

February 15, 1871

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Wednesday, February 15, 1871

The **SPEAKER** took the chair at 3.00 p.m.

Prayers

A **MESSAGE** was brought by *René Kimber*, Esquire, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod:—

The **SPEAKER**,

His Excellency, the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this Honorable House in the Senate Chamber.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, with the House, went to the Senate Chamber:—And being returned:

Mr. Speaker informed the House, that during the Recess, he had received the following notifications of vacancies which had occurred in the representation of the electoral districts of *Missisquoi, Quebec (City) East, Cumberland, (Nova Scotia) Bellechasse, Saint-Hyacinthe, Colchester, (N.S.), Richelieu* and *Restigouche*; and that he had issued his Warrants to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery to make out new Writs for the Election of Members to serve in this present Parliament for the said Electoral Districts:

Adolphe Tourangeau, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Quebec East; *Louis Delorme*, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Saint-Hyacinthe; *George Moffatt*, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Restigouche (New Brunswick); *Leverett de Veber Chipman*, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Kings; *Georges Isidore Barthe*, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Richelieu; and the Honorable *Charles Tupper*, C.B., Member for the Electoral District of Cumberland, having previously taken the Oath, according to Law, and subscribed before the Commissioners the Roll containing the same, took their seats in the House.

Ordered, That the *Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald* have leave to bring in a Bill respecting the administration of Oaths of Office.

He accordingly presented the said Bill to the House, and the same was received and read the first time.

Mr. Speaker reported, That when the House did attend His Excellency the Governor General this day, in the Senate Chamber, His Excellency was pleased to make a Speech to both Houses of

Parliament, of which Mr. Speaker said he had, to prevent mistakes, obtained a copy which he read to the House, as followeth:—

Honorable Gentlemen of the Senate, Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—

I have much satisfaction in meeting you at this, the usual and most convenient season of the year, and under the present auspicious circumstances of the Country.

The hope I was sanguine enough to express at the close of the last session that no further attempt would be made to disturb our frontier, was doomed to early disappointment. The Session had scarcely closed when lawless bands assembled within the *United States* in great numbers, and renewed the menace of invasion. They ventured to cross the border at two points, but were promptly met and repelled. So complete and humiliating was the repulse, that the invaders lost heart and hope, threw away quantities of arms, and fell back to encumber the villages in their rear, with their starving and demoralized masses. Our Militia rallied at the first call to arms with praiseworthy alacrity, and the spirit which pervades the country, swelled their numbers with volunteers from all quarters. The gallantry displayed and the success achieved, have been duly recognized by the highest Military authority, and honored in gratifying terms of appreciation, by Her Most Gracious Majesty. In maintaining the Militia on active duty, the Government incurred an outlay to a considerable amount beyond what was provided by the votes of last Session. The accounts of the entire expenditure for the defence of the frontier will be laid before you, and I feel confident that you will pass a bill to indemnify the Government.

My anticipations of success in regard to the Act passed for the Government of *Manitoba*, and the North West Territories, and in regard to the Military Expedition, which it was necessary to despatch, have been fortunately realized. The troops surmounted the difficulties of the long and toilsome route with endurance and intelligence. They encountered no armed opposition, and their arrival at the *Red River* was cordially welcomed by the inhabitants. The people of the new Province have, under the Constitution accorded to them last year, assumed all the duties of self-government, and every appearance warrants the hope that they are entering steadily upon a career of peace and prosperity.

The Legislature of *British Columbia* has passed an Address to Her Majesty, praying for admission into the union, on the terms and conditions therein stated. All the papers on this important subject will be submitted, and your earnest attention is invited to them. I hope you will think that the terms are so fair as to justify you in passing a similar Address, so that the boundaries of *Canada*, may,

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at an early day, be extended from the shores of the *Atlantic Ocean* on the one side, to the shores of the *Pacific* on the other.

Should such an Address be adopted, it will be necessary for you to take steps to secure the early exploration and survey of a route for an Inter-oceanic Railway, with a view to its construction in accordance with the terms of Union.

The acquisition of the North West Territories throws upon the Government and Parliament of the Dominion the duty of promoting their early settlement by the encouragement of immigration. This duty can be best discharged by a liberal land policy, and by opening up communications through our own country to *Manitoba*. The means proposed for accomplishing these purposes will be submitted for your consideration.

Her Majesty's Government has decided upon referring the Fishery question, along with other questions pending between the two countries, to a joint commission to be named by Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the *United States*. On this commission *Canada* will be represented. This mode of dealing with the various matters in controversy will, I trust, lead to their satisfactory adjustment. *Canada* urges no demand beyond those to which she is plainly entitled by Treaty and the law of Nations. She has pushed no claim to an extreme assertion, and only sought to maintain the rights of her own people fairly and firmly, but in a friendly and considerate spirit and with all due respect to foreign powers and international obligations. The thanks of the country are due to the Admiral on the Station and those under his command, for the valuable and efficient aid which they rendered to our cruisers during the past season in maintaining order and protecting the inshore fisheries from encroachment.

The prospect of the adoption of an international currency seems, in the present state of *Europe*, to be so remote, that I recommend you to consider the propriety of assimilating the currency of the Dominion without further delay.

The extension to *Manitoba* of the militia and other laws of the Dominion, and their adaptation to the present circumstances of that young Province, will require your attention.

The decennial Census will be taken on the third day of April next, and it is believed that a more thorough and accurate system has been adopted than any that has hitherto obtained. It may be necessary to amend the Act of last session in some particulars.

Among other measures, Bills will be presented to you relating to Parliamentary Elections, Weights and Measures, Insurance Companies, Savings Banks, and for the Consolidation and Amendment of the Inspection Laws.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—

I have given directions that the Public Accounts shall be laid before you. You will learn with satisfaction that the Revenue for the past year was in excess of what was estimated, and that the prospects for the current year are so encouraging that,

notwithstanding the extensive public improvements which are contemplated, you will probably be able to diminish the taxation of the Country.

The Estimates for the ensuing year will be submitted to you, and I feel assured that you will be of opinion that the supplies which you will be asked to vote can be granted without inconvenience to the people.

Hon. Gentlemen of the Senate, Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—

I lay these various and weighty matters before you, in full confidence that they will engage your mature attention, and I pray that the result of your deliberations may, with the Divine Blessing, prove conducive in all respects to the advancement and happiness of the country.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD moved that His Excellency's speech be taken into consideration tomorrow.

The House resolved to establish the usual Standing Committees, and adjournment was moved by Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, seconded by Hon. Sir George-É. Cartier.

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THE FISHERIES

On the motion for adjournment, **Mr. MACKENZIE** asked if it was the intention of the Government to bring down any correspondence regarding the fisheries before the discussion on the address of His Excellency tomorrow. It was desirable on so important a matter, if there was any correspondence relative to the appointment of the Joint High Commission that the House should have it before them, as it was quite impossible for them to avoid discussing it during the debate tomorrow. It was a matter of far too much importance to this country, looking at it simply as one respecting our national rights, that the House should pass dumbly over this portion of His Excellency's speech without discussing, to some extent, at least, the questions that everyone could see were involved in it. The Commission, for anything they might know to the contrary, might adopt some course that this Parliament might not think consistent with the national interests in this Dominion; and it was desirable that, at the earliest possible moment some expression of the opinion of public men in the country should be had on it. He took it for granted that the correspondence would be brought down.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said it was not the intention of the government to bring down any correspondence or any papers of any kind before the answer to the address was carried. It was an unusual course and an exceedingly inconvenient one that the hon. member proposed. Care would be taken that the address to be moved should not commit any member of this House to the approval of the policy of the government on that or any other question. The government would, so soon as the House should address itself to business, bring down such portions of the

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obtainment of the opinion of this House in reference to the important matters to be dealt with by the approaching International Commission. The Hon. Premier was soon to leave for Washington. No discussion of the fishery or other questions, to come before the Commission, would be of the slightest advantage if it were to follow the departure of the leader of the Government. He thought it was their bounden duty to strengthen the hands of their representative on that Commission by every means in their power. He proposed to do so by a resolution. If the Government promised him an early opportunity of doing so—say Monday or Tuesday, he would not stand in the way of the immediate passage of the address.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD promised the early opportunity solicited. He quite recognised the importance of these subjects, and the propriety of the discussion before he left for Washington.

Hon. Sir A.T. GALT said he was satisfied with that statement, as he believed fair play would be given him.

The matter then dropped.

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THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS

Mr. LACERTE rose to propose the address in reply to His Excellency's Speech from the Throne. Taking up the various paragraphs, he spoke briefly on each, as usual, expressing concurrence in the different views therein set forth, and complimenting the Government on its administrative policy. He referred particularly to the Fenian enterprise of last spring, and the wise and vigorous efforts put forth for its overthrow. He hoped the House would fully sustain the Administration in this matter by voting the additional expenditure it was compelled to incur. He was glad at the prospect of the settlement of the fishery dispute, and believed everything would be done to protect Canada's interests. Fortunately the Red River trouble was ended, thanks to the judicious and conciliatory action of the Government, and to the exertions and bravery of the Volunteers. The Dominion was in a prosperous condition, largely owing to the wisdom of Ministers, who deserved the confidence of Parliament and the people. He had much pleasure in moving the Address.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK rose to second the motion. The topics of the speech well deserved the compliments paid them. Scarcely had the Parliament been prorogued last summer when hordes of miscreants from the United States suddenly assembled on our frontier to pillage and ravage our land. To add to the infamy and offensiveness of this outrage, those marauders chose for the time of their unwarranted operations, the day above all, dear to loyal British subjects, the Queen's birthday. The hostile movement was, thanks to the bravery and loyalty of our volunteers and the troops of the Queen, hurled back in disgrace from our border. He hoped and doubted not the House would cheerfully vote the extra expenses entailed by this attempted Fenian invasion.

The next subject of the Speech was the Fisheries, and it was but truth to say that the action of the Canadian Government in regard to

them had met with the approbation of the whole country. The reference of General Grant to the action of Canada exhibited both ignorance and prejudice. The Dominion had but acted within its right, and it was certain the next subject in the speech was that of Manitoba. No better Governor could have been chosen than him who is now *de facto*, if not *de jure* in power. The improvements already witnessed in Manitoba prove the judiciousness of the efforts made to suppress disorder and rebellion, and set up the authority of Canada. The brave Volunteers who had been instrumental in securing those happy results, deserved the thanks of the country. When disbanded he believed they were entitled to grants of land in Manitoba. No better settlers could be chosen, and in justice to them, and in the interests of the Province, everything should be done to retain them in the North West.

The proposed admission of British Columbia and Vancouver Island was a subject of satisfaction to us all. The great scheme of Confederation was being rapidly consummated. Those great territories, so rich in natural resources, would be a great acquisition to Canada, and everything possible should be done to unite them to her by a Pacific Railway, grants of land, and, if possible, pecuniary contributions, should be made in aid of such enterprises.

There is little doubt that in this way they could be achieved. Immigrants were necessary to development of the great resources of the Pacific colonies, and good, rapid communications were indispensable to the attraction of immigration. The next subject of the Speech was the Fisheries, and it was but truth to say that the action of the Canadian Government in regard to them had met with the approbation of the whole country. The reference of General Grant to the action of Canada exhibited both ignorance and prejudice. The Dominion had but acted within its right, and it was certain that action was justified by the approval of the Government of England also. However, a Joint Commission had been appointed to consider the Fishery question and that relating to events connected with the last war, and from it he thought Canada had nothing to fear. He hoped, however, that the injury done to Canada by repeated Fenian raids would form one of the subjects discussed, and that indemnity for our losses thereby would be as rigorously required as was indemnity for the losses from the *Alabama*.

The improvement of our coinage system and other proposals of the speech would be cordially received. The interests of the country demanded such ameliorations. The general administration of the affairs of the Dominion had been beneficial, as its progress and prosperity amply testified. He could but concur in the closing aspiration of the Speech from the Throne, upon which the future happiness and advancement of Canada would largely depend.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that it was important in opening the grant inquest of the nation, that they should review the administration of affairs and foreign events, while abstaining from unusual criticism. Tremendous events had taken place since the last session, including those of a gigantic and disastrous war. It was but right he should express his sympathy with the sacrifices and sufferings of that great nation, being the friend and ally of England. He did hope that France would not suffer much either in feeling or

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fight in our own quarrels. In our present position the feeling in favour of independence was spreading.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS [excitedly]: No, no.

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne): Yes, yes. The feeling was spreading. He appealed to the Government if they wished to continue the connection with England, as he did to enlighten the House on the intention of the Imperial Government, for Mr. Cardwell, a member of that Government; had recently delivered a speech the argument of which was that the colonies should in future act for the defence of England, or be feeders and not suckers.

Mr. MILLS said the Federal system made it necessary that each Province should have an independent governmental existence. Such could not be given to any Province by this Parliament. He had called attention to this fact last year, and was glad the Minister of Justice had changed his views in this respect. (*Hear, hear.*) As to the murder of Scott, it was still competent for the Government of Canada to authorize the trial and punishment of Riel. The Minister of Justice had said that this Government had no power to cause the arrest of the murderers of Scott. This was not so. The Hudson's Bay Company were bound by the Imperial Government to transfer to Canada, for trial and punishment, persons guilty of higher crimes than misdemeanour. It was still competent for the Government of Canada to authorize the trial and punishment of Riel, and it was

also competent for the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba to ask for extradition.

The second paragraph of the address was agreed to.

Hon. Mr. DORION on the proposal of the adoption of the paragraph relating to the admission of British Columbia, protested that he knew nothing of the merits of the terms of this admission, and declared his unwillingness to express blindfold any concurrence in the Government's Pacific Railway scheme. If it was to be one of the character of the Intercolonial Railway, he would give it his strenuous opposition. He could not approve of the wording of the paragraph.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD consented to a verbal alteration to meet the objection of the last speaker. The change was of a non-committal character, and thus modified, the clause was adopted.

The remaining paragraphs were read and concurred in without debate, and the address, being read a second time, was agreed to.

After the usual formal resolutions in regard to the address and its presentation, **Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD** gave notice of an address of congratulation to Lord Lisgar on the distinguished honour recently conferred upon him by Her Majesty.

The House adjourned at a quarter past nine.

February 17, 1871

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Friday, February 17, 1871

The **SPEAKER** took the chair at three o'clock.

Prayers

Several petitions and motions were presented.

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LACHINE CANAL BRIDGE

Hon. Mr. HOLTON asked if the Grand Trunk Railway had asked permission to erect an additional bridge on or near the Lachine Canal, at the Wellington Bridge, Montreal, and if so, when the permission was applied for and when granted.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said the Railway company was allowed to cross the canal with a swing bridge at Wellington Street, to be built at the place and in the stead of the existing bridge, and subject to the conditions he would lay before the House.

Hon. Mr. HOLTON: When was the permission applied for, and when granted?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN: Applied for on 17th January, 1871, and granted 28th January.

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GRAND TRUNK RETURNS

Mr. MACKENZIE moved for returns of statements, showing the gross earnings of the Grand Trunk Railway during certain years.—Carried.

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NORTH WEST INSTRUCTIONS

Mr. MACKENZIE moved an address for copies of all instructions to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, also copies of all reports and official correspondence between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Dominion Government from the date of his appointment.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said that while no objection would be urged to furnishing the returns asked for, it would be as well to mention exactly the papers which were wanted. There was a very large amount of correspondence continually passing between

the Local Government and the Dominion Government, only a portion of which could be of any service to the hon. member.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he only wished to obtain that portion relative to the new system of Government, the division of the Province into electoral districts, and everything, in fact, connected with the new order of things. He did not want the formal correspondence.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER called the attention of the hon. member to the fact that Lieutenant-Governor Archibald was the Governor of the North West Territory as well as of Manitoba, and correspondence relevant to both capacities should be included.

The motion was amended in accordance with the suggestion, and carried.

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PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS submitted the public accounts for the year.

(Applause.)

Mr. MACKENZIE: It will save us a great deal of trouble.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS also laid on the table details of expenditure for the defence of the country.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Perhaps the hon. member will give us details of all the expenditure from the fund for unforeseen expenses.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said they would be submitted in a few days.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA CORRESPONDENCE

MOTIONS

Mr. MACKENZIE moved for an address for copies of all correspondence between the Government and British Columbia, its delegates, or the Imperial Government relative to the admission of such colony into the Dominion; also copies of all orders in council or other documents relating to such negotiation.—Carried.

Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD said all correspondence would be brought down by message, and the motion was unnecessary.

February 28, 1871

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Tuesday, February 28, 1871

The **SPEAKER** took the chair at 3.00 p.m.

Prayers

Several petitions were presented.

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CORRECTION

Hon. Mr. CONNELL (whose remarks were very indistinctly heard in the reporter's gallery) referred to a mistake which had been made in the report of his speech yesterday with regard to the settlement of accounts between New Brunswick and the Dominion. He had been represented as saying that "it would be necessary to get an alteration of the Union Act." He would not like to have it go abroad to his constituents that he had made such an absurd statement. He had no wish to have the Union Act disturbed for a settlement of the accounts between New Brunswick and the Dominion. He had no doubt that a just and equitable arrangement would be made.

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LIBRARY OFFICIALS

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved that the Library Committee be instructed to inquire into the remuneration, classification, etc., of the officers of the library.

Carried.

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NEW MEMBER

Mr. PEARSON the member elected by the constituency of Colchester to fill the place rendered vacant by the appointment of Hon. Mr. Archibald to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North West, was introduced by Messrs. Carmichael and Killam, and took his seat.

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THE ELECTION LAW

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER introduced a bill to make temporary provision for the election of members for the House of

Commons. (*Hear, hear from the Opposition.*) He expected that his hon. friends opposite would say "hear, hear" at the very mention of the measure. He would explain that since we were about to have another province comprised in this Dominion, it was obvious that the government could not yet enact a law to affect all the provinces of the Dominion, as far as the representation of this House was concerned. The circumstances of Manitoba having been recently admitted into the Union and British Columbia being on the eve of joining the Confederation, had led the Government to the conclusion that it would be better to carry on the next election for the Dominion under the laws as they now prevail in the several provinces. (*Hear, hear from the Opposition.*) He might state that the bill too, contained a provision with regard to the number of days on which elections were to take place. This Bill provided that the elections should take place on one day. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. BLAKE said that after two permanent Electoral Bills had been passed, the House was now asked to enact a temporary one. Last session one had been passed, the session before the House had passed one, and now they were asked to deal with another one. The hon. gentleman had explained that the reason why he now submitted this temporary measure, was because of the introduction of the new Provinces into Confederation. At what period since the 1st July, 1867, was not the House favoured with the news that new Provinces were to be added? Every day they were told they were coming in, though they didn't come.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS: Yes! yes!

Mr. BLAKE: And yet the Hon. Minister of Militia had asserted that it was in view of these additions to the Dominion that this temporary Act was provided. Last session the Opposition had pointed out the effect that the new measure then submitted would have in the East and in the West. They had shown that it would be impossible to work it in Manitoba, and that difficulties would arise in other Provinces too. But they were told that their arguments were fallacious, and that the Union would overcome all the difficulties which were then deprecated. He was glad to hear that, taught by experience, they had admitted the truth of the arguments then advanced by the Opposition, that it was necessary to respect the views of the different Provinces on the subject, and by degrees as they became more acquainted with the franchise laws of other countries, the Government had made some approach towards providing for a common franchise for the Dominion. He was not surprised that it was merely a temporary Act. It would be coming down too far to propose as a permanent Act what they opposed so consistently before, but, he had no doubt that it would contain for some years to come the principle at the base of our Parliamentary representation, founded on the motion of the hon. member for

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Hochelaga, that the franchise should be for the Dominion the same as by law established for each of the Provinces. (*Hear, hear.*)

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said he did not intend to discuss the measure at this moment, but he felt it to be his duty to answer some of the observations made by the hon. gentleman opposite. The Manitoba measure was submitted to the House as the result of the negotiations carried on between the Dominion of Canada and the gentlemen sent as delegates from Manitoba. No one knew at the close of last session that Manitoba would certainly be a member of the Confederation. There was no necessity or intention at the outset that Manitoba should form a province and be comprised in the Confederation. It was intended that it should be a Crown colony, and that very reason induced the Government at the time to withdraw the Bill.

Mr. BLAKE: Hear, hear!

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER: Then with regard to the remarks of the hon. member for Lambton, he would say that the Bill was proposed last year as there was no hope that we should have British Columbia so soon. Every one expected of course, that sooner or later that colony would be comprised as one of the sister colonies in the Dominion. It would be useless at the close of this Parliament, with one Province just admitted and another shortly to be admitted into the Confederation, to endeavour to assimilate the laws. They could not make a law now which would apply to British Columbia. He hoped his hon. friend would take with a better feeling the good intention of the Government in adopting this course.

The Bill was read a first time.

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PAPERS ON BRITISH COLUMBIA

A message from His Excellency, accompanying papers relative to the proposed union of British Columbia with Canada, was read.

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HIS EXCELLENCY'S PEERAGE

The SPEAKER read the following reply of His Excellency the Governor General to the recent congratulatory address of the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the address of congratulation with which you have honoured me on the occasion of my elevation to the Peerage.

