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Papers relating to the Conferences which have taken place between Her Majesty's Government and a Deputation from the Executive Council of Canada, appointed to confer with Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the Defence of the Province.

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Copy.  
CANADA.

DOWNING STREET,  
21st January, 1865.

No. 14.

MY LORD,

Her Majesty's Government are unwilling, under the present circumstances, to press upon the Government of Canada any decision which can with prudence be postponed upon a subject of so much importance to the future welfare of the British North American Provinces, as the subject of the defence of Canada. They are sensible of the considerations which render it expedient to wait for such a decision, until some further progress shall have been made in the discussion of the proposal for the Union of those Provinces, and until it shall have been ascertained whether the question is to be considered by the Ministers of the United British North American Provinces, or by the Ministers of Canada alone.

But without anticipating that any causes of differences are likely to disturb our present friendly relations with the Government of the United States, they think it necessary to bear in mind the vast accession which has recently been made, and still continues to be made, to the military Forces of that powerful country. They cannot forget the very small proportion which the numerical strength of British Troops on the North American Continent bears to the Force which might at any moment be brought into the field against them. It would be a cause of just reproach against the British Government if those Troops were suffered to remain in a position which, on the outbreak of war, they might not be able to hold until the military and naval resources of the Country could be made available for their support.

These considerations seem to Her Majesty's Government to render it absolutely necessary that the defences of Quebec should be materially strengthened and without delay. They intend, therefore, on their own part to include in the Estimates of the present year a vote for improving

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The proposed defences at Montreal are so important to the general safety of the Province, and to the maintenance of the communication between the Districts West of Montreal, and the naval and military power of the Mother country, that Her Majesty's Government trust that they may look with confidence to the Government of Canada for the immediate construction of these Works.

Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to provide the armaments for the Works at Montreal as well as for those at Quebec.

I have &c.,

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.

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(Enclosure in No. 1.)

Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Executive Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 24th March, 1865.

The Committee respectfully recommend that four members of Your Excellency's Council do proceed to England to confer with Her Majesty's Government :

1st. Upon the proposed Confederation of the British North American Provinces, and the means whereby it can be most speedily effected :

2nd. Upon the arrangements necessary for the Defence of Canada, in the event of war arising with the United States, and the extent to which the same should be shared between Great Britain and Canada :

3rd. Upon the steps to be taken with reference to the Reciprocity Treaty, and the rights conferred by it upon the United States :

4th. Upon the arrangements necessary for the settlement of the North-West Territory and Hudson's Bay Company's claims :

5th. And, generally, upon the existing critical state of affairs by which Canada is most seriously affected.

The Committee further recommend that the following members of Council be named to form the Delegation, viz. : Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, and Galt.

Certified,

WM. H. LEE, C. E. C.

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To His Excellency the Right Honorable Viscount MONCK,  
Governor General of British North America, &c., &c.

*May it please Your Excellency—*

The undersigned having, by Order in Council of 24th March, 1865, been appointed a Committee of the Executive Council of Canada to proceed to England and confer with Her Majesty's Government on certain subjects of importance to the Province, sailed for England in April last; and having discharged the duty entrusted to them and returned to Canada, we now beg to submit for Your Excellency's information, a statement of our proceedings while in London.

The circumstances under which this mission became necessary, are doubtless fresh in Your Excellency's recollection. For a considerable time past, in view of the Civil War going on in the United States, and the impossibility of anticipating what international questions might at any moment arise, Her Majesty's Government felt it their duty from time to time to direct the attention of the Government of Canada to the insecure position of the Province in the event of disturbed relations unhappily resulting, and to urge the adoption of protective measures. In these communications it was not concealed that Her Majesty's Government expected the people of Canada to assume more onerous military duties than they had previously borne. Your Excellency's Advisers were always prepared frankly to consider these proposals, and to submit for the approval of Parliament such measures as might be found just and reasonable. But they felt at the same time that to secure the hearty assent of Parliament and the country for any important changes in the military relations between the Parent State and the Colony, an explanation on the whole subject should first be had, so that a clear understanding as to the share of defence to be borne by each might be arrived at, and all ground of irritating and hurtful reproach for alleged neglect of duty by the Colony, entirely removed. In view also of the anticipated early union of all the British North American Colonies—so well calculated to simplify the system of defence—the Government of Canada deemed it highly desirable that the settlement of this important question should be reserved for the action of the Government and Legislature of the new Confederation. Her Majesty's Government concurred in these views.

