SPAM 16593
C. S. Harvey

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY

HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, K.C.M.G.,
MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS.

HON. H. L. LANGEVIN, C.B.,
MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.

J. B. PLUMB., ESQ., M.P.,
(NIAGARA.)

THOMAS WHITE, ESQ., M.P.,
(CARDWELL.)

DURING THE DEBATE IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS—SESSION 1880.

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G. DUCHARME
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THE PACIFIC RAILWAY POLICY.

By way of preface to the speeches which follow, we give the following, which appeared in the Parliamentary correspondence of the Montreal *Gazette* on Sir Charles Tupper's speech, in which the railway policy of the late and present Administrations was contrasted, and a statement made of the progress and estimated cost of the great national work. The letter was dated Ottawa, 15th April:—

The floor and galleries were early filled this afternoon, and an unusual air of expectant interest was noticeable. Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise honored Sir Charles Tupper by coming to hear him on that most important of all subjects just now, the Canadian Pacific Railway. The routine business was quickly run through, so that by half-past three Sir Charles was fairly under way. Commencing with deliberation, and holding the ear of the House at once, he put in a few well chosen words as to the magnitude and gravity of the question. Then followed a sketch, historical and polemic, of the policies of the preceding Governments. He established in the most incisive manner Mr. Mackenzie's assumption of the construction of the Pacific Railway and the vast extension of that previous liability which had been so much condemned and distrusted by the Reform party when on the wrong side of the House. The Georgian Bay branch and the Canada Central subsidy added four millions at one end, the Esquimault and Nanaimo road the same sum at the other. Then there was a hard hit at the famous "Carnarvon terms," which have now become so proverbial that, like most adages, their original meaning is often forgotten. Some of your readers may be astonished to be reminded that they meant (1st) the construction of the Nanaimo and Esquimault branch; (2nd) the pushing on of the surveys on the mainland of British Columbia; (3rd) the building of the waggon road and telegraph; (4th) two millions of dollars a year to be the minimum expenditure within the province; (5th) the completion of the whole line from Lake Superior to the Pacific in 1890. After all this, Sir Charles Tupper's enquiry whether this Government is not entitled to at least the support of the Opposition for a policy which promises but a comparatively moderate expenditure and immediate results, had much appropriateness, and all the more when the enormous Reform

expenditure upon works which remain useless without the completion of the missing links and the construction of enough of the main line to serve as a feeder, is taken into consideration. Sir Charles began to take a little of the wind out of Mr. Blake's sails by reminding him that he abetted all this expenditure by entering the Ministry which undertook it. A point which will meet with welcome is the statement of the reduction of cost that is expected on the works already undertaken. Instead of "basing contracts upon guess work and hypotheses," Sir Charles has brought his engineers down to work and figures. The result is already a saving of $319,000 in the estimated cost of section 41. The same process is going on on section 42, and we have the assurance that those contracts will be completed within the time stated, and that their cost will be reduced by over half a million dollars.

Mr. Mackenzie's British Columbia tactics give him the option of explaining whether, when he advertised for tenders for the Yale-Kamloops line, he meant business, or whether, if it was, as he now says, an electioneering trick, he was justified in spending $32,400 for carrying rails from Victoria to Yale. "Litera scripta manet." Hansard is an awkward repository of words sometimes. So Mr. Mackenzie found it when he denied his depreciation of the public lands for political ends. He was nailed at once by his own speech, in effect saying that not only had settlers to be given land for nothing, but to be paid for going to the Northwest. His dogging of the English mission of last year, and his patriotic letter to the *Manchester Examiner*, in which Canadian credit and Canadian energy were alike vilified, got a sharp touching up from Sir Charles. A notable thing was the reply to the Opposition taunts and gloating over the fall of the English Conservatives. Sir Charles Tupper made it clear that, as far as political sympathies can be supposed to stretch across the Atlantic, names had little to do with Canada's prospects, and that the true Liberals were to be found on the right of the Canadian Speaker. Mr. Forster's avowal as to the Mother Country's true policy comes from one who has weight in English Liberal thought. His expressions fall in no way short of Lord Beaconsfield's. It is only too likely for their gratification that the charitable wishes of the Opposition, that the Canadian Government will be embarrassed by the defeat of Lord Beaconsfield, are doomed to disappointment.

The cost of the Pacific Railway and the means to build it will have a keen interest for everybody. These are Sir Charles Tupper's calculations; they are based on what are admittedly high estimates, and include the equipment of the road:—406 miles from Thunder Bay to Selkirk, $17,000,000; 1,000 miles from Selkirk to the Jasper Valley in the Rocky

Mountains, $13,000,000; 540 miles from Jasper Valley, through British Columbia to Port Moody on the Pacific, divided as follows—335 miles from Jasper Valley to Kamloops, $15,500,000; 125 miles from Kamloops to Yale, now under contract, $10,000,000, and 90 miles from Yale to Port Moody, $3,500,000; add $1,000,000; making a total of $60,000,000 to build the road from Lake Superior to the Pacific. The cost of surveys—$1,612,000 in British Columbia; $1,507,000 in the eastern sections, a total of $3,119,000—has to be added. Then there is the Pembina Branch, costing $1,750,000, making a total of $64,869,000. The 600 miles from Fort William to Lake Nipissing may be deferred for some years, but if Sir Charles Tupper's anticipations prove true, it will not be long before public feeling, the development of the Northwest, and the competition for its enormous grain trade will demand the completion of the great national through route. Mr. Fleming's estimate of its cost is $20,000,000; Sir Charles thinks it might be fairly put at $30,000 per mile; but taking the latter figure, it would cost $20,000,000, and would make a grand total of $84,870,000; taking the mean, say, in round numbers, $85,000,000. Now, where is the money to come from? Sir Charles, taking Sir John Macdonald's figures, and backed up by the *Globe* in doing so, shows that if only 550,000 people settle in the Northwest during the next ten years—and this, it must be remembered, is an estimate based on the actual immigration of the past few years—the country will receive from the sale of lands $38,000,000 in cash, and will have $32,000,000 falling in for the balances remaining, secured upon the lands sold—$70,000,000 in all, or enough to build the road from Lake Superior to the Pacific. In defence of the undertaking of the Yale-Kamloops section, Sir Charles found the *Globe* again a potent ally. For that newspaper, counting upon the settlement in British Columbia of 100,000 people only, which it argues is a number there is no reason to doubt, shows that they would pay the cost of the line in the Pacific Province. The commercial prospects of the railway were ably discussed. If Sir Charles Tupper seems to take a sanguine view, he has abundant information for it in the receipts of the Pembina branch for March of this year —$24,771, or equal to 17 per cent. per annum on the capital. With this exemplar, the 700 miles that will be in operation in 1882 bid fair to at least pay the interest upon their cost. That your readers may appreciate the progress of railway communication with the Northwest, it may be as well to state that these 700 miles are made up as follows:—406 from Thunder Bay to Selkirk on the Red River, the branch thence to Winnipeg 13 miles, 200 west of Winnipeg, and the Pembina branch south 85 miles. The Sault Ste. Marie project, its importance and its superiority over the United States lines, with which it would contend for the western carrying trade, were

touched upon, Sir Charles frankly owning his former doubts of its usefulness, and accounting for his change of opinion. Montreal will read with satisfaction his remarks on this subject.

A speech remarkable as much for its solidity and accuracy of statement as for its easy delivery and the readiness with which casual objections were dealt with, was wound up by a peroration patriotic not political, and as brilliant as it was broad in scope and statesmanlike. The applause that followed was beyond the usual measure that the House accords. It is seldom indeed that a national event, such as to-day's exposition of the Government's policy may well be deemed, is so thoroughly brought home to the people of Canada and so ably impressed upon the minds of their representatives. Never, I believe, since the days of 1873, with one exception only, that of the introduction of the National policy, have the galleries been so filled, nor has there been such intense general interest in any political topic.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY DEBATE.

HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER'S SPEECH.