The expression of your acquiescence in the favourable view which our Sovereign has graciously deigned to take of my services is highly to be valued, as conveying the good opinion of the freely

chosen representatives of a people possessing the precious endowments of energetic industry, self-reliance, and firm and orderly attachment to the freedom and institutions of their country.

The North West Territories already added to the Confederation and the willing accession of British Columbia, which, it is to be hoped, will shortly take effect, as they extend your bounds, so they proportionately augment the cares and responsibilities of those who are in the high places of the land; but the legislature and people of the Dominion will, I feel persuaded, prove equal to the lofty task, the vast and varied interests throughout the wide domain will be safe in their charge and gradually cemented into one compact and contented whole, by the same wise legislation, and the same equal administration of affairs as have done so much in the past to establish the well being and satisfy the just expectations of the people. In conclusion, I return your good wishes with all sincerity, and assure you I shall retain and cherish to the close of my life a warm interest in all that regards the position and prospects of this great and growing country.

LISGAR

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

FEBRUARY 27, 1871

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BRITISH COLUMBIA PAPERS

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved that the papers just submitted to the House be printed without delay. He explained that the Hon. Mr. Trutch, the delegate from British Columbia, was now in Chicago, on his way to Ottawa, and would reach here, he expected, on Saturday. It was necessary, therefore, that the House should be in possession of the correspondence relative to the admission of the sister colony into the union.

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne) complained of delays in printing public documents in the French language. He knew that it took some time to translate papers, but then, if there were not translators enough to do the work, more should be employed.

After a short discussion on the subject the motion was carried.

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EXPENSE OF FENIAN INVASION

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the House should on Friday next go into Committee of the Whole to consider resolutions affirming the expediency of indemnifying the Government for having authorized the issue of a special warrant for \$200,000, to provide for the defence of the Dominion in repelling the Fenian invasion in the month of May last.

Hon. Mr. DORION said the hon. gentleman did not seem to propose any amendment of the Act of last session except to allow the Banks to come under this general law. One part of the resolutions had given rise to some difficulty. What was meant by the words “cash reserves?” In Montreal there had been a good deal of discussion as to the exact meaning or requirement of the “cash reserves” on which was to be based the amount of Dominion notes or funds to be kept by the bank.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he did not see any difficulty of the kind mentioned; nor had he heard of any, though he had had a great deal of conversation with bankers since the Act of last session was passed. The course he proposed was the reference of the Bill to the Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce, where all those matters could be fully considered. He was sure the Bill would come from that Committee in a satisfactory shape. He then moved the adoption of the first resolution, which was carried as were all the others.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS then introduced a Bill relating to Banks and banking.

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BRITISH COLUMBIA

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved that the House go into committee on Friday next to consider the resolutions respecting the admission of British Columbia. He explained that as this was a most important measure it would not be discussed till Friday next.

Hon. Mr. DORION suggested that the debate be deferred till a week from Friday next.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said it was not likely that the subject would be exhausted in one day. On next Tuesday, Mr. Trutch, who was at present in Washington, would be here, and as that gentleman wished to go to England as soon as possible, the debate would commence on Tuesday.

Hon. Mr. DORION said it was a very large measure, and it would be well to have the Ontario Opposition and the members of the Ontario Cabinet who were absent, in the House while it was under discussion. The debate would be protracted rather than advanced by the course which the Government proposed.

Mr. HARRISON said it was pleasant to observe that the hon. gentlemen opposite were alive to the fact that several Ontario members were absent from the House. Yesterday, when the arbitration question was brought up, they seemed to be quite oblivious to the fact. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. MILLS thought the House should be put in possession of a statement of the imports of British Columbia before the question should be brought before the House.

After some further discussion the motion was carried.

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WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Hon. Mr. MORRIS moved that the House go into Committee at some future day to consider certain resolutions for the establishing of a uniform system of weights and measures for all Canada. The resolutions also permitted the use of the metric system where two parties to a contract were agreeable.—Carried.

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INSPECTION LAWS

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole at a future day to consider a resolution declaring it expedient to amend and consolidate, and to extend to the whole Dominion of Canada, the laws respecting the inspection of certain staple articles of Canadian produce.—Carried.

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FENIAN RAIDS

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS moved the reception of the report of the Committee of the Whole on certain resolutions affirming the expediency of indemnifying the Government for having authorized the issue of a special warrant for \$200,000, to provide for the defence of the Dominion, in repelling the Fenian invasion in the month of May last.

The resolutions having been read a second time,

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS introduced a Bill founded on them.

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INTERIM ELECTIONS BILL

The House went into Committee of the Whole on Bill No. 16, to make temporary provision for the election of members to serve in the House of Commons of Canada.

Hon. Mr. IRVINE in the chair.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said he understood the hon. member opposite intended to make certain amendments to the Bill now before the Committee. He suggested that the amendments should be proposed after the Committee should rise.

March 23, 1871

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Thursday, March 23, 1871

The **SPEAKER** took the chair at 3 o'clock after routine.

Prayers

WESTERN BANK

Mr. KILLAM introduced a Bill to incorporate the Western Bank.

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SUN INSURANCE COMPANY

Mr. WORKMAN withdrew the Bill to incorporate the Sun Insurance Company.

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INSOLVENT ACT

Mr. MAGILL introduced a Bill to amend the Insolvent Act of 1869.

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QUEBEC MARINE AND FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY

Mr. SIMARD introduced a Bill to amend the Act incorporating the Quebec Marine and Fire Insurance Company.

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FEMALE CONVICTS

Hon. Mr. IRVINE introduced a Bill to make provision for the detention of Female convicts in the Reformatory Prison of the Province of Quebec.

(All these bills received first reading.)

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BRITISH COLUMBIA DEBATES

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER announced that the Government had made no further arrangement for special reports of the debates on the British Columbia measure.

Hon. Sir A.T. GALT said he was sorry that the Government had arrived at that conclusion, for the debates would be particularly interesting to British Columbia, and would not reach there in as full a form as they would otherwise have done had his suggestion been adopted. He trusted that the energy usually displayed by the reports would on this occasion supplement the necessity that would exist for full reports.

Mr. JONES (Leeds North and Grenville North) believed the Government deserved credit for the decision to which they had come. He was about to proceed further, when

The **SPEAKER** called him to order. There was no question before the House.

Mr. JONES (Leeds North and Grenville North) thought he had as good a right to speak on the subject as other hon. gentlemen.

The **SPEAKER** explained that a minister of the Crown had simply answered a question put on a former occasion by the hon. member for Sherbrooke, and there the matter should drop.

Mr. JONES (Leeds North and Grenville North) said he was sorry to be obliged to resort to extreme measures, but he had a precedent for it only the other day. He moved the adjournment of the House. (*Laughter.*) He continued at some length to explain that he was elected on the Independent ticket, and though he might have erred in judgment, he had always endeavoured to preserve economy in the administration of public affairs. (At this point the hon. gentleman's voice became inaudible, owing to the slamming of desks and other noises in the House resorted to, to silence him.) He did not approve of going to any additional expense in the British Columbia matter.

The **SPEAKER** suggested that it would be as well to postpone the discussion until the British Columbia Bill should be before the House.

Mr. JONES (Leeds North and Grenville North) bowed to the opinion of the Speaker, and withdrew his motion.

Mr. RYMAL rose to reply to some remarks made by the hon. member for Leeds and Grenville, with respect to his (Mr. Rymal's) course in Parliament. The hon. member had seen fit to take him (Mr. Rymal) to task and would fain make the House believe that he would encourage extravagance in the administration of public

affairs. He (Mr. Rymal) believed that his course would show that he had advocated economy whenever it was in the interest of the public, and he had no desire that every man's utterances should be fully reported in the case. He had no desire that a column should be given to his own speech, though the hon. member for Leeds might. Whether that hon. gentleman was reported in the regular way or not, he (Mr. Rymal) could not say, but he had frequently noticed that if the hon. member only spoke for five minutes in the House, a column report of it, at least, appeared in the papers. (*Laughter.*) No doubt the hon. member engaged a special reporter to record his wise sayings. As for the charge of inconsistency and want of independence, he (Mr. Rymal) left it to those who had known them to say whether he or the hon. member for Leeds was the more deserving of the charge. The hon. member's course had been what Wm. Lyon Mackenzie had said of such members—that those who boasted of independence in the House were those who never could be depended on. (*Laughter.*)

* * *

WEST INDIES MAIL

Mr. FORBES asked whether, in view of the business between the Dominion and the British and Foreign West Indies, it is the intention of the Government to increase the mail accommodation *during this year* between those countries so as to give greater advantage and larger development to this important trade.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said the attention of the Government had been drawn to the importance of establishing such a service, but considered it not advisable to undertake it yet.

* * *

PROMISSORY NOTES

Mr. KIRKPATRICK asked whether it is the intention of the Government to issue stamped paper for the purposes of the Promissory Notes Stamp Act?

Hon. Mr. MORRIS replied that the subject was at this moment under the consideration of the Government.

* * *

ST. CLAIR FLATS CANAL

On the order for Mr. Mackenzie's resolution for the correspondence relative to the canal built by the United States Government at St. Clair Flat,

Mr. MACKENZIE said the first Minister of the Crown had promised a portion of this correspondence, and he wished to know if that correspondence could be brought down now.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said it would not be conducive to public interests to bring down any portion of the

correspondence. The correspondence was still going on between the Canadian and Imperial Governments and the Government of the United States. He hoped the hon. gentleman would accept his declaration, that it would not be in the public interest to bring any of it down.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he was of course bound to accept the assurance of the Government.

* * *

ADMISSION OF RUPERT'S LAND AND THE NORTH-WEST

Mr. BLAKE moved that this House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole to consider the following resolutions:—

1. That the sense of the Houses of the respective Legislatures of the Provinces *Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick* was taken as to, and formed the basis of the Imperial Legislation under which the said Provinces were federally united into the Dominion of *Canada*.

2. That it was by the *British North America Act* (1867) enacted that it should be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, on Addresses from the Houses of Parliament of *Canada*, to admit *Rupert's Land* and the North Western Territory, or either of them, into the Union by the said Act created, on such terms and conditions as the Queen should think fit to approve subject to the provisions of the said Act; and that the provisions of any such Order in Council should have effect as if they had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

3. That Addresses have been passed by both Houses of Parliament of *Canada* touching the admission of the said Territories into the Union, and *Canada* has paid large sums, and incurred large liabilities in order to accomplish such admission, and an Order in Council has been made by the Queen for such admission.

4. That the Parliament of *Canada* has assumed to exercise jurisdiction over the said Territories and to make provision for the erection of part of the said Territories into the Province of *Manitoba* and for the establishment of federal relations between the said Provinces and *Canada*.

5. That it has been made to appear to this House that the Canadian Government has requested the Government of the United Kingdom to submit to the Parliament of the United Kingdom a Bill touching the said North Western Territories or some part thereof; and that the Government of the United Kingdom in consequence of such request has proposed to the Canadian Government to submit a Bill, a draft of which it has forwarded to the Canadian Government.

6. That in the opinion of this House the sense of both Houses of the Parliament of *Canada* should be taken as to and should form the basis of such proposed Legislation.

Mr. BLAKE said that he proposed in these resolutions to establish the principle that legislation on matters affecting this

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Tuesday, March 28, 1871

The **SPEAKER** took the chair at 3 o'clock.

Prayers

AFTER ROUTINE

SAULT STE. MARIE RAILWAY

Mr. SIMPSON introduced a Bill to incorporate the Sault Ste. Marie Railway and Bridge Company, and it received first reading.

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MANITOBA ELECTIONS

Mr. MACKENZIE referred to the return of the Writs from Manitoba, and asked if it was the intention of the Government to refer the matter to a special Committee to report on them to the House. Under the peculiar circumstances attending the election, some such precaution should be taken. In order to maintain the purity of this House and prevent the intrusion of those not entitled under Imperial Acts to sit here, he thought it was the responsibility of the Government to indicate their position, and that of those elected in Manitoba.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said the Government did not intend to take any such action until the newly elected candidates should arrive from Manitoba or until objections should be urged to their taking their seats in the House.

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QUEBEC HARBOUR

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN introduced a Bill to provide for the improvement and management of the Harbour of Quebec.

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ADMISSION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved that the House go into Committee to consider a series of resolutions respecting the admission of British Columbia into Union with Canada. This

subject, he said, was one which required few words to introduce it. Its importance was recognized by all.

Who would have thought twelve years ago when British Columbia was erected into a colony by Lord Lytton that it should form in so short a time a portion of Canada. It was due to the foresight and statesmanship of that great literary man that he should quote from a speech of his, delivered in 1858, in which this great union was foretold. He was now quoting from the prorogation speech delivered on the 2nd August, 1858. It said: "The Act to which Her Majesty's assent for the establishing of the Colony of British Columbia was originally required in consequence of the recent discoveries of gold in that district, but Her Majesty hopes that this new Colony on the Pacific may be but one of several in a greater state of progress, by which Her Majesty's Dominions in British North America may be ultimately peopled in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific by loyal subjects of Her Majesty's Crown."

Could the present movement have been more clearly foretold? Since 1858 the scheme of Confederation had made great strides toward completion. He (Hon. Sir George-É. Cartier) regretted the absence of the hon. member for Shefford on this occasion. That gentleman had often complained that this country was advancing too slowly, and said that the Dominion would advance more rapidly if placed on an independent footing. But, if the hon. member for Shefford was present today, he could not charge the Ministry with having been idle since they had brought about the union of all British North America since they had assumed office. While in London with his (Hon. Sir George-É. Cartier) colleagues, at a dinner where several literary men were present, he mentioned to Lord Lytton, who was not then in office, that the Confederation scheme was one of the principal objects which had brought him to England. Lord Lytton replied, "I presume that you have come not merely to see that the British North American Atlantic Provinces should be united. I hope you look forward to the greater Confederation which will reach to the Pacific Ocean."

He (Hon. Sir George-É. Cartier) would now come to the Bill itself. It was before the House, and they could examine it for themselves. He invited the freest and fullest discussion on each and every clause, but he would remind them that the Bill was in the nature of a treaty, and consequently the Government would insist upon the adoption of those terms as adopted in British Columbia—that the amendment of one paragraph or one item of those terms would defeat the whole project. He took this early opportunity of informing the House of the fact. British Columbia had decided to accept the Bill without amendments, though several members of the Legislature of that colony had shown a disposition to amend the

measure in some of its parts. The necessity of accepting this Bill as it stood must be apparent to all. The population of British Columbia was set down at 60,000, and it was certainly not below that number, if the Indians and Chinese were included as well as the white. The customs duty collected under the tariff of the colony amounted to \$350,000, which would give about twice as much per head for the population as was collected in the Dominion. Each inhabitant of Canada was supposed to contribute \$3 to the Revenue per year, while each inhabitant of the colony contributed nearly twice that amount. It might be said that the tariff was higher than ours, but it was not so much so as to make this difference if the population were not there. The House would therefore, admit that the Government did not err in estimating the population at 60,000.

The delegates of British Columbia wished to have the subsidy placed at 80 cents per head for a population of 120,000, but on being informed that it would be impossible to obtain the assent of Parliament to such terms they allowed the population to put at 60,000. This was an opportune time to admit the colony into the union, for it was desirable to extend the Confederation to the Pacific as soon as possible, and on economical grounds it was advisable to admit the colony into the Dominion before the increase of population could increase the subsidy to a very large rate. Then with respect to the clause providing for provisions it must be remembered that British Columbia was a Crown colony. Under it several officers were appointed for life, and they should be provided for. The colony had laterally adopted responsible Government which was to commence from the date of the union, so that no future charges of this kind need be expended in the future. There were very few such pensions to be provided for; the majority of them would be employed under the Federal Government. Then, with respect to the tariff, it was provided that they should retain their own tariff, which was higher than ours, till the completion of the Pacific Railway. No inconvenience need be anticipated from it, and under the peculiar circumstances of the case it was necessary to allow them to retain it.

Item eleven, relating to the construction of the Pacific Railway, would no doubt provoke discussion. There were various unfounded rumours with respect to this. It was not the intention of the Government to construct the road, but it would be undertaken by companies to be assisted mainly by land grants. It was not the intention of the Government to burden the exchequer much to obtain this railway. While this clause was under discussion between the delegates and the Government it was proposed by the Dominion that the colony should hand over a forty mile strip of land towards the construction of the railway. That would be 24,000 square miles of land, or 50,360,000 acres of land, not merely agricultural land, but mineral land. Placing that land at \$1 per acre, it would be equal to a grant of \$50,360,000 towards the construction of the railway. It was proposed to give the colony \$100,000 per annum, which, placing the interest at 5 per cent, would be the annual interest on the value of 2,000,000 acres of land, leaving the remainder to be used by this Government. The railway, starting from Nipissing, would be about 2,500 miles, 700 of which would pass through Ontario. They did not expect to get entirely the 20 mile grant on each side of the

road, but they expect to get from the Ontario Government every alternate lot on each side of the line for that 700 miles. That would give 9,000,000 acres of land from the Ontario Government.

Starting from Lake Nipissing it would connect with the Ontario system of railway and with the Quebec system of railway through the Ottawa Valley. They were prepared to give it to any company which would undertake the construction of the line, with a capital of twenty-five millions of dollars, which with interest at 5 per cent, would represent \$1,500,000 per annum. The hon. member for Sherbrooke had recently remarked that the certain increase of receipts from customs and excise was at the rate of 5 per cent per year. At that rate, taking the customs at \$10,000,000, the increase would be \$500,000, and on excise, taking the receipts at \$5,000,000, \$250,000. That would give a total from these two sources alone to meet \$1,500,000 per annum, a sum of \$750,000. He knew it would be argued that this railway would cost between one and two hundred millions of dollars, if not more.

Mr. RYMAL: How much do you estimate the cost at?

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER would compare it with the American Pacific Railway, which from Omaha to the Pacific was 1,775 miles in length. That railway was aided by land and money grants, and cost \$50,000,000. The Canadian Pacific Railway would be about 700 miles longer. Yet he would place the cost at double the rate of the American Pacific Railway, and the utmost cost that could be incurred would be \$100,000,000. But whatever it would cost, he would assure the House that there would be no taxation on the country more than existed at present. (*Cheers.*) A certain portion of the public lands had been reserved for the Indians, and the only guarantee that was necessary for the future good treatment of the Aborigines was the manner in which they had been treated in the past. Now, having glanced at the provisions of the Bill he would call the attention of the House to the fact that while our neighbours had taken sixty years to extend their borders to the Pacific, the young Dominion would have accomplished it inside of ten years. And look at the importance of the extension. We need a seaboard on the Pacific if ever this Dominion was to be a powerful nation in the future, and what more convenient time could there be for this union than at the present time? He concluded by an allusion to the splendid position which England had attained by the development of her marine power, and that even Prussia, notwithstanding the triumphs she had lately won, must be content to take a second place beside the great maritime power of England. The hon. Baronet resumed his seat amid loud cheers.

Mr. BOLTON said that the House was hardly prepared to enter on the discussion till it heard from the Finance Minister a statement respecting the financial results of the matter now submitted to the House. It was mainly as a financial measure that the House would have to consider this measure. The Minister of Militia had stated that this railway was to involve no new burdens on the taxpayers. The House was entitled to hear, from the greatest financial authority in the House, a statement showing how that would have to be reached without involving additional burdens on

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taxpayers. This was a question that met the House *in limine*, and should be explained by the Finance Minister.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS had not expected at this early period to go into the financial aspect of the question. As to the railroad, the idea had been that it could be constructed by a liberal land grant and liberal money subsidy. It was not expected to bring this subject forward this session. But various plans would be considered and proposed to capitalists, including land grants. The money change was estimated at one million to a million and a quarter dollars per annum, which would not involve additional Dominion taxation. No capitalists were likely to survey the road at their own expense. Government thought it necessary that they should assume the responsibility for survey and location of line, this expenditure to be afterwards made by first charge in the road. The charges to the Dominion in connection with British Columbia were estimated at \$460,000 a year, and the revenue from all sources about \$360,000 leaving an annual charge of about \$100,000 upon Canada.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS in reply to Mr. Jones, of Leeds North and Grenville North, said the road would cost about one hundred millions of dollars.

Hon. Sir A.T. GALT said the admission of British Columbia into the Union was desirable to all parties, the only question being as to the terms upon which it was to be based. He was willing within two restrictions to accept any terms with this object. The first involved the avoidance of the violation of any constitutional rights of the people of that colony, and the second the abstaining from the imposition of onerous burdens on the people of Canada. In view of the many important public or natural works claiming our attention, it behoved us to guard carefully against unduly augmenting the demands upon our resources. Not only had railways and canals and other works to be provided for, but the defence of the country, according to past contracts and legislation. Now there was no doubt that the union of this colony and the Dominion would be productive of little benefit—would probably, but prove a source of fruitless expense unless it could be also united by means of a good railway communication. That was why a railway had been made one of the terms of the compact. But its conditions necessarily required consideration. We should have to take care not to cripple the powers and means of the Local Government by those conditions, in regard to future enterprises. While it was desirable a road to our Western territory and through the colony should be made for the settlement of that vast region, the Local Government should not be deprived of the means of securing works of local value and promise.