In the early part of this year, however, events occurred that changed the situation of affairs. The conference at Fortress Monroe for the cessation of hostilities, the disturbances on the Canadian frontier, the imposition of the Passport system, the notice given by the American Government for a termination of the convention restricting the Naval Armament on the Lakes and other events tended to revive and deepen the feeling of insecurity; and Her Majesty's Government urged the immediate erection of permanent works of defence at Quebec and Montreal—the cost of the former to be borne by the Imperial Treasury, and of the latter by the people of Canada. Your Excellency's Advisers were most anxious to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, but they could not feel it

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their duty to propose to Parliament a vote for defensive works at Montreal while the defence of Upper Canada, on land and on the lakes, was unprovided for. The position of affairs was further complicated by the result of the New Brunswick elections, which postponed, at least for a time, the union of the Provinces—and by the formal notice given by the American Government for the termination, in March next, of the Reciprocity Treaty. It became evident that the time had arrived and could no longer be postponed, for a full and frank explanation with Her Majesty's Government on the whole state of affairs; and with that view an immediate mission to England, with your Excellency's assent, was resolved upon. The state of the case was forthwith communicated to the Legislative Council and Assembly, which were then in session; and Parliament was shortly after prorogued on the understanding that it would be summoned to learn the result of the negotiations and complete the business of the session, so soon as the delegates returned from Great Britain.

On arriving in England we lost no time in placing ourselves in communication with Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies; and a committee of the Imperial Cabinet, consisting of His Grace the Duke of Somerset, the Right Honorable the Earl De Grey and Ripon, the Right Honorable Wm. E. Gladstone, and the Right Honorable Edward Cardwell, having been appointed to confer with us, negotiations were opened and continued at frequent interviews, up to the close of our mission.

The subject to which we first invited the attention of the Conference was the proposed Confederation of the British North American Colonies. We reminded the Imperial Ministers how largely all the questions, without the discussion of which we were charged—and especially those of defence, Foreign Commercial relations, and internal communication—would be affected by the Union, and how greatly their satisfactory settlement would be facilitated by it. We explained the reasons that existed for obtaining the assent of all the Colonies to the Union at an early date, and the promise to which the Government of Canada stood pledged to proceed without delay with Constitutional reforms for Canada alone, in the event of the larger measure failing to be obtained. We received at once from the members of the Imperial Cabinet assurances of their hearty approval of the Confederation scheme, and of their anxious desire to promote its early accomplishment, by all the legitimate influence of the Imperial Government. In the discussion of the means to be adopted for effecting Confederation, we trust it is unnecessary to assure Your Excellency that the idea of coercing the Maritime Provinces into the measure, was not for a moment entertained. The end sought was to ascertain in what manner the question of Union in all its bearings, could be best brought under the full and fair consideration of our fellow Colonists, and the grave responsibility urged upon them, which they would assume by thwarting a measure so pregnant with future prosperity to British America, so anxiously desired by the great mass of the people to be affected by it, and which had been received with such marked satisfaction by our fellow subjects throughout the British Empire. We received assurances that Her Majesty's Government would adopt every legitimate means for securing the early assent of the Maritime Provinces.

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to the Union. In the course of these discussions, the question of the Intercolonial Railway came up as a necessary accompaniment of Confederation, when we sought and obtained a renewal of the promised Imperial guarantee of a loan for the construction of that work.

The important question of the future military relations between the Mother Country and Canada received earnest and grave consideration. Before entering on the discussion of details, we referred to the recent debates in the Imperial Parliament on the subject of Canadian Defences, and especially to the assertions confidently made by certain members of the House of Commons that Canada was incapable of efficient protection against invasion from her inland border. We explained the injury such statements tended to produce, and the necessity of our ascertaining, as a preliminary step to our discussions, whether or not they were well founded. We asked that a Report on the whole subject of the defence of Canada, with plans and estimates, might be obtained from the highest Military and Naval authorities of Great Britain. Such a Report was obtained and communicated to us confidentially—and we rejoice to say that it was calculated to remove all doubt as to the security of our Country, so long as the hearts of our people remain firmly attached to the British Flag, and the power of England is wielded in our defence.