On Thursday, April the 15th, 1880, on motion to go into Committee of Supply,

Sir CHARLES TUPPER rose and said :—Mr. Speaker,—I had intended to submit to the House the resolutions respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway, required by the circumstances that have occurred between the period at which the resolutions were carried, last session, and the present time, but I do not intend to pursue that course because it might be thought more convenient, that, as arranged, the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake), should have an opportunity, upon the conclusion of my statement, of making the motion, of which he has given notice, and which he would be precluded from doing, if I were to submit at this moment the resolutions I shall, at a later period, ask the House to concur in. On rising to address the House, on one of the most important questions that can engage its attention, I propose, on the present, as on the last occasion on which I addressed the House on this subject last session, to avoid in the fair and candid criticism to which I shall be obliged to subject the proceedings and policy of the honorable gentleman opposite, the use of a single remark, in the least degree calculated to turn the current of this debate from the channel in which it is desirable it should run. I feel that if there is any question that could be brought under the consideration of the House, that it is requisite to deal with in the calmest, most dispassionate and judicial manner, it is the great question of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It will be, however, necessary, in the somewhat changed attitude of honorable gentlemen opposite, as foreshadowed by the promised resolution of the member for West Durham, that I should as briefly as is possible describe the position that, in my judgment, the two parties in this House occupy in relation to this question. The House will remember, that when this Government was in power, in 1871, and British Columbia was brought into the Confederation, it was decided that we should grapple with the great question of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, by which all the various provinces would be brought into more rapid and easy communication. When in a position to submit a formal proposition to the House, in 1872, by which it was hoped to accomplish the construction of that work, the Government submitted a proposal to grant $30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land in order to cover the expenditure connected with it. At the time that policy was resolved upon, a resolution, in order to meet the apprehension which existed in and out of the House, as to the very serious responsibility the Government was about to incur, was proposed and carried, and it became

substantially a part of the terms of union with British Columbia, that that work should be constructed, not by the Government, but by private enterprise, aided by a grant of lands and money to that extent. But even that was limited by the declaration placed before the House, that the progress of that work should not involve an increase in the then rate of taxation.

Mr. BLAKE—Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—Now, I am a little surprised to find the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) taking exception to the statement I have made, that it formed a part of the terms of union with British Columbia, because the Government of which that honorable gentleman was a member, at a later date, found it convenient to fall back upon that resolution, and embodied it in a Minute-of-Council which they offered to British Columbia, and to the Imperial Government as well, as a reason for qualifying the engagement that was entered into. I am safe, I think, in saying that there is no man in this House, there is no intelligent man in this country, that would not heartily concur in the accuracy of the statement, that it would be greatly in the interest of Canada if it had been possible to accomplish the construction of that work upon those terms. Honorable gentlemen opposite took exception on many occasions to the sufficiency of the means that were thus provided for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I think the honorable member for Lambton (Mr. Mackenzie), when the leader of the Government, at a public meeting at Whitby, committed himself to the statement that we might as well have offered $10, as $30,000,000 and 50,000.000 acres of land for the purpose of securing the construction of that work, so strongly did he feel the entire inadequacy of the means proposed. Now, it will not be at all necessary for me to discuss the circumstances under which the Government found itself unable to accomplish the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway upon those terms. We are sufficiently familiar with that view of the question to render that entirely unnecessary. But we went out of office, and the duty and responsibility of dealing with this great question devolved upon the gentleman, who, during the subsequent five years, led the Government of this country. Now, I think, we must all admit that successive Governments must pay great deference to, and must hold themselves to a large extent responsible—for carrying out the policy of their predecessors. I am satisfied we all agree in the opinion that it is only under the gravest circumstances that a new administration is in a position to repudiate, if I may so speak, the engagements in relation to a great public question, to which their predecessors have committed the country under the authority of Parliament. But I quite admit it was in the power of the honorable gentleman who was then called upon to form an administration, to say that since, in Parliament, he had opposed the policy of attempting to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway, that he believed this country could not engage in a work of such gigantic magnitude without seriously injuring the financial position of the country—that, under those circumstances, he must decline to hold himself responsible for the engagement into which his predecessors had entered. The honorable gentleman had that course open to him, because Parliament, having declared that the work should only be constructed provided a company could be found, aided to the extent before

stated, to accomplish it as a private undertaking, and the effort to obtain the construction of the work under the terms sanctioned by Parliament having failed, it was open to him, I say, frankly to state to the House, that he was unable to carry out the policy to which his predecessors had committed the country. The honorable gentleman did not adopt that course. Soon after his accession to power he visited his constituents for the purpose of declaring, as Prime Minister, what the policy of his Government was in relation to this great question. Well, sir, the honorable gentleman, much to the surprise of many of his friends, and greatly to the astonishment of those with whom he had formerly been in controversy upon the question, committed himself in the most unqualified manner to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He said, and I am quoting from the organ of his party in this city:—

"I have always thought that speedy means of communication across the continent were necessary for settlement, and for the purpose of opening up the district where we have great riches undeveloped in the bosom of the earth. Without that communication their development cannot take place, and emigration cannot be expected."

Now, with the great North West in our possession to be peopled, and a declaration that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was essential to the development of the great resources of Canada, referring, undoubtedly, to the mineral resources of British Columbia—a declaration that immigration to this country could not be hoped for, unless that work was undertaken, committed, on the grounds of the broadest considerations of public policy, the honorable gentleman, to the construction of that work. But he went much further. He stated, in that address, that it was his intention to proceed with this great work in an entirely different manner from that which his predecessors had propounded, and which Parliament had authorized, and that was as a Government work. He gave, on that occasion, the very substantial reason that, if it was constructed as a Government work, the people would receive the profit instead of the contractors. The honorable gentleman, consistent with that declaration, came down to Parliament with a measure for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He has frequently referred to the fact that one of the first clauses of that act provided that it must not increase the existing rate of taxation; that he had adhered to the policy propounded by the previous Government and sanctioned by Parliament: that there must be no increase of taxation connected with the undertaking. But he did not recount that which Parliament had committed itself to and sanctioned, and that was the declaration that it should not be done by the Government, a declaration that the honorable gentleman himself had voted for, and that his friends and supporters had supported, but that it must be done by a private company, aided by a grant of lands and money. That provision was swept away. It is true, however, that he provided in his bill for the prosecution of the work in very much the same manner as that propounded by his predecessors, provided the parties could be found to take it up. I think those who have not recently read that Act will be a little surprised to learn that he went further than his predecessors in the means which he provided from the public resources for the purpose of

prosecuting the work. The honorable gentleman covered the whole ground in his bill. He said :—

"1. A railway to be called the 'Canadian Pacific Railway' shall be made from some point near to and south of Lake Nipissing to some point in British Columbia, on the Pacific Ocean; both the said points to be determined and the course and line of the said railway to be approved of by the Governor-in-Council."

Even the sanction of Parliament was not necessary to the adoption of a line, and that line was to extend from a point on Lake Nipissing to a point in British Columbia, on the Pacific Coast. The honorable gentleman then went on to provide what should be given to the company undertaking it. He provided in section four :—

"4. That a quantity of land, not exceeding twenty thousand acres for each mile of the section or sub-section contracted for, shall be appropriated in alternate sections of twenty square miles each, along the line of the said railway, or at a convenient distance therefrom, each section having a frontage of not less than three miles nor more than six miles on the line of the said railway, and that two-thirds of the quantity of land so appropriated shall be sold by the Government at such prices as may be from time to time agreed upon between the Governor-in-Council and the contractors, and the proceeds thereof accounted for and paid half-yearly to the contractors, free from any charge of administration or management; the remaining third to be conveyed to the contractors. The said lands to be of fair average quality, and not to include any land already granted or occupied under any patent, license of occupation or pre-emption right; and when a sufficient quantity cannot be found in the immediate vicinity of the railway, then the same quantity, or as much as may be required to complete such quantity, shall be appropriated at such other places as may be determined by the Governor-in-Council."

