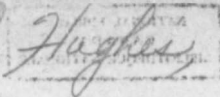


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WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF

SAM. HUGHES,

MEMBER FOR VICTORIA AND HALIBURTON, CANADA.

SPEECH

Delivered in Canadian House of Commons, on MONDAY, MARCH 13th, 1905,
upon the proposal for

FULL PARTNERSHIP UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES,

In a New, Independent, Imperial Parliament.

TYPICAL BRITISH PRESS COMMENTS ON THE DEBATE ON COL. HUGHES' MOTION.

The Saturday Review, London, England, says:—

"The vigorous debate on Federation at Ottawa had no immediate issue, but Col. Hughes, who brought forward the motion, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the leader of the Opposition, who supported it, showed a united conviction that a constitutional crisis is approaching. The people in England have not at all realized the immense change. It is not a small thing that Canada has decided to supply the defences of Halifax and Esquimalt. In England nobody is much concerned with this bagatelle, but in Canada the whole French population, whose growing numbers and power it would be foolish to undervalue, regard this little expenditure of £40,000 as a proud step towards, at any rate, qualified independence. Colonel Hughes did good work by showing the vast sum which would be spent by Canada if she were independent, and it is entirely in accordance with our experience that the desire for independence, mild as it is, has completely superseded that tendency towards annexation which Goldwin Smith still preaches from his retreat in Toronto."

The Outlook says:—

"With all his great qualities Sir Wilfrid Laurier seldom shines, on these festivals of the Imperial spirit in the great daughter parliament of the Dominion; the caution of the 'habitant,' which is the basis of his character, caused him to preach a doctrine of contentment yet again in somewhat lacklustre language, but Mr. Borden, who leads 'His Majesty's Opposition' at Ottawa, in most statesmanlike way did not lose the opportunity of saying that which all Canadians are thinking. He did not hesitate to endorse the previous speakers who expressed the universal opinion that the commercial defence of the Empire was the necessary foundation of all military or political union."

THE WAR AND THE NAVY.

The Statist, London, referring to the Hughes resolution, says:—

"Once the war in the Far East is over people will soon come to recognise how immense a change has come over the relations of all states with one another, the colonies will see that what is called the British navy is as much a means of protecting themselves as of protecting the United Kingdom and therefore will fully understand that the navy must be made adequate; but if they are to contribute, as they ought to contribute, to the navy, it is perfectly certain they must have a voice in the management of the affairs of the Empire."

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GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.—UNITED IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES (Victoria) moved:—

That in the opinion of this House the best interests of Canada and the empire at large would be advanced, and the peace, progress and prosperity of humanity be assured, by a full partnership union of Great Britain and her colonies; wherein there would be a united Imperial parliament, empowered to deal with inter-imperial, international, commercial, financial and other necessary national problems; but leaving to the existing parliaments their present powers, functions, control of tariff, and other matters necessary for their own purpose.

He said:—Mr. Speaker. As you are doubtless aware it was my intention to move this motion a week ago to-day, but owing to the sad death of the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. E. F. Clarke) a number of us were absent from the House to pay him a last tribute of respect by attending his funeral in Toronto. No one regrets the demise of our good friend Mr. Clarke more than I do. I may say that it was arranged he should second the motion which I have the honour to move today, and had he been spared to do so, I am sure he would have discharged that duty in his usually able and enthusiastic manner whenever the interests of the British Empire were concerned. The motion will undoubtedly suffer owing to his loss.

My object in proposing this motion is more educative; more to bring the question before parliament and the country than to obtain a vote at the present time, and consequently it is not my intention to divide the House.

HON. JOSEPH HOWE, AN IMPERIALIST.

In studying out this problem I find that I am at least 50 years behind some of the ablest men who ever adorned the public life of Canada. The Hon. Joseph Howe, one of the greatest of Nova Scotians, long years ago, as early as 1862, aye, as early as 1846, took a firm stand upon this question; he wrote:—

"The question of questions for us all, he declared far transcending in importance any other within range of domestic or foreign politics, is . . . not how a province or two can be strengthened by a fort or by the expenditure of a million of dollars, but how the whole empire can be so organized and strengthened as to command peace or be impregnable in war.

I quote from page 190, vol. 2, of the speeches of the Hon. Joseph Howe, these words from an address delivered on the organization of the empire:

"Of course if they expect us to be colonists forever, and make no provision for our being anything else, upon their heads, and not upon ours, be the consequences of the separation, which when this is apparent will be inevitable. I prefer full incorporation with them, in one great empire, free participation with them in its good and evil fortunes, its perils and its distinctions. All this I believe to be practicable, and shall not despair of its fulfilment."

About the same period, the Hon. Joseph Howe laid down an argument in connection with the federation of Canada, and in 1851—some of us were not born then—he portrayed what would result from the fusion of Canada into one great Dominion. He said:—

"Throwing aside the more bleak and inhospitable regions, we have a magnificent country between Canada and the Pacific, but out of which five or six noble provinces may be formed, larger than any we have, and presenting to the hand of industry, and to the eye of speculation, every variety of resources, climate and soil. With such territory as this to overcome, organize and improve, think you that we shall stop even at the western bounds of Canada or even at the shores of the Pacific? Vancouver's island, with its vast coal measures lies beyond. The beautiful islands of the Pacific and the growing commerce of the ocean, are beyond. Populous China and the rich east are beyond, and the sails of our children's children will reflect as familiarly the sunbeams of the south as they now have the angry tempests of the north."

"The maritime provinces, which I now address, are but the Atlantic frontage of this boundless and prolific region; the wharfs upon which its business will be transacted and beside which its rich argosies are to lie. Nova Scotia is one of these.

"Will you then put your hands unitedly, with order, intelligence and energy to this great work?

"Refuse and you are recreants to every principle which lies at the base of your country's prosperity and advancement; refuse and the Deity's handwriting upon land and sea is to you unintelligible language; refuse and Nova Scotia instead of occupying the foreground, as she now does, should have been thrown back, at least behind the Rocky mountains.

"God has planted your country in the front of this boundless region; see that you comprehend its destiny and resources; see that you discharge with energy and elevation of soul the duties which devolve upon you in virtue of your position. Hitherto, my countrymen, you have dealt with this subject in a becoming spirit, and whatever others may think or apprehend, I know that you will persevere in that spirit until our objects are attained.

"I am neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, yet I will venture to predict that in a few years we shall make the journey hence to Quebec and Montreal, and home through Portland and St. John by rail, and I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam engine in the passes of the Rocky mountains, and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days."

The prediction of Joseph Howe made in 1851 has been borne out to the letter in regard to our Dominion; I believe, Sir, the time is near at hand when effect will also be given to his aspirations in relation to the unity of the empire—a full confederation of equal partnership between all parts of the empire.

RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

Speaking in London, England, on July 8, last, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain said:—

"What would the United States be at this moment if the several colonies had remained separate? I believe that our difficulties in making a united empire are not greater than those with which Washington and Hamilton were confronted."