On the part of Canada we expressed the desire that this plan for the defence of all parts of the Province should be taken as the basis of arrangement; and that a full and candid discussion should be had as to the share of the cost that ought to be borne respectively by the Imperial and Provincial Exchequers. We expressed the earnest wish of the people of Canada to perpetuate the happy existing connection with Great Britain, and their entire willingness to contribute to the defence of the Empire their full quota, according to their ability, of men and money. But we pointed out that if war should ever unhappily arise between England and the United States, it could only be an Imperial war, on Imperial grounds—that our Country alone would be exposed to the horrors of invasion—and that our exposed position far from entailing on us unusual burdens, should on the contrary secure for us the special and generous consideration of the Imperial Government. We explained, moreover, that though Canada continued to progress steadily and rapidly, it was a vast country, sparsely populated—that the difficulties of first settlement were hardly yet overcome—that the profits of our annual industry were to be found not in floating wealth, but in the increased value of our farms and mines—and that, at this moment especially, from the failure of successive crops, the effects of the American civil war on our commercial relations, and the feeling of insecurity as to our position, (greatly aggravated by statements of the defencelessness of the country in the British Parliament and by portions of the British Press)—Canada was labouring under a temporary but serious depression. We pointed out that, while fully recognizing the necessity and prepared to provide for such a system of defence as would restore confidence in our future at home and abroad, the best ultimate defence for British America was to be found in the increase of her population as rapidly as possible, and the husbanding of our resources

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to that end ; and without claiming it as a right, we ventured to suggest that by enabling us to throw open the north-western territories to free settlement, and by aiding us in enlarging our canals and prosecuting internal productive works, and by promoting an extensive plan of emigration from Europe into the unsettled portions of our domain—permanent security would be more quickly and surely and economically secured than by any other means. We did not fail to point out how this might be done without cost or risk to the British Exchequer, and how greatly it would lighten the new burden of defence proposed to be assumed at a moment of depression by the people of Canada.

Much discussion ensued on all these points, and the result arrived at was that if the people of Canada undertook the works of defence at and west of Montreal, and agreed to expend in training their militia, until the union of all the Provinces was determined, a sum not less than is now expended annually for that service, Her Majesty's Government would complete the fortifications at Quebec, provide the whole armament for all the works, guarantee a loan for the sum necessary to construct the works undertaken by Canada, and in the event of war undertake the defence of every portion of Canada with all the resources of the Empire.

The question having arisen as to the time and order in which these propositions should be submitted for the approval of the Imperial and Provincial Legislatures, it appeared that no action could be taken upon them during the present year ; and it was therefore deemed inexpedient to complicate the confederation question by changing the basis of the Quebec conference resolutions, which might result from the present adoption of these propositions. The further consideration of the defensive works was accordingly deferred for the action of the Government and Legislature of the proposed British North American Confederation—but the assurance of Her Majesty's Government was at the same time given, that if circumstances arose to render an application expedient by Canada alone for the immediate prosecution of the works of defence, such application would be received in the most friendly spirit.

On the subject of the American Reciprocity Treaty we entered into full explanations with the Imperial Ministers. We explained how advantageously the Treaty had worked for Canada, and the desire of our people for its renewal ; but we showed at the same time how much more advantageously it had operated for American interests—and we expressed our inability to believe that the United States Government seriously contemplated the abolition of an arrangement by which they had so greatly increased their foreign commerce, secured a vast and lucrative carrying trade, and obtained free access to the St. Lawrence and to the invaluable fishing-grounds of British America—and that on the sole ground that the Provinces had also profited by the Treaty. We explained the immediate injury that would result to Canadian interests from the abrogation of the Treaty ; but we pointed out at the same time the new and ultimately more profitable channels into which our foreign trade must, in that event, be turned, and the necessity of preparing for the change if

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indeed it was to come. We asked that the British Minister at Washington might be instructed to state frankly to the American Government the desire of the Canadian people for a renewal of the Treaty, and our readiness to discuss and favourably entertain any just propositions that might be made for an extension or modification of its conditions ; we requested that the views of the American Government should be obtained at the earliest convenient date—and that His Excellency Sir Frederick Bruce should act in concert with the Canadian Government in the matter. The Imperial Government cordially assented to our suggestions.

The important question of opening up to settlement and cultivation the vast British Territories on the north-west borders of Canada, next obtained the attention of the Conference. Your Excellency is aware that the desire of the Government of Canada for a satisfactory and final adjustment of this matter has been often formally expressed. In your Excellency's Despatch of 19th January, 1864, to the Colonial Secretary, the anxious desire of the Canadian Government was communicated "for some "speedy, inexpensive and mutually satisfactory plan," for settling definitely "the North-Western boundary of Canada," and the claim of Canada was asserted to "all that portion of Central British America, which can be "shown to have been in the possession of the French at the period of "the cession in 1763."

