposition of the inhabitants of those colonies to  
 “cultivate the most friendly-relations with the mother country, it is of opinion  
 “that while it is equally the duty and the interests of the colonies to devote  
 “their utmost energies to the maintenance of their independence from all  
 “foreign interference, it is equally incumbent on Great Britain to render  
 “every reasonable assistance in furtherance of their patriotic efforts.”

MR. CHAPMAN :—I consider this a really most important meeting, and that great good will result from the able, manly, and truly patriotic speeches of our honourable friends ; but it is a question, in my mind, whether it would be politic for us, as an Association, to give expression by this resolution to an opinion which is of a political character. That is a question of expediency which I shall leave in the hands of the Chairman. I believe this meeting will be one great means of removing any slight differences and misapprehensions which may exist.

MR. DANBY SEYMOUR, M.P. :—I beg leave to second the resolution which has just been submitted. In doing so I cannot refrain from expressing my gratification at the progress of this Association. We have already fulfilled a considerable duty, and have been the means of giving important assistance to the independent colonies in their relations to the mother country, in having afforded to these gentlemen an opportunity to address a British audience. I think the explanation of Mr. Galt is most satisfactory (hear), and that there has been a considerable misunderstanding in what has taken place in Canada. For my part I have never attributed to the Canadians any other motive in imposing duties, further than raising the requisite revenue of the colony. The heads of the Government in Canada have quite as advanced views as any minister in this country ; and I am sure they will never increase their tariff from any motives prejudicial to British trade, and seeing the importance of inter-colonial communication, that they will reduce their tariffs to the lowest possible limits. It is with great pleasure that I have undertaken to second the resolution, because I think the connection of this country

with her colonies is most important. The question of their peaceful separation will require the most careful consideration,—that is, when the time arrives. We know not what the United States will become—whether they will be restored or split up into a number of republics. At such a period, it certainly does not seem the wisest moment to enter upon the question whether we should separate from our colonies. I do not think it is fair upon the colonies, as long as they choose to retain the rights of British subjects, to moot the subject of separation, or to withhold those rights upon the faith of which they transported themselves. I do not think the question is ripe to be settled, and no reasons have arisen to make us consider the question as imminent now. It is one of those questions which it will be wise to defer for the present, and to which time will afford a satisfactory solution. Our present position appears to be to render the defence of our colonies effectual, but to do it in the cheapest manner to the British public. We shall effect one important step in that direction if we complete the Inter-Colonial Railway. The Canadian people, no doubt, were actuated by various motives in having refused the Militia Bill, but the very last motive which I should attribute to them would be a wish to separate from this country. They may think, as many at home have thought, that it is not necessary at present to engage in this great prospective expense for the defence of their country. Many of those who opposed the Militia Bill probably thought that the country would be quite as safe without passing that Bill as if it were passed, and that the responsibility which rested upon the Canadian Government, to provide for the defence of the country, was their reason for taking steps which seemed extraordinary for the purpose of securing its defence. I am aware that there were local reasons which swelled that majority; but I feel persuaded that the substance of this resolution is in the hearts of the large number, and that they wish to see those relations maintained, which have been so satisfactory, and which have been preserved even at the cannon's mouth for two generations. I feel assured that it is not the wish of the colonists, as

it is not the wish of the British people, that those relations should be suddenly severed. The wish of all must be, that, even when that severance comes, there should be the closest union between the two countries. Therefore I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution, while expressing the hope that the same kindly feelings may continue between the colonies and the mother country which have existed in the past. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put by the Chairman, and carried *nem. con.*

MR. SCHOLEFIELD, M.P. :—Before we separate, there is one duty which we have to perform, and that is, to thank our excellent friend in the chair, not only for his services to-day, but for what he has done for this Association. If this society has been useful, if it is destined to be more useful, which I fully believe it will be, mainly through the skill and ability, and the constant services of my excellent friend in the chair (hear), I cannot speak too highly of those services. I have not been associated with him in those labours, but I know what he has been doing. I am sure I shall have the unanimous voice of this meeting, in proposing that its cordial thanks be given to the Chairman for the valuable services which he has given to this Association. (Cheers.)

MR. WATKIN :—I beg most cordially to second the resolution, for I have had an opportunity of observing his great zeal, and the disposition he has shown to preserve and bind together the interests of the mother country and her dependencies, at a time when such a course was especially prudent. For that, I think he deserves and is entitled to our best and deepest thanks. (Hear.) I think, and I hope the great bulk of the people think, that the time is far distant when there shall be any disintegration of that great mass of territory and power which is popularly known as the British empire. I think the feeling of the people of this country at large is to preserve, in every possible manner, the solidarity of the British empire. It is no matter of mean presence ; it is a matter of honest pride to think that

we are not merely the denizens of a little island with its thousand miles of coast washed by the sea, but that there is no clime or portion of the world, however remote, over which our flag does not float in peace and in triumph. It is not because we wish to preserve possession of a few thousand square miles of territory that we wish the connection with the colonies to be preserved ; but because the people in those colonies have sprung from the same root, and speak the same language ; because we feel that they are a portion of our brotherhood, and, in spite of any little complaining, our hearts are warm to that people ; and it will not be our fault—if any one's, it will be theirs—if any coolness exist, or if ultimately there is any separation. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN :—I am exceedingly obliged to my honourable friends for the kind and flattering way in which they have proposed this resolution to the meeting, and for the manner in which it has been received. I am myself entirely unconnected with the commerce of the North-American colonies ; but I know the extent to which those colonies are represented in London commercially, and I feel it a part of my public duty to give every assistance I can possibly render in furtherance of the interests of those colonies. With regard to those colonies, I may perhaps be allowed to express a hope that their attentions with regard to the Association may not be so “*unremitting*” as they have been hitherto.

The meeting then separated.