The object of the House then should be the creation of this needed communication in conditions not antagonistic to British Columbia local improvements, without provisions for which we could not expect it to enter the Union. The resources of that country naturally presented themselves to our notice in this connection. What were they? A reliable authority in British

Columbia lately stated the population at 10,000 whites and 40,000 Indians. Now these aborigines should not be placed on an equal footing with the whites for the purpose of framing the financial basis of the Union. They could not be regarded as the equals of the whites for revenue purposes at least. The imports and exports also deserved our notice. The exports were principally furs, lumber and some gold and coal. The imports included articles dutiable in Canada, besides breadstuffs and such like commodities, from which the bulk of the revenue was derived. In 1867 the total amount was estimated at \$537,000, of which the customs yielded \$350,000. The Dominion would receive this, the remainder arising from excise and amounting to over \$150,000 falling to the Colony. The present terms of the Union were considerably less advantageous to Canada than the former both as regards the railway and other matters. Before it was left optional with us when we should commence the work, which, however, was to be completed within a reasonable period, but the subsequent conditions required the commencement of the road within two years and its completion within ten. We might have finished the work within ten years, but were not compelled to do it. The cost of the road would be very great, one hundred million being the Government estimate, and a considerable proportion of this amount must come from the Dominion exchequer. The present engagement as to time was much beyond what British Columbia asked at first, and in the second place the road was rendered more burdensome from the extension to Nipissing, further than at first spoken of. The present terms were enormously more burdensome to Canada than the former. The estimated revenue from Columbia was \$386,000, and payments by Dominion \$536,226 apart from indirect engagements. But this revenue from British Columbia depended upon maintenance of its tariff.

The result was that the colony would receive \$150,000 to \$170,000 a year from Canada for Union, including in trade guarantee for the works at Esquimaux. He would not object to that price for a political union, and did not think it too great an equivalent for valuable lands extracted from the colony for the railway. But there were other conditions of a serious and objectionable nature in view of our circumstances and prospects. He objected to the hands of the country being tied as to the period within which the Dominion should commence and complete the railway. As it was, after the British Columbia delegates came to Ottawa, Canada's obligations became enormously enhanced. If the colonists did not command this condition as compensation for the reduction of the estimate of population from 120,000 to 60,000, or to provide means needed for local purposes, why should our Government have voluntarily assumed this serious obligation not at first proposed. He deprecated interference with one of the principles of our constitution, namely, representation by population, by these resolutions. He indicated the evils of admitting colonies or territories on the footing of present members of Confederation.

The American territorial system presented an attractive contrast with ours in this respect. If not admitted till they

reached a certain stage of growth and development, they would have certain local works completed not necessary to be assumed by the Dominion. At present, to admit such Provinces as British Columbia we had to depart from this principle of representation by population to give the people proper representation, and frame the financial basis of our Union to enable to newcomers to carry on the Government, and other enterprises. One important object for us was to avoid incurring obligations oppressive to our people, who numbered but four millions. By these resolutions they were threatened with a very grave responsibility in regard to the early commencement and completion of the Pacific Railway. He was certainly opposed to terms of this kind, however desirous of extending the Union and meeting the wishes of British Columbia. (*Cheers.*)

Hon. Mr. TILLEY referred to the remarks of the hon. member for Sherbrooke as to the difference between the requests made by British Columbia, and what was proposed to be granted by the Government. He said the only difference was as regards the communication, it being decided that there should be a guarantee for the specific time of ten years, which would allow ample time for the construction of the Railway, and the Government had thought it better to limit the matter to ten years instead of making a guarantee in perpetuity.

The member for Sherbrooke had stated that all British Columbia asked for was a coach road connecting Fort Garry with the Government roads of British Columbia and an expenditure of a million dollars a year on a railway, and that the proposition submitted by the Government was less favourable to Canada. He entirely dissented from the hon. member on that matter, on these grounds. When the road had been proposed it had been found from enquiry and investigation that from the high cost of labour and other charges that would have to be met in constructing such a road within the stated time of three years, that the cost would be very heavy, very heavy indeed, and in addition to this it was coupled with a proposition that a railway should be built as soon as practicable, and that there should be an annual expenditure from the commencement of a million of dollars.

Under these circumstances the Government had held that any expenditure on a coach road was useless, and one that was not required, inasmuch as all the traffic would be taken by the railway as soon as completed. Taking this view therefore the Government had at once dissented from the proposition of British Columbia, and would not agree to it. The Government had also considered it unwise to consent to an annual expenditure of a million of dollars from the commencement without having any particulars as to the difficulties that would be met with, and had rather preferred that the whole work should be undertaken in a reasonable specified time,—as they thought a proper survey should be made, and the work then completed as speedily as possible. Then again the propositions of British Columbia had been changed in respect of representation in the Dominion House of Parliament. Reverting

to the matter of the railway, he said the House had heard that it was estimated that the money grant necessary to construct the railway, in addition to the land grant, would amount to 1 and a quarter millions per annum, but it must not be understood that the expenditure of that sum of money was involved in the proposition before the House. That proposition was simply to admit British Columbia into the Dominion and connect her with the Dominion system of railways, and it must be remembered that the agreement entered into by the delegates at the conferences at Quebec and London, was that the six Provinces should be brought together, and also that the Red River country and British Columbia should also be included in the Confederation.

Such was the agreement, and happily, part had been accomplished, for notwithstanding all the trouble, all the anxiety, and all the difficulties that had arisen in connection with the North West, he believed the conviction from one end of the country to the other was that that country had been acquired on very favourable terms. Well the next thing after getting possession, was how to utilize it, and how could it be utilized? Surely not by building coach roads, not by simply improving the communication by water, no—the North West could only be used to advantage by means of a railway running to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and the Government would not be doing its duty to the Dominion unless it projected that work. It was well known on the most reliable information, that in the valley of the Saskatchewan and the Red River there was a tract of Prairie Land, immense in extent, and magnificent in character, and how could immigration be conducted to that country, how could supplies be carried to settlers, how could the produce of that country be brought to a market unless there was a railway, and he did not hesitate to say that it had been the deliberately expressed opinion of the House and the country, that as soon as the country was acquired, a railway must be built to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Believing this to be the determination of the Government and the country, the delegates from British Columbia came and submitted a proposition that that Railway should be extended from the foot of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and he put it to the House and the Pacific, whether a line could not be built to the Pacific, much cheaper, in proportion, than one ending at the Rocky Mountains. The one would be available for local traffic only, and very much larger subsidies, therefore, would have to be paid, whereas a line running from the Atlantic to the Pacific would receive a very large amount of through traffic, and in addition to this, it had always been contemplated and determined that there should be such a line through Canadian Territory.

It had been stated both by the Minister of Militia and the Minister of Finance that it was not considered that the amount necessary for the construction of the railway, would involve any increase in the taxation of the people of the Dominion, and he had no doubt that that statement was correct, for taking the calculations of the hon. member for Sherbrooke himself as a basis, that the annual increase of the population of the Dominion

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would be three per cent, (although when the railway to the Pacific was completed, and the vast Territory of the North West opened for settlement, there was no doubt the increase would be much greater), he believed the additional revenue derived from that increased population, irrespective of the increased paying ability, estimated at two per cent by the member for Sherbrooke, would be fully equal to all demands upon it without any increased taxation. He entirely agreed with his hon. friend that it was impossible to take large Provinces into the Dominion with a small population, and acquire all their lands without giving them in return the means of carrying out the local works necessary to make the country attractive to emigrants, and how could it be expected that the people of this large Province, twice the size of Ontario, would be in a position to develop the resources of their country without assistance—and that assistance was what the Government proposed to render in the proposition before the House? The member for Sherbrooke had said that he would have preferred that the Government should have come down and have asked a direct vote for that purpose, but he would remind the hon. member that he had not been in favour of that mode, when it was proposed with reference to Newfoundland. The delegates from British Columbia estimated the population of their country, at 13,000 whites, 5,000 Chinese, and 45,000 Indians.

Then what was there to be got out of this country. At the present time it cost from 12¢ to 14¢ a pound for all supplies sent into that country, and no one could live there unless he earned \$5 a day. If, however, the country were opened up, they would be able to get supplies there as cheap as at Ottawa, and those who now live on \$5 a day would be able to live on \$2.50 a day, and there would very soon be a population which would yield a revenue that would speedily compensate for the cost of the railway. According to his judgment, seeing they had the North West, and must develop it, there was no question but that the Railway must be built, and even in a financial point of view, although he did not assume to have anything like the knowledge or experience of financial matters as was possessed by the hon. member for Sherbrooke, he could not see that there would be any difficulty. The line of railway would pass through magnificent lands, and the proposed grant would give 50 million acres, leaving every alternate lot which could be converted into a sinking fund or some other mode for securing the amount of money granted, and taking into consideration the probable increase of population, the speedy settlement of the North West on its being opened up, and the increased paying ability, he had no fear, and the Government had no fear, that the people would be subjected to any increase of taxation.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL (Lanark North): There are not forty millions of acres of arable land in the whole North West Territory.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said he was not sure as to the number of acres, but the land would secure the building of the railway.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

AFTER RECESS

Hon. Mr. TILLEY resumed the debate. He had been pointing out the difference between the proposition of British Columbia, and that adopted ultimately, which he regarded as the more favourable to the Dominion. In connection with the railway scheme he would take issue with his hon. friend from Sherbrooke. By the construction of the road the population of the Pacific coast would soon be so increased as to pay for the cost of the road in a very short time. A gentleman who had worked in the mines of California, lecturing on this subject a few years ago, argued that such a result would soon be attained by building the railway. The hon. member for Sherbrooke was willing to give a subsidy to British Columbia without admitting it as a Province for some time to come. In making this admission, the hon. member gave up the whole case, for, if he could not object to giving a subsidy under such circumstances and without deriving every advantage from the expenditure, he surely ought not to object when British Columbia was ready to surrender her revenues to the Dominion. The increase of the debt would not fall on the present population of the Dominion alone. The evidence which the increase of the Western States since the construction of railways through them, was that the North West would soon be filled up with a population brought there by the new railway which would soon pay for its construction. With reference to the question of fortifications, he would say that he hoped the result of the present negotiations at Washington would be such as to prevent all necessity for the constructing such works. The expense for local works would hardly amount to as much as the hon. member for Sherbrooke estimated they would. Excluding the annual sum of \$100,000 for the land grant and the expenses of Government, these charges would amount to a total of \$361,300. The revenue amounted to \$363,400, which, of course, would largely increase in the future. The difference, therefore, was not so great after all. Even supposing that the local Government should accept our lower tariff, the revenue would reach \$308,000. The \$100,000 was, therefore, the amount of expenditure in excess of receipts, and for this the Dominion received a large grant of valuable land. Now, the question was, was the union of the colony worth the cost? The Pacific Railway, already in course of construction through the North Western States of the United States, was being built without the expenditure of a single dollar. It was being built by the land grants which had been made to the company. But, the hon. member for Lambton said there were only 50,000,000 acres of good land to be settled in the North West. Admitting it to be the fact, what difference did it make so long as it was settled. That was the main point. Persons who had travelled through the Fertile Belt had informed him that there was no engineering difficulties to be met with this side of the Rocky Mountains, and there could be no difficulty in getting a company to undertake the construction of the railway. Having said this much, the case was clear. The question was now, whether it was better to embrace the opportunity to complete the Confederation scheme, or to let this best chance of all pass by unimproved for consummating the union. He could understand why Annexationists should be opposed to this extension of the Union, but he could not understand how the Independence advocates like the hon.

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member for Sherbrooke could oppose it. He could tell hon. members who did not approve of this scheme that delay was dangerous, and if this chance to bring British Columbia was not improved, that Colony might yet be absorbed into the American Union.

Mr. BLAKE: How?

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said as the country was at present the miners were obliged to pay enormous prices for the necessities of life and they were looking to their country for the means of communication by which they were to be supplied at reasonable rates. If Canada would not undertake it, they might look to the Republic for help. (*Hear, hear.*) But this Union could benefit Canada commercially, for the opening up of the North West and the consequent increase of trade must bring an immense volume of trade to Montreal and Quebec and the Maritime cities. Everything conspired to make this Union a prosperous one and he did not doubt that the House would sustain the measure which was now submitted to them. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. MACKENZIE regretted that the hon. gentleman opposite could not discuss this question for three quarters of an hour without threatening the annexation of that colony to the United States if this House rejected the present propositions. Such a line of argument could only be indulged in by the hon. gentlemen in order to create a feeling that the papers brought down as agreed between the Dominion Government, and that of Columbia is in the nature of a treaty that is not to be altered by any proposition to be made in this House; if such were the case it would be useless to discuss the question. In 1865 the Parliaments of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were told the same story with reference to the resolutions which formed the basis of Confederation, but those resolutions were afterwards altered by the delegation at London, and he was not prepared to accept these resolutions in the nature of a treaty which this House could not alter. He believed on the other hand that it was essential for the future prosperity of the Dominion, that this colony should be admitted into the Union and that there should be the best possible understanding as to the terms of admission to prevent future complications, and he should not be prepared to acquiesce quietly in the resolutions which had been prepared by the hon. gentlemen opposite. By these resolutions, the basis of our political system would be violated as was done in the case of Manitoba last session, and after the struggle which had to be gone through to secure that basis, he should certainly oppose any further attempt to alter it, that is representation by population as regards the House of Commons. Some deviation he acknowledged might be made in the Senate. The Hon. Minister of Customs tells us that the population of Whites, Chinese, and Indians is 60,000 in that country, but we have never given representation under our system to Indians. If such were allowed we could claim several more members for Ontario. He would consent to a considerable grant of money to carry on the Government of a new colony, and particularly of such a difficult country as Columbia, and he would not show

himself less liberal than any other member of this House in considering what ought to be done in the present case. In the discussion in reference to Newfoundland, he preferred allowing a sum to carry on the Government rather than make over the public hands, as while the revenue was \$3,000 per annum, the cost of management was \$6,000, and he took the same view with regard to the land grant for the construction of the railway to the Pacific.

From all he knew of the country after descending from the Rocky Mountains the country was valueless for agricultural purposes. The gold mines have certainly proved very remunerative, but they are carried on by large companies, and the large importations of breadstuffs into the colony corroborated the barrenness of the land. He thought the Government should be prepared to give every information as to the mode they propose of constructing the Railway, and whether any propositions had been received for its construction. He denounced the Government for desiring to undertake the completion of the work in ten years, and should certainly record his protest against such an arrangement, and he considered that to give such an immense grant as was proposed to any Company would be to retard the settlement of the country, as was found to be the case in the western States. He doubted very much if the Province of Ontario would grant the land as anticipated by the Minister of Customs, and if they did the greater part of it was valueless for cultivation, and certainly would not realize \$1 per acre as estimated. The Northern Pacific road was largely built by English capital before the land and money grant of the United States was obtained, and the difficulties were not to be compared to those which would be met on the Canadian Railway.

The Canadian Pacific Railway would cost from six to seven times as much as the Intercolonial, and he was not prepared to involve the country so deeply. He then moved an amendment that all the words after "that" be expunged, and the following substituted,

"the proposed terms of union with British Columbia pledge the Dominion to commence within two years and complete within ten years the Pacific Railway, the route for which has not been surveyed nor its expense calculated. The said terms also pledge the Government of Canada to a yearly payment to British Columbia, of the sum of \$100,000 in perpetuity, equal to a capital sum of \$2,000,000 for the cession of a tract of wasteland on the route of the Pacific Railway to aid in its construction, which British Columbia ought to cede without charge, in like manner as the lands of Canada are proposed to be ceded for the same purpose. This House is of opinion that Canada should not be pledged to do more than proceed at once with the necessary surveys and after the route is determined, to prosecute the work at as early a period as the state of the finances will justify."

Mr. GRANT: I have listened with a very great degree of pleasure to the broad spirited and statesmanlike observations of the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence. Truly, this is the age of union, in which we, as a people enjoying the fullest extent of freedom under the eye and protection of the Mother Country, should come together and realize the privileges of union in the widest and most

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comprehensive sense. Last session the whole of the North West Territory was brought into this Dominion by the almost unanimous consent of the members of this House, owing to the very satisfactory terms arranged by the Hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence, and the hon. member for Lanark opposite. Today we are taking into serious consideration the desirability of adding one more link to the Confederation scheme by the taking in of British Columbia. The time then is not far distant when we shall have a greater degree of intercourse in trade and travel, and if possible a greater extension of those principles of free speech which we now enjoy with courteous personal consultation. These are the signs of the times: these are the signs by which four millions of Her Majesty's subjects, scattered over this widespread country, recognize the importance of self-government with a warm allegiance to that sovereign who, though distant, dwells in the homes and hearts of the people of this country.

It must be a source of great gratification to all interested in the prosperity of this Dominion to learn today the terms upon which British Columbia is to be admitted into the Union. That section of country though remote as to position is an all important one from a Dominion point of view. It possesses a most salubrious climate, well known agricultural capacity, and as to value is entirely beyond present computation both politically and commercially. In looking over the statistics of 1868, I observed that there had been no apparent increase in the population for that year beyond the children born in the country, and notwithstanding the great numbers who annually emigrate from Great Britain and various parts of Europe to the North American continent, it is surprising that with all the attractions of the Pacific section of British North America so few emigrants should have found their way there up to the present date, and more particularly so when we consider its climate, its soil, and its resources, such as coal, iron, timber and gold. The vigorous measures about to be adopted will doubtless be the means of causing a greater tide of immigration than has been observed at any time in the history of that country. An examination of the statistics of the population of British Columbia shows the somewhat remarkable fact that the male exceeds the female population by about 277 per cent. Such an anomalous condition does not, that I am aware of, exist in any other country at the present time—in England, the United States and in Canada—precisely the reverse is the case.

The wonder is that British Columbia should have attained its present prosperous condition wanting in so great a measure so material an element of success. (*Cheers.*) In 1863 British Columbia was looked upon as being then, in a flourishing condition, stimulated as it was to the utmost degree of intensity by the gold fever. After a time, things in general assumed a more normal state, and business on the whole gradually rested on a more substantial basis. Farms became cultivated, immense herds of cattle were raised, saw and grist mills were erected, and the lumberman's axe found its way into the magnificent forests of that country, in places where a few years before such was scarcely dreamt of. Material prosperity and general advancement are now taking the place of the feverish gold excitement, which is gradually passing away. When

we become possessors of British Columbia, we shall have a most magnificent inland sea of harbours such as between Vancouver and the main land. It appears as if set apart by a special providence as a depot for the shipping of the East, and as an entrance to the great highway for all nations across the British American Continent, doubtless in course of time, the trade of China, Japan and the Asiatic Archipelago will centre there. This is the prize that was as anxiously sought after in ancient as it is in modern times. Persia, Assyria, Carthage and Rome prospered and held, in fact, commercial supremacy while they controlled the trade of the East. Venice, Genoa, Lisbon, Amsterdam and London each in turn held a proud commercial position, while it catered up the luxuries of the East for the Western world. This is the inheritance of the Pacific Coast.

We, the people of this Dominion, have every assurance that Great Britain has a warm interest in our prosperity. What better or more substantial proof could we have than the expression of the sentiment which only a few days ago flashed across the Atlantic telegraph, that England would as soon think of having itself annexed to the United States as to allow any portion of this country be attached to the neighbouring Republic. Both England and the United States are equally well aware that the time has now arrived when that power which shall be enabled to construct the shortest route between Asia and Europe will hold the commercial supremacy of this continent in its grasp. The great trade of the East will not alone pass through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. This is the prize which we as a people must look forward to, and certainly it is one which is well worth the endeavour to obtain. An able English writer remarks that the great benefit to be derived from the experience of the past is the application of its teaching to the present. Thus, in taking a retrospective view of Confederation, and the benefits arising out of it, even although the time is short since its inception, we must be cognizant of the fact that day by day we are becoming more intimately associated as a people, co-operating in every way that is possible to develop our resources. During the early discussions on the subject of Confederation, a frequent expression was "whither are we drifting." This was reiterated until at last it became irksome and unworthy of attention. The only sentiment which seemed in any way likely to form with it a twin was the theory of independence. Both of these have had their day, and now I feel satisfied that the impression of everyone who takes a warm interest in the welfare of our country is that both these ill-judged sentiments have gone down unhonoured and unsung.