I may be permitted for a few moments to digress in order to observe the tendency of civilization in national affairs. That trend is undoubtedly towards unity; unity in national life with almost absolute local control in local affairs. The failure of the great empires of the past; such as the Medo-Persian, the Assyrian, the Grecian, the Roman, the Carthaginian—their failure was because that while they had centralization in national life, they also failed to have centralization in local matters. The tendency of modern civilization has solved the problem of empire building. Great Britain was probably the first federation of nations, and had Great Britain divested the imperial parliament of many of the details of legislation which it possesses, and conferred them on the counties in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales by enlarging the powers of county councils and local bodies—not creating provinces but counties, I believe the British Federation would be the better of it to-day.

We have as an example at our doors the federation of the United States of America, founded on the centralization of national affairs with absolute local control over matters of local concern. In the United States we have that form of government worked out to a marked degree of success.

In Canada our own institutions show the exemplification of the same principle.

Germany possesses a similar federation, and under the new constitution the Republic of France has carried out to a very large extent the same idea of centralization of national affairs with absolute local control in local matters.

Long years ago I had the privilege of being a school teacher, and I remember that on an old map of the world, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, each of the provinces of Canada and each outlying colony of the empire was painted in a different colour. As a teacher, I sometimes found it difficult to make it clearly understood by the students that these were all part and parcel of the great British empire. So one Saturday in my leisure hours I took down the map and painted all the British possessions one colour—needless to say, Sir, that colour was red. I see some hon. gentlemen smiling; I may possibly have been indulging in painting some other things red, on later occasions, but I have always looked back with pleasure at that old map of the empire. It was the first map I had seen in which all the British possessions were of the same colour, and from that time onward I have felt that had these British colonies become legislatively united it would have been better for the empire and for the world at large to-day. However, there is no use regretting the past; all we have to do is to endeavour to make improvements in the future.

RACE.

At the outset I will be met with the proposition that a federation of Great Britain and the colonies is absolutely impossible, because the people who constitute the British empire are not of one race. If you will show me any great nation or any nation which has ever existed all of one race, I will show you a nation that is not a success. England is made up of many divergent nationalities; France from the earliest times has had a mixed population, Latins, Normans, Celtic, and Teutonic, all united and clearly traceable at the present hour in every part of France. In Switzerland there are three different races, the Teutonic or German, the French and the Latin or Italian in the south.

LANGUAGE.

Then we are told that uniformity of language is necessary. I need not go beyond Canada to point out how fallacious such an argument is. In my own experience in travelling from end to end of Canada I have encountered 22 or 23 different languages, but the people speaking these varying tongues were all peaceable, law-abiding citizens, each with the good of the nation at heart, striving to make it as strong and noble as possible. Neither uniformity of race nor of language is essential to the upbuilding of a country.

CREED.

Others will say: But you must all be of one creed. I notice by the census returns that Canada has a very large number of creeds, I think somewhere in the neighborhood of 100, the United States have about 130 or 140, and in the British Empire throughout the world there are about 1,000 creeds that are recognized. If I may be allowed to digress I would say that I always thank the Lord for the great number of creeds, the more there are the less danger there is of any one of them becoming in the ascendant and the less danger there is of persecution. I do not for a moment nor do I think that any one will consider that creed is an essential element, and that all people of a nation should be of one creed.

CO-TERMINOUS.

But, we will be told: You must absolutely have all these nations co-terminous; they must be in close proximity to one another or you cannot build an empire. They will say that the ocean divides us. If one passenger starts from Halifax or Portland for Van-

couver or San Francisco and another steps on board an ocean steamer at either of these Atlantic ports for Liverpool there will be little difference in the time required by them to reach their respective destinations. Telegraphic communication between the eastern shores of North America and the old land to-day is as easy as it is between the Atlantic and Pacific. While the oceans seemingly separate us from the old land they really unite us. Does any one pretend to say that the Dominion of Canada would be able to place the products of its Northwest in the markets of the motherland if we had to traverse the entire mileage now covered by ocean on land? The freight rates would make transportation impossible. In short, the ocean is a bond of union, a connecting link rather than a line of separation. In other words, the waterways of the world are the free man's highways, and while mergers and capitalists of all descriptions may control railroads and terminals they have as yet to control the ocean highway. As a very prominent man in New York not long since told me, were it not that the city of New York is open to the sea so that steamships of any company and of every nation may enter the harbor and keep down freight rates, New York would be at the mercy of a few railway companies, a few banking institutions, a few insurance companies, and a couple of telegraph companies. He pointed out that the whole commercial life of New York was preserved by the fact that the city lies by the ocean. Therefore, the oceans between Canada, Australia, India, South Africa and the motherland are really bonds of union rather than dividing lines.

WHAT ARE ESSENTIALS?

If these are not essential, what are the essentials? I would again refer to speeches of Hon. Joseph Howe to point out what are the essentials of nation building. In the first place we must have a noble manhood, we must in addition to the noble manhood have a certain community of interest. This we all have. The motherland buys what we produce and have to sell, and we consume those things of which the motherland has a surplus. I am satisfied that the entire House will agree with the statement that for whatever product we choose to name from any colony there will always be found a market either in the motherland or in one of the colonies.

We will also require in the upbuilding of a nation like this a high tone in national life, and above all things we must have that sentiment without which no home, no community, no nation can succeed—we must have the sentiment which has been aptly expressed in the words in reference to the old British flag:

'Tis only an old bit of bunting,
'Tis only an old tattered rag,
Yet thousands have died for its honour,
And time has ennobled the flag.

In whatever part of the empire one travels he finds that old sentiment for the British flag, emblematic as it is of liberty, law and order. He finds that sentiment strong to-day.

IS TIME RIPE.

The next question which suggests itself is: Is the time ripe for the upbuilding of the empire, for the full federation of the empire? I think the first minister will agree with me that in so far as the colonies are concerned, and even in so far as the mother country is concerned, the time is ripe. Public sentiment in each community may not always be ripe, but public sentiment in each community must have leaders. The speeches of the right hon. the premier (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), the hon. the leader of the opposition (Mr. R. L. Borden), of the ex-minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) are being quoted and used throughout the length and breadth of the motherland to-day. I find also extracts, and very brilliant extracts, from the speeches of the present Minister of Finance of this country (Hon. Mr. Fielding) in favour of a full and closer union or a full partnership union between Canada and the motherland.

She is at the pinnacle of her greatness. No nation has ever attained a higher position. She is the parent of responsible government, having taught the nations of the earth the rights of man and the proper methods of governing humanity. She has reclaimed nearly one-half of the world and made savage and waste lands teem with plenty. In the Soudan alone, in the few years anterior to Britain's acquisition of that country, there were upwards of three million natives massacred in less than ten years—massacred as the result of inter-tribal conflicts among barbaric and semi-barbaric people—but since Britain has acquired the Soudan, the loss of life has been comparatively small and that country to-day has become productive. We find that she has attained a position in trade and commerce and manufacturing, especially inventions, unequalled by any other land in the history of the world. We find that since responsible government was established by Great Britain in the year 1700, the world at large has made more progress than in all the years anterior to that period. But above all we find that in every land, as well as in Britain and her colonies, the spirit of British justice is glorified and the spirit that is associated with the term British justice is taken as the key note for justice everywhere. Yet strange to say, in spite of all this, Great Britain seems to be hated by those she has served and uplifted. They would cripple her in trade and prestige, and, if they dared, would even resort to war in order to disrupt her empire and give her an inferior place among the nations of the world. It is

well known to-day that in the Transvaal war the secret plan of European countries was that Britain should be disrupted and South Africa knocked off her empire. It is well understood that the possession of South Africa is absolutely essential to the maintenance of the British Empire. In 1795, when Great Britain was at war with all Europe she lost about 1,700 vessels rounding the Cape of Good Hope on their way to India, and she became convinced of the necessity of having large coaling stations and depots in that vicinity in order to maintain her possessions in South Africa and thus keep intact the integrity of the empire.