Now, I call the attention of the honorable member for North Norfolk to this act to which I think he was kind enough to give his hearty support when it was submitted to Parliament. I call his attention to this as indicating that the honorable gentleman at that time had not the same abhorrence of a large section of land along the line on the Pacific Railway being in the hands of contractors. The late Government went further than the previous Government had gone, because while we proposed to give 50,000,000 acres of land and $30,000,000, we never proposed to assume the cost and responsibility of administering and selling two-thirds of the land and relieving the contractors from that charge. So here is Parliament authorizing honorable gentlemen to give 50,000,000 acres and $30,000,000 in money and providing for the expenditure necessary to administer and sell two-thirds of the land owned, that was the property of the contractors. Then there was the question of the surveys; while under our contract, the company with whom we made the contract for the work were obliged to cover all cost incurred in connection with work up to that time, it is provided :—

"That the cost of surveys, and of locating the line of the several sections and sub-sections of the said railway shall be part of the subsidy or consideration allowed to the contractors, or not, as may be determined by the Governor-in-Council, and agreed upon in the contract entered into with the contractors."

So the Government not only proposed to give all the land we proposed to give, but to bear the expense of the administration of two-thirds of the land, and to relieve the contractors of the cost of any surveys or location of any portion of this road. The honor-

able gentleman did not stop here. Having changed the position of Parliament altogether, in relation to the great obligation of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway, by providing that the Government themselves should either have the power to give the contract to the company who would construct the road on the conditions contained in the measure, or take up that work, as a Government work, and carry it to completion, the honorable gentleman did not stop there. Great as had been the fears he had exhibited with reference to the enormous burden we were placing on the shoulders of the people, he sought to make the Government directly responsible for the expenditure of all this money in the construction of the line from Lake Nipissing to the shores of the Pacific. But the honorable gentleman, over and above, the expenditure we proposed, committed the country to a vast extension of the liability of the previous Government. The previous Government assumed that if they brought the Pacific Railway to Nipissing, it would be a sufficient inducement for the lines in Ontario and Quebec, running easterly to Quebec, and southerly to Toronto, to make a connection at that point. At the same time, my honorable predecessor submitted to Parliament a measure providing for the construction of the Georgian Bay Branch, and to give a subsidy to the Canada Central Railway of $1,440,000. Although the Georgian Bay Branch was through a *terra incognita*, the line unsurveyed, and eminent engineers maintained it to be impracticable, without any survey or any location, the honorable gentleman pledged himself as the leader of the Government, and he committed the Government and the country to the construction of the line, from the terminus of the Canada Central, east of Lake Nipissing, to the mouth of French River, at an expense moderately put at $2,560,000. That makes four million dollars of money which he proposed to expend outside of, and over and above, the liability for the Canadian Pacific Railway before reaching the eastern terminus, where it had been fixed by Parliament, on the south and east of Lake Nipissing. He may say, "but this is all subject to the limitation that is provided for in this bill, with reference to not increasing the then rate of taxation." Unfortunately for him, and unfortunately for the honorable gentleman who sits behind him, and who now seems—I will not say ready to repudiate the policy of his own leader—but to take a prominent part in a proposal that, I fear, will be regarded in the light of a repudiation by them of their obligations, and which will have the effect of sweeping from under their feet any standing ground,—the honorable the then Minister of Finance submitted to Parliament a declaration to the effect that in order to meet the expenditure he would have to ask Parliament to impose an additional taxation of $3,000,000; and then and there the honorable gentleman did impose that additional taxation. When the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) made his famous speech in Ontario, at a subsequent date, he said that British Columbia had nothing to complain of, as Parliament had not only pledged itself to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but had provided $3,000,000, had levied $3,000,000 additional taxation to meet their obligations, and notably for the Canadian Pacific Railway. When the honorable gentleman imposed that additional taxation, this bill was at the same time placed upon the Statute Book, saying that the undertaking should not involve an increase in the existing rate of taxation. The

honorable gentleman, therefore, stands in this position: either he must give up that clause as not having any binding obligation or effect, or stand before Parliament and the country in the position of having violated the law in the expenditure of every dollar spent from the first hour that he began to expend any money on the Pacific Railway, because there is clear and undeniable evidence that the rate of taxation was then increased. Every single dollar of the $11,000,000 spent in the construction of the railway, so far, had been spent by the honorable gentleman in the teeth of the Statute, and also the balance of the $28,000,000 of money required to complete the expenditure he had begun—for without that completion all the $11,000,000 would be wasted—had been expended contrary to the declaration of that act. The honorable gentleman, when in opposition, had exhibited such a spirit of antagonism as honorable gentlemen opposite are, I am afraid, inclined to exhibit to the policy proposed on this side of the House.

Mr. BLAKE—Which gentleman?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—When I have the pleasure to look in the face at this moment of the hon. gentleman, and hold this friendly discussion on so very important a question, I am reminded that when he was before in Opposition, and when we then proposed a scheme for constructing the Pacific Railway, which we felt quite possible, and which we knew to be in the interest of the country to complete as quickly as possible, he and his colleagues decried that proposal or the advisability of going on with the work; but when brought into power upon this side of the House, they did not shrink back; they found that the dismal vista that they had seen before had vanished; and the hon. gentleman went to the extent of adding $4,000,000 to the amount we proposed for the construction of the Pacific Railway at the eastern end of the line. But what did he do on the other end of the line? He went into a deliberate negotiation with British Columbia and the Imperial Government, and for fear that the hon. gentlemen may forget these little inconsistencies, I will ask the indulgence of the House while I refer to one of the most important State papers, one of the most important documents that forms a portion of the archives of Canada, I mean the treaty made between the Government of Canada and British Columbia, and the Imperial Government. Although I would like to condense the passage I am going to read, I am afraid I shall have to read it at length. What I am going to read now will be found at page 511 of the *Hansard* of 1875. On that page will be found a *verbatim* statement of the treaty, showing the obligations imposed by the then First Minister now sitting on the other side of the House. Lord Carnarvon said:—

"Adhering then to the same order in which, on the 16th August, I stated the principle points on which it appeared to me that a better understanding should be defined, I now proceed to announce the conclusions at which I have arrived. They are:—

1. That the railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo shall be commenced as soon as possible, and completed with all practicable despatch.

2. That the surveys on the mainland shall be pushed on with the utmost vigor. On this point, after considering the representations of your Ministers, I feel that I have no alternative but to rely, as I do most fully and readily, upon their assurances that no legitimate effort or expense will be spared, first to determine the best route for the line, and secondly to proceed with the details of the engineering work. It

would be distasteful to me, if indeed, it were not impossible to prescribe strictly any minimum of time or expenditure with regard to work of so uncertain a nature; but, happily, it is equally impossible for me to doubt that your Government will loyally do its best in every way to accelerate the completion of a duty left freely to its sense of honor and justice.

3. That the waggon road and telegraph line shall be immediately constructed. There seems here to be some difference of opinion as to the special value to the province of the undertaking to complete these two works; but after considering what has been said, I am of opinion that they should both be proceeded with at once, as indeed is suggested by your Ministers.

4. That $2,000,000 a year, and not $1,500,000, shall be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the Province from the date at which the surveys are sufficiently completed to enable that amount to be expended on construction. In naming this amount I understand, that, it being alike the interest and the wish of the Dominion Government to urge on with all speed the completion of the works now to be undertaken, the annual expenditure will be as much in excess of the minimum of $2,000,000 as in any year may be found practicable.

5. Lastly, that on or before the 31st December, 1890, the railway shall be completed and open for traffic on the Pacific seaboard to a point at the western end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters."