In reply to this Despatch, Mr. Cardwell, on 1st July, 1864, requested to be informed whether the Government of Canada was prepared to assist in negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company, with the view of accepting any portion of the Territory now claimed by that Company, and providing the means of local administration therein ; and he suggested that if so prepared it would be desirable that some person duly authorized to communicate the views of the Canadian Government should be sent to England for that purpose.

On the 11th November 1864, a minute of Council was approved by Your Excellency, in reply to Mr. Cardwell's Despatch. It set forth that the Government of Canada was ready and anxious to co-operate with the Imperial Government, in securing the early settlement of the North-West Territories, and the establishment of local Government in its settled portions ; but that in its opinion the first step towards that end was the extinction of all claim by the Hudson's Bay Company to proprietary rights in the soil and exclusive rights of trade. It suggested that it was for the Imperial Government, and not for the Government of Canada, to assume the duty of bringing to an end a monopoly originating in an English Charter, and exercised so long under Imperial sanction ; but that when the negotiations were brought to a close, the Government of Canada would be ready to arrange with the Imperial Government for the annexation to Canada of such portions of the Territory as might be available for settlement, as well as for the opening up of communications into the Territory and providing means of local administration. Or should the Imperial Government prefer to erect the Territory into a Crown Colony, the Canadian Government would gladly co-operate in the opening up of communication

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into the Territory, and the settlement of the Country. The minute finally suggested that the Hon. President of the Council while in England would communicate more fully to Mr. Cardwell the views of the Canadian Government.

The negotiations that followed on this despatch, satisfied us of the impossibility of enforcing the end sought by Canada without long-protracted, vexatious and costly litigation. The Hudson's Bay Company were in possession, and if time were their object, could protract the proceedings indefinitely; and Her Majesty's Government appeared unwilling to ignore pretensions that had frequently received *quasi* recognition from the Imperial authorities. Calling to mind, therefore, the vital importance to Canada of having that great and fertile country opened up to Canadian enterprise, and the tide of emigration into it directed through Canadian channels—remembering also the danger of large grants of land passing into the hands of mere moneyed corporations and embarrassing the rapid settlement of the country—and the risk that the recent discoveries of gold on the Eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains might throw into the country large masses of settlers unaccustomed to British Institutions—we arrived at the conclusion that the quickest solution of the question would be the best for Canada. We accordingly proposed to the Imperial Ministers that the whole British Territory east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the American or Canadian lines should be made over to Canada, subject to such rights as the Hudson's Bay Company might be able to establish; and that the compensation to that Company (if any were found to be due) should be met by a loan guaranteed by Great Britain. The Imperial Government consented to this, and a careful investigation of the case satisfies us that the compensation to the Hudson's Bay Company cannot, under any circumstances, be onerous. It is but two years since the present Hudson's Bay Company purchased the entire property of the old Company; they paid £1,500,000, for the entire property and assets,—in which were included a large sum of cash on hand, large landed properties in British Columbia and elsewhere not included in our arrangement, a very large claim against the United States Government under the Oregon Treaty—and Ships, Goods, Pelts and business premises in England and Canada valued at £1,023,569. The value of the territorial rights of the Company therefore, in the estimation of the Company itself, will be easily arrived at.

The results of our communications with the Committee of Her Majesty's Government were placed, by Mr. Cardwell, in the form of a Despatch to Your Excellency; that document bears date the 17th June, 1865, and has already reached Your Excellency's hands. It contains a correct statement of the result of the conference.

Although the subject was not specially referred to us, we did not fail to call the attention of the Colonial minister to the anomalous position of **F**oreigners who have settled in Canada and become naturalized subjects under our Provincial Statutes. Mr. Cardwell at once admitted the hardship of the case and stated that it was the desire of Her Majesty's Govern-



ment to remedy it, and that with that view he had referred the subject to the Law Officers of the Crown for their opinion as to the best mode of doing so.

It will be gratifying to many devoted subjects of Her Majesty throughout British America, whose fears have been excited by the language too often heard of late years on the subject of Colonial Connection, that we received from Her Majesty's Ministers the assurance that the British Government acknowledge the obligation of defending every portion of Canada with all the resources at its command.