Her colonies are growing into manhood. They are loyal to the core. Their loyalty was shown in the South African war. Although the colonies had no part in the government of South Africa and had nothing to do with the war or its causes, be the latter good or bad, nevertheless when the call for arms was made they responded loyally and did their duty fearlessly and well. The colonies, being new, are filled with a resourceful people, whose individuality is rapidly developing, and the individuality of any young people in a new country is always a great force. Our young progressive people are animated by noble aspirations for the future; and if a union does not take place between Great Britain and her colonies, rest assured the fault will not lie with the colonies, but with the motherland.

CANADA'S FUTURE.

We find persons occupying public positions in Canada and the empire at large predicting for Canada one of the five following positions. Many claim that the future destiny of the Canadian people is necessarily annexation to the United States. Others say that Canada will become either a republic or a monarchy. In the latter event, I do not know where we would get our sovereign, unless we chose to elect the First Minister or the Minister of Finance to that position. Others again say that we should remain in our present dependent position but build up our own army and navy. And others claim that we should not only do this but also contribute financially to the support of the empire's military service. But there are others, with whom I am glad to class myself, who aspire to full partnership union with the mother country in all matters in relation to war and trade and politics, so that we should have a parliamentary union between Great Britain and all her colonies.

BRITISH HISTORY IN AMERICA.

In order that the present position of matters may be better understood, I think that a little resumé of Great Britain's association with the continent of North America will not be out of place. In 1776 and for ten years anterior to the rebellion of 1776—in other words the war of independence—there were, according to eminent American historians, agitations being carried on by able men for the establishment of a republic on the continent of North America. This was backed up by those who had been exiled from the old land as convicts, because in those days Great Britain used many of the present states of the union as penal settlements. These and their children were filled with animosity to the motherland, and heartily joined the movement for the establishment of a republic. We have had recently from American historians of the most eminent type a good deal of data in connection with this movement. They have shown that for ten years previous to 1776 there was a tyrannical and aggressive movement against those who did not coincide in the views of the agitators, which practically amounted to intimidation.

We find that this movement made headway, due in great measure to the reluctance of the loyalists to make a quarrel. We all know how reluctant people are to attack any public movement. They may have the idea that the movement has for its object some improper end, yet they will hesitate to take action to stamp it out. Therefore anterior to 1776, the loyal men, who could have brought the British government to a sense of its duty, hesitated to take action owing to their reluctance to bring on a quarrel.

Another cause which gave the movement headway was the weakness which leads to making compromises with and concessions to wrong. It is all right to observe the law of compromises, but there are conditions under which the law of compromises or the making of concessions is absolutely contrary to the best interests of a people.

It is now well known that foreigners engineered the movement in the United States and that the folly and neglect of the British government tended undoubtedly to fan the agitation into a flame. The result was that Great Britain lost one-half of the North American continent.

The next period in the history of Britain's rule in America may be taken as the period culminating in the years 1837 and 1838. We find by careful examination of history today that for ten years anterior to 1837 and 1838 an agitation had been going on in the old provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. In Upper Canada it was carried on by English speaking radicals and in Lower Canada by French speaking radicals, and we find that the end aimed at was either the independence of Canada or its annexation to the United States. That agitation was also advanced by the acquisition of foreign gold. The object aimed at was undoubtedly to disrupt the empire. In the agitation were men of considerable ability, but I am proud to say that many of those who took part in the rebellion after-

wards became among the most loyal subjects of the empire and proved their allegiance to their Queen and country on more than one occasion.

Passing on I find the next great movement looking towards the disruption of Britain's colonies in North America and their separation from the motherland began in 1886 and continued until 1896.

The movement at that time took the more plausible guise of commercial union, unrestricted reciprocity, continental free trade, and other notions of that kind. But with the acquisition of office by the gentlemen engineering this movement—these movements, rather, for they were as varied as the weather—all these agitations disappeared; and now we find the leaders of these movements occupying the first places in the hearts of the people of the country, high in the estimation of their sovereign, labelled G.C.M.G., K.C.M.G., and all that sort of thing—showing what transformation scenes can be worked in the drama of the empire's life.

Many believe that during the Boer war there was another critical period in the history of Canada's connection with the motherland. That war was undoubtedly the result of a conspiracy on the part of nations of the earth to disrupt the empire. But, when the time for action came they hesitated. Britain had a record for war, and the nations did not care to incur her anger. As I have pointed out, their idea was that the war would lead to the loss of South Africa, and this to the loss of India, and so to the breaking up of the empire and the encroachment of other nations upon British territory. We find that at that time Canada hesitated to do her part in having troops go to the assistance of the empire. But, after due consideration the First Minister himself gracefully yielded, and the troops left Canadian shores and took service in South Africa.

At intervals during the past few years, there has been a spasmodic agitation looking to the severance of the ties that bind us to the motherland. For instance there is

The agitation in favour of Canada making her own treaties.

The agitation in favour of building up our navy.

The agitation in favour of cutting off appeals from Canadian courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The agitation in favour of having no imperial general officer commanding in Canada.

And, Sir, the endeavour was made, as far as possible, to create prejudice throughout the length and breadth of Canada against Great Britain and her judicial tribunals because of the decision in relation to the Alaskan boundary. I have regretted that this matter was not brought up in the House, for then an opportunity would have been afforded to remove some of the prejudices created by the press of this country—not alone by the press of one party, I am sorry to say, but by a large portion of the press of both parties, carried away by misapprehension as to the true state of affairs.

Another agitation was the endeavour to create sympathy for the Boers in the war.

And another of these agitations, strange to say, was for the removal of the Union Jack from the parliament buildings. The question has been asked in this House, by what authority the grand old Union Jack was flying over the parliament buildings of Canada.

This shows the extremes to which some gentlemen will go.

Then, many of us are a little surprised that there should be such an endeavour on the part of the Department of the Interior to bring in immigrants of outside nationalities to our shores. I am not finding fault with the movement to promote immigration. But, so far as I have been able to go, I have endeavored to agitate in favour of bringing in British and American immigrants rather than those of other nations. Many have been surprised to see the large number of foreign immigrants, for, it will undoubtedly be three or four generations before the descendants of these people become real Canadians and good British subjects.

Many have regarded with more or less suspicion the argument in favour of not permitting Canadians to serve the empire under arms beyond the bounds of Canada. We watch these things with more or less surprise and suspicion.

The latest movement of this kind is that of Canada securing from the imperial government control of the two naval stations, Halifax and Esquimalt. I shall not discuss that subject at length, but only say that I do not endorse it, as I am satisfied that it does not tend in the direction of upbuilding the empire and strengthening Canada's connection with the motherland. In 1871, when Britain partially withdrew her forces from the continent of North America, she handed over to Canada munitions of war valued at \$4,350,000 as a present. She has also handed over 11,718 acres of land situated in strategic and central positions throughout the length and breadth of the country. Now, Britain seems to have handed over her remaining stations on this continent, Halifax and Esquimalt.