This is Lord Carnarvon's decision or the conclusions at which he had arrived as a mediator between British Columbia and the First Minister of that day. It will be seen that the late Government here pledged themselves to build the line from Esquimault to Nanaimo without delay. What did that mean, in the first place? I am quite certain that my hon. predecessor will not question the calculation I have made when I say that at the very lowest estimate it would cost $4,000,000. It is simply adding $4,000,000 upon the western end of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the $4,000,000 he had already added to the eastern end. But that is by far the least grave portion of this matter. However much the hon. gentleman disregarded in his own action the clause of the bill which provided that the work should not proceed so as to involve an increase in the taxation of the country, by this negotiation and engagement with Lord Carnarvon, he left himself entirely unprotected. I should like to ask what it would cost to construct a waggon road for 400 miles through the Rocky Mountains. Is not that an enormous addition to the contract to construct as rapidly as possible the Canadian Pacific Railway? I trust that the hon. member for West Durham will read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest these statements, which received the ready and hearty concurrence and endorsement of the late Minister of Public Works. I am aware that the hon. member for West Durham was a little restive under those terms. At any rate, sitting upon this side of the House, he exhibited a little of that restiveness which characterizes him when he is not in the Cabinet. The hon. member for West Durham put a question on the notice paper on this subject, and what was the answer of the hon. First Minister of that day? Feeling strong in the integrity of his position, and in the consciousness that he was grappling with the construction of a great national work, he said:—"With respect to the question raised by my hon. friend, the member for South Bruce, I may say I have nothing to ask from Parliament. We have no authority to obtain, but have merely to communicate this decision and rest upon the House

supporting us in accepting the terms that have been made through the intervention or mediation of Lord Carnarvon, and that support, I do not doubt, will be cheerfully accorded." Have we not a right to ask those gentlemen who were ready to accord support to the leader of the late Government, when he proposed, not only to pledge this country to build the Canadian Pacific Railway from end to end, but to add $8,000.000 to any expenditure which had ever been proposed by his predecessors, and add the cost of the waggon road and of the administration of two-thirds of the land these people were to receive, to consider fairly our position? That honorable gentleman was prepared to rely on the gentlemen sustaining him for their assured support, because he believed he was acting in the interest of the country. Have we not a right with our much more modest proposition—with the burden honorable gentlemen opposite proposed to place on this country, rendered so much lighter by us—to ask for some of that assured support which the member for Lambton so confidently relied upon when standing where I now have the honor to stand? The member for West Durham was not prepared to go so far as this proposition of the late Government. It is but just to him to say that he gave expression to his dissent in perhaps the most marked manner that an independent member could do so when he refused his vote for the construction of the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway. But though the faith and honor of the Government and the country had been irrevocably pledged to this undertaking, when it was removed out of the way by the other branch of Parliament, the honorable gentleman himself assumed the responsibility of every word and act of that Government by accepting a place in it. He did more. He not only entered the Cabinet, committed and bound as it was to this policy, beyond recall, and without qualification as to the resources of the country, without raising the question as to whether the railway should be completed by 1890, from end to end, thus giving practical evidence of his being in accord with its views, but showed he was prepared to take out of the coffers of Canada $750,000 to compensate British Columbia for having generously relinquished the immediate expenditure of the $4,000,000 on the Nanaimo and Esquimault Railway. Under those circumstances, the last source from which this Government might have anticipated obstruction was from gentlemen opposite in adopting the present policy. The late Government committed itself to the construction of this great work regardless of the cost. At the end of five years the former Government came back to power. What did we find had been accomplished in the meantime? Honorable gentlemen may be surprised to learn that one of our first duties was to lay the rails upon the Pembina Branch Railway, the contract for which was given out, among the first acts of the late Government. They also early undertook the construction of the railway from Fort William to Shebandowan, and to develop the policy known as the use of the water stretches. There was, besides, to be a road in the west, from the Lake of the Woods to Winnipeg. To the credit of the member for Lambton, he is sometimes open to argument. After two or three years' discussion in this House we were enabled finally to convince him of the folly of his course—that every dollar he expended on the road to Shebandowan on the east, and on the road beyond the Lake of the Woods in the west, would be wasted, while there was the Duluth Railway within a comparatively short distance to carry all the

passengers and traffic westward, and prevent either one or the other, ever going by the mixed rail and water-stretches route, the amphibious line, after it was constructed. I will credit him with practically admitting, at least, that he was wrong and we were right.

Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I know he is unwilling to admit it, but history will establish the truth of my statements. I cannot absolve the honorable gentleman for the folly of having undertaken the construction of the through line by this route, and letting two contracts, one running to English River on the east, and the other to Rat Portage on the west, without previous surveys, without the slightest knowledge of those sections or what the road would cost, or whether he could connect the two ends at all. It can be proved those ends had never been connected by surveys, and that there was no means of knowing whether, at any reasonable cost, the road could be completed. The result has been an enormous expenditure, largely due to the precipitate commencement of the work, and without sufficient information as to the character of the country. On attaining office we found a large amount had been expended on those two sections of 227 miles; one running east from Red River 114 miles, and the other 113 miles, running west from Lake Superior. We found that the money thus expended might as well be thrown into Lake Superior, and was utterly useless for any purpose of value, there being a gap of 185 miles between those sections. The honorable gentleman had become convinced of the uselessness of this expenditure, without the completion of the intervening section; and shortly previous to the general elections he advertised for contracts for the road over those 185 miles. I am not going to find any fault with that step. I gave him credit for it before, but must withdraw it now, as he stated the other night that he had not at all decided to construct those 185 miles—had not decided whether he would allow the enormous expenditure to lie dead while he paid interest on it, without accomplishing anything by it. I can readily understand why the honorable gentleman did not let the contracts before the election. He had stated in and out of the House, as a ground of his claim to public confidence, that he was building the Canadian Pacific Railway at a cost of $24,500 a mile, and he had learned that if the contracts for the intervening 185 miles were let, it would become apparent he had made an enormous miscalculation as to the cost of the road, the contracts for portions of which he had given out without any surveys or information to warrant that action; so the ground for his appeal for the public confidence in this matter would be swept from under his feet. On the Georgian Bay Branch, Canada Central, the Pembina Branch, and the line between Thunder Bay and the Red River, we found, when we came into power, that over $11,000,000 had been spent; and to make that outlay of any practical value, would involve the proper completion of those works, and I stated a year ago the expenditure involved could not be estimated at less than $28,000,000. I am now able to take something like a million off that estimate, as by pursuing a different policy from that of the late Government, in letting the contracts and in their supervision after being let, we expect to effect a great reduction in the cost undertaken. Before I had been a week in the office which the member for

Lambton vacated, I called on Mr. Marcus Smith for a statement of the work done upon those 228 miles, an estimate upon which the contracts had been framed, and a statement of how much had been paid, and how much was required to complete the work. I was astounded to discover that the additional expense had to be counted, I may say, by millions. I called the attention of Mr. Fleming to the same matter as soon as he returned from England. Mr. Fleming said that, so far as Section 25 was concerned, it could be; the difference could be accounted for, as the character of the work had been changed, but with respect to the other portions that there had been no location surveys—no sufficiently accurate estimates made—no knowledge of details acquired when those contracts were let to enable a close estimate to be formed. He had no means of accounting for this great disproportion between what they supposed the cost of the work would be, and what it was now evident it would cost. Mr. Fleming sent for the engineers who had been in charge of the works, both east and west, and they were unable to give a satisfactory account of so much money having been spent, and in consequence a careful remeasurement has been made to ascertain where the discrepancy was. With regard to Section 15, Mr. Smith and Mr. Fleming said that we could account for the great disproportion between the cost and the estimate because the plan had been changed. The contract was originally invited for that section of the road, but the amount asked by the tenderers was so enormous that the moment the then First Minister saw them he discovered it would not do to let the contract on those figures, or he would have to add something like fifty per cent. to the cost which he had stated he was building the Pacific Railway at per mile. The contract was not let. It was subsequently let upon a system of trestle-work for embankments, and after the work had proceeded in that way for a length of time, a report was made by the engineer in charge that the wood in that country was of a very inferior description, and that so soon as the road was completed it would probably be either all burnt up, and if not burned, the wood was of such an inferior quality that we should have to commence rebuilding it at an early day, and he therefore advised that embankments should be substituted for trestle-work. That report was referred to Mr. Fleming, who was here on a brief visit from England. He entirely concurred in the proposition that the work should be changed from trestle-work to embankments, and he discussed that matter with the then Minister of Public Works, who also concurred in the propriety of the change, of which he still approves. The honorable gentleman took that report to the Council, where it remained.