Such in brief is the outline of our communications with Her Majesty's Government, and we cannot conclude this Report without gratefully acknowledging the distinguished consideration extended to us as the Representatives of Canada, not only by the Ministers with whom we were brought more directly in contact, but by many eminent personages with whom we had the honour of conferring on the objects of our mission. To Mr. Cardwell we are especially indebted for unremitting kindness and attention. We are happy to believe that the result of our visit to England has been to inspire more just views as to the position and feelings of the Canadian people, and to draw closer the ties that have so long and so happily attached our Province to the Mother Country.

JOHN A. MACDONALD,  
GEO. ET. CARTIER,  
GEO. BROWN,  
A. T. GALT.

Quebec, 12th July, 1865.

No. 2.

COPY of a Despatch from the Right Honourable EDWARD CARDWELL, M.P.,  
to Governor General Viscount MONCK.

(No. 95.)

DOWNING STREET, 17th June, 1865.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform your Lordship that several conferences have been held between the four Canadian Ministers who were deputed, under the Minute of your Executive Council of March 24th, to proceed to England to confer with Her Majesty's Government, on the part of Canada, and the Duke of Somerset, the Earl De Grey, Mr. Gladstone, and myself, on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

On the first subject referred to in the Minute, that of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, we repeated on the part of the

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Cabinet the assurances which had already been given of the determination of Her Majesty's Government to use every proper means of influence to carry into effect without delay the proposed Confederation.

On the second point, we entered into a full consideration of the important subject of the defence of Canada, not with any apprehension on either side that the friendly relations now happily subsisting between this country and the United States are likely to be disturbed, but impressed with the conviction that the safety of the Empire from possible attack ought to depend upon its own strength and the due application of its own resources. We reminded the Canadian Ministers that on the part of the Imperial Government we had obtained a vote of money for improving the fortifications of Quebec. We assured them that so soon as the vote had been obtained the necessary instructions had been sent out for the immediate execution of the works, which would be prosecuted with despatch; and we reminded them of the suggestion Her Majesty's Government had made to them to proceed with the fortifications of Montreal.

The Canadian Ministers, in reply, expressed unreservedly the desire of Canada to devote her whole resources, both in men and money, for the maintenance of her connection with the Mother Country; and their full belief in the readiness of the Canadian Parliament to make known that determination in the most authentic manner. They said they had increased the expenditure for their Militia from 300,000 to 1,000,000 dollars, and would agree to train that force to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State for War, provided the cost did not exceed the last-mentioned sum annually, while the question of confederation is pending. They said they were unwilling to separate the question of the works of Montreal from the question of the works west of that place, and from the question of a naval armament on Lake Ontario. That the execution of the whole of these works would render it necessary for them to have recourse to a loan, which could only be raised with the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament. They were ready to propose to their Legislature on their return a measure for this purpose, provided that the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament were given now, and that they were authorized to communicate to the Parliament of Canada the assurance that, the occasion arising, England will have prepared an adequate naval force for Lake Ontario. They thought that if the guarantee were not obtained now it was probable that the Canadian Government and Parliament would think it desirable that the question of defensive works should await the decision of the Government and Legislature of the United Provinces.

On the part of Her Majesty's Government we assented to the reasonableness of the proposal that if the Province undertook the primary liability for the works of Defence mentioned in the letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Jervis, and showed a sufficient security, Her Majesty's Government should apply to Parliament for a Guarantee for the amount required; and we said that Her Majesty's Government would furnish the armaments for the works. But we said that the desire and decision of the Provincial Legislature ought to be pronounced before any application was made to

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the Imperial Parliament. On the subject of a Naval Force for Lake Ontario, we said that, apart from any question of expediency, the conviction subsisting between this country and the United States rendered it impossible for either nation to place more than the specified number of armed vessels on the Lakes in time of peace. In case of war it would, as a matter of course, be the duty of any Government in this country to apply its means of Naval Defence according to the judgment it might form upon the exigencies of each particular time, and the Canadian Ministers might be assured that Her Majesty's Government would not permit itself to be found in such a position as to be unable to discharge its duty in this respect. This was the only assurance the Canadian Ministers could expect, or we could give.