Fortunate is it that trade has a natural and inevitable power to rectify itself. For a time after the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty this country was put to a moderate degree of inconvenience; however, the master mechanical minds and the politicians of the country, so accommodated matters and things in general as to tide that difficulty over, and now a more prosperous state of affairs exists than we have experienced for many years. As the result of the vigorous policy of those in charge of the affairs of Government, we are happy to recognize the very important fact that our Finance Minister has been so exceedingly successful in his operations as to have been enabled to bring down in his recent budget a surplus of

no less than two and a half millions of dollars! Truly our Dominion under these circumstances cannot be suffering! Our merchants are not embarrassed; our young men are not leaving the country to seek employment in distant parts as formerly, and we have every assurance that the farmers of the country are reaping the benefits of their labour and industry in finding ready markets for their produce. Still further evidences of the prosperous state of our Dominion are found in the condition of our savings banks, the ordinary bank deposits, the prosperity of our municipal institutions, our increased and increasing railway traffic, our large importations and our rapidly increasing exports. All these beyond doubt point incontrovertibly to a flourishing state of affairs throughout our Dominion at the present day.

When we review the commercial history of the British American Provinces for the past thirty years, we notice that the progress of old Canada dates from the Union of the Eastern with the Western section and has followed the construction of Canals and Railways. The present Canal system of Canada was brought to its present condition, with all its imperfections the finest in the world—during that period. Twenty years ago, there were only some fifty miles of railway in operation in the Province. At present, the total number of miles of rail is nearly 3,000—one of the lines is the second longest on the Continent—the total cost of these works is nearly \$160,000,000—the total amount of their earnings cannot be less than \$13,000,000 annually. In 1841 when we commenced our canal improvements the revenue of Old Canada was \$1,283,000 or \$1 per head for every man, woman and child within its limits. In 1854, the commencement of railway enterprise, it was \$5,694,000, or \$2 per head; in 1866 it was above \$12,000,000 or \$4 per head. In 1850 the population of united Canada was only 1,842,265, and the exports some \$30,000,000 or about \$15.50 for every person. At present the total population is over 3,500,000 and exports \$120,000,000 or nearly \$35 per head. Or let us illustrate the subject by reference to the Dominion. In 1843 the revenue was about \$2,000,000, whilst at the present time it is about \$15,000,000, or about \$3.50 per head of the population. In 1806 the value of exports from all British North America was only \$9,287,940; in 1831 \$16,523,579; in 1870 it was \$73,573,490. In 1851 the tonnage entered inwards by sea in all British North American ports was 1,590,663. In 1870 the tonnage entered inwards by sea in the Dominion was 5,796,663. In 1851 the tonnage cleared outwards in all British North America was 1,583,104. In 1870 the tonnage cleared outwards in Canada was 5,619,745. In 1806, the aggregate tonnage of British America was 71,943; in 1850, 446,935; at the present time, it is upwards of 950,000.

The expenditures have kept pace with the receipts during the period mentioned, and were devoted to a large extent to useful public works indispensable to the material development of the country. Our wealth, however, is increasing in a greater ratio than it was at the time we entered into large expenditures for canals, and our ability to go into important enterprises necessary to the expansion of Trade and Commerce is correspondingly improved.

Before closing my remarks, I would wish to allude briefly to an important union which took place some time ago in the North West

Country, and one which bears materially upon the prosperity of that section as far as the fur trade is concerned. The Hudson's Bay Company is an association formed, as it is well known, of two distinct elements, the stockholders who, as a company have other interests apart from those of fur trading; and the chief factors and chief traders known as the working partners of the fur trade portion of the concern. The stockholders are the representatives of those to whom, under the name of "The Company of Adventurers of England trading in the Hudson's Bay" was granted the charter by King Charles II to trade furs, etc. in the Hudson's Bay and adjacent country. This company established a few posts near the shores of the Bay, and for years confined their operations within comparatively a short distance from the coast. In course of time they advanced into the interior, where they came in contact with other traders, of whom the most active were sent out by a company having its headquarters in Canada and known as "The North West Company."

For a number of years these two rival companies competed for trade with such determination that not unfrequently when opposing parties met a conflict took place, resulting in loss of life. Under these circumstances it is not a matter of surprise that the business was found to be carried on at a considerable loss to both parties in consequence of which a Union took place. Since that time, business has been carried on to the mutual benefit and satisfaction of all parties concerned. The Factors, Traders and Officers in the service of the Company, generally may be considered Canadians as hitherto with but few exceptions, they have all either settled on the Red River or come down to Ontario and Quebec. In dealing, therefore, with this question of the Hudson's Bay Company, it is to be hoped that the interests of these people will not be overlooked. The Fur Trade is a subject of no ordinary importance at the present time. Instead of leaving the Indians at the mercy of whoever may come in contact with them, there are but two alternatives, either of which, according to the opinion of experienced men, if adopted, might be made a source of large revenue to the Dominion. Of course it cannot be expected that the company will continue the fostering care with which it has hitherto treated the Indians in the trade operations with them. The fur country may become flooded with unscrupulous adventurers in consequence of which the company will be obliged in a great measure to abandon the practice of giving supplies to them. Without the usual advances in the autumn a great number of the unfortunate people will be obliged to abandon systematic fur hunting in order to devote their chief attention to pot-hunting to support their families and prolong their own lives. It is only in case of competition that there is danger of the Indians suffering.

When in the control of a company it will be the duty of that company to give proper supplies, which could not possibly be accomplished with rival parties scouring the country, and it is not unlikely that the scenes enacted half a century ago would under such circumstances be revived. It appears to me that some plan such as that adopted with regards to the salmon fisheries of the Lower St. Lawrence might be applicable in letting out the fur country of the North West. It is true that a few individuals might thus control the trade, but such would

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be vastly preferable to leaving it open to all comers from all parts of the world, which could not but prove exceedingly injurious to the trade. The existing divisions of the country into districts as recognized by the Hudson's Bay Company is of great importance, inasmuch as such districts have different tribes—a very important fact both for the Indians and the trade.

If not disposed of as the salmon fisheries the whole trade might be managed by an experienced Board of Direction. This would be the best for the country, and likely under all circumstances most profitable. This trade is a subject of vast importance, for it involves the living of fully 75,000 of our fellow subjects, and nothing could be more desirable than to direct the affairs of the Indians in such a manner as may be generally acceptable to the chiefs of those great bodies. The principle must be *protection* not *extermination*. Thus, the Indians would become peaceable subjects, and warm adherents to whoever would tend most towards the welfare of the Northern fur trading country.

At the lowest estimate, the value of the exports, that is including the fur obtained from British Columbia, would amount to about \$1,000,000 annually. This, if well managed, it is supposed by competent authority would yield fully half that amount to the revenue of this Dominion. As this whole matter will no doubt receive the consideration of the Government, I would merely say in conclusion that I trust the day is near at hand when British Columbia will become part and parcel of the Dominion. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. MASSON (Terrebonne) had always been opposed to the acquisition of the North West, and to-night he heard from the hon. member for Lambton that he had good reason for that opposition. It seemed that, after all, there were only some 50,000,000 acres of habitable land in the whole territory which was capable of sustaining a population of about two millions of people, giving twenty-five acres to each person. A very different state of affairs to what the House had been led to believe existed. Now, after having acquired the unsettled four-fifths of the territories there, the House was asked to take possession of the remaining settled one-fifth. It seemed to him that having got the worst part of the land, having pushed our boundaries up to the verge of the wilderness, the House need hardly hesitate about extending the Dominion to the Pacific. Then, with respect to the railway, he believed it would be better to construct it with as little delay as possible, and he believed the Government policy to be the correct one.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT doubted whether \$100,000,000 was a sufficiently large estimate of the cost of constructing a Pacific Railway 2,500 miles in length. The House should consider well before taking upon the Dominion such a debt as they were now asked to bear. The present obligations of the country either actually incurred or to be incurred amounted to not less than \$130,000,000. Then they were asked to increase it

\$6,000,000 by this measure, and besides the minimum cost of the Pacific Railway, which was \$100,000,000. This would give a total debt of \$240,000,000, which would place on each family in the Dominion a debt of \$125. The result would be to ruin our credit at home and abroad. Then the Government proposed to give to this railway a grant of land amounting to 100,000 square miles—a tract of country equal to the whole New England States, or to New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. He believed if the people of British Columbia who had shown such a liberal spirit in these negotiations were informed that it would be physically impossible for this Dominion to undertake the construction of a railway at a cost of from \$100,000,000 and complete it within ten years, they would consent to a modification of the terms proposed to this House. He was strongly in favour of the Union and was willing to go as far as it could safely be done to consummate Confederation by the admission of this colony into the Dominion. But the House should be careful before risking the safety of the Confederation by incurring a burden of debt under which they might sink.

Mr. YOUNG said that while he was a Unionist, he felt that the measure before the House was objectionable. He was of opinion that the Dominion should not seek to incur large indebtedness to secure the admission of British Columbia into the Union until all the Eastern Provinces were added to the Confederation. Under any circumstances there were provisions in this Bill which were objectionable. Chief among these was the departure from the established principle of representation. He referred to the proposed railway, and read from a report of Mr. Fleming on the subject an extract to the effect that the engineering difficulties to be overcome were startling in their magnitude, while the cost of keeping the road in running order would alone render it a formidable undertaking, being not less than \$10,000,000, and until the gross annual earnings of the line should reach \$14,000,000, the railway would not pay the expenses connected with maintaining it. Speaking of the financial aspect of the measure he quoted statements as to the charges on the Government. And the revenue to be derived, showing that British Columbia would receive \$225,000 more than she paid in, and even that calculation was contingent on the continuance of the tariff now in force, which was very uncertain. He maintained that these conditions were not fair to the rest of the Dominion, and the result would be that the finances would go back to the chronic state of deficiency that had existed some years ago.

Mr. BLAKE desired to call the attention of the House to the single point before it. As one who was always desirous that the Union should be created, and that the express objects of the Union Act, which contemplated the admission of British Columbia, should be consummated as rapidly as circumstances and prudence would permit. He retorted on those who had uttered it, the accusation that he was desirous that the Union should be consummated. He had been at a loss how an Administration basing its claim to public confidence on professions of representing the Great Union Party

could come down to the House with a proposition which would be fatal to the existence of confederation. A reference to public documents, however, had convinced him that the true object of the Administration must have been to destroy all present hope of a Union on reasonable and prudent terms. His reason for this conclusion was that the Department which was naturally charged with the conduct of negotiations on this subject was under the control of a gentleman who had, some time ago, in a letter to the public of Canada, used expressions, which in him (Mr. Blake) would have been called treason, and he could not but think that the preposterous proposition of the Government with respect to the Pacific Railway, was specially framed to defeat a Union with British Columbia.

These observations were made by Mr. Howe, when he was about to assume the position of Secretary of State. These being his expounded views, written in a deliberate letter, who could wonder that he was a party to bringing down a measure so iniquitous that the House could not help rejecting it. No wonder then that Governor Musgrave should have stated publicly that he was amazed at the concessions granted by the Canadian Government. Were not hon. members justified then, in asking for further information before taking this irrevocable step. If this measure should become law, the faith of the Dominion would be blighted and without the consent of British Columbia could never break one jot or tittle these cast-iron obligations. But the hon. Minister of Militia did not propose to increase the taxation of the country. Let him then put it in the bargain with British Columbia that no future misunderstandings might arise in the fulfillment of our pledge. Hon. members opposite had stated that they were willing to give 60,000,000 acres of land to aid the railway, and to pay off the interest on the debt incurred by the railway by the sale of lands in the North West. The Ontario Government had found it advisable to make free grants of their

lands to settlers, instead of making a revenue from them, and the Dominion Government would find it no less difficult to derive a revenue from lands in the North West.

He (Mr. Blake) called upon every member in this House to consider whether he was not betraying the interests of the Dominion in ratifying this bargain which the administration of the day had made. The fixed date of commencement and completion of the railway were dead weights on the enterprise under which the country was already staggering. They enhanced the difficulty of the undertaking. Could any country expect more than a promise to build this railway as soon as possible? Could British Columbia expect more from this Dominion? He was an advocate of Union, but under such terms as these, he considered it his duty to oppose it. He did not blame British Columbia for these unjust stipulations, but he blamed this Government for having stultified themselves by making such proposals. No solid argument could be brought against the view that the terms proposed by British Columbia and to which the colony was content to submit, should have been accepted by the Dominion Government. The amendment of the hon. member for Lambton was not in opposition to the union. The Opposition did not oppose the scheme but the unjust terms by which it was accompanied, and he could not see how any lover of his country should hesitate as to what course to take with respect to this measure.

After a short discussion as to whether the debate should be adjourned or continued,

Mr. BOLTON rose to explain his position with respect to this measure, and opposed the Ministerial scheme.

The debate was adjourned, and the House rose at midnight.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Wednesday, March 29, 1871

The **SPEAKER** took the chair at 3 o'clock.

Prayers

AFTER ROUTINE

NEW MEMBER

Mr. SMITH (Selkirk), the newly elected member for Selkirk, Manitoba, was introduced by Hon. Sir George-É. Cartier and Mr. Simpson, and took his seat immediately behind Hon. Mr. Tupper's place.

Mr. MACKENZIE called attention to the fact that the hon. member who had just taken his seat did so under an Act, the confirmation of which was now being sought for at the hands of the Imperial Parliament, and as doubts existed as to the propriety of any member taking his seat under that Act, he thought that, following a precedent set by Government themselves lately, the matter should be referred to a Committee. This case seemed to demand the same treatment as the Government had followed lately itself. The Opposition divested themselves of all responsibility after having given this notification.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said that the hon. member who had just been introduced had taken his seat under an Act of this House which had met with the sanction of the Imperial Government, and which had not been disallowed or declared null by any legal authority. Consequently if it was binding upon anybody it was on this House, which had passed the Act. But, at the same time, he might add, if any hon. member should raise a question of privilege with regard to the assumption of a seat in this House by the hon. member for Selkirk, the Government would be ready to discharge their duty and advise the House with regard to the law as it was to be applied in the present case. Until the present law should be set aside the Government could not act otherwise than they had done.

The subject was dropped.

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RETURNS NOT MADE

Mr. MACKENZIE asked why the Government had not brought down a statement of the allowances granted under the Superannuation Act of last session. They should also have furnished

a statement respecting confidential printing. Neither of these statements had yet been presented.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he would inquire the cause of the delay, and let the House know why the law had not yet been complied with.

* * *

INTERNAL ECONOMY

Mr. MACKENZIE called attention to the fact that no statement of the appointments made under the commission for the internal economy of the House had been laid before the House.

The SPEAKER said the information would be brought down.

* * *

MANITOBA CONFIRMATORY ACT

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved that tomorrow the House go into committee to consider certain resolutions for an address to Her Majesty on the subject of the draft of a bill intended for submission to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of removing doubts which may have been entertained respecting the powers of the Parliament of Canada to establish provinces in the territories admitted, or which may be hereafter admitted, into the Dominion of Canada, and to provide for the representation of such provinces in the said Parliament, and vesting such powers in the said Parliament.—Carried.

* * *

ROCKWOOD ASYLUM

Hon. Mr. MORRIS moved that tomorrow the House go into committee to consider a resolution to empower the Government to treat with the Province of Ontario for the lease or sale of Rockwood Asylum to that Province, any such lease or sale to be subject to the approval of Parliament.—Carried.

* * *

BRITISH COLUMBIA DEBATE

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said the debate on the British Columbia resolutions would be resumed after recess this evening.

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it was known that when the Ottawa and St. Lawrence had been navigable, that canal had fallen into comparative disuse, and it should be considered whether the amount annually expended could not be saved. The opening of the Upper Ottawa would conduce more than anything to developing and improving the country, and was sorry the Government had gone no further than propose to improve a few local works, as he thought they ought to be able to initiate a distinct policy on the subject, making the present appropriations a mere commencement of an ultimate plan.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN stated that the works being now undertaken were really only part of the plan proposed by the Commissioners.

Mr. MACKENZIE was glad such was the case, and he asked the serious attention of the Government to what he had indicated as to the want of accommodation at Montreal. Those engaged in developing the mineral resources of the West were daily complaining on this subject.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said the defective arrangements at Montreal certainly deserved consideration. He referred to the Lake Ste. Marie Canal, and admitting its importance, he thought that, considering the present negotiations at Washington, a plan to construct that work would really be a doubtful policy. He read an extract from the papers before the House, being a minority report from Mr. Laidlaw, showing that as the recommendation of the Commission was that the canal should be built on the same plan as the Welland Canal, it would not be large enough for the vessels passing through the American Canal, that no tolls would be obtained, and would not be of the slightest possible use except in case of war. Of course the Government had not adopted this view, but they thought it inadvisable to proceed with the work at present.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that such were the facilities for constructing the Canadian Canal that if it were built it would be used at once to its utmost capacity, and he regarded Mr. Laidlaw's report as most puerile.

Mr. WORKMAN spoke of the want of accommodation at Montreal, and explained the way in which the Harbour was worked, and he was sure that the Harbour Commissioners had done everything that could be expected of them. As to the petroleum, the absence of shipments arose from the transfer of the article itself, but as regarded the staple products of the country, matters were conducted more cheaply, more efficiently and more expeditiously than at any other port on the continent, and he had heard many captains of vessels testify to such being the case. Of course he would not object to Government aid but certainly he would not ask for it.

Mr. RYAN (Montreal West) thanked the member for Lambton for having drawn attention to the matter, but could not agree with

his colleague from Montreal. The Harbour Commissioners might have done what they could, but if that body were differently constituted, very much more might have been done.

The Committee rose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

AFTER RECESS

FREDERICTON AND ST. MARY'S BRIDGE

The Act incorporating the Fredericton and St. Mary's Bridge Company was passed through Committee, **Hon. Mr. GRAY** in the Chair.

* * *

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA DEBATE

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved the resumption of the adjourned debate on the proposed motion that the Speaker do leave the chair, for the House to go into committee of the whole to consider certain resolutions respecting the admission of British Columbia into union with Canada, and the motion of Mr. Mackenzie in amendment thereto.

Carried.

Hon. Mr. GRAY resumed the debate. He said that it mattered little how this House might regard the measure unless they were backed up by public opinion, and that opinion was greatly affected by statements made in this House. The measure should be viewed by the light of the ledger, in the practical light of the present day, rather than in the light of the past. This House should regard it too, in the light of the experience of the neighboring Republic, and see how we might profit by it. As had been observed by the hon. member for Sherbrooke, there were two precautions to be taken. The constitution was in no way to be infringed and the Dominion was not to incur a financial burden too heavy to be borne. In this view, he believed every member in the House concurred. And first, with regard to the objection urged against the representation of British Columbia that it was too large, he would say that the British North America Act did not limit representation to the white population but even if it were so limited, the number of representatives under the circumstances of that Colony was not too great. When the Manitoba Act was passed last session exception was taken in the debate to the representation given to the new Province, but the reply was that the expected increase in the population would, *within a very short period*, be proportionate

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to the representation. This view was not disputed by the hon. member for East Toronto, or by his hon. friend from Bothwell.

Mr. MILLS: I did dispute it.

Hon. Mr. GRAY would quote from the hon. member's own speech to show that he had not objected to it.

Mr. MILLS said he would not accept any report made last year as a correct one.

Hon. Mr. GRAY would quote from the *Globe* report, which the hon. member would hardly object to. The passage of the hon. member's speech referred to, contained the following: "The representation was based no doubt, on the expectation of an immediate increase of the inhabitants, but he contended that it would be better to give representation to the number of people, increasing the number if it was thought best, every two years, or leaving to the local legislature if they thought it better." Here was the expression of opinion from the hon. member, and thus, though the point was raised, there was no record on the journals of the House, no action taken, no resolution or amendment moved to show that the representation of Manitoba was unconstitutional. The objection that was taken in debate last session by the hon. gentleman was as to the power of the Parliament to give representation at all—not as to its numerical character.

Here then was a precedent for this case before the House—a precedent established by the House itself. He had no fear that the smaller Provinces would be overridden through this Act. If the representation were to be based strictly upon population according to the law as at present interpreted by the hon. member for Bothwell, British Columbia would have but one representative, if any. Now, in that colony there were two separate and distinct interests, the insular and continental. The country was divided into two sections, Vancouver Island and the main land. If the colony were permitted to send but one member to this House, which section would he represent? He could not represent both very well, and one of them would remain unrepresented. It was clear, therefore, that no other course could have been adopted with reference to this point, than that embodied in the measure before the House. The position he took with reference to this question was this, that until the Province became a member of the Federal compact, it would not be governed by the provisions of the British North America Act. That the terms and conditions on which British Columbia came in were to be agreed on, and if it as an independent province she chose to say her interests required our representatives in the House, she could, and there was nothing in the British North America Act to prevent our acceptance of such a proposition, but after she came in, her future representation must be governed by the 31st section of the British North America Act, and must revolve like that of the other Province, around the representation of Quebec as a pivot. In accepting her therefore,

as set forth in the resolutions in that respect there was no infringement of our Constitutional rights under the British North America Act, and thus the first point stated by the member from Sherbrooke was complied with. For it must be assumed that if there were other important constitutional objections they would not have escaped the acumen of the member for Durham West.