Mr. MACKENZIE—The honorable gentleman is a little overstating the fact. I agreed that the road would be much better built that way than the former way, but I did not concur in the wisdom of making the change just then.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—The honorable gentleman ought to have done one thing or the other. The Chief Engineer having gone the next day to England after discussing the matter with the honorable gentleman, and having left his report in favor of the change, with the assurance of that honorable gentleman that he agreed with it, he ought to have either obtained the decision of the Council for the proposition or against it, or, at all events,

should have taken care to know that the change was not made under the assumption that that which the Chief Engineer had recommended, and which met with the approval of the Hon. the Minister of Public Works——

Mr. MACKENZIE—No.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—Was not to be pursued. That was the position in which I found the work. Notwithstanding the increased cost, I have no hesitation in saying that the change was a wise one; and I recommended it to the present Government especially when I found that the contract had been carried on by the Engineer under the impression that the change had been adopted, and that the contractor had expended over $100,000 for plant that would not have been required if there had been no intention of a change. We were careful, under these circumstances, that no more contracts should be let in the loose, irregular, and improper manner prevailing up to that time. We required a full statement of all the work that was required on the sections of the railway, before we would commit ourselves to their construction, and I postponed action twice upon the advertisement which the honorable member for Lambton had himself put into the papers for the 185 miles, because the Department was not ready with the careful calculations based upon surveys and examinations and cross-sections which had been prepared to enable us to know exactly what the amount of the work would be. I am happy to say that we have changed the mode of letting the contracts, instead of basing them on mere guess work, we based them on maximum quantities that cannot be exceeded; the contracts require the amount of work should be done, if required, but that it may be reduced to any extent. I am happy to be able to tell the honorable gentleman that I have already reduced the distance, or rather that Mr. Caddy, the engineer in charge of section 41, has been enabled, since that contract was let, to reduce the distance on forty-seven miles of it by three and three-fourths miles, a saving to the country of $319,000 by that reduction, and by lessening the amount of work to be done on that forty-seven miles. The same process is going on on section 42, and these two contracts will be completed within the time stated in the contract—a great novelty—the honorable gentleman will admit, considering the inordinate time he has taken in similar cases. Under that system we shall not only be enabled to construct these works within the time stated in the contract, but by a reduction of the cost by over half a million dollars. I give this to the honorable gentlemen as an evidence of the value of having a careful examination of the work before the contracts are let, instead of rushing into it blindly. That was our first duty, and finding that this expenditure had been made, we had no alternative but to go forward and carry it out. Moreover, we had the responsibility thrown upon us of dealing with the question of the construction of the railway as a whole; we did not find it left a legacy to us, as the honorable gentleman found it left to him. It was open to him, in the position in which we left the question, as I have already stated, to say he was not prepared to adopt the policy of the construction of the railway, at all events in the manner that was indicated. He adopted a different course; he not only provided for the construction of the work directly by the Government, but he entered into a binding treaty and obligation with Lord Carnarvon, on behalf of the Imperial

Government and British Columbia, that this work should be completed by 1890 from the shores of Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. That was the legacy we inherited from the honorable gentleman; and carrying out the pledge he had made to Lord Carnarvon, he caused these further surveys to be made with a view to the location of the line, and having satisfied himself that the best line that could be adopted was the line to Burrard Inlet, the honorable gentleman proceeded to put an advertisement in the papers calling for tenders for the construction of 125 miles, from Kamloops to Yale. I heard with amazement the other night a statement from the honorable gentleman that he had not decided to do that work, that he had not fully made up his mind to do it I am perfectly aware that it is legitimate for a Government going to the country under the great discouragement which the honorable gentleman was compelled to go to the country—I am quite aware that it is legitimate for them to present a programme as attractive as they can for the consideration of the country. But I am astonished that the honorable the then First Minister of the Crown should deliberately, in his own department, call for tenders involving the expenditure of large sums of money by intending contractors, for the construction of 125 miles of railway through the canyons of the Fraser, a most difficult and inaccessible locality, and afterwards state to this House that he did it deliberately, on the eve of an election, without the intention of carrying it on to completion. The honorable gentleman stated that he was upholding the honor and integrity of Canada; that this work should be carried on to completion as vigorously as possible, and that he had pledged himself to Lord Carnarvon that the surveys should be prosecuted as rapidly as possible, and that as soon as they were completed the road should be located, and not less than two millions per annum should be expended. With that pledge he asks for tenders for 125 miles of railway. That was the honorable gentleman's obligation, from which there was no escape, and there was the additional pledge to British Columbia that that work was to be immediately undertaken. I ask the honorable gentleman to tell this house, if he had not finally made up his mind to proceed with the construction of the railway from Yale to Kamloops, why he made the contract involving the payment of $32,400 to a contractor to carry rails from Victoria to Yale? Does the honorable gentleman mean to say that, not content with holding out to the people of British Columbia that he was going to build the railway, he was absolutely going to take out of the public coffers $32,400 to remove these rails from Victoria to Yale, without having satisfied himself that he ever intended to strike a blow? That is a proposition, I am satisfied, the honorable gentleman, on reflection, will see is utterly untenable, and he will find himself in a position that no possible argument on his part could justify. Well, under these circumstances, the Government found themselves brought face to face with the great question of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway forced upon them. The course which had been pursued by the late Government and by the late Finance Minister, was that of holding up to the country the enormous and gigantic obligation that this work would involve, and the honorable gentleman felt it his duty to give the contractors all over the world, who might be invited to construct this line upon favorable terms, to understand that it was a work involving enormous expenditure, and that it would be disastrous to any

contractor to touch it. We were under the necessity of dealing with this difficulty as a commercial undertaking, when it was in an entirely different position from that which it occupied when we were deprived of power. When we found ourselves brought face to face with this very serious question, what did we do? We reverted back as far as possible under the changed circumstances to our former policy. Our policy was this: That the lands of the Northwest ought to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. That was the principal plank in our platform. The late First Minister, in his address at Sarnia, covered the whole ground when he said that it was impossible ever to draw emigration into that great country and settle it without the construction of a Canadian Pacific Railway. We held that opinion, and we felt that, inasmuch as that great fertile North West must remain a barren waste until the railway was constructed, and that inasmuch as those lands were the most fair and fertile, and the richest to be found on the face of the globe, and that they must remain useless to Canada unless the railway was constructed, we felt warranted in adopting the policy which we have adopted, But, saying that this great work ought to be and should be constructed by utilizing those lands to which the road itself is going to give such enormously increased value, we came down with that policy, and we supposed that these honorable gentlemen opposite, having committed the Government, having pledged the faith of Canada, as they pledged it in relation to this question, that they would have been the first men in this House to congratulate us upon the policy we had propounded and give us their most hearty support, but we discovered that we were altogether mistaken. What was the language of the honorable leader ot the Opposition last winter when we propounded that policy? He said the land was good for nothing.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I did not say so.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—The whole success of our scheme depended upon being able to convince the world that these lands were fertile and of enormous value; that they would largely repay any person who undertook their settlement, that it was the most inviting field for emigrants that was to be found in the world. But how did the honorable gentleman meet us? He met us first with the declaration that it is a bad policy to lock up the land.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—Hear, hear, he says? Yet I ask him what he said to the people of Sarnia when he told them that without the Canadian Pacific Railway these lands were valueless. I ask him how he reconciles that statement with the statement that it is a bad policy to utilize these lands for the purpose of constructing the railway through them? What more did the honorable gentleman say when he knew that the whole success of our policy rested upon our success in convincing the world of the great value of these lands and the safety of investing money in their purchase, in order to give us the means of constructing this railway without imposing an enormous burden upon the people of the country? The honorable gentleman took upon himself the responsibility of endeavoring to defeat the success of this policy. The honorable gentleman told the people of England from the floor of this House that we could not give our lands away in Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I did not.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I ask the honorable gentleman to read his speech. Turn up the *Hansard* and the honorable gentleman will see that when we talked of building the Canadian Pacific Railway, with these lands, and selling them to get the money he said we could not get people to settle on the lands in Canada when we gave them away.