This I say, I regret. I shall quote again staunch old Joseph Howe, to show that away

back in 1862, he foresaw the danger and took the line then which I am endeavouring to follow today. In 1862 Mr. Howe addressed a notable letter to Right Hon. C. B. Adair, in which he deprecated the plan of each section of the empire trying to defend itself and insisted most strongly on the propriety and necessity of

UNITY IN DEFENCE.

"He did not believe it was the duty of the friends of the empire, but the policy of its enemies to attempt to divide its forces; the task of its friends was to unite and combine."

"If I understand your argument, you would have half a hundred little standing armies, scattered all over the globe, paid out of fifty treasuries, and with uniforms as various as were the colours in Joseph's coat, with no centre of union, no common discipline, no provision for mutual succor and support."

Further Mr. Howe said:

"I would have one army that could be massed within a few days or weeks on any point of the frontier, moved by one head, animated by one spirit, paid from one treasury. Into this army I would incorporate as many of the colonial militia as were required to take the field in any province that might be attacked, and, from the moment they were so incorporated, they should be moved, paid and treated as one imperial force."

These sentiments, long ago expressed by Joseph Howe, I am satisfied represent the true patriotic position for the empire to assume. And, if these words are true of an army, how much more are they true of a navy. I, therefore, would deprecate this latest movement of the Dominion of Canada taking over Halifax and Esquimalt and carrying out the policy which Howe opposed many years ago, and which those who truly understand the position, I believe, will deprecate today.

DISRUPTION PLANS FAIL.

But, Sir, all attempts to disrupt the old empire have failed, and I am satisfied all will fail. A short time ago I was conversing with a very eminent American statesman. We were passing along the street in the city of Toronto. In one of the shop windows was a very handsome portrait of Her late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. This American said to me, "That woman has done more good than any other human being that ever lived, and she holds a place in the hearts of the people of the United States even far beyond that which she holds in the hearts of the people of the British empire." They regarded her as the noblest woman that ever lived. And he went on in this line. Then I drew his attention to King Edward, and asked him the opinion of the American people of the present Sovereign, and he said, they were all agreeably surprised and delighted to find that he was turning out such a great ruler and statesman and he added, 'If you people of the British empire furnish the world with another such example as those two sovereigns, I am inclined to think that by the time his rule is over we of the United States will be prepared to undo our Act of 1776 and ask to be readmitted to the empire.'

ANNEXATION.

Now, Sir, the first position I shall briefly discuss is annexation. I shall not enter into details further than to point out a few leading considerations. Many who advocate annexation claim that we would thereby avoid any extravagant expenditure in military matters; that we would never become responsible for Britain's wars or for expenditures connected with her wars; but if we were annexed to the United States, a "republic" and a "free people," we would not be put to any of these great costs of war. Let me examine these contentions. In the first place we would be in the back field on the farm, our farmers would be worse off, and would not be enjoying the same advantages as the agriculturists of the United States. From a material view point, you will find that the advantage of being near large centres of population is increased from ten to twenty per cent. Farmers are paid better prices, they obtain goods cheaper when they live near large centres than when they live in the outlying districts. Therefore, Canada should avoid as far as possible, being the back field of the farm. Next, in relation to military expenditures, take last year, when there was no war going on, the United States spent on her army \$115,035,411; on her navy, \$102,965,102; on army pensions, \$142,550,266, or a total of \$360,541,779. That was the sum paid by the people of the United States last year for war and war purposes, and that does not include the interest on the war debt for wars previously conducted. Exclusive of interest, the people of the United States paid per head last year \$4.50 for war and war purposes. I gave the figures on this subject on another occasion last year, I gave them in detail, I will now give them in general totals. The United States have paid for war and war purposes, from 1790 up to the present time, \$16,877,000,000; whereas the wars of Great Britain in all parts of the world during the same period only amounted to some \$13,000,000,000. In other words the United States has spent for war and war purposes in the last 120 years, in round numbers, \$4,000,000,000 more than the British Empire has paid. In this connection, Edward Atkinson, of Boston, a well-known writer upon economical subjects, in his last pamphlet, says:

"On the 26th of January, 1904, I again published an analysis of the expenditure for the year 1903, with an estimate continued to June 30th, 1904, based upon official figures. I then proved that on the 30th of June, 1904, the cost of war and warfare for seven years would prove to have been one thousand million dollars (\$1,000,000,000) in excess of the normal cost of supporting the government of the United States during the previous twenty (20) years at the rate of five dollars (\$5) per head. My computation that the

cost of the war and warfare to June 30th, 1904, would prove to be one thousand million dollars (\$1,000,000,000), was an underestimation. It very nearly reached the sum of ten hundred and forty million dollars (\$1,040,000,000). The end is not yet."

On page 22 of the same pamphlet he says:

"The excess of expenditure on war and warfare over 1882-9 during the eight years under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt has been over \$1,500,000,000."

That is the excess of expenditure in these eight years alone. And this is the nation to which our anti-military friends would wish Canada to be annexed in order to avoid taxation for military and war purposes. If Canada were part and parcel of the United States to-day, her contribution for war and war purposes, instead of being the paltry sum of \$2,500,000, would, on the pro rata population, be upwards of \$30,000,000; that is the sum we would have had to pay last year if we were a part of the United States; and this year I believe the expenses are to run higher. When we consider the growing sentiment of the United States in favor of closer connection with the empire, I think we may fairly dismiss from our minds the idea of annexation to the United States finding any considerable foothold in the hearts of the people of this country.

Mr. RALPH SMITH. Who wants annexation? Where is the sentiment?

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. I am saying that the sentiment, which was strong and which is sometimes found in the hearts of certain persons, has no basis in reason, particularly on financial grounds. But that sentiment, whatever there was of it, has vanished, as well as the policy of the leaders of the hon. gentleman's own party in favor of continental free trade, commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity, the only result of which policy, if it had been carried out, would have been the annexation of this country to the United States.

INDEPENDENCE.

Another proposition that we sometimes hear is that of independence—and perhaps my hon. friend will say, Who wants independence? But I want to tell him that the signs of the times indicate that there are many who favor independence. In the first place, I may say that the configuration of Canada positively debars it from ever being an independent nation. I have no hesitation in saying that as between annexation on the one hand and the independence of Canada on the other, I, as a resident of the province of Ontario, would hold up both hands in favor of annexation to the United States in preference to Canadian independence. We have one community here on the east separated from a community in the far west, and there is no use disguising the fact that the region north of Lake Superior will never be thickly populated; in other words, Canada will be of a pismire shape, as Hon. Joseph Howe long ago pointed out, and ultimately the great west would throw in its lot with the people to the south, and the east would form a community by themselves. The great bond of union in Canada to-day is not the Canadian Pacific Railway, is not the new Transcontinental Railway, is not the fact that we have any great community of interest, so much as it is that

THE BRITISH FLAG

floats over the entire country from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean.

Militarism under *Canadian independence*—where would the gentlemen who stand in such mortal terror of militarism find themselves? We would either have to lie under the protection of the United States or we would have to protect ourselves.