Upon a review of the whole matter, the Canadian Ministers reverted to the proposal which has been mentioned above, that priority in point of time should be given to the Confederation of the Provinces. To this we assented on the part of Her Majesty's Government, assented. In conformity, however, with a wish strongly expressed by the Canadian Ministers, we further said that if, upon future consideration, the Canadian Government should desire to anticipate the Confederation and to propose that Canada should execute the works, they would doubtless communicate to Her Majesty's Government that decision; and we trusted that after what had passed at these conferences they would feel assured that any such communication would be received by us in the most friendly spirit.

On the third point, the Reciprocity Treaty, the Canadian Ministers represented the great importance to Canada of the renewal of that treaty and requested that Sir F. Bruce might be put in communication with the Government of Lord Monck upon the subject. We replied that Sir F. Bruce had already received instructions to negotiate for a renewal of the treaty, and to act in concert with the Government of Canada.

On the fourth point, the subject of the North-western Territory, the Canadian Ministers desired that that Territory should be made over to Canada, and undertook to negotiate with the Hudson's Bay Company for the termination of their rights, on condition that the indemnity, if any, should be paid by a loan to be raised by Canada under the Imperial guarantee. With the sanction of the Cabinet, we assented to this proposal, undertaking that if the negotiation should be successful we on the part of the Crown being satisfied that the amount of the indemnity was reasonable, and the security sufficient, would apply to the Imperial Parliament to sanction the arrangement and to guarantee the amount.

On the last point, it seemed sufficient that Her Majesty's Government should accept the assurances given by the Canadian Ministers on the part of Canada, that that Province is ready to devote all her resources both in men and money to the maintenance of her connexion with the Mother Country, and should assure them in return that the Imperial Government fully acknowledged the reciprocal obligation of defending every portion of the Empire with all the resources at its command.

The Canadian Ministers in conclusion said, that they hoped it would be understood that the present communications did not in any way affect or alter the correspondence which had already passed between the Imperial Government and the Governments of the British North American Provinces on the subject of the Intercolonial Railway. To this we entirely agree.

I have, &c.

Governor General  
Viscount Monck,  
&c. &c.

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.

Copy.)

DOWNING STREET.

Canada.

24th June, 1865.

No. 103.)

MY LORD,

I have the honor to enclose for Your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to-day to the Lieutenant Governors of the Maritime Provinces.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) EDWARD CARDWELL.

Viscount MONCK,  
&c., &c., &c.

Mr. Secretary Cardwell to the Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick.

Copy.)

DOWNING STREET.

24th June 1865.

SIR,

I have the honor to transmit to you the copy of a correspondence between Viscount Monck and myself, on the affairs of British North America, which have lately formed the subject of Conferences between Her Majesty's Government, and a deputation from the Canadian Government.

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This correspondence having been presented to both Houses of the Imperial Parliament by command of Her Majesty, I have to direct you to communicate it also to the Legislature of New Brunswick, at its next meeting.

You will at the same time express the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that it is an object much to be desired, that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite in one Government. In the territorial extent of Canada, and in the maritime and commercial enterprise of the Lower Provinces, Her Majesty's Government see the elements of power which only require to be combined in order to secure for the Province which shall possess them all, a place amongst the most considerable communities of the world. In the spirit of loyalty to the British Crown, of attachment to British connection, and of love for British Institutions, by which all the Provinces are animated alike, Her Majesty's Government recognize the bond by which all may be combined under one Government. Such an union seems to Her Majesty's Government to recommend itself to the Provinces on many grounds of moral and material advantage, as giving a well founded prospect of improved administration and increased prosperity. But there is one consideration which Her Majesty's Government feel it more especially their duty to press upon the Legislature of New Brunswick. Looking to the determination which this country has ever exhibited to regard the defence of the Colonies as a matter of Imperial concern, the Colonies must recognize a right and even acknowledge an obligation incumbent on the Home Government to urge with earnestness and just authority the measures which they consider to be most expedient on the part of the Colonies with a view to their own defence. Nor can it be doubtful that the Provinces of British North America are incapable, when separated and divided from each other, of making those just and sufficient preparations for national defence, which would be easily undertaken by a Province uniting in itself all the population and all the resources of the whole.

I am aware that this project, so novel as well as so important, has not been at once accepted in New Brunswick, with that cordiality which has marked its acceptance by the Legislature of Canada, but Her Majesty's Government trust that after a full and careful examination of the subject in all its bearings, the Maritime Provinces will perceive the great advantages which in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government the proposed Union is calculated to confer upon them all.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) EDWARD CARDWELL.



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## PAPERS

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