An honorable gentleman—Texas.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I am not going to say anything about Texas, as the honorable gentleman has been pressed sufficiently on that point; for he was on the horns of a dilemma, and ready to fly to Texas or anywhere else to escape from the difficulty. The honorable gentleman followed us to England. After the House had adopted the policy that gave us the authority to dispose of 100,000,000 acres of land for the purpose of constructing this great work, and had authorized the mission to England for the purpose of endeavoring to enlist capitalists abroad, and the Government of England to aid in the prosecution of this work, the honorable gentleman not only denounced the policy of using the lands, he not only declared that they were worthless——

Mr. MACKENZIE—I said nothing of the kind.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—He said we could not settle them when we gave them away.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I said nothing of the kind.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—If the honorable gentleman will read his speech in the *Hansard*, he will find it there; if not, I will acknowledge I misapprehended what he said. The honorable gentleman followed us to England, he followed that mission which this Government sent to England for the purpose of obtaining aid in the construction of this work. Immediately upon our arrival in England, a long article appeared in one of the leading journals, declaring that there was a reaction in this country, that the Government had lost their popularity; and so the honorable gentleman followed us step by step, and used every argument that could be used in order to defeat and render abortive the mission in which we were engaged. The passage I was referring to in the honorable gentleman's speech of last year has been kindly turned up for me. I will read from the speech of the honorable gentleman, on page 1,905 of the *Hansard*:—

"If the honorable gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) is proceeding on the hypothesis that in Canada alone is there any land available, he will find himself greatly mistaken. We have found it very difficult indeed in Canada to promote settlement, even where the land was given away by the Government. It is still more difficult to send settlers to the far-off western country, where they have the initial difficulties of a new country to contend with, not less in amount, though different in kind, than the settlers of our own wooded districts."

Mr. MACKENZIE—Where is the place I said the land was worth nothing?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I said the honorable gentleman undervalued the character of our lands.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I have taken down the honorable gentleman's words; he stated I said the lands were good for nothing. Read the passage.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I will tell him where I find it; I find it in the statement that you cannot promote settlement where you give the lands away. If that does not sustain my assertion, then I know nothing about the meaning of the English language. But not content with saying that we

could not promote settlement where the lands were given away, that in the Northwest the difficulties are greater than in any other part of Canada, the honorable gentleman went on with this lugubrious account of our country :—

"They have a long winter, absence of lumber and building materials, and difficulties of transportation. We must, therefore, make up our minds, if we are to settle that country, that it will be done only at the expenditure of a large amount of money to aid settlers in going in, and in giving them land free after they get in. That is my conviction.'

You not only cannot get them to go and settle the lands when you give them away, but if you do, you have to pay them for doing it. If we did that, where was the $100,000,000 to come from, on which we were asking the House to sustain us in the construction of a Canadian Pacific Railway? Suppose we had failed under these circumstances, would it have been very surprising? As has been already stated by the First Minister, the communications with the Imperial Government were confidential, but I may say this, that after the most friendly and frank discussion of the subject with the Imperial Government, and especially with the Colonial Minister, concerning the construction of a Canadian Pacific Railway—we found, and for reasons I think the honorable gentlemen opposite will quite appreciate, the time was not the most propitious for the purpose of pressing them for a definite answer—we came away with the impression that at no distant day we would be in a position to obtain from the Imperial Government the most favorable consideration of our proposals. That this is a question in which Lord Beaconfield's Government felt the greatest interest we can have no possible reason to doubt. If the honorable gentleman opposite was about making an appeal to the country, he would not like to be handicapped any more heavily than was absolutely necessary for the time being; but there is another reason why we did not think it necessary to press very strongly the Imperial Government in relation to that matter. It is this, after the discussion not only with the members of the Imperial Cabinet, and with the Colonial Minister—after discussion with the first minds among the Opposition to the present Government in England—after having discussed this question exhaustively with the first capitalists in England, we found we were in a position, without any fear or doubt, to go steadily forward in the prosecution of this work—knowing that the funds required could be obtained on most favorable terms by my honorable friend the Minister of Finance, and would be forthcoming as fast as he would require them, independently of any guarantee. I may still add that our mission was not altogether fruitless from another point of view. If we were to go on with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, it was not desirable that we should lose the opportunity of obtaining at a reduced rate a quantity of steel rails for that railway, and I am able to tell the honorable gentleman that we were more fortunate than himself—we had the good fortune to be there just at the time when iron and freights had fallen to their lowest point, and we were successful in making a purchase of 50,000 tons of steel rails at a million and a half dollars less than the honorable gentleman paid for them, and at a million and a half less than what they could be purchased for since.

Mr. ANGLIN—Why did you not purchase more?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I am afraid that honorable gentlemen are very hard to satisfy. All I can say is that if we had not been on the spot, and

the negotiations had not been managed as they were, we would not have been able to have purchased a quarter of that quantity at the price. It was the last purchase made at that price, because when it was known that there was a contract of 50,000 tons of steel rails on the market, the price went up at a bound. I am afraid it will be a very long time before we, or our successors, will meet with the same good fortune in relation to this matter. I may say to some honorable gentlemen, who seem to think that owing to the defeat of the Beaconsfield Administration all hope of this Government obtaining anything from England is gone, that we have no reason to distrust a Liberal Administration any more than a Conservative Administration, and I would ask any person who knows anything of the political principles propounded by gentlemen on this side of the House, whether there is any Liberal party in England, or any man likely to be in a Liberal Cabinet in England—under Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, or Lord Hartington—who is more advanced in Liberal principles than the gentlemen who sit on this side of the House. There has, no doubt, been a great change of parties in England, and if the Conservative party have lost power there, it has been the means of bringing into power an Administration who are no more committed to Liberal principles and a Liberal policy than the gentlemen who sit on this side of the House.

Mr. RYMAL—I suppose you will hardly rejoice at the change.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I may tell the honorable gentleman who interposed, that I am not dismayed at the change. I believe the interests of Canada are just as safe in the hands of Lord Cardwell, as Colonial Minister, as they were in the hands of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. Who was Mr. Cardwell? He was the man who took up and went heart and soul into the great question of the Confederation of British North America. He discharged that duty in the most able and energetic manner, and his successors had merely to carry out what had really been accomplished by the Liberal Administration. The Prime Minister of this Government, when in England, had a highly satisfactory conversation with the gentleman who is not unlikely to hold the seals of the Colonial Office, Mr. Foster. That gentleman, the other day, in his speech delivered at the Colonial Institute, said :—

"His friend, Sir John Macdonald, came over to this country not long ago to get a guarantee for the Pacific Railroad, and he (Mr. Forster) was not at all sure that it would not be advisable if the Mother Country were to be very liberal in these matters."

It will be seen, therefore, that notwithstanding the fall of the Beaconsfield Administration, there is every prospect of the Government of Canada being sustained and upheld in this great national enterprise. We have here evidence that in the great country to which we owe a loyal allegiance, there is in both political parties a keen appreciation of the importance of our obtaining the great national highway now under consideration. I ventured last year to draw attention to the belief that the Imperial Government would feel that in the opening up of the great Canadian North-West to the settlement of inhabitants of the Mother country, a policy would be propounded that would meet with the approval of Imperial statesmen. That idea was laughed to scorn by the honorable gentlemen opposite. It was to them a matter of derision, but subsequently Lord Beaconsfield came out in an elaborate eulogium on the

great national resources of British North America, and he declared to the people of England the vital importance it was to the empire that her sons who were obliged to expatriate themselves for the purpose pf bettering their condition could seek a home in the fertile lands of British North America, under the same flag beneath which they had formerly lived, I must now turn the attention of the House for a few moments to the authority that was given to the Government at the last session of Parliament in relation to this great work, and the duty that was imposed on us. I think I will convince the House (and the honorable member for West Durham—I do not even despair of convincing him) that during the recess of Parliament the Government were engaged in discharging the duty confided in them by Parliament, and which they directed them to carry out. The first resolution reads as follows :—

"1. Resolved, That engagements have been entered into with British Columbia, as a condition of union with Canada, that a line of railway to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific shall be constructed with all practicable speed."