Had we been part of the United States last year, had we paid per head the same as the people of the United States paid, the cost to this country, as I have already shown, would have been upwards of \$30,000,000 last year, instead of the \$2,500,000.

If we were independent, the necessary expenditures for building up a fleet and protecting our commerce—and Canada stands high in the commercial world—would be away up in the hundreds of millions; the necessary cost for defences on the sea coast would be away up in the hundreds of millions of dollars, and the necessary cost for the rifles that my right hon. friend says he wishes to see in the hands of every able-bodied man in the Dominion of Canada, would be away up in the fifty or sixty millions of dollars, not counting anything at all for any other incidental expenses in connection with it. Were Canada independent to-day, to place herself on a footing to be compared with any second class-nation in the world, she would have to go to an immediate expenditure away up in the

HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS.

With her immense frontier, with her shipping trade and her coast line, Canada would find herself confronted with all that expense; and, if so, what would we have and what would we be? I saw in *Hansard* the other day that one of the hon. members from the maritime provinces asked a question of the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Prefontaine) concerning some Canadian sailors who were

IMPRISONED IN URUGUAY,

and who had been lying in prison there for some time. Suppose Canada were indepen-

dent, how would we reach them? Send down the gun-boat *Canada*? My hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence (Sir Frederick Borden), I am afraid, would have to turn out his "army" and go down there.

An hon. MEMBER. Send down the *Minnie M*.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. The *Minnie M*. would not reach that port. She goes only to ports where there is no danger.

Mr. FOSTER. She is in dry dock.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. What would be the condition of affairs in case Canada were independent? In the first place it would cost millions of dollars more than Canada would be entitled to pay as part of the British empire for many years, and we would find ourselves confronted with similar conditions to those now in Uruguay in other parts of the world. I would venture to say that within a short time after that question was asked the other day communication was had by my right hon. friend the leader of the government with the old mother country and that to-day a British man-of-war is sailing around Uruguay demanding of the ruler—I do not keep myself posted on those gentlemen; I do not know whether he is an emperor or a president, but whatever he may be, no doubt there is a man-of-war sailing around the shores of Uruguay demanding reparation for the Canadian boys who are imprisoned in that place. It is much cheaper for Canada to have the old motherland do it, to have the British taxpayer foot the bill, than to undertake the job for ourselves, and it is far safer.

More than that; they say that the

UNITED STATES WILL PROTECT US,

that she has assumed the sovereignty. Did any one ever know of the United States giving something for nothing? I never did, and if the United States were to look after our interests make no mistake about it, Canada would be called upon to pay for it very dearly. Furthermore, the spirit of Canadians is such that they will not be "protected" by the United States. A new country like this should be made up of a high spirited and independent people who would decline to be protected, who would be prepared to stand up for their interests without being under the protection of the United States on any occasion. In the acquisition of the two little naval stations at Halifax and Esquimalt merely paying the amount of \$2,000,000 a year for the maintenance of these positions, not paying for the building of the forts, nor for the placing of the guns, nor for any of the other works which have involved millions of dollars of expenditure Canada, one would imagine, is doing something magnanimous. If we had to construct these works, to provide guns and to construct battleships necessary to protect our commerce in all parts of the world, what would the cost be? I trust that the people will take this matter into their serious consideration, and I am satisfied that the most ardent advocate of independence to be found in the Dominion of Canada, if he examines the question calmly and dispassionately, will cast it into the waste paper basket of his political life and will stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of us in the upbuilding with the old land. The lowest share that I can figure out, putting it as radically low as possible, that Canada would be called upon to pay for the next thirty years, were she independent, would be from \$60,000,000 to \$100,000,000 a year in order to place her on a par with the commonest second-class nation of the world. I have prepared here a table showing the shipping of 100 tons and upwards, Lloyd's register, 1904-5, giving the net tonnage, the cost of defence, the population and trade of each country. This information is collected from the best American and English returns:—

	Net tons.	Defence.	Population.	Trade.
Argentina	88,000	\$14,516,000	4,794,000	\$ 281,600,000
Australasia	454,000	4,442,000	4,740,000	874,000,000
Austria-Hungary	585,000	69,003,000	45,000,000	750,000,000
Brazil	163,000	38,879,000	14,000,000	800,000,000
Chili	108,000	8,685,000	3,050,000	112,000,000
Denmark	597,000	9,638,000	2,404,000	218,000,000
France	1,693,000	204,455,000	39,000,000	2,488,000,000
Germany	3,369,000	164,000,000	56,000,000	2,689,000,000
Greece	401,000	5,402,000	2,433,000	47,000,000
Italy	1,187,000	81,811,000	32,475,000	625,000,000
Mexico	23,000	5,713,000	13,604,000	118,000,000
Netherlands	687,000	16,176,000	5,263,000	1,513,000,000
Norway	1,717,000	5,298,000	2,239,000	125,000,000
Portugal	99,000	10,618,000	5,428,000	93,000,000
Roumania	19,000	8,328,000	5,912,000	129,000,000
Sweden	751,000	13,248,000	5,175,000	251,000,000
Canada	683,000	3,524,000	5,371,000	467,064,000
United States	3,849,000	360,000,000	80,000,000	2,500,000,000
Great Britain	15,391,000	314,000,000	42,000,000	4,700,000,000

Canada ranks ninth amongst these nations in tonnage and shipping. She ranks last in expenditure for defensive purposes on her army and navy. She ranks eleventh in population and ninth in trade. A brief comparison: Canada has a shipping tonnage of 683,000 tons; the Netherlands has a tonnage of 687,000 tons. Canada spends for defence \$2,524,000; the Netherlands spends for defence \$16,176,000. Canada has a population of 5,371,000; the Netherlands has a population of 5,263,000. Then, we find that Canada pays not much over one-eighth of what the people of the Netherlands pay for defensive purposes. Then, let us take Chili, which is a South American republic, entirely out of the range of war. Chili has 108,000 tons of shipping, an expenditure for war purposes of \$8,695,000, and a population of 3,050,000. Argentina has a tonnage of 188,000, a war payment of \$14,516,000, and a population of 4,794,000. Denmark has a tonnage of 597,000, an expenditure of \$9,638,000 for war purposes, a population of 2,464,000, and a total trade of \$218,000,000. Comparisons with all these nations redound to the disadvantage of our own country, and they show that we are sitting here in this Dominion supinely letting the British taxpayer foot our bills.

The figures of Canada and United States tonnage do not include the wooden vessels on the great lakes, nor do the British figures include the small coasting vessels; Australasia includes New Zealand.

Among all these nations Canada alone spends nothing for naval purposes. If Canada were independent, she must keep pace with the United States; we would have to do our share or the

UNITED STATES WOULD NOT PROTECT US.

Either, we would become annexed to that country or we would have to undertake an enormous immediate expenditure for defence. The question may properly be asked: Why should we do anything that would involve a great expenditure for such a small concern when we can get along much better at a small expense for a great concern?

The next proposition is that we should

REMAIN UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG,

but control our own army and navy. This is not open to discussion. It is a humiliating position for a great people. I could easily show the weakness of such a position as regards defence purposes, as regards the upbuilding of a nation, and as regards fair play and the adjustment of the cost.