The next point was as to our capability to enter upon the contemplated arrangements respecting the Pacific Railway. The necessity, of course of communication with the Pacific was admitted by every hon. member who had spoken on this subject. The Government did not propose to build the railway themselves, but it would be done by companies, and if the land grants should prove nearly as valuable as it was alleged they would, the cry of one hundred millions which was used to create so much alarm would prove to be a mere bugbear. With regard to the part of the line falling in Ontario he was not prepared to speak, but with respect to the other portions he desired to say something. The hon. gentleman here described the mode and means by which the Pacific Railway from Omaha to Sacramento was built, shewing the companies, the land grants, and Government Bond subsidies in aid, describing the character of the country, and the difficulties which met the constructors of the road, the unstable nature of the soil about the Missouri River, the arid character of the American desert, and the Alkali plains, the elevation of the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and of the Sierra Nevada Range, and went on to explain how the Government Bond subsidies were divided, increasing proportionately with the cost of construction of different parts thus preventing the Government aid being entirely used on the easy gradient, and thereby obviating further calls on the Government. The American Government had divided the subsidy, giving one amount for the easy part of the line, and a larger amount for the difficult sections. The whole bond subsidy amounted to fifty-eight millions, and in addition a land grant was made of alternate lots of 20 miles along the route. The cost of the entire road had also been largely increased to the extent of twenty millions by a stipulation that no rails should be used except those of *home* make,—a limitation which would certainly not be imposed by us—as our rule was to buy in the cheapest market.

Hon. Mr. McDougall (Lanark North) said he supposed steel rails would be used.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER: The hon. gentleman knows better.

Hon. Mr. GRAY resumed his description of the construction of the American line, and the difficulties met with in that work. He quoted from a speech of the member for Lambton made last session during the Manitoba debate, shewing that the Canadian line would pass through an infinitely better country than that through which the American line had passed.

Mr. MACKENZIE said his words had applied to the portion lying between Red River and the Rocky Mountains.

Hon. Mr. GRAY said he admitted that he had spoken in that limited sense, but that covered 1,400 miles of the distance. As the American line had been built at an expense of sixty millions, what fear need there be as to the cost of the Canadian line, which would pass through an infinitely better country, and the elevation to be attained would be much less. (The hon. gentleman here read extracts of Cheadle & Milton's work, shewing that whereas the highest elevation of the American line was 7,400 and 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, the Jasper House or Yellow Head Pass through the Rocky Mountains, with us was only 3,760 feet, with a gradual slope on either side; and also showing the nature and character of the country on this side of the Rocky Mountains, and of the valley of the Fraser River on the other.) It had been alleged that the line must necessarily be built within ten years, and that if a company would not undertake it, the Government would be obliged to do it.

Now, the Americans had built their line in three and a half years, and could it be supposed that the Canadians were so inferior that they could not build a line of comparatively easy construction in ten years. And in the light of the experience of that country, how could it be said companies would not be found to build the line. British Columbia possessed every means of becoming one of the most prosperous Provinces in the Dominion, and indeed its union had been one of the stipulations of, and inducements for Confederation. He then spoke of the prosperous condition of the Dominion at present, to show that Canada need have no fear of the responsibility it was proposed to incur, and referred to statistics to prove his position.

The Member for Durham West had based his statements that Canada could not bear the burden to be laid on her, under the impression that the Dominion would have to pay one hundred millions, but that was not the case. There was a vast difference between the burden of a work of that amount—say 100,000,000 borne by various parties—public Companies—land grants and aids of different characters—and the cost of the same work borne by one exchequer. It was not intended that the exchequer or revenues of Canada should bear the charge of the work, but simply that they would aid it. If Canada should refuse to give this aid, the work would pass out of her hands, British Columbia would not be included, and the Dominion, instead of becoming a great and leading power on the continent, and advancing in material wealth and prosperity, would revert to its old position of discontented and opposing Provinces, small and insignificant—the worse for having thrown away the opportunities which had been afforded her.

Mr. JOLY said when he had listened to the discussion, he could not help thinking of the fable of the frog and the ox. The frog had admired the size of the ox, and deciding that it was its duty to become as large as the ox, it went on swelling until it burst, and when he had heard the description and glowing terms of the

Minister of Militia, he thought he could see the Dominion swell like the frog. It was very fortunate the Pacific made a boundary to the land to be annexed, although it was true China and Japan were beyond, and perhaps the Pacific might yet be made a Canadian sea. When the Minister of Militia had named fifty-two millions as the cost of the railway, he could only have referred to the cost to the Dominion, and in the same way the population had been much exaggerated.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said he had stated the population correctly at 63,000, being 15,000 to 17,000 Europeans, some 5,000 Chinese and the remainder Indians.

Mr. JOLY must, of course, admit his mistake. He could not consider the railway a Canadian but an Imperial Policy, and, of course, it was natural that England should desire to see British North America confederated and independent of the United States, and if that was her desire, the best thing she could do would be to aid in constructing this line of communication. The great advantage Canada possessed over the States was her freedom from debt and taxation, but if, to the present debt of \$100,000,000 was added another \$100,000,000 for the construction of the railway, the debt of Canada would become in proportion almost as large as that of the United States, and Canada would lose her only advantage. He came to conclusion that an additional debt of \$100,000,000 would be mentioned on account of the construction of the railway, from the remarks of the member of the St. John. The Americans had paid fifty-eight millions of dollars as a subsidy, and had made twice as large a land grant; the money grant would have to be larger. For years to come, the line could not pay a tenth part of its cost, and no Company would undertake it unless they received every assistance, for the line would not obtain anything like the traffic that the Union Pacific obtained, and he believed the result would not be that the Government itself would have to build the line. As to the time that would be required to build the line, if the same energy were shown as had been exhibited in the construction of the Intercolonial, the Pacific would take twenty years. Why not say to British Columbia, "we are willing for you to join us, but we cannot pledge ourselves to this heavy expenditure—but if British Columbia only wanted to see which country, Canada or the States would give them the best terms, he, for one, was not prepared to buy them that way." The present position of Canada and the States to each other could not last much longer, and if more friendly relations should be established, why should not Canada avail herself of the Northern Pacific road until she was able to build a line for herself.

Mr. JACKSON was glad to see the unanimity of belief that union with British Columbia was a necessity, and that the construction of a line of railway was also a necessity. It had been conceded that the amount to be granted to British Columbia was not extravagant, but objection was taken as to the mode of payment. Objection had also been raised that the proposed representation was too large for the population, but looking at the matter in a common sense view only, although the abstract principle of representation according to population might be right, he thought area should enter into the arrangement, and he saw

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nothing in the objection. As to the objection of the railway having to be constructed in ten years, British Columbia was to be taken into the Union, and the understanding was that the whole Dominion should be connected. The responsibility might be great, but in all agreements certain conditions were implied, which might operate to change the agreement. If the present prosperity continued, there was no reason to doubt the ability of the Government to construct the railway within ten years, but if circumstances should prevent that, what danger could ensue? He should certainly support the resolutions of the Government on the grounds he had stated.

Some years ago he had entertained doubts of the success of Confederation, but he was very glad to see how satisfactory the results had been. He thought the definitiveness of the proposition for the construction of the line, would obtain for it greater consideration and greater confidence on the part of English capitalists. He would not try to foreshadow the future, but there was every reason for hope. The member for Lotbinière had said that the increased responsibility would make Canada's debt equal to that of the United States, but the view was most erroneous, for while the Canadian line would open up a splendid country and consolidate the country, the Americans had only destroyed property and desolated homes without result.

Mr. MILLS would not have spoken but for the remarks of the member for St. John. That hon. gentleman entirely misapprehended the system of Government provided by the British North American Act. He disputed his reading of the constitution as affecting powers and duties of Canada in relation to the colonies to be admitted into the Union. He had contended the Indians should be embraced in framing the basis for representation. That had not, however, been done as regards the other Provinces. The Indians did not enter into the social bond, and could not stand on the same footing as the white population. The member for St. John argued that because the principle of representation by population had been violated in the treatment of Manitoba, it should be in the case of British Columbia, and he had stated representation by population was not the principle established by the constitution, but the Union Act plainly showed it was and the representation was to be altered every ten years in harmony with the growth of the country and population, and in a prescribed relation to the sixty-five members always to be possessed by Quebec.

In answer to the member for St. John, he contended that the phraseology of the Union Act proved that the terms applicable to the four Provinces of the Confederation as to representation, applied also to the Provinces after-admitted. The Union could be extended only on the federal principle, and the principle he now contended for governed his objections to the Manitoba Bill last year. He held now as before that the very principle of our constitution was violated in the terms we granted that

Province last year, that we had no authority to grant her representation beyond that to which by population she was entitled. So much for the precedent cited by that hon. gentleman. He did not believe British Columbia would complain of our altering terms before us in obedience to our reasonable wishes and interests. If she was prepared to accept reasonable terms he would not oppose her entrance into the Union. If she was not so prepared, it would simply show the time had not come for her admission.

As to the remark that we ought to be able to construct a railroad in less than ten years, and that the Americans constructed theirs in three years and a half, it was apparently forgotten that their railroads previously extended a thousand miles further west than ours, that they had thirty millions this side of the Rocky Mountains against our four, and had a large population on the Pacific coast and infinitely greater resources on both sides of the Rocky Mountains than ours. He would like to know how we could build it in ten years when at the present rate of progress, and with our adequate means and other advantages that Intercolonial would require seven years. At its rate of construction, it would take 37 years to build the Pacific Road. He was convinced we should not draw so largely upon the future, should not incur obligations we had not certainty of being able to meet. On this ground alone, were there no other objections to the resolutions, he would be disposed to oppose them. The geological survey of the country was an incident of the local possession and management of the lands, and it should be undertaken by the local authorities alone.

We had no power to enter upon this work, the proposal of which was another instance of irregular or illegal Acts we were asked to perform. He would oppose the resolutions and support the very proper amendment before the House.

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN then proceeded to explain in French the proposals and policy of the Government on this subject, and to recite the circumstances that led to the submission of this scheme, dating back to the period of Confederation. He reminded the House that these terms had been accepted by the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia on the understanding that they would not be altered by the Parliament of Canada. In reply to the hon. member for Sherbrooke and other gentlemen, he contended that the present terms were not less favourable to Canada than the former, because in the first instance the colony was to have four senators at Ottawa and eight Commoners, while now she was allowed but three of the former and six of the latter. With regard to the railway, he urged that there was no comparison between the Intercolonial and the Pacific road, because it would not be undertaken by the Government but by a company upon the basis of a liberal land grant and an annual payment of money within the means of Canada, and without augmenting its debt.

Mr. GEOFFRION: Suppose you don't find a company?

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN: Who could doubt their finding a company with the double inducement of land and money, when in the States and other countries railways were begun and completed on the basis of land grants only? We were bound, irrespective of British Columbia, to construct a railway to the Rocky Mountains, certainly through a magnificent country for hundred of miles; but what would be the use of stopping there? Would it not be to a certain extent money ill-spent, when the road stopped short of the natural boundary of the Dominion, of the natural ocean outlet on the Pacific? Our interests undoubtedly dictated that prolongation. He maintained that in a revenue point of view Canada would not lose by this measure, for, as he had pointed out, the consumption of dutiable goods per head of the population was much greater than in Canada. There was already a population of 60,000, including Chinese and Indians, many of whom were civilized and useful inhabitants. He denied the statement of the member for Lotbinière that we already owed \$100,000,000, our debt being but \$80,000,000, and as the Government intended having the railway built by a private company they would incur nothing like another hundred millions of debt.

As to the pension list, several of the recipients could be made useful to the Dominion as public officers. It was absurd to suppose Canada could depend on the American Northern Pacific Railway, and if we wished to extend our population and trade and colonize our vast Western region, we must possess a railroad through our own territory, instead of travelling westward by one 100 or 200 miles from our frontier. It was necessary to satisfy the Columbians, as well as to give confidence to British capitalists, that a period should be fixed for the completion of the road; but if in seven or eight years it should appear with representatives from that Province sitting among us, that despite our good faith and utmost efforts it was impossible to complete the work within the time named they could not and would not find fault with us. He did not anticipate any failure, but looked at the worst contingency. He believed it was our duty and our interest took to complete Confederation and establish a British empire in North America, with the freest institutions in the world, under the British Flag now protecting us, and which would continue to protect us so long as we desired. He believed his countrymen of all origins and classes desired this result, and that trifling difficulties would not induce them to abandon reasonable effort for its attainment. British Columbia did not merit the treatment proposed by the amendment and he hoped the House would not refuse to adopt cheerfully the resolutions of the Government. (*Cheers.*)

Hon. Mr. SMITH (Westmorland) thought the subject was one of the greatest magnitude, and Government ought to have absolved all parties to allow every one to give the matter the freest possible consideration. He had at first done his best to oppose Confederation but he was now friendly to the Union,

and would be glad to see the whole of British North America united. There were two very important considerations—one was that there was a great departure from the principles of the constitution in the matter of the representation. With regard to the financial aspect, however, he could not but believe that lasting injury would be done to the country by the expenditure to be incurred. The cost of the railway could not be less than \$100,000,000, and it was equivalent to the Imperial Government asking England to embark in an enterprise involving a thousand millions. Was not the matter, therefore, sufficiently grave to merit the most serious consideration—and he entreated the Government to pause. The faith of the country was pledged by the resolution to complete the railway within ten years, no matter if the result should be ruin. No verbal reservations could have effect, the written record alone could hold, and the words of the resolution were clear, and if in two years the railway was not commenced, British Columbia could appeal to the Imperial Government. They had been told that the expenditure would not burden the people, but could that be believed, and no one would undertake to say that a Company would undertake the work as a remunerative scheme, and therefore sooner or later, the Government would have to pay every dollar of the expense, and the contractors would want the land as a profit. No one could suppose that even after the road was built, it would pay one tenth of its working expenses, and how, therefore, could British capitalists be expected to undertake the work.

The Minister of Customs had intimated that if they did not strike quickly, they would alienate British Columbia from the enterprise, but was that an element for discussion; no, if such were the case, the matter belonged to the Imperial Government only. Was the House ready to involve the country in so large an increase of debt? That debt was already \$100,000,000 and there were many burdens that would arise from the Intercolonial and other works. The Union Act had provided for the extension of the Canal system and that had only been delayed because of the deficient state of the finances of the Dominion. The cost of the railway could not be named, it might be much greater than the amount named and yet *coûte que coûte* the country would stand pledged to complete it. He should oppose the measure because it would impose burdens on the people that they were not able to bear and would involve the country in ruin and disaster.

Mr. RYMAL like the previous speaker, had not much faith in the blessings of Confederation, and should oppose the present measure, because he believed it violated their constitutional rights. In the Confederation scheme the principle of representation by population had been conceded, and yet that principle was now being violated. The Minister of Militia himself represented many times the whole number of white men in British Columbia, and there were many similar cases in the House, and the thing was so absurd and unjust that if it were the only objection, he would oppose the scheme for while he asked nothing more than justice, he would take nothing less.

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As to the financial aspect the responsibilities about being incurred, added to the cost of Intercolonial and the enlargement of the canals, a debt of \$300,000,000, would be incurred, which at five per cent would involve an annual expenditure of \$15,000,000. Added to this there would be the yearly and ever increasing burden of maintaining the railway, all of which would fall on the poor tax payers. To use a well known phrase, he would say “whither are we drifting,” and the only answer was that bankruptcy and ruin stared them in the face, and the credit and good reputation of Canada would be a thing of the past. The Minister of Finance had well nigh ruined the country before, and he would do so again, if the present Ministry retained their seats, and were led on by the Minister of Finance. Language failed him to express his detestation of the Government that thus prejudiced the good interest of the country, and it appeared to him that the prospects of the Confederation were being destroyed.

Hon. Mr. DUNKIN said the question proposed was the adoption of resolutions for the admission of British Columbia into the Union, and the objection raised in the amendment was a very narrow one. No sufficient reason was given for the postponement proposed, which was in effect the adjournment of the whole scheme. He referred to the circumstances connected with Confederation, and the

feelings with which it was regarded at first, and after its accomplishment. The experiment was tried, one of its express objects being to bring in the British North West Territory, and construct a Railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and were they now to hesitate, letting *I dare not wait upon I would*. He argued that British Columbia and the North West could not be retained without a railway. They had already incurred the greater part of the expenditure, independent of British Columbia, and they must advance; they could not recede. Without executing the policy these Resolutions embodies we should expose ourselves, our present constitution and national position. Not to advance was to go back the whole distance. He argued that the road could be built to the Pacific at a cheaper rate than one to the Rocky Mountains only, and possibly for a smaller amount than to this point.

Mr. BODWELL rose to speak, but was interrupted by cries of “adjourn.”

After a short discussion the debate was adjourned, to be resumed tomorrow after recess.

The House rose at 12.50 o'clock.

PRIVATE BILLS

The following private and local Bills were read a second and third time and passed:

Bill No. 45—An Act to incorporate the Isolated Risk Fire Insurance Company, as amended by the Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce—Mr. Harrison.

Bill No. 51—An Act to incorporate the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company, as amended by the Standing Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines.

* * *

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Mr. JONES (Halifax) resumed the debate on the Bill to admit British Columbia into the Dominion. He moved that the following words be inserted after the word “purpose” in the amendment: “The proposed engagements respecting the said Pacific Railway would, in the opinion of this House, press too heavily on the resources of the Dominion.” He argued that the Government might well hesitate to enter into such engagements after the fears and doubts expressed by the hon. member for Sherbrooke and other fathers of the Confederation. But, the Government would do well to hesitate if they desired to consummate the Union. There were other colonies to be added to the Dominion. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island had yet to be brought in and it was not likely that they could be induced to join the Confederation under less advantageous terms than were now offered to the Pacific Colony. Hon. members opposite argued that if the Dominion was not immediately extended to the Pacific, the Western colony would be absorbed into the American Union, but the hon. members were adopting the very measures which would promote that movement.

The strongest argument against annexation had always been that our taxes were light, that while the Americans had a debt amounting to \$60 per head, ours was not quite \$27 per head of our population. Let these engagements be entered into by the Dominion, which were now before the House, and the result would be to leave us with a heavier debt in proportion to our resources than at present weigh down the American Union.

The cause of our prosperity hitherto had been the contrast between the United States and the Dominion, but the Government proposed to reverse the present position of the two countries. While the Americans were paying off their debt and reducing their taxes, Canada was about to incur liabilities too great for her to bear. He referred to the immense charge which the construction of the Pacific Railway would bring on the country. He asked the House to take a business view of this engagement, and ask themselves should the Dominion undertake it. (*Hear, hear.*) This extravagant proposal was the natural sequence of the Finance Minister’s budget speech in which that hon. member had spoken of the advantages of a great national debt, and quoted from Macaulay in support of this view.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said he had not advocated the creation of a national debt, nor had he quoted from Macaulay in support of such a view. He had merely quoted the passage referred to, to show how the great resources of England had enabled her to surmount the difficulties of a great national debt.

Mr. JONES (Halifax): Then why refer to it at all. If the Hon. Finance Minister had no intention to foreshadow the creation of a great debt, why quote the passage? There was no doubt that the hon. gentleman had that end in view, and the House should unite in opposing such a suicidal policy.

Mr. BODWELL in seconding the amendment of the hon. member for Halifax, spoke at considerable length against incurring the heavy liabilities which the construction of a Pacific railway would cause. He denied that there was any danger that British Columbia would be annexed to the United States if it were not brought into the Confederation. Did hon. members opposite suppose that Great Britain would allow the republic to absorb any portion of Her Majesty’s possessions without a struggle? If the cause was so weak that the government was obliged to resort to such an argument in order to coerce their followers into voting for this measure, it would be better to drop it altogether. He quoted from the speech of the hon. member for Brome in the report of the Confederation debate to show how some of the advocates of this measure had once been most bitterly opposed to Confederation.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said it was most surprising, in looking back on the past history of Canada, to see what great tasks had been accomplished. The government had been taunted time after time with not being sincere in the great work of building up a British power on the Continent, but they could turn to their record, and challenge their opponents on the other side of the House, by what they had really done. Was it nothing that the Dominion already stretched from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains! And now the question was whether they should or whether they should not make what had once been considered a dream a living reality, by doing their utmost to weld the provinces from one ocean to the other into one solid Dominion. He was surprised at the course taken by some hon. gentlemen in the present debate, and especially at that taken by the hon. member for Sherbrooke, who had formerly taken the deepest interest in the question, and had spoken most earnestly in favour of the union now proposed; and he was more than surprised at the course of the hon. member for Lambton, who, though a later convert to the benefits of Confederation, had, with his party, stated that he should set himself to assist to establish and consummate the work.

But now, after speaking so often of his zeal for union, placed on record a motion which, while admitting the Pacific Railway to be an “urgent political necessity,” attempted to prevent the House from entering on the discussion of, and adopting the proposed terms of union. The member for Sherbrooke had dealt with the matter on a broader basis than had more recently been introduced into the debate, and, while admitting that he had no quarrel with the amount of subsidy to be granted to British Columbia, stated that he would

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have preferred the terms originally proposed by British Columbia to those now proposed by the Government. He was sure, however, that that preference would not be shared by the House or the country. The original terms had provided the building of a coach road within three years of union, and that the railway also should be built as early as possible, with a specified expenditure of a million a year. The member for Lambton stated that he had never contemplated anything more than a road from Lake Superior, but of what benefit would such a road as that be.