"6. Resolved, That in view of the importance of keeping good faith with British Columbia, and completing the consolidation of the Confederation of Provinces in British North America, and for the purpose of extending relief to the unemployed working classes of Great Britain, and affording them permanent homes on British soil; and in view of the national character of the undertaking, the Government of Canada is authorized and directed to use its best efforts to secure the co-operation of the Imperial Government in this great undertaking, and obtain further aid by guarantee or otherwise, in the construction of this great national work."

This resolution refers to the importance of securing the co-operation of the Imperial Government by guarantee or otherwise, and all I can say is that the Government did the best they could in that direction, and I think I have given the House some evidence that the seed sown is likely to bear fruit in due time. The seventh resolution reads :—

"7. That it is further expedient to provide :—

That 100,000,000 acres of land and all the minerals they contain be appropriated for the purposes of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway."

This was appropriated, and I need say nothing further in relation to the matter, after the exhaustive argument of the member for North Norfolk, who attacked the policy of the Government as to the mode in which they propose to appropriate and utilize that hundred millions of acres of land; and the able and exhaustive reply he received from the honorable the first Minister, who, I believe, convinced this House, as he must have convinced this country, that we have every reason to believe that that policy will be eminently successful. I need not discuss the question further, but say, that before Parliament rises it will be necessary to submit a resolution confirming the mode in which it is decided by the Government to administer these lands a little more concisely than these resolutions provide. It is not proposed, however, to depart from the policy we believe has been wisely adopted, and which will be found sufficient to thoroughly accomplish this work. The 10th resolution reads :—

"10. Resolved, That the Government be authorised and directed to locate a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from the Red River, westerly, running to the south of Lake Manitoba, with a branch to Winnipeg. And, if they deem it advisable, to enter into contract for expending a sum not exceeding $1,000,000 in con-

structing the said railway without previously submitting the contracts to Parliament."

That power has been used, and before I sit down I shall have occasion to explain to the House the position in which that matter stands. The 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th read :—

"11. Resolved, That it is expedient to make further explorations in the Peace and Pine River Districts and other sections of the country not yet examined, in order to ascertain the feasibility of a line through the largest extent of fertile territory before beginning the work of construction in British Columbia.

"12. Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, the selection of the Burrard inlet terminus was premature.

"13. Resolved, That it is necessary to keep good faith with British Columbia, and commence the construction of the railway in that province as early as is practicable.

"14. Resolved, That the Government be authorised and directed to make such further explorations as they may deem necessary for the said purpose, and so soon as they have finally selected and located the line, to enter into contracts for constructing a portion of the same, not exceeding 125 miles, without the further sanction of Parliament, so that the work of construction may, at latest, be commenced during the present season, and thereafter be vigorously prosecuted."

I may say to the House that we fully appreciate the enormous expenditure involved in the construction of the line of railway to the Pacific coast by the Burrard Inlet route. All we asked was authority to make explorations with the view of seeing if we could not connect the Pacific shores with the fertile district of the North-west by passing through a more hospitable country.

Mr. BLAKE—Not inhospitable.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I will recall that, as I have a vivid recollection of what the honorable member has been made to suffer by having used that word before. The Government, acting in good faith, and believing that if they could facilitate the progress of the work in British Columbia, and find a shorter and easier line of communication with the fertile valleys of the North-west, it would largely assist in solving the great difficulty that lays in the way of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway, directed itself as vigorously to that question as possible. They obtained the services of an active and energetic navigator to report on Port Simpson. After receiving his report, I have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, no such port is to be found on the Pacific coast as Port Simpson. It is easy of access, and well sheltered within, and all that can be desired, in every respect. But we found, on having the three routes examined, from Port Simpson to Peace River, Pine River and Fort George, that the route Burrard Inlet was 150 miles shorter than that to Port Simpson, and we found that the country through British Columbia, *via* the Peace River or Pine River, was not more favorable for settlement than the Burrard Inlet route, but that, in addition to its being 500 miles north of Victoria, we had to encounter a very unfavorable climate. The rain-fall was very incessant on the coast, and there was no extent of country fit for settlement between the coast and five or six hundred miles, where we would strike the Peace River Pass. Mr. Fleming pointed out in his report the great advantages it possessed, as a line easier of construction. After full deliberation, we come to the conclusion that we would not be acting in the interests of the country if we rejected the Bur-

rard Inlet route which had been adopted by the late Government. The fact that the hon. gentleman, after careful consideration, had adopted that route, was greatly in its favor, and we had no hesitation in adopting it The Burrard Inlet route has this advantage : It has a good harbor, and only thirty miles across the Narrows are the valuable coal miles of Nanaimo. Within thirty miles you have great coal deposits, and in close proximity abundant quantities of iron ore, sufficient, I hope, to induce enterprising capitalists to undertake the manufacture of the iron rails required in British Columbia. You have a most valuable fishery on those coasts, and, as is well known, you have splendid forests of timber. You have, from Burrard Inlet up toward Yale, from fifty to 100 miles of land valuable for settlement. The width is large enough to provide homes for a large and thriving population. I fully acknowledged last year that Kamloops district was a superior one. Yale is at the head of the tide water, and you can reach it easily from the shores of the Pacific. Steamers go daily from Victoria to Yale, and by the construction of 125 miles of rail you can reach the Kamloops district, which gives us communication with the great central plateau of the Rocky Mountains, through which 150 miles of the line will run, extending 140 miles south to the United States, and 200 miles running northward, with a fine climate and luxurious vegetation. The section of country is the most important and the most suitable for settlers to be found in the whole of the Province of British Columbia. I am sorry to detain honorable gentlemen opposite while I read a few words from the "Guide to British Columbia," in which this country is described—

Mr. MACKENZIE—Who wrote the description?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I am not able to say who it was written by, because I do not find the name of the author given, but I am happy to tell honorable gentlemen opposite, if they are at all sceptical as to the value of the authority, they will find a similar description in the able report of Mr. Dawson of the geological survey of 1877, which affords abundant confirmation of what I shall here read. Speaking of the New Westminster district, we find the following:—

"The Fraser river does not come from the Cascade range, but from the Rocky range. It is the only river in British Columbia (except in the far northwest of the Province) which has strength to cross the dry country between the Rocky and Cascade ranges and get through the latter range to the sea. It is fed in its course by streams running from every point of the compass—a noble river, but navigable only for considerable stretches, owing to rapids. Yale is the head of steamboat navigation from the sea. After bursting through the mountain passes at Yale and Hope, the Fraser is a tranquil, steady, clay-colored stream for the latter part of its course."

"This country on the lower portion of the Fraser is what I may call the New Westminister district. It is in general a wooded district, but has large tracts of open, arable and grazing land, delicious atmosphere—no malaria or ague—water-carriage, facilities for shipment. Snow begins in January and is gone by March ; not continuous ; plenty of fish and game in the district ; will raise anything Vancouver Island will raise and more ; three large saw mills, employing 600 people ; a grist mill ; distillery ; farmers' society, &c. About 200 settlers located themselves in this district during 1874."

"The *Mainland Guardian* (New Westminister Journal), said, on March, 1872,—A minimum yield of from 30 to 40 bushels of wheat to the acre, is the ordinary, average yield in the districts of Kamloops, Okanagan, Nicola, Sumass, Chilliwhack, and the Lower Fraser. Between the town of New Westminister and the mouth of

the river, a yield very much exceeding this is often obtained, not because of better and more suitable soil, but solely due to more careful cultivation; 50 bushels of oats, and an equal yield of barley, per acre are commonly reached. Indian corn yields per acre 60 or 70 bushels. The yield of roots and green crops is generally encouraging, being unsurpassed by any in the world."

"'On one farm the yield of potatoes was seven tons, on another as high as 15 tons per acre. Not a few specimens reached the enormous weight of 2½ and even 3 lbs. Turnips give 25 tons to the acre. Onions from four to six tons; while carrots, cabbages, beets, cauliflowers, &c., grow to a size which may without exaggeration be described as enormous.

"'Of fruits it may be enough to state, that the ordinary kinds (apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, currants, gooseberries, strawberries, &c.) found in the eastern part of the Dominion and in England, grow luxuriantly and yield plentifully.'"

NEW WESTMINSTER DISTRICT.—SPECIAL DESCRIPTION.