The proposition to remain under the British flag while at the same time contributing to imperial defence may pass without comment, because *that principle of taxation, direct or indirect, without representation would not commend itself to Canadians*. There, therefore, only remains the one proposition of a

FULL PARTNERSHIP UNION.

There are a few objections occasionally raised to this idea, but their refutation is self evident and I need not trouble the House with any remarks on that point.

In favour of a full partnership union we have the tendency during many years towards union and amalgamation in our national, our geographical, our political and our commercial life.

The old fear that you cannot successfully manage large concerns, disappears in the light of history.

When the Republic of the United States was proclaimed, it was declared that it could not last for any time; so with the union of Great Britain and Ireland, and so with all the federations which have become successful in history; they have all dissipated the fears entertained at their birth.

History shows that combinations of great peoples have tended to the advancement of humanity. In the British Isles the combination of the great races has made that country what she is to-day.

I need not point out to the House that this movement which I propose, would bring peace and prosperity to the empire and to the whole world as well.

It would do away with the necessity for the great expenditures now made by different nations on their armies and navies.

In our own country we have a great many of our young men familiar with the English and German languages, the English and French languages, the English and Russian languages, and these young men would take their places in filling the commercial agencies and consular agencies and ambassadorial positions in various parts of the world.

An hon. MEMBER. What about the Gaelic.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. They say Gaelic was the language of the Garden of Eden as it is the language of the superior regions, but I do not know to what country we could

send a Gaelic speaking ambassador unless we could translate him beyond this earthly sphere.

This full partnership union would tend to do away with the race and creed prejudices which we find agitating not only Canada, but agitating the motherland at times.

Justice would be assured in every corner of the empire.

Freight rates would be lessened and immigration to Canada would be encouraged. Let me point out that since 1871, 4,159,922 Britishers left the shores of Britain for the United States, while only 708,000 came to Canada, 833,000 went to Australia, and 655,000 to other parts of the world. Under federal union, the aim of the motherland would be to encourage her children to emigrate to her colonies rather than to foreign lands, and instead of the United States getting 4,000,000 Britishers and Canada only 700,000, these figures would soon be reversed.

This full partnership union would secure to Canada the trade of supplying the motherland, which is now in the hands of foreigners.

In 1903 Great Britain imported goods from foreign countries to the value of \$2,100,000,000, while from the colonies she imported only to the value of \$560,000,000.

Of this foreign trade \$600,000,000 dollars worth was of manufactured articles while the colonies only supplied \$70,000,000 worth.

Of this foreign trade \$620,000,000 were for raw materials and articles mainly manufactures, while from the colonies Great Britain only took \$240,000,000.

Of this foreign trade \$900,000,000 went for food and drink and tobacco, and the colonies only secured \$253,000,000 worth of it.

Britain imported from France last year \$250,000,000 worth of goods most of which might have come from Canada, and *Britain taxes herself millions against French and German and Russian aggression while it is needless to say she has not to tax herself one dollar against Canadian aggression.*

Britain imported from Germany last year goods to the value of \$172,000,000, a large portion of which might have come from Canada.

Britain imported from Holland last year \$173,000,000 worth of butter, cheese and dairy products, all of which could have come from Canada and under a full partnership union it undoubtedly would have come from Canada.

England imported from Russia last year goods to the value of \$155,000,000, all of which might have come from Canada, and Russia we may say is the arch enemy of Britain.

An estimate has been made that if the British and colonial workmen had produced only twenty-five per cent. of the manufactured articles imported into Great Britain and Ireland yearly, there would not be a pauper in the empire.

Britain imported from foreign countries last year \$175,000,000 of grain and flour and from the colonies only \$75,000,000 worth.

Britain imported meat products, animals, etc., from foreign countries to the value of \$195,000,000 last year, and from the colonies only \$55,000,000 worth.

Of eggs, butter and cheese, Britain imported \$255,000,000 from foreign countries, and only \$60,000,000 from her colonies.

Under full partnership union, Britain's colonies could have supplied her with the entire bill, and who will deny that if such a result followed, there would not be greater prosperity in the empire?

Canada supplied only \$95,000,000 worth out of the \$200,000,000 of food products imported by Great Britain, whereas under a full partnership union Canada would have secured the greater part of this trade.

There would undoubtedly be a great growth of population in Canada.

It would secure to Great Britain and the colonies the trade of the various British possessions and protectorates. In the past there has always been the open door in these regions, and all the nations of the world have had the same access to these markets as has Great Britain, although it is Britain's soldiers and Britain's money that have brought these lands under civilization. The other nations that have not contributed one dollar to this purpose have now the same rights as Britain in those lands. Under a full partnership union this free access would be denied by Great Britain to other nations.

If this policy were carried out it would compel other nations to grant Britain fairer tariff privileges.

I need not go into details of how it would affect the empire from a military point of view. It would reduce the cost of war to a minimum and guard us against foreign aggression.

Let us see of what the British empire would consist under a full union.

	Area.	Population. 1904.
Great Britain and Ireland	121,000	42,790,000
Other European possessions	121	200,000
Asiatic possessions—		
Cyprus	3,590	250,000
India, etc.	1,900,000	300,000,000
Ceylon and Maldives	26,000	3,600,000
Eastern Asia	2,000	1,000,000
Africa, South	1,238,000	6,300,000
Africa, West	600,000	33,000,000
Africa, East and Central	750,000	8,000,000
Mauritius, Seychelles, &c.	900	400,000
Australia, New Zealand, &c.	3,200,000	5,000,000
Canada	3,750,000	5,600,000
Newfoundland	40,200	217,000
West Indies and South America	132,000	1,500,000
Falkland Islands	7,500	2,000
Antarctic, South Georgia	1,500	
	11,762,810	407,859,000

Twenty-five per cent of the habitable surface of the earth is controlled by the British empire to-day. It has a population of 407,000,000 persons out of 1,800,000,000 people on the whole earth, or 22 per cent of the population of the earth to-day. Canada alone is larger than the whole of Europe without Russia. Europe's population in the fifteenth century was only 50,000,000; the English speaking people of the world to-day number upwards of 150,000,000.

The shipping of Great Britain and her colonies is now more than one-half of the entire shipping of the earth.

The coaling and naval stations of Great Britain are found in every sea. Where would Canada be for coaling stations throughout the world in case she declared her independence? Begging of Great Britain?

Canada, Egypt, India, Australia, and New Zealand can supply the empire with all the agricultural products it requires. The commodities are now largely drawn from foreign nations for protection against whose aggression the British and the colonial tax payers burden themselves by millions of pounds every year. Under a full partnership union I maintain that every part of the motherland as well as the colonies would be infinitely benefited.

HOW TO ACCOMPLISH FULL PARTNERSHIP UNION.

Some will say how are you to effect this? It is not for me to say. I understand that there is likely to be a council of the various portions of the empire at an early date. I trust that the First Minister may see his way clear to taking a part in that conference and let me hope that he will return from it in a better state of health than he returned from the last conference. I would not attempt to dictate or to do more than suggest what the plan of union should be, but the only way to arrive at a conclusion is to make a series of suggestions and then eliminate what is not necessary, what is impossible and what is undesirable, and in that way I am satisfied that the genius of the empire can very quickly arrive at a satisfactory solution of the whole matter.