He also told the House that he was opposed to locking up the lands of the country by handing them over to a company, but he (Hon. Mr. Morris) maintained that the course being pursued by that hon. gentleman would lock up the lands for ever. How could the lands be available for settlement and cultivation unless facility of access was provided? The Illinois road, which had been used by the hon. gentleman as an illustration of the danger of locking up lands by handing them over to a company, was a proof that the very reverse was the case, for the results of that road were that Illinois was peopled rapidly, and the lands, instead of being locked up, were almost entirely disposed of, for out of a grant of two and a half millions of acres, only half a million remained in the hands of the company. He asked the House seriously the nature and character of the land proposed to be acquired. That land consisted of the United Province of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, and no one, who understood the matter, could deny that the addition of that province would increase enormously the wealth, the resources, and the prosperity of the Dominion. He had several extracts from works on the country, showing its valuable nature and character, and thought the member for Lambton was not justified in the remarks he had used to the effect of there being scarcely any arable land in the whole of British Columbia.

Mr. MACKENZIE stated that what he had said was that after descending the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, the country was the roughest on the continent.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS thought the construction he had put on the hon. member's remarks was not very far wrong, but he could state on the undisputable authority of Mr. Trutch, the Surveyor General of British Columbia, that taking the whole of British Columbia and Vancouver Island fully one-third, or about 50,000,000 of acres was good farming land, while the whole acreage of Ontario was 77,000,000 acres. It appeared to him that throughout the whole debate a strange fallacy had existed. The Railway had been spoken of as a mere bargain to induce British Columbia to enter the Union, whereas that work was of more importance to Canada than it was to British Columbia, for, having already acquired the great North West they were compelled by force of circumstances to go forward and render it a valuable acquisition, and he was convinced that if the House turned its back on British Columbia by adopting the amendment of the member for Lambton, it would do a grievous injury to the cause of Confederation which might prove irreparable. The present position of Canada was analogous to that of the States some years ago, when that country, recognizing the importance and necessity of communication from one side of its territory to the

other, both as a bond of union between the people of the east and west, and as a means of securing the vast trade between Europe and Asia, had taken steps which in a short time would result in three different lines from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the reasons that had urged America should be equally powerful with Canada, and he believed the Canadian line could be constructed in a satisfactory manner, by means of the proposed land grant without in the least degree overburdening the people.

The House in the course of the debate had rung with cries that a debt of a \$100 million was being incurred, but the speakers knew well that by means of the land, the line could be constructed without any approach to a burden that the people could not bear, and no Ministry would ever dare to propose to incur such a debt as had been spoken of in this case. The Northern Pacific was being constructed on a land grant only, and could it be doubted therefore, that Canada, with better lands and fewer difficulties, would be able to devise such a scheme as would attract foreign capital, as the Americans had done. The House must be aware that before a dollar could be expended or an acre of land granted, a scheme would have to be submitted to and endorsed by the House, and therefore the whole matter would be within the control of Parliament. The question was whether or not British Columbia should be invited to join the Union, and whether or not the railway should be constructed, and he believed that when the Union should be accomplished and representatives from British Columbia should sit in that House, there would be no doubt of the railway being proceeded with as rapidly as the resources of the country would admit. He had every confidence not only that the House would endorse the proposition of the Government, but that it would be approved by the people of the country also, and it would be a bright day for the Dominion when the first sod was cut on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and in time to come many of his friends opposite, who were really desirous of consummating Confederation, though they might now oppose this scheme, would rejoice that the Government had not been deterred from following out the work, but had persevered in their determination to carry forward the work of union with the Pacific colonies.

Hon. Sir A.T. GALT would not again have spoken but for the allusions made to him, but under the circumstances he felt bound to express his views on the important question before the House. Referring to the remarks of the Minister of Inland Revenue he (Hon. Sir A.T. Galt) considered that the course he was pursuing would tend much more to build up Confederation on a sound basis than that pursued by the government, and that a policy of prudence and foresight was more necessary for the future progress of the Dominion than the unwise incurring of obligations now proposed could possibly be. They should not lose sight of the real interests of the country in rushing forward in the path, which, though all might desire to follow it ultimately, if too hastily followed would defeat the very object desired to be obtained.

As to the coach road proposed by British Columbia, involving a useless expenditure of money, he maintained that the necessities of the railway would require the construction of such a road so that it

would have to be made in any case. As to the railway, the people of British Columbia had only asked for an expenditure of a million yearly, and even if that were continued in perpetuity it could not represent more than twenty millions. Those people had never presumed to demand that the line should be completed within a given time, and the proof that they had not done so had been shown by the Minister of Inland Revenue himself, who had argued that it was Canada that wanted the railway and not British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS stated that what he had said was that, throughout the discussion, the matter of the railway had been deliberately treated as if the whole benefits were to accrue to British Columbia, whereas Canada also had an equal interest in the work.

Hon. Sir A.T. GALT said he could not admit the statement that if the Government's resolutions were carried, Parliament would still retain the control of the matter. The details of the measure might come before them, but the obligation would remain that the work must be carried through *coûte que coûte*. Five years ago, it had been decided that the Intercolonial Railway could not be undertaken without an Imperial guarantee; five years ago, the Province of Canada had to take a portion of the circulation of the country to meet her floating debt; two years ago, the Government had to borrow \$2,500,000 from the Bank of Montreal, to enable them to say that the money borrowed for the Intercolonial was still within their control, and only one year ago, the Finance Minister had to ask an increase of 5% on all duties to provide against a possible deficiency of revenue, but yet, when it now fortunately happened that we had a surplus, it seemed to be believed that this state of things must continue, and that it was safe to incur any amount of obligation. He thought the people of British Columbia, if they really desired union, would be quite satisfied that the Dominion would construct a railway as rapidly as her resources would admit, and would not ask for any more. He hoped and believed the House would confirm the amendment of the member for Lambton.

It being 6 o'clock, the House rose.

AFTER RECESS

Mr. OLIVER resumed the debate arguing that the Pacific colony should be admitted into the Union on the same terms as the other provinces. He denied that those who favoured the amendment were opposed to the admission of British Columbia, or even to the building of the Pacific railway. He favoured these schemes, but thought we should consider the effect of such a very large expenditure at the present time. He considered that to allow six gentlemen from British Columbia to take their seats as representing only 100,000 people, was unfair to the other parts of the Dominion. Another feature in the scheme was unfair. The debt of British Columbia was taken at \$1,666,620, which was assumed by the Dominion. This amounted to \$20 odd per head of the population, whereas in Quebec and Ontario the amount per head of debt assumed by the Dominion and subsidies was only \$2.07. It had been proposed that thirteen million of acres of lands running

alongside the railway should be appropriated. If so, these lands would be a constant cause of expenditure for management and surveying. (*Hear, hear.*) It would be better that these lands should remain in the lands of the Local Government of British Columbia; otherwise they might pass into the hands of land speculators, a state of things which would prove ruinous to the settlement of the country. If these lands were not locked up, they would be sufficient to support a population of two millions, and it would be better that a money bonus should be given and these lands opened up to the people for settlement. (*Hear, hear.*) He believed that the railway should be prosecuted with energy, and all the money that could be spared spent upon it. That was the proposition contained in the amendment before the House. It was the duty of the Finance Minister in introducing this scheme, which pledged the country to complete the road in ten years, to tell the House where the money to build it was to come from. He calculated that our present debt, and obligations already or soon to be incurred, would amount to \$127,000,000, and if to this were added \$100,000,000 for the Pacific Railway, the amount would be \$227,000,000; the interest per annum would be \$11,350,000. He for one was not prepared to go that length. To do so would injure the present and future prospects of the Confederation. He would support the amendment.

Mr. MAGILL was in favour of bringing all British North America into the Union, but on terms equitable and fair to all the provinces. The terms proposed by the Government were not of that nature, and if the measure were carried, it would have the effect of driving immigration from our shores. It was proposed to sap the very foundations of the constitution which had been framed with such care and at such a cost. It was too much to expect this colony with its 13,000 of a population to override our constitution and create dissensions in this Dominion with its four millions of people. He protested against the position in which the Government had placed the House by bringing down this measure, framed by themselves, without having had the opinion of this House or of the people of this Dominion on the subject, and say that it should not be altered in any degree. It was unfair and he, for one, should record his vote against it. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. COLBY believed that the hon. member for Lambton expressed the opinion of the whole country when he said that it was desirable to bring British Columbia into the Union, that it was expedient to prosecute the construction of the Pacific Railway and to commence and push it through as soon as the financial condition of the country would permit it. That was exactly the policy announced by the Government. They brought down no cast-iron treaty. No one supposed that if they failed to complete the railway within the 10 years they would be guilty of a breach of faith. They proposed to do their best to complete it within that period. All the opposition which had been offered to this measure now before the House, had been presented in exactly the same manner as the opponents to Confederation had fought against the Union in the past. He would not be surprised if the people of British Columbia should fail to obtain this union with Canada, if they looked to the United States for the introduction of capital to open up their country.

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Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said this was a matter of too great importance to be made a party question. He hoped every member would look upon it in a purely practical light, and oppose it as a utopian measure brought in by the visionaries who were hurrying the country to ruin. Looking at the measure on its merits there was something objectionable in every one of the clauses. He disapproved of the unfair Parliamentary representation, giving six members to 13,000 people; to pensioning officers, and to the payment of \$100,000 per annum to sustain a corrupt and extravagant Government, given, too, under the pretence that it was rent for public lands. Let the House know all the meaning of these terms. The Government of the Dominion were to undertake the construction and completion, under any contingency, of a Pacific railway within ten years after the date of the union. Why could not the Government come forward honestly and friendly and tell the truth, that they knew it would lay a heavy burden on the Dominion to carry out this engagement? But no, each member of the Government tried to make light of the difficulties to be encountered in the construction of this road.

The Red River expedition, in their march to Fort Garry, had given evidence as to the nature of the country between the head of Lake Superior and Red River, and they had proved it to be of the most sterile character. It was proved to be, for hundreds of miles, a wilderness of rock, swamp and lake, quite uninhabitable, and presenting the greatest difficulties to the construction of a railway. At the Rocky Mountains, fresh difficulties were to be met, and the *British Colonist*, a paper published at Victoria, V.I., favourable to confederation, spoke of the route through which it was proposed to run the railway, as a "sea of mountains." If this account were correct, it would be difficult to find those vast tracts of fertile country spoken of by hon. members opposite, and it could be no easy matter to run a railway through it. With this much known, this House should be enabled to understand how much of a burden they were expected to bear, before they were asked to vote for this measure. He spoke of the resources of the United States as very superior to those of Canada.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER: We have more in proportion than they have. You may defend the American system; we are opposed to it.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said that the proposed debt would take away Canada's only advantage over the States, and the policy of the Government was breaking down all barriers and would ultimately tend to annexation. He condemned the proposed expenditure as enormous, and pointed out how a proposition to incur an amount in England equal, in proportion to her wealth, would be received, and said it could not be supposed that the amount could be paid without a greatly increased taxation. He spoke of the present surplus revenue as very exceptional, and spoke of the difficulties and deficiencies of former years, and said that the Minister of Finance himself understood that in the proposals now before the House, a debt of \$100,000,000 was

incurred, under which the Dominion would stagger. In addition to this amount for cost of construction there would be the working expenses to add to the burden, and the result would be as described the previous night by the member for Wentworth. Where was the amount to be obtained? It could not be obtained, and the obligation was only to be incurred because some few thousands of people on the Pacific coast were discontented and would otherwise seek annexation to the United States. The Statement that the cost incurred would only amount to a million and a quarter, could not be believed by a single member of the House. They would pledge themselves to construct the line in ten years, and who could say that the country would not have to pay every dollar. A company had been spoken of, but where was the company? How could any company raise seventy-five millions of dollars on fifty million acres of barren waste land, and the Government only played with the House and imposed on the credulity of their supporters in saying the work would be done by a railway.

The question should be viewed calmly and dispassionately and not as a party question, as the Minister of Militia had tried to make it. The Minister of Customs had imagined a teeming and prosperous population in British Columbia and the North West, but were they to base their vote on baseless imaginings. Where was this population to come from when it was well known that the population of British Columbia had materially decreased of late years! It could only be explained by the fact that the country was not inviting to settlers. It was hard to persuade settlers to come even to Ontario and the other parts of the Dominion, and how could it be supposed that a larger immigration could be directed to these new colonies. The House had been told that it was bound to construct the railway to the Rocky Mountains, but he would like to know how, when and where that obligation was incurred;—they were bound to do nothing of the kind unless the finances of the country fully justified it. It had also been stated that although they incurred the obligation, they would not be compelled to carry it out unless they chose.

Hon. Mr. MORRIS said he had stated that the House was not to be led away, but was to remember that any scheme for carrying out the work would have to be submitted to it, and that it would control the whole matter, and those were the facts.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN resumed that if the representative of British Columbia honestly considered the interests of his people he would repudiate the whole Government scheme. Let not the members believe the statement of any Minister, but let them read the words of the resolutions themselves, and judge what a burden they involved, and he believed that if every duty and tax was doubled the expenditure would not be met, but when the debt and taxation was then increased, the way to annexation would well be opened, and he stood there to do what he could to save the country from the fate, and from the irresistible ruin that would ensue from this scheme. He implored the House to ignore party and think of the country.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS had been anxious before speaking to hear the views of others. He had listened with great attention to the gentleman who had preceded him, and there could only be one opinion that the whole tone of his remarks showed opposition to the acquisition to British Columbia, and opposition to the constructions of a railway, and the coalition that had taken place on the opposite side showed only opposition to the cause of union with the Pacific colonies. He would ask members on both sides to consider the position of the Government, and he assumed they were all in favour of Confederation. He desired to call particular attention to the fact that all proceedings were of the character of negotiations between two parties, as to the best means of accomplishing an object on which both were agreed. The Government entered into the negotiations, and with one or two exceptions the whole House seemed in favour of the Union with British Columbia and of the construction of the railway.

He was surprised, however, to hear the member for Gloucester cheered by the gentleman round him when speaking of ignoring the whole population except the whites. The remainder of the population contributed most largely to the revenue, and he could speak from experience that the Chinese were an exceedingly valuable class as a duty paying people. The objections of hon. gentlemen had dwindled down entirely to the matter of the railroad. The proposition made was that the railway was an absolute necessity, and that Canada should use every exertion to construct it at as early a date as possible. In the negotiations that took place, it was found impossible that Canada could undertake to commence this railway and make a stated payment annually, and it had never been understood that the Government themselves should undertake the work, but that it should be done by means of Companies with a land grant and money grant. Every calculation had been based on that understanding.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Give us the calculations.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said it was necessary to give minute details, and he had already given a rough estimate based on statements of the most eminent engineers. Hon. gentlemen had admitted the necessity of the railway, but that had not been the tone of the member for Gloucester. His views were widely different from those of the representatives of Ontario. During the course of the discussion, he could not help thinking of the important proceedings at Washington, and thinking of those and of the important negotiations with the delegates from British Columbia, he was surprised at the cavilling on small matters which had taken place. The member for Gloucester seemed entirely opposed to the railway, but that was not the view of the member for Sherbrooke, who was well known as a promoter of such a railway, and a believer in its practicability. The Government scheme was a modification of the propositions of British Columbia, and although they would not undertake a stated annual expenditure, they fully admitted the necessity of the construction of the railway.

Mr. SCATCHERD asked whether if the land would not build the road, the road would not be built.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS said no, he had already stated that it was estimated that the Dominion would have to pay about a million and a quarter a year, but it was well understood that if insurmountable difficulties arose, the Government could not be supposed to proceed to anything ruinous.

But it was necessary to satisfy British Columbia that Canada was in earnest in going on with the work, and therefore a time was specified. No one had answered the argument that the railway was not entirely a bargain with British Columbia, for if that colony had not consented to join the Union would not a railway to the Rocky Mountains still have been a necessity. The negotiations had necessarily to assume the shape of a Treaty, and in all such matters concessions had to be made on both sides. The delegates themselves had been of different opinions, and the result of the conferences that had taken place was embodied in the resolutions before the House, and no amendments could be made without throwing open the whole question. These were questions on which the people of British Columbia dissented from the terms now settled, and any amendment would reopen the whole matter. The matter must be dealt with and accepted or rejected as a whole.

Very many more forebodings had been expressed as to the financial result of the propositions. The debt of Canada was about \$20 a head and that of America \$60 a head, and yet they could undertake three different lines of road, and he did not think Canada need have any fear on the matter. As to the debt of \$100,000,000 Government had no intention of incurring anything of the sort. Of course the Government undertook the work in ten years, but if after doing everything to carry out the engagement in good faith, it should be found that untoward circumstances should prevent the completion of the work, could it be supposed that Canada would be required to proceed to her own serious disadvantage, even if the work might be delayed for some years? He referred to the strictures of the member for Wentworth as to the Municipalities Laws, and shewed that the measure he had proposed had been most generally supported, and yet he was charged individually with the whole matter. All that had been done however, was to enable municipalities to borrow money in their own discretion. He spoke of what the member for Oxford South had said, as to his departure from, and return to Canada, explaining the circumstances that had led to his doing so, denying all charge of inconsistency. He then continued, they had either to spurn or accept British Columbia, and the result of the amendment, if carried, would be to do away with all hope of bringing British Columbia into the Union.

Mr. WORKMAN deprecated any party feelings in the discussion, the question being one of the utmost importance to the future of the country. He regretted very much that he would have to dissent from the Government scheme, which appeared calculated to damage the country. He was friendly to the completion to Confederation, notwithstanding. It was his opinion that this railroad would involve Canada in an expenditure of at least fifty millions. The cost of this work, the great difficulties natural and other in its way were reasons for our carefully considering this scheme and its consequences before rashly embarking in it. He ridiculed the

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spread-eagle anticipations and flourishes indulged in respecting this railway, and particularly the notion that the trade of China and Japan could be attracted over North America by this trans-continental road. Any merchant or intelligent man knew that the products of the East would be damaged by railway carriage, and that the shipping presented the best means of transportation. It was all nonsense to attribute to Confederation the credit for the present prosperity of the country. As to the expectations connected with the Intercolonial, he believed from reliable information that it would be a source of expense, trouble and anxiety to us. But at any rate let us see how it worked before entering upon another and longer railway. It was bad enough to have one elephant on our shoulders without a second. In the name of his constituents and of the trade and commerce of the country he protested against this scheme, which made him tremble for it; and it was because he thought it would be ruinous to the Dominion that he would vote against these resolutions.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL (Lanark North) said that although the debate had extended over three days there were two or three points to which no reference had yet been made, to which he felt it his duty to draw attention. He believed that a very large majority of the members of this House were desirous of seeing British Columbia united to the Dominion. Some twenty years ago, when he first entered into public life as a journalist, he had placed on his political platform as one of its most prominent planks Union of the British North American Provinces. In 1859 he was present at the Reform Convention in Toronto when the political condition of the country was discussed, and on that occasion he moved a resolution which embodied the principle on which this great scheme was founded. It received the assent of a majority of that assembly, and ever since then he had been endeavouring to the best of his ability to promote and advance this great measure.

Along with hon. members opposite, it had been his good fortune to help push forward Confederation, and he now accused them of having failed in the performance of their duty in the final accomplishment of the work. He said so boldly, looking at it from no political or party standpoint, and feeling no desire, as might be the case with some hon. members of the Opposition, to see the Government displaced from their seats at the present moment if they would only do their duty. Taking an impartial view of the case, he must charge them with having struck a fatal blow at the great measure with which for the last few years they had been connected, and for the success of which they were pledged to this House and responsible to the country. They propose, in order to induce, as they alleged, British Columbia to enter the Union, to load the Dominion with a debt double that under which the country now suffered, under which, at all events, it now labored. For the purpose of accomplishing this Union, no such sacrifice, no such burden, no such evil consequences were at all necessary. He failed to hear any decent reason why this Government should, without the authority of Parliament and without submitting the proposition in any form for public discussion, spring it on the House as they had done. Under the constitution, no such authority was delegated to the

Government. No authority was given them, of their own motion, to enter into, and finally conclude, negotiations which, as the House was told, must be accepted without qualification of amendment.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY: What did you do at the Quebec conference?