My idea would be to perpetuate a limited form of monarchical government and undoubtedly, Sir, the present sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland would continue to be the sovereign of the united parliament of Great Britain and all her colonies.

There should undoubtedly be an executive council and there should be a parliamentary body.

Some think there should only be an executive council but my own opinion is that there should be a parliamentary body, elected by some large unit from all parts of the empire and from this body the executive council should be chosen.

The powers conferred upon this great imperial parliament, should embrace inter-imperial or as some prefer to say intra-imperial matters, international matters, commercial affairs, imperial finance, and other necessary national problems.

It should control the army, the navy, consular agents, commercial agents, ambassadors, and all other similar officers.

Taxation should be levied on a uniform system based on population, trade or revenue or a combination of these.

Each parliament should continue as now, and each should control its own tariff subject to a preference within the empire to be determined by the imperial body.

The preference duty should be levied by the parliament of Greater Britain, collected by each integral part and credited to the exchequer of the empire.

The preference should be low on raw materials, on necessary breadstuffs, foods, &c., and high on manufactured articles, and the same uniform principle should be carried on throughout in reference to all nations.

In case one part of the empire should pay more per head than another the proportion should be fairly arranged.

These are details but I make the suggestions.

If foreign nations would reduce their tariffs against Greater Britain the preference as against these nations might be reduced.

Any most favoured nation arrangements should be made only by the greater imperial parliament.

It would be necessary to maintain a large navy, an imperial navy, not a navy, as Howe pointed out, of fifty different little nations all over the world, but a great imperial navy that could strike a blow in any part of the world, a navy over which every Canadian would have as much control as any individual in any other part of the empire, a navy whose office would be, pro rata, taken from Canada, a navy the money for which would be controlled by our Canadian representatives as much as by any representatives from the motherland or Australia. These are, in general terms, the outlines of a naval scheme.

For land purposes there would undoubtedly be a standing army for such an empire, but I maintain that the time has come when military service must be largely managed through militia.

Untrained men and officers did good service in the rebellions of 1688 and 1690. They did splendid service in the American war of independence, and in South Africa. Untrained men and officers—I use the statement advisedly.

One quarter the men at Waterloo classed as Wellington's veterans had not been within their military jackets six weeks, and yet they resisted the onslaughts of the finest soldiers of Europe.

About 20 per cent of the men who climbed the heights of Alma were less than a year in service and more than 20 per cent of them were under 20 years of age. These were the men who fought the battle of Inkerman.

Many lads who were out in South Africa had never handled a rifle before. Untrained men have over and over again shown that they could be relied on in war but

TRAINED MILITIAMEN

have again and again shown that for many purposes they are equal to the best regulars. The Canadian militiamen and the militiamen of Australia and New Zealand made a record in South Africa which forever disposed of the idea that trained militiamen were a menace, or, as General Hutton once told the British government, that the Canadian militia would be a standing menace to the regular troops in South Africa.

With a large navy, a small army and a well trained militia throughout the length and breadth of the empire, the nation would be ready for defence at a moment's notice against any enemy.

A good many people are under the impression that when men have been out a few years in camp or in war they cannot reconcile themselves to taking up again the avocations of peace, but that idea has been completely dispelled by the fact that our boys of South Africa soon found new positions in civil life when they returned and are as

PEACEFUL LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS

as you will find in the whole Dominion.

I do not think it is necessary that I should prolong my remarks on this subject, but I might point out that while Great Britain undoubtedly has committed mistakes in the past and while undoubtedly she has her faults;

Yet, Sir, we do not love her on account of any fossil ways or barnacles fastened to the old ship of state, but she has a strong hold in the hearts of the people, not only of her own race and lineage, but of all those who owe allegiance to the old Union Jack.

Her noble and free institutions ever endear her to the people in every land over which that flag floats.

The love of individual liberty, which is implanted in the hearts of freemen the world over, is largely due to her influence. The love of law and order and British justice are implanted in the hearts of the people, not only of Britain, but of other lands living under responsible government.

As far as the Canadian people are concerned, her glorious record in war and literature and progress of every kind, give her a place in our affections from which it will be impos-

sible to remove her. In the past she has guaranteed our credit, she has defended our soil, she has spent millions of money in maintaining troops and fortifications in our country. When the British troops were removed from Toronto, the business men of that city felt that they had suffered a great loss, and it is only because the Dominion government are replacing the troops which have been taken away from Halifax that the people there can reconcile themselves to any such change.

Although she may have in the past pursued a mistaken policy, it is not too late to undo what has been done. If our hon. friends opposite had not succeeded to power in 1896, they would still be pursuing the same phantoms that they were accustomed to follow in the past. But now that they have been clothed with the responsibilities of office, they find how impossible it would be to manage this country under their old policies. So that if there are any who favour annexation to the United States or independence, I am satisfied that when they come face to face with the great problem of administering the British empire under a system of full partnership union between the motherland and her colonies, they will let the visions of the past vanish and join hands with those of us who go in for a *federation of the empire*. Whatever fault England may have—and I have no English blood in me, though I can boast of having that of two or three other nations—no nation in the world can boast of having done so much for the upbuilding of humanity in all parts of the world. But I find this sentiment so much more beautifully expressed in a few lines from the pen of Eliza Cook that I will take the liberty of quoting them:

There's a heart that leaps with burning glow
The wronged and the weak to defend—
And strikes as soon for a trampled foe
As it does for a soul bound friend—

It nurtures a deep and honest love;
It glows with faith and pride.
And yearns with the fondness of a dove
For the light of its own fireside.

'Tis a rich rough gem, deny it who can,
And this is the heart of an Englishman.

It is all very well to say that a silken cord binds Canada to the Motherland, but a little auxiliary bond would do no harm. If Canada had not the auxiliary bond of federal union in addition to the silken tie which binds together the provinces of Nova Scotia and British Columbia, I am afraid the silken tie would be hardly equal to the strain put upon it. It is straining sentiment rather too much to say that this silken tie would be sufficient to hold the Canadian provinces together without the still stronger bond of political union. I trust that the time is not far distant when all the colonies of the empire will, in addition to the silken tie of sentiment, join the mother country in the still stronger bond of political union.

As an instance of what sentiment there is in the hearts of the people in other colonies, I shall read an extract from the letter of a lady who lost her son in South Africa—a lady known to other gentlemen in the House besides myself. I refer to Mrs. Voss, formerly of Campbell, in Griqualand West, but now of Cape Town, South Africa. She lost one son in the South African war and in the letter which I shall quote she gives expression to a sentiment which I feel is that of the majority of the people in Canada today:—

"I never acknowledged the receipt of your snapshots sent me during the war. I never had a chance to do so then as we were so unsettled. I have them still and always feel sad when I look at them, and think how our family was lessened. It is hard to lose one's children anyway; but as long as I had even one son left I would give him up to fight for old England, for with all her mistakes and faults she is still our dear old mother country—the mother of nations, the founder of responsible government for all lands and the model for law, order and justice for the world."

This, I believe, is the sentiment that permeates the hearts of the great mass of the people in every corner of the British empire. I have great pleasure, Mr. Speaker, in moving the motion which stands in my name.

MR. COCKSHUTT SECONDS THE MOTION.