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL (Lanark North) had expected to hear this question asked, but he would tell the hon. member that this was an entirely different case. The Quebec conference was a body of gentlemen assembled together to discuss the propriety of passing the law which regulated this very matter. The terms of that law were publicly discussed in the press and in the various existing legislative bodies of the several Provinces. It was agreed by them and alterations were made in accordance with expressions of opinion at the very last moment in England to meet the difficulties developed by these discussions. These circumstances were altogether different from those which surround the present case. In the Union Act were the *ipsissima verba* which show how the Union of the other colonies is to be consummated. The Constitutional Act points out the parties who are to negotiate. It declares that the members of this House are one body, and the members of the other House another body, who are to settle its terms.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said the proper way to bring in the colony was through the Government of the day. It involved a pecuniary expenditure, and could not emanate from any other source.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL (Lanark North) said the proposition which had been under debate for the last three days was not subject to the ordinary rule. The Government had taken every precaution to tell the House that this measure was in the nature of treaty, that not one of its details could be altered, and that it must be accepted as it was submitted to the House. Now, the meaning of the constitution was very different. It was only after full consideration in this Parliament that the measure should be accepted. Of what use was this debate at all, if the measure must be adopted without amendment? He would remind the House, that British Columbia was a Crown colony, with a population principally of miners and adventurers, and a very small number of permanent settlers. It was so at the time of Confederation, possibly the population was larger then. There was no popular representation at that time. This position did not fail to strike the attention of the Conference. It was the policy of the Imperial Government, and the four Provinces to complete the Union and all British America as soon as possible. He with others at the Conference had contended that it was the duty of the Imperial Government to bring pressure to bear on its own officers of British Columbia to submit to reasonable terms in order to secure Union with Canada. The small number of the inhabitants did not justify the admission of a colony on more favourable terms than those offered to the older and more populous Atlantic Provinces. The circumstances were entirely different and it was absurd to say that the future destiny of that country was in the hands of a few adventurers who were mining there. Since Confederation was agreed upon, the Imperial Government has put it out to their power to use that effective influence they might have used to secure

proper terms and compel their acceptance by the Government and people of that colony. He did not believe there was any desire on the part of the majority of the people of British Columbia to make demands unreasonable or impracticable. What right had they in discussing terms with Canada to stipulate for construction of public works not only inside their own territory, but in the North West territories or in Ontario? He did not believe the people of that Colony ever expected that privilege or would have insisted on this railway on the present conditions. The railway would have three sections, differing as to character of country, quality of the land and other features. We know that no person would settle along the Ontario end of the line stretching to a distance of a thousand miles between the Ottawa valley and the Lake of the Woods, for it presented no agricultural or trading advantages to attract settlers. The middle sections consisted of good land, but had too sparse a population to afford a business for a railway for many years to come. Through and beyond the Rocky Mountains the country was of a nature most difficult for a railway and most discouraging as regards the prospects of settlement and traffic.

It was absurd and unreasonable then for us to rush into a vast expenditure for a work of this kind without accurate knowledge of the country, without surveys, without any means of enabling us to form a reliable estimate as to its cost. Did the Government, then, in the absence of any knowledge, that capitalists would undertake this road, contemplate the construction of the line themselves? Or did they really intend to delay the completion of the road if serious difficulties arose, notwithstanding the pledge and promise now offered British Columbia? If that was the intention of the Government, why not say so frankly and honestly? All, he thought, that should be promised or undertaken at present was the construction of a telegraph and coach road, or at the utmost, of a railway from Pembina to the Rocky Mountains. In a short time the American road from the borders of Ontario to Pembina would be completed, and be as accessible and serviceable to our people as to themselves. Besides the Government of Canada would shortly establish a mixed land and water communication from Lake Superior to Fort Garry, which would provide all the facilities we needed for the present, perhaps for years. He saw no difficulty, whatever, in making use of the American road to reach Fort Garry and the Rocky Mountains. By giving liberal land grants to a company, and retaining alternate sections of land we might secure a railway across the plains and promote the rapid settlement of the fertile belt. Beyond that a good serviceable post road could be opened to the Pacific coast, realizing all the people of that colony some short time ago solicited, and accomplishing all the trade and interest of the Dominion, generally, required.

He was as anxious as any man to see this Confederation completed; but denied he was therefore bound to accept every absurd, extravagant scheme proposed professedly with that object, and not shown to be either necessary or practicable. Was he to be blamed for hesitating to agree to every wild proposition of this kind? If we assented to this proposition we should weigh down the Dominion to a position which would not only excite dissatisfaction

among her own inhabitants, but destroy all confidence in our future among the people of other nations.

With respect to the political arrangements he considered that the representatives for so small a number of people was a violation of the principles laid down in the Union Act, but the evil would be cured in a few years if the matter was not of serious consequence. The Manitoba measure had been passed under peculiar circumstances and was no precedent to sanction the present violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution, but, as he had said, the evil would be temporary, and might be conceded to British Columbia. The same might be said of the money grant, which, though based on a larger population than really existed, did not form a serious objection, for it had always been understood that the small Provinces should be enabled to carry on their Government and local works and he would be quite ready to vote directly a sufficient sum to enable British Columbia to meet her expense. While, however, the matter of the railway stood on its present basis he had no hesitation in opposing the Government scheme, although he yielded to no one in his desire to complete Confederation.

He was astonished that Government should have attempted to impose the condition that no alteration should be made, for the Act of Union gave to the two Houses of Parliament and to no other body the right to make any amendment they might deem expedient, and while the Legislative Council of British Columbia had discussed every detail of the scheme, he contended that the same right belonged to the people and Parliament of this Dominion.

Mr. BEATY had received no intimation from his constituents to oppose the Government scheme, and he believed the general impression in Ontario was that Confederation could not be completed without British Columbia. He had every confidence in the Ministry both in legislation for the present and future, and he believed the interests of the country would be well cared for by them. In the matter of Manitoba the people of Ontario had been warned against the narrow minded Frenchmen, but he maintained that for every liberty they possessed, civil and religious, they were mainly indebted to the representatives of Lower Canada. If the present scheme carried and the railway was constructed successfully, as he believed it would be, the honour would belong to the Minister of Militia and his noble band of reformers. The matter had been fully discussed, and what was the policy—well, his idea was that the policy was whether the gentlemen of the Opposition should be allowed to sit on the Government benches. That was their policy, and they did not care whether the North West was developed or not. The Government now proposed, however, a scheme of opening up the country and numbers of emigrants would come in, instead of leaving for the States as at present, and before many years elapsed, thousands of emigrants would be attracted if the Government were allowed to carry out their plans of development. He looked forward to a great future for Canada on these grounds, and having every confidence in the resolutions he should support them, and if he did otherwise, he would think he had degraded himself.

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Hon. Mr. DORION said the question had two aspects, the political and the financial; the latter, however, was much the most important and had listened to the Government statements on that head in hope of being able to vote for the resolutions, but the minister of Finance had been able to give no favourable statement. He took great care not to give any details, and beyond the assertion that a cost of \$100,000,000 would be practicable, they had heard nothing. The American lines had been cited as examples, but it had not been stated that in addition to the land grants an enormous amount of money had also been granted. The Minister of Finance ought to be able to state definitely the amount involved so that the House might not have to make a blind vote, and he regretted the humiliating proposal of the Minister of Inland Revenue, that after the pledge had been given it might afterwards be retracted. He spoke of the heavy obligations the Dominion already sustained, and maintained that the Union Act provided that the canal system ought to have been completed before any other responsibilities were incurred.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY read the resolution at Quebec to show that the North West question was to be an express object of Confederation.

Hon. Mr. DORION said that matter had already been attained. He had never had, and had not now, any faith in Confederation, but he had felt in duty bound not to oppose it, but if he were most anxious for the downfall of Confederation, he could desire for nothing more than the present scheme to attain that object. Reverting to the canal improvement, he considered it unjust that the credit of the country should be pledged to this immense extent before that canal improvement was completed. He quoted from a report of Mr. Fleming, characterising the Pacific Railway as a commercial absurdity and that the maintenance of such a line would cost eight millions annually, and in fact that it was altogether impracticable, and stating that a macadamized road to the Rocky Mountains would require seventeen years for construction, and yet hon. gentlemen opposite presumed to say that this gigantic work could be commenced and completed within ten years. What greater absurdity could be uttered in any intelligent Assembly? If Confederation must be had in some direction better have it with the 150,000 of Newfoundland and the 100,000 of Prince Edward's Island than with the 10,000 of British Columbia, while the inhabitants in one case were settled, and in the other mere roving adventurers. He did not admit the necessity of a Canadian Pacific line, but thought the American lines should be used, and expend the money rather in opening up the North West by roads. He thought the four millions of people inhabiting the basin of the St. Lawrence were entitled to greater consideration than the small population of British Columbia, and if this large expenditure were to be incurred rather let it be used in enlarging the canals and so securing the great trade of the West.

The members were called in at one o'clock and the amendment

of Mr. Jones, of Halifax, was put with the following result: Yeas, 63; Nays, 98.

Mr. ROSS (Dundas) had ever been desirous of uniting the Provinces into one compact body, but the scheme was not perfected, and he thought the amendment he was about to move would open the way for a better settlement than that proposed in the resolutions before the House. He felt the country did not properly understand the question and thought every one should be able to communicate with his constituents. He proposed in amendment that, in the opinion of this House the further consideration of the question be postponed for the present session of Parliament in order that greater and more careful consideration may be given to a question of such magnitude and importance to the people of this Dominion.

The vote on this amendment was as follows: Yeas, 75; Nays, 85.

Mr. MACKENZIE'S amendment was put with the following result: Yeas, 67; Nays, 94.

On the main motion being put,

Hon. Mr. DORION moved in amendment that the speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be resolved that, in view of the engagements already entered into since the Confederation and the large expenditure urgently required for canal and railway purposes within the Dominion, this House would not be justified in imposing on the people of this Dominion the enormous burden required to build within ten years a railway to the Pacific as proposed by the resolution submitted to this House. The amendment was lost on the following division: Yeas, 70; Nays, 91.

The main motion was again put.

Mr. MACKENZIE gave notice that he would move other amendments in Committee.

Hon. Mr. ANGLIN said the Government had not had a clear majority of the total number of the House.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said that had all been present, the Government majority would have been greater.

The main motion was carried and the House went into Committee on the resolutions. **Mr. COLBY** in the Chair. The resolutions passed through Committee and the Committee rose.

The House adjourned at 2 o'clock a.m.

AFTER RECESS

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved the reception of the report of the Committee of the Whole on certain resolutions respecting the admission of British Columbia into Union with Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that in the speech of the Hon. Minister of Militia, the statement had been made that one-third of the land in British Columbia was fit for agriculture. But it was admitted that this statement embraced the Island of Vancouver. Now, in dealing with this question, the Island must not be taken into consideration at all. From all the evidence he could obtain respecting the main land, not one-fifth of it was available for settlement by farmers, and the remaining four-fifths through which the road was likely to run, had yet to be proved good for mining purposes. It was simply absurd to put the price of that land at \$1 dollar per acre. The Hon. Minister of Customs, in his speech the other evening, had advocated entering into an obligation which he could not say the country would be able to perform. It had been said the other evening over and over again during the debate, that he (Mr. Mackenzie) had stated that he regarded the construction of the Pacific Railway as a pressing political necessity. He denied having made any such a statement. He would admit, however, that he would be willing to subject the country to some inconvenience in order to obtain communication with the Pacific through Canadian territory. He was in favour of opening up communication immediately through the country lying between the head of Lake Superior and Red River. From that point to the Rocky Mountains the way was comparatively easy and quite clear enough for the use of emigrants passing into the North West country. On the Pacific slope, there was no doubt that it would be necessary to expend large sums of money from time to time as the Financial condition of the Dominion permitted in opening up a good route to this side of the Rocky Mountains.

But this country should not be bound to construct, within so short a time, such a gigantic work. The Grand Trunk had never yet paid one per cent on the capital expended on it, though passing through a well peopled country and having no scarcity of traffic, yet the hon. gentlemen opposite wished to lead the House to believe that this Pacific Railway which was to run for 2,500 miles through an uninhabited wilderness, would be a paying enterprise. We had unfortunately 200 mile lying between the head of Lake Superior and Winnipeg, which was an uninhabitable desert. Now, he would recommend a cheap narrow gauge railway with steamers on the smaller lakes, as the proper means of communication with the open prairie extending west of Fort Garry and through which it would be unnecessary to construct a road for years to come. He considered this attempt as one of the most foolish things that could be imagined—and what was it for? In order to get some 10,000 people into the Union, they were actually agreeing to pay \$10,000 a head on their account.

Such terms argued either insane recklessness on the part of the Government and their supporters, or a painful want of patriotism, which would damage the country and the character of the hon. Minister of Militia. For thirty years to come it would be unnecessary to construct the greater portion of this line. The only part of the road which would need to be constructed immediately was in British Columbia itself. He would be prepared to consider that as soon as estimates of the cost, &c., should be submitted to this House. Holding these views, he moved that all the words after “that” be omitted, and the following inserted: “having regard to the vast importance of the questions involved in the said Resolutions, (including the obligation to construct within ten years the Pacific Railway, the cost of which is estimated to exceed one hundred millions of dollars), time should be afforded to the people and their representatives for consultation before coming to a final decision; and that the consideration of the said Resolutions should, therefore, be postponed to the next Session.”

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said that he had hoped after the discussion of the last three days all the arguments against this measure would have been exhausted, and that he would not be called upon to speak again. But after the remarks just made by the hon. member for Lambton, he felt called upon to make some reply. He was willing to give credit to the hon. members who opposed this measure, for sincerity. He (Hon. Sir George-É. Cartier) was much surprised, at the line of argument which they had followed. He was surprised that the member for Lambton should try to meet such a great question on the mere ground of cost. He admitted that the Union was a necessity and that the railway also was a necessity, but the honorable gentleman objected to be tied down to a specified time. He objected to being bound to build a line of 2,500 miles in ten years—but in past years even when the country was new and with comparatively few resources she had built 2,000 miles in eight years. Had Canada been ruined by those works, had her agricultural interests suffered on this account. And in addition to this, Canada had built the Victoria Bridge at Montreal, itself equal to 500 miles of railway, and other large bridges in different parts of the country. Had she suffered from building those works? No.

It was true that the G.T.R. proprietors were not receiving so good a return as he would like. If the railway was practicable at all, every one would admit that it could well be built in ten years. If there had been any complaint it should have been that the time allowed was too long. When it had been proposed to extend the Customs Laws of Canada to Manitoba, it had been objected to as unfair, and that the people of that country were beyond the circle of Canada, and therefore a delay of three years had been allowed until the countries could be more effectively joined and connected. Let the member for Lambton and his friends read their speeches on the North West question. Then no expense was too great, no haste too much, no trouble too great, if only the North West could be acquired, but now they said don't go so fast. He wanted to get hold of the Red River country at any cost, and now from the very same mouth that had spoken of the fertility of the North West, they heard the very opposite. He had then been willing to send any number of men to obtain possession of the country.

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Mr. MACKENZIE had stated his willingness to send any number of men not to acquire the country, but to establish the supremacy of law over insurrection.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER resumed the comparison of the expressions of the member for Lambton last year, and this, then he had stated distinctly that the acquisition of the North West would be the only way to obtain British Columbia, but now he did not want the Union.

Mr. MACKENZIE denied this; he was as much in favour of Union as ever.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said the member for Lambton had stated distinctly that in swallowing the Quebec scheme he had made a mistake, and now the great Reformer of Upper Canada, the representative of everything good, the representative of the great Party of Progress, said no, we must pull up, we must stop. The Government were really the Party of Progress and action, and the member for Lambton, and those who had followed him would at the next election be taken to task by their constituents for having in order to make a case against the Government made the humiliating confession that they had made a mistake in accepting the scheme of Confederation. The member for Lambton in his argument had said that between Thunder Bay and Fort Garry there was no soil and the railway could not be built but that question could be settled by Parliament hereafter, when the railway scheme should be submitted.

Mr. MACKENZIE: What about the obligations?

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said, suppose the hon. gentleman undertook an obligation, could he be obliged to fulfil it, if he should be prevented by unforeseen circumstances. No one could be compelled to perform an impossibility. The time was too long, and the objection could only come from an economical Scotchman, and he would predict that in a very few years the hon. gentleman would be one of the most ardent supporters of the railway. He had not been sorry to lose his motion yesterday, and he was not sincere in his present proposal. That proposal was to entail a delay of seven months; what object could there be in so doing? The matter had already been discussed sufficiently, and the time was now come for settlement, and he would say that without the prospect of British Columbia, they would never have persuaded a majority of the House to consent to acquire one inch of the North West. For the sake of the member for Lambton himself he trusted his speech would not be well reported, and especially that part in which he had spoken of the character of the land in most disadvantageous terms, and yet he said he was in favour of building a railway as soon as possible. If the land was as described by the hon. member, why should a railway be built at all? He reiterated 10 years was too long, and as to the mode of building the railway that would all be submitted to Parliament, and within the next few days the Government would ask for an appropriation for the preliminary survey. He maintained that Canada was better able to-day to undertake the Pacific railway than she had been years ago to

advance fifteen millions to the Grand Trunk. The whole affair of the hundred millions was a bugbear. There was no such thing as incurring that debt in a few years—it was an absurdity to make such a statement.

The policy was purposely to retain the lands of the country in order to build railways and open ways of communication. Canada would not have to bear the expenditure alone. British Columbia would be represented in the House, and would be equally interested in the work. Speaking of the cost of the railway, he maintained the gentlemen on the other side had played the parts of old nurses, but the children on his side of the House were not so easily frightened. He spoke of the North Pacific, quoting from a statement showing the whole length to be 2,000 miles, and the entire estimated cost seventy-six million dollars in greenbacks. It had been objected that the estimate for the Canadian Pacific might not be correct. He admitted that, but the argument worked both ways. The cost might prove very much below the estimate, and an immense amount of land was reserved to cover it. He quoted a statement showing the average cost of railway communication in the United States, showing 2,600 miles of line in operation, the average cost being, in the different States, from \$25,000 to \$33,000 per mile. It was admitted that there was a large extent of prairie land to be crossed, and the smaller expenditure necessary there would leave means to overcome difficulties in other portions. The hon. members opposite had been sufficiently unpatriotic to represent the country as that it would never attract immigration, and he quoted from the proceedings of the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota speaking of the Canadian line as practicable, and the territories of the North West and British Columbia, as fertile, and the most valuable of the Continent; and yet men in this country, the leaders of their party, did their utmost to decry their country.

Mr. MACKENZIE denied that he had done anything to decry the country.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER was glad he had given the hon. member an opportunity to correct himself. He quoted from an article from an American paper, copied into the *Globe* characterising the Saskatchewan country as most valuable in soil and minerals, and British Columbia as possessing rich mineral resources, magnificent climate and fine soil. It was fortunate that the truth could be ascertained even if it came from opponents. The Government had stated again and again that they themselves would not build the railway, but that it would be constructed by Companies assisted by such subsidies as would not oppress the people. It was absurd to speak of building a line to the Rocky Mountains only, a vote could not be obtained for such a purpose, but when it was proposed to extend the line to the ocean, the question assumed a very different aspect. Many great works had been accomplished in England, but what were any compared with the scheme now proposed, and he could say that already there was a motion in England to assist the measure, and there would doubtless be capitalists to take the matter in hand, and everything was in favor of the successful construction of the road. The Minister of Justice had telegraphed him to present his congratulations to his friends on the vote of yesterday.

Mr. BLAKE said the member for Lambton (Mr. Mackenzie) in his amendment had pointed out the importance of the matter the grave nature of the burden proposed to be incurred, and therefore suggested the postponement of the consideration of the matter, and it was impossible to answer those statements. Much had been heard that the railway would not cost the Dominion in cash \$100,000,000, but no one attempted to deny that the railway would cost that amount and where could the money come from but from the resources of the country. It might be in lands and it might be in money, but the result was the same, and the only argument the Minister of Militia had used was to speak of the American lines and contrast greenbacks with gold. He complained of the system of alternate sections not being followed in land grants. The argument seemed to be that they would not be compelled to perform impossibilities, but an honest man would fulfil an obligation, though the result might be bankruptcy. If rashly the national credit and faith were pledged to build that road in ten years, he said that any one who voted for that obligation with the mental reservation that they would not be compelled to fulfil the obligation unless such should be desirable was a base man. The spirit and the letter of the bond were alike binding, and the question was most serious.

The Bill was not one that could be repealed but was an irrevocable determination to build the road in ten years whatever the hazard, whatever the results, and should they not seek to communicate with their people before arriving at this irrevocable determination. It had been urged in order to secure votes that there was a reserve power of repudiation, but if the obligation was undertaken, the people would hold themselves bound by it, and could gentlemen be prepared to meet an indignant people if they incurred this responsibility without consulting those they represented, and if the gentlemen did so act, though they might go back to their people, they would not come back to that House. The question was whether the debt of the country should, at a stroke, be doubled, or whether they should have an opportunity of consulting their people before taking such a step. They had been urged to haste, but he maintained that there had been too much haste in bringing about Confederation already, and he was not anxious to ruin entirely that portion of the scheme which had been too hastily consummated. He had not heard what harm could result from postponement and as to the argument that British Columbia was hanging in the balance, he would say that while England was true to herself, the result did not lie with British Columbia, and therefore time for consideration should not be refused.

Hon. Mr. TILLEY said it was a great advantage to be able to hear both sides of a question, but he could see no very great difference in the proposition of the Government and the amendment proposed. The hon. member for Lambton after his defeat last night was obliged to adopt the more successful stand which had been taken by the hon. member for Dundas. There was no talk about the necessity of this delay from the hon. gentleman opposite before this evening. It was all very well to

ask for this delay now, but the scheme had been before the people and had been discussed in the papers for months. The terms were published in Toronto papers three months ago, and, in fact, the Union had been talked of ever since the commencement of the Confederation. In reply to the arguments of the hon. members opposite, he said that a grant of \$10,000 per mile in addition to the land grant would place the construction of the railway beyond the possibility of a doubt. There could be no difficulty in disposing of the lands at a fair price. The fertile belt was spoken of by the American writers who had visited it, as being of immense extent and of great fertility. The Northern Pacific railway looked to it for a portion of their future trade. It was, therefore, in the interest of this Dominion to construct a road through our own territory to the Pacific.