Mr. Cockshutt, member for Brantford, ably supported Col. Hughes in a most exhaustive and instructive address; while the leader of the Opposition (Mr. R. L. Borden), whose address follows herein, also endorsed the motion.

The Right Honorable the leader of the Government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), in a kindly speech, did not admit the necessity for "full partnership union," claiming that "the relations of the British empire within all its parts are absolutely satisfactory; and so long as they remain satisfactory I think it is idle to hope or to think, or to suppose that any departure will take place from the existing relations."

Mr. Bruneau (Liberal) M.P. for Richelieu, in a very able address in French spoke kindly of the resolution, though not endorsing it. He pointed out that as early as 1831 a French-Canadian had proposed Lower Canadian representation in the Imperial Parliament. As early as 1784 another proposal, also by a French-Canadian, urged that Lower Canada should have six representatives in the Imperial Parliament.

MR. R. L. BORDEN, (CARLETON, ONT.), THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, SUPPORTS COL. HUGHES' MOTION.

He said:—I desire to add only a few words to what the Prime Minister has said. I am very glad indeed to learn that the right hon. gentleman regards the relations of Canada with the empire as so entirely satisfactory, for it is not more than eighteen months ago when he himself announced in this House, that they were so absolutely unsatisfactory that we must attain to a greater share of the treaty making power. I do not know what my right hon. friend then meant; that is what he said, he may have meant something else and it is for himself to explain at the proper time. The right hon. gentleman certainly took very strong ground at that time with regard to the relation of this country to the rest of the empire by reason of the occurrences which led up to the Alaska boundary award. However that may be, if the right hon. gentleman entertained any doubt on that subject he has changed his mind. I agree with him that so far as the development of our relations with the rest of the empire are concerned, they can come around by a process of gradual evolution and as they might be required. That has been the history of our country for the last one hundred and fifty years; it has specially been the history of the advances we have made in our rights of self government from 1837 up to the present time. It has been step by step that we have gained the almost complete—I might say absolutely complete rights of government which we enjoy in Canada today. Another thing that might be added is that in respect to all these matters the initiative has been taken by the people of Canada through the public men of Canada. It is therefore a very worthy subject which the hon. member for Victoria (Mr. Sam. Hughes) has brought to the attention of the House. Even those of us who may not be disposed to absolutely agree in all his remarks, nor in the words of the resolution—indeed those of us who see some little difficulty in practically carrying out the absolute scope of his resolution according to the propositions suggested in it—must come to the conclusion that he has brought before the House a very interesting question, and one on which it is well worth while that the House should deliberate as it has done today. As to the financial features of the resolution, I for one have been of opinion for a number of years, that the material prosperity of the empire, and the ties which bind its different portions together, may be improved and strengthened by a system of mutual trade preferences within the empire. I have advocated a policy of that kind, so far as this country is concerned, both in this House and upon the public platform. I have seen no reason whatever to take back anything I have ever said on that question and I absolutely believe at the present time that that policy is a good one for this country and for the empire as a whole. I realize to the full, that while we are at perfect liberty to form our own conclusions in Canada as to the wisdom of that policy for the empire at large and for Canada especially, nevertheless it is within the right of all other portions of the empire to come to a conclusion for themselves. A movement was inaugurated by Mr. Chamberlain in the British Isles some two or three years ago; it is a movement that no one of us expected to see begun for the next fifteen or twenty years, although most of us believed that it would be inaugurated sooner or later. It has encountered a great deal of opposition, and what the outcome of it shall be at the next general election we do not know. In so far as it touches the material welfare of the British Isles it is a matter entirely for the people of the British Isles. Speaking for myself as a Canadian, I am heartily in sympathy with the movement and I believe that the people of Great Britain, the people of Canada, and the people of the dependencies of the British empire could come together upon a business basis and make an arrangement by which each would give to the other certain preferences and certain advantages in trade matters which they do not extend to other countries. If this could be accomplished, it does not seem to me there is room for doubt that it would result in great benefits not only to Canada but to all portions of the empire. I for one sincerely hope that many who are within sound of my voice, may live to see that great project become an accomplished fact.

COL. HUGHES IN REPLY.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES.—I am highly gratified with the result of the debate. We have obtained an expression of opinion from the First Minister, and also from the member for Richelieu (Mr. Bruneau) and also from the leader of the opposition as well as in the very comprehensive address of the member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt). I would like to compliment the hon. member (Mr. Bruneau) upon the very able speech he delivered, but I regret that my want of familiarity with the language in which he addressed the House has prevented me following his speech closely. However, I knew enough of it to learn that the first to uphold colonial representation in the imperial parliament was a French Canadian. I learned among other important and new facts contained in that speech, that the time is not far distant when others of that race in Canada will be found advocating the same imperial policy.

The able speech of the member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt) was most exhaustive and must bear great weight in moulding opinion upon this great subject.

I again thank the hon. member for Richelieu for his remarks, although, as far as I could glean them, they were not strongly favourable to the views I have presented here to-day. Nevertheless, they were kindly given, and they opened up the discussion of the whole sub-

ject. And let me say to my worthy leader, as I say to the First Minister, that long years ago—1892—and onward—when I had the honor of standing in this House and advocating colonial assistance in imperial wars, I managed for years in succession to coax a Conservative member of the House, no one would support me in speaking for that principle—a military man at that, to second my resolution. I was told that it was impossible to carry out the scheme, and any who turn up *Hansard* will find that on those occasions I had to speak alone. On those occasions I was assured by the present leader of the Govt. (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) and the then leaders of my own party that my ideas were "chimerical," "impossible of fulfilment" &c. Sir, we have all lived to see those "chimerical ideas" long since realities to the salvation of the empire. I am not very old; it is not very many years since those ideas were first placed before the House, and the motion withdrawn, as I intend to withdraw this motion. *My object was to educate the people.* I have great faith in the horse sense and sound judgment of the people. My object was then, as it is now, to place the facts before the public, and I am satisfied that the result, ultimately, will be to bring about the aim I have in view. I have lived, and the First Minister has lived, to see the idea of

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and carried out successfully.

I hope that the First Minister and all of us will live to see, perhaps not in the exact form in which I have laid down here to-day, but in some suitable form, the idea of a full partnership between Great Britain and her colonies carried out—a partnership in which all members of the empire will have equal part.

I understood my hon. friend from Richelieu to say that Canada would be only a small part of the great imperial concern. Well, Canadians are not noted for taking a back seat, on the contrary, they are noted for being aggressive; and I feel satisfied that in any such confederation as that which has been spoken of to-day, we shall have the voice not only of Canadian representatives, but representatives from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. It will be only a year or two before we meet with Great Britain, and if the motherland insists on the dog wagging the tail, the tail may take the notion to turn round and wag the dog, the colonies being more powerful than the motherland. But there will be no question of localities. Under such noble, such grand auspices, principles would guide the statesmen of the empire. I thank the First Minister for his kind words and also the leader of the Opposition for his as well as the member for Brantford (Mr. Coekshutt) for the carefully prepared address, and above all I thank my good friend from Richelieu for the kindly manner in which he has discussed the subject which I have had the honour to lay before the House and the country. I have the honour Mr. Speaker, to ask leave to withdraw the motion.