Hon. Mr. McDOUGALL (Lanark North) said the House should not be led away by claptrap speeches from the hon. gentleman opposite. Let them look at the facts. Here was a statement of Mr. Hind, an officer appointed by this Government, who explored the North West, and submitted his report thereon. This gentleman stated that in the whole of the fertile belt there were not 40,000,000 acres of available land. Taking a fertile belt in the Rocky Mountains which was not mentioned in that report, to contain 10,000,000 acres more, there were but 50,000,000 acres of any commercial or exchangeable value, in the North West. Where then were the Government lands to come from after granting large sections to the railway? The experience of the United States had shown that it was not in the interest of a country to grant its unsettled lands in large blocks to private companies. The proposition before the House was to give all the valuable lands of the North West to a company which was not yet formed. After the experience of English capitalists on Canadian railways, it was not likely that capital could be got to construct this railway. The money must be had in some way even at the risk of involving the Dominion in ruin. In reply to the statement of the Hon. Minister of Customs that this question had been before the public for some time, he would refer the hon. gentleman to the files of papers in the reading room. If he would look at them he would see that the country was startled at the gigantic proportions of this scheme. On the 27th of that month, the *ipsissima verba* of the scheme were presented to this House, and that was the first time the public had an opportunity of passing judgment on it. It was only after it was taken up and discussed in this House the other day, that it might be said to have been placed before the people. Could the hon. gentleman then deny that delay should be granted before passing this measure. It had not been presented to the House in the constitutional manner and it was only right to give the people an opportunity to express their approval or disapproval of it.

The amendment was put and lost on the following division: Yeas, 7; nays, 135.

Mr. BODWELL moved in amendment to leave out all the words after "that" and insert the following: "That the proposed terms of

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Union with *British Columbia* provide for its representation in the Senate by three Members, and in the House of Commons by six Members, while its population is about 10,000, and such representation in the House of Commons is enormously in excess of the proper number according to population, and is in violation of the fundamental principle of the fact between the Provinces, a principle which ought not to be disturbed without the assent of the Provinces, and that the said Resolutions be referred back to a Committee of the Whole for the purpose of reducing the number of representatives of *British Columbia* in the House of Commons."

Mr. JONES (Leeds North and Grenville North) said though both sides deprecated the party considerations, he had never heard a question made so completely one of party. He did not think the country was in a position to undertake the expenditure proposed. He considered the Imperial Government ought to share in the expense of any scheme for opening up the North West. He maintained that the country was not suitable for settlement, or the present population would have been much larger. He objected to the Indians being taken into account, as they had done but little good to Canada. He was in favor of the consideration of the matter being postponed and should vote for the amendment.

Mr. BOLTON in explaining the reference made to him by the Minister of Customs, said he had not charged him with making reckless statements, but that while giving him and the Government every credit for being in earnest in desiring to construct the road, he thought it very doubtful whether a company would be found to undertake it.

Mr. MACKENZIE'S amendment was then put, and the following vote taken: Yeas, 68; nays, 85.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT believe that the Government had been led into the inconceivable blunder of naming a period for the construction of the road and the amendment he was about to propose differed from others in these respects, it did not interfere with the pledge to commence the railway, and only pledged that they would use their utmost exertions to go on with the work as fast as practicable, and it need involve but a very short delay. He moved

that the eleventh paragraph should be amended by inserting the words "use their utmost exertions" after the word "further."

Mr. KILLAM then moved in amendment to the amendment, that the words "while its population is about 10,000" be struck out.

Mr. KILLAM'S amendment was rejected on the following division: Yeas, 43; nays 100.

Mr. BODWELL'S amendment was then put, and the vote resulted as follows: Yeas, 58; nays, 87.

Mr. BLAKE moved in amendment to leave out all the words after "that" and insert the following: "The proposed terms of Union with *British Columbia* provide for the payment by the Dominion to *British Columbia* of a yearly sum of \$100,000 in perpetuity (equal to a capital sum of \$2,000,000) for the cession of a tract of waste land on the route of the proposed Pacific Railway to aid in its construction, while any such land required for that purpose should be ceded without charge in like manner as the lands of the Dominion are to be so ceded, and that the said Resolutions be re-committed for the purpose of amending the same in accordance with this Revolution."

The amendment was put and the vote was as follows:—Yeas, 59; nays, 84.

The first, second, and third resolutions were carried.

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved that an address, embodying the said resolutions be presented to Her Majesty and that a Select Committee, composed of Messrs. Tilley, Morris, Tupper, Chauveau, Ferguson, Savary, and the mover be appointed to draft such address.—Carried.

The Committee presented the draft address, which was received and read a first time, to be read a second time, at the next Session of the House.

The House adjourned at 1.45 a.m.

April 1, 1871

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Saturday, April 1, 1871

The **SPEAKER** took the chair at 3 o'clock.

Prayers

AFTER ROUTINE

Mr. CURRIER introduced a Bill to incorporate the Dominion Construction Co. The Bill was read a first time and referred to the Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills.

* * *

INSURANCE ACT

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINKS moved the second reading of the Bill respecting Insurance companies.

Mr. BLAKE objected to the measure, as limiting the class of securities to be deposited with the Government. He also objected to establishing a system of inspection.

Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS assured the hon. member that there was no disposition to limit the class of securities, but, on the contrary, to relieve companies of the necessity of depositing cash with the Government.

The Bill was read a second time and referred to the Committee on Banking and Commerce.

* * *

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER moved the second reading of the Address to Her Majesty for the union of British Columbia with the Dominion.

Mr. MACKENZIE did not propose to reply to the speeches of the hon. members opposite delivered last night. They extended over a good space of time, but there was nothing in them. He merely wished to enter his protest against the extraordinary address now about to be read a second time. He, therefore, moved the following:

“Resolved that this House, while willing to give its best consideration to any reasonable terms of union with British Columbia, is of opinion that the terms embodied in the said address are so unreasonable, and so unjust to Canada, that this House should not agree thereto.”

Hon. Mr. TUPPER said he had not taken any part in the debates on this subject so far. He had listened with mingled pain and pleasure to the speeches of hon. members. He had heard with pain old friends of Confederation opposing this union movement. He defended the policy of the Government at considerable length, arguing that everything conspired to favor the construction of the Pacific Railway. While the United States had to contend against great natural difficulties in pushing their railways to the Pacific, the territory through which the Canadian route would lie, was of great natural fertility, and presented comparatively few engineering difficulties to the construction of a railway. It gave us a pass through the Rocky Mountains 2,000 feet lower than the best pass through that chain on American territory. The hon. member for Lambton had endeavored to show that the route from Nipissing to Fort Garry was an almost impassable wilderness. Only last session the hon. member had taken a very different view of the question and had stated that the very best route to the west lay through Canadian territory North of Lakes Huron and Superior. The hon. gentleman could not say that he had heard anything to present the matter in a different light. There were then, all these favourable circumstances to aid this great enterprise, but in addition to all that, the route once opened would place Canton and Liverpool 1,000 miles nearer than by any other line of communication that could be found. The hon. member had pleaded for delay in order to submit this question to the people, but the hon. gentleman had taken the ground on a former occasion that Parliament, representing the people, could act for them in a case like this.

Mr. MACKENZIE said this was a very different matter. When the Confederation scheme was first mooted he (Mr. Mackenzie) went before his constituents and presented the matter to them in twenty speeches held in different parts of his constituency and told them that if they were not favourable to Confederation they might elect some one who would oppose it in Parliament, he would not.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER admitted that the honourable member for Lambton was an important member of the House, and honoured the intelligent electors who sent him to Parliament, but he did not represent the whole people, and the Confederation scheme was not submitted to the country generally. But this question had been submitted to the people of British Columbia and the terms had been accepted by them. It was not new to the people of Canada. Six months ago the *Toronto Globe* had published the terms and they

had appeared in other leading papers. No objections were urged against them that he had heard of, till now. He did not believe the people were so wanting in intelligence that they would silently submit to terms which did not meet their approval without protesting against them. When a small question of duties came before this Parliament, the people who disapproved of them petitioned against them, and the Press generally discussed the question very thoroughly. It was absurd, therefore, in the face of these facts to say that the people were taken by surprise on this question, or that the scheme met with their disapproval. But if this House had accepted the position which the hon. members of the opposition wished to force the country into, they would bring discredit on this country which would probably be fraught with consequences which might be irreparable.

The hon. member for Sherbrooke had raised a question as to how far this enterprise lay within our means. The hon. member had done better justice to the position of the Dominion in a former speech in which he had depicted the prosperity which Confederation had brought upon the country. It showed that the hon. member who first presented Confederation in a tangible shape, in the year 1858, had spoken with prophetic zeal when he referred to it as the great means of elevating them, not only in the political, but in the financial and commercial scale. The friends of Union might proudly point to the present position of the Dominion as irrefragable proof of the correctness of that statement for the prophecy had been more than realized. The Confederation was but a movement of yesterday, and the result already was a large surplus in the treasury after meeting all the Dominion engagements that the necessities of the Local Governments required, but the Government of this Dominion could come down, and not only point to the prosperity of every one of its component parts, but, at the same time, show that this Dominion had entered on a career of financial prosperity hitherto unknown to Canada. If this had been the result in the past, what might we not expect in the future? Two years ago the hon. member for Sherbrooke, in his criticism on the budget speech, had complained of what was not in it, rather than of what it did contain, and had said that some provision should have been made for opening up the North West. He (Hon. Mr. Tupper) thought the Government deserved credit rather than censure for having adopted the suggestion.

In reply to the objections of the hon. member for Lambton about the cost of the proposed railway, he referred to the fact that its construction would be undertaken by a private company. No one had disputed the necessity of providing means of communication with the North West in order to settle it, yet hon. gentlemen opposite complained that large grants of land should be made to any company undertaking the construction of a railway. Yet it was only by means of a railway that the country could ever be settled, and the Dominion could give infinitely better land for the purpose than the United States had offered or could now offer to American companies. The reservation of large blocks of lands, which would be greatly enhanced in value through the construction of this railway, would enable the Government to cover largely any outlay they should be called on to make. Confederation had changed the

whole story of financial deficit, and had enabled the Government the other day, partly without their consent, to reduce the taxation of the country by \$1,000,000—thus, too, at a time when they were constructing the Intercolonial and other kindred works and preparing to improve the canal system of the country—without embarrassing the Government. He believed, also, that if this railway were built, the Northern Pacific road would either be abandoned or become a branch of the Canadian Pacific. It could never compete with our line, running as it did through a much less fertile country than our North West, and lying between our line and the Central Pacific route.

This union was a question of such magnitude, when regarded in the light of the status it was going to give to this Dominion that it naturally tempted him to descant upon it. He believed God and nature had placed it in the power of this Parliament to take up this question and give us advantages in connection with becoming the great highway of communication, not only across this continent, but between Europe and Asia. The Government would be recreant to their trust if they failed to meet the wishes of this country as expressed by the majority in this Parliament and carry it forward to a successful issue.

Mr. SCATCHERD was surprised to find that in the debate on the present question there was less enthusiasm than was shown on the first scheme of Confederation. He complained that only one party to this compact, the people of British Columbia had had an opportunity of pronouncing on this subject, while the greater party of the people of Canada had received no such opportunity. Already we had the Intercolonial Railway on our hands, for which we had had to submit to increased expenditure and taxation. Yet we were told that a larger and more difficult work would not add to our burdens. A more monstrous and unreasonable proposition was never urged than this vast road could be built without increasing the burdens of the people. He held that Confederation so far had not proved the success predicted. In various sections there were jealousy, ill-feeling and discontent in relation to this Union and three sections, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Manitoba might be cited in support of his theory that Confederation had not been very satisfactory. He saw no difference between the position of the minority in 1865, and that of the minority now. The conduct of the Government was as unreasonable and arbitrary now as then. He believed this scheme would but add to difficulties and taxation on the country, and that its ill effects would be felt for 50 years. Holding these opinions he would vote for the amendment.

Hon. Mr. HUNTINGTON said he was prepared and desirous to see this scheme of Confederation carried to a magnificent success, and that he was prepared to go quite as far as the hon. member for Cumberland, or indeed any one, in the great scheme of Confederation, but while he claimed credit for earnestly and sincerely entertaining the desire to consummate successfully that great scheme, he could not shut his eyes to the fact that, Confederation was not a machine that would run without winding, but that it contained many details which from time to time required serious consideration. When the Dominion Parliament had first

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assembled, the obligations of the country had been largely increased, and now all at once the whole debt of the country was to be doubled. Surely this was a serious matter, and even the Hon. Minister of Militia had termed it a “big job” though he had afterwards tried to make it a very little job. It was useless to say that the country would not be expected to accomplish impossibilities, and that no burden would be added to the people, for when they had entered into a compact, they must carry out their promise, and when they went to England to raise money they would find this obligation considered a charge on the credit of the country. Notwithstanding the glowing terms in which the grandeur of Confederation had been depicted, the fact still remained that the debt had first been increased fifty per cent and now it was sought to be doubled.

He maintained, however, that the measure of Confederation had been carried, not by the Government but in consequence of the loyal respect of the people for the policy of the Imperial Government which was known to favor the scheme, and now the Government was breaking away if not from Imperial policy at least from Imperial aid, in proposing to carry out the work of communication alone and unassisted. If it had been the duty and the policy of the Imperial Government to aid the construction of the Intercolonial Railway it was a hundred fold their duty and policy to aid the construction of the Pacific, and he would ask the Government for what reasons they had absolved the Imperial Government from all duties in the work of consolidating British power on this continent. He referred to rumours which he said had been greatly influenced by the presence of Capitalists and Contractors who were opposed to the Northern Pacific Railway, and who thought that if the Canadian Government would decide definitely to construct the Canadian line, it would operate strongly against the Northern Pacific, and said he could not but think that those rumours had gained weight by the utterance of the President of the Council that if the Canadian line was constructed the Northern Pacific would never get beyond Red River. That hon. gentleman had also urged as a reason for hurry in this matter, that if they did not hasten to accept the terms proposed, British Columbia might exact conditions still more difficult, but such an argument was absurd.

British Columbia was a Crown colony, and if it were really, the policy of the Imperial Government, to consolidate British power on this continent, though every man in that colony might be in favor of annexation, their power to bring about such a result would be as light as a feather, it would be as nothing. If ever the British possessions on this Continent should become part of the United States, it could only be at the cannon's mouth, and as the consequence of the total ruin and prostration of British power on this continent. The same reason for hurry had been urged in the discussion on Confederation, and he very much deprecated it as tending very much to unsettle the minds of the people.

These great questions should be discussed solely on their merits without the fulmination of insincerities in regard to alternatives that might ensue in case of the scheme being rejected. He had no doubt that many, hon. gentleman, had been writing to their constituents

speaking of the wonderful benefits of Confederation as evinced in their being no longer a deficiency in the revenue, but a surplus of two millions, and he could not but commiserate them in having now to write that that surplus of two millions had disappeared to be replaced by a debt of one hundred millions.

Mr. RYMAL had hoped that the Government would have been forced to explain in what way the money for the railway was to be raised. He ventured to say that the Minister of Finance was not properly performing the functions of his office, in failing to explain fully the financial aspect of the matter. He feared nothing he could say would change one single vote, but he was convinced that if the question had been one of policy and not of party, the resolutions would never have been carried. Richelieu had said that many persons who, as private members might be saved, were in great danger of being damned for having wandered into public life, and if Richelieu had lived in these days and uttered those words, he (Mr. Rymal) would have been quite sure that his eyes were fixed on the gentlemen of the Canadian Government.

Mr. THOMPSON (Ontario North) desired to explain why he should support the amendment, which was because no explanation had even been attempted as to how so large a debt as that proposed could be incurred without crippling most seriously the resources of the country.

Mr. MACKENZIE'S amendment was then put with the following result: Yeas, 68; Nays, 86.

On the amendment being declared lost,

Hon. Sir A.T. GALT rose and said, it might be considered that the address was practically carried, but he desired before the final passage, to place on record an explanation of the terms under which the address was understood to be adopted. The Government had stated as a reason why these terms should be accepted, that it was not their intention to undertake the whole cost of the railway out of the money reserves of the Dominion, but that they proposed to do it through the intervention of companies to whom they would be prepared to give subsidies of land and money, and further that this was the understanding between themselves and the delegates from British Columbia. He therefore moved: That the word “now” be left out, and the words “on Monday next, and that meantime it be Resolved, That in accepting the terms of Union with *British Columbia*, this House understands that the engagement for the construction of the *Pacific* Railroad within ten years is subject to the understanding had between the Government of the Dominion and the Commissioners from *British Columbia* that the said Railroad should be constructed through the medium of private Companies, receiving subsidies in money and land, and that it was not intended to pledge the Dominion beyond the application of its money and resources to the loyal and earnest prosecution of the work, without entailing undue and excessive burdens upon the people.”

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Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER said this amendment was equally objectionable with the others that had been moved to prevent to passing of the address, and he would announce to the House, and to the hon. member for Sherbrooke, that the Government intended and determined that this great railway should be carried out by companies and not by the Government, and through the means principally of land grant and small money subsidies, and further that early in the ensuing week, the Government would place before the House a resolution by which to take the sense of the House with regard to the manner in which that Railway should be built, and he might announce beforehand that the determination of the Government was that, when the sense of the House had been so taken, they would carry it out more prudently with regard to the Exchequer of the country than was proposed in the amendment of the hon. member for Sherbrooke.

Mr. MACKENZIE said that the terms of the amendment were so general that he was not prepared to vote for it.

Mr. BLAKE said he must oppose the amendment not only for the reason named by the hon. member for Lambton, but because he considered that no action could put an interpretation on the terms other than that they literally contained.

Mr. BOWELL said his great objection to the amendment was that it did not go far enough for it would not prevent the Government from carrying on the Railway after its construction.

The amendment was lost, the vote being—Yeas, 7; Nays, 126.

The main motion was then carried and the address read a second time, and on the motion of **Hon. Sir GEORGE-É. CARTIER** the address was ordered to be engrossed, and a motion for an address to His Excellency, praying His Excellency to transmit the address to Her Majesty the Queen was carried; the address to His Excellency was ordered to be engrossed, and to be presented by such members of the House as belonged to the Privy Council.

It being six o'clock the House rose.

AFTER RECESS

The following Private and Local Bills were read a second and third time and passed:—

An Act to comprise in one Act the financial affairs of the Great Western Railway Company, as amended by Standing Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines.—**Hon. Mr. CAMERON (Peel)**.

An Act concerning the Vandreuil Railway Company, as amended by Standing Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph lines.—**Mr. SHANLY**.

An Act to incorporate the Metropolitan Bank, as amended by Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce.—**Mr. WORKMAN**.

An Act to incorporate the Western Bank, as amended by Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce.—**Mr. KILLAM**.

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SUPPLY

On the motion of **Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS** to go into Committee of Supply,

Hon. Mr. HOLTON called the attention of the Government to the manner in which a certain parcel of land belonging to the Dominion was leased to the Montreal Warehousing Company. The history of the land was this: In 1865 Government purchased from private parties in Montreal a lot of land adjoining the canal basin, on the recommendation of Mr. Allan, for the purpose of increasing the wharfage and shed accommodation there. For this lot the Government paid the sum of \$25,000. The Warehousing Co., through Mr. Brydges, made application to Government for the purchase of the lot subsequent to confederation of the Provinces, but on the advice of the officers of the Public Works Department, the Government refused to sell it. On the 19th July, 1870, the hon. the Minister of Militia, in the absence of the Minister of Public Works, and acting for that minister, reported to the Council in favor of granting the lease of this lot to the Warehousing Company for a term of 21 years with an annual rental of \$700, that being considered less than simple interest on one half the cost. This report was made to the Privy Council without being supported by any of the professional gentlemen connected with the Department. One of the conditions, however, was that the Government might resume possession of the property on giving three months' notice, on condition of paying for any building that might be erected thereon, subsequent to the lease of the property. He, therefore, moved an amendment to the motion to go into Committee of Supply, reciting the facts above stated, and resolving "that this House is of opinion that it is the duty of this Government to take immediate steps to resume possession for public uses, of the said lot of ground."

Hon. Mr. LANGEVIN said he would take the full responsibility of the transaction on himself. He had no desire to shield himself behind the Minister of Militia in this matter. The action in the matter was taken while he (Hon. Mr. Langevin) was absent, but it was with his entire approval. What he had to complain of was that the hon. member for Châteauguay had not gone farther back in the history of this affair. The hon. member knew quite well that in order to arrive at the true position of affairs, it was necessary to go back further than 1865. In 1851 the Government of the day offered for