"I will describe the New Westminister district, beginning at the mouth of the River Fraser:—

"We find there extensive, low, rich, 'tide-lands or flats,' free from timber, with patches of willows, rosebushes, and, about the border of higher ground, crab apples. A course grass called 'swamp hay,' is plentiful. There are a good many salt-water sloughs, which add to the difficulty of dyking.

"Farm after farm is being occupied in this section, and there is room for settlers. There are 29,000 acres of very good land in an island between the north and south-arm of the Fraser.

"'On the north arm, a small settlement of about twenty farmers: 500 acres cultivated; samples of white and red wheat described as 5½ feet high, yielding 50 bushels to the acre; average of course, less. Two potatoes ("Breeley Prolific") yielded 67 lbs. Timothy hay, barley, oats, peas, &c., good.'

"A district exactly like the mouth of Fraser district, indeed, part of it, within the United States territory, near the mouth of the Lummi, and back from Semiahmoo, is filling up with population rapidly.

"Ascending the Fraser, we in no long time come to forests on each side; giant pine; cedars, alders, maple cottonwood; real agricultural value of land cannot be seen. Luxuriant vegetation in the forest—berry-bushes of all kinds, also ferns, ground-creepers, moss—the sweet-scented white flowers of the wild apple-tree shine among the green foliage of summer. Scenery and products altogether on a grand scale. But let the settler take heart: he is beside the sea here, no railway carriage to the seaboard; there is much good land requiring little clearing, plenty well worth the clearing. There are in parts extensive flats covered with wild hay, also fine prairies with fertile soil; excellent crops and dairy yield; thriving farms near the town of New Westminister, and settlements also at Pitt River, Keatsey, Langley, Matsqui, &c. For instanee, at Pitt River 20,000 acres of good arable land requiring no clearing—the part of it subject to freshets is good now for grazing.

"At Langley, a newspaper correspondent (*Daily Standard*, Victoria, November, 1872) describes farms with 'several hundred acres of alluvial soil, black mould with clay bottom; at your feet several square miles of green meadow land, the gleaming river beyond, and across it the dark Caseade range; a stream, full of trout, meandering through the meadow.' Another farm of "100 acres, every part cultivated, drained, and laid off into large parks of 30 to 40 acres each; the steading in the form of a square; a fine mansion house.' Another of '800 acres, 200 cultivated, fine black soil, all fit for the plough, drained by a stream which skirts it.' Again, '600 acre grass dairy farm; cows, Durham breed; farmer cures butter.' The next, '300 acres, the stock and crop owned by the blacksmith. Good public school; neat Presbyterian chruch.' The writer ascribes an extraordinary production to these farms."

"Higher up the river still, where the rivers Sumass and Chilliwhack join the Fraser, are rising settlements—Sumass Prairie 25,000 acres. Prime beef, choice butter and cheese, fine cereals, wide-spreading fertile prairies and valleys here, thinly

peopled yet; 60 to 80 farms; good dwellings, barns, stables, churches, schools, shops, grist mill; 600 acres wheat raised last year, 40 to 50 bushes an acre; 200 acres oats; also potatoes, peas, beans, hops, fruit and even tobacco; supply beef to Yale and Hope (Yale gets some beef also from Nicola); extent of prairies great; much good land also on the Chilliwhack above the valley that would do well when cleared.

OKANAGAN COUNTRY.

Very fine stock country, and will also produce grain; yield fall wheat only without irrigation; also profusely oats, barley, Indian corn, potatoes, tomatoes, musk-melons, water-melons, grape-vines, tobacco. Summer warm, has shown 98° in the shade, cold is sharp in winter, but weather clear and sunny, snow seldom deep, and never lies long, cattle, horses and sheep as a rule, unhoused in winter; moderate preparation, however, recommended.

"The lake, 70 miles long by 1½ miles wide; country to the east of it a fair sample of the bests districts between Rocky and Cascade ranges; open, grassy hills, dotted with trees like English parks, successive hills and dales; lakes, ponds, and streams full of fish; soil much the same general character as the Similkameen; rich sandy loam, substratum of clay in some valleys, stretches of 'bottom' land, some alkali patches; some settlers coming in fast and taking up land since Canadian Pacific Railway began. Those who would have 'sold out' a year ago are now tilling and improving their land. It is said that in Okanagan and adjoining districts, there is room for a farming population of 10,000 souls (allowing 160 acres for nine persons.) Roman Catholic mission post 1,100 feet above sea level) on the east side of the lake; fine country behind it. On the west side of the lake, a little distance back runs a low mountain range from which detatched spurs press upon the lake, and rise above the waters in precipitous bluffs; excellent pasture, particularly on small spits jutting into the lake. The Cherry Creek silver mine has been abandoned for the present.

"Near the north end of the lake is an Indian reserve of very choice land.

KAMLOOPS-SHUSWAP DISTRICT.

"Let us enter the district from the east. Columbia River is 44 miles from Shuswap Lake, via Eagle Pass. Three Valley Lake (altitude 1,912 feet) is about 34 miles from Shuswap Lake. Directly south from Three Valley Lake is a long, wide, grassy valley, which leads across a low 'divide' to the head-waters of the Shuswap or Spillemeechene River. This is a gentle river flowing through a large valley, much of which has clay sub-soil; fine fall wheat without irrigation; very good and heavy crops here; large farm buildings; well fenced fields; Indians at work on farms; fine bunch grass on the high land, round which the river makes a southern bend.

"A farmer on the Shuswap Prairie thrashed out 80 tons of wheat in 1879; two other farmers 40 tons each. Prices here of very superior extra flour, $12 (48s. English) per barrel of 196 lbs; choice bacon, 25 cents (1s. 0½d. English) per lb.; juicy beef, 10 cents (5d. English) per lb.

"Leaving the Shuswap or Spillemeechene River at a point, say beyond where Cherry Creek joins it, there is between that point and the head of the Okanagan Lake a district of open prairie and sparsely timbered land, abounding in rich pasturage and dotted with a few farming settlements.

"From the head of Okanagan Lake to the Thompson River (South branch) is about 45 miles northwest. Leaving the open, rolling, bunch-grass valleys of Okanagan, you first ascend for about 20 miles through timber land; reach Grand Prairie—fine soil, luxuriant bunch grass, dotted with cattle; the prairie 16 miles by two miles, bounded by hills, a river between; elevation (1,450 feet) causes some danger from night frost. Grand Prairie to Thompson River—glittering stream through valley, bordered by alders and willows, green meadows, clumps of trees, small lakes; good soil ready for cultivation.

"There is an open, or lightly timbered bunch-grass country along the banks of the North Thompson River, and north of Kamloops Lake for 130 miles.

"Several English gentlemen, from the American side, have taken a prairie of 2000 acres on the North Thompson, a short distance from Kamloops, and are making a long ditch for irrigation.

"In 1871, the yield of grain on the Tranquil and north and south branches of the Thompson River was a million and a quarter pounds.

"The whole Kamloops-Shuswap district is a district of table land, with considerable depressions—abundant pasture, generally free from forests, and only interspersed with timber; summer climate dry, great heat; winter frequently very cold for a day or two, but on the whole not very sharp; snow generally lies a short time only; cattle are driven here to winter, in severe seasons; Hudson's Bay Company used to 'winter out' 500 horses here, including brood mares and young horses. This district will doubtless become known again as a mineral district. The first gold found in quantity by the natives was found in this district, and fair wages are still made on the Thompson River. The Thompson, near its mouth, is too full, rapid, and rocky for mining."

NICOLA COUNTRY.

"Directly south from Kamloops, 30 miles, is Nicola Lake. The road at present fromKamloops is a sort of natural trail over gently undulating but high open country, with fine grass. First few miles no herbage; many ravines. At the first height, turn and survey the magnificent scenery of the Thompson River valleys; will give some idea of the grazing resources of the Province. Can bring a waggon with light load across from Kamloops to Nicola Lake, if you take a guide, an axe, and a spade."

LILLOET-CLINTON DISTRICT.

"This district includes Cache Creek, Bonaparte, also Williams Lake, and up to Quesnel Mouth.

"The whole district is a very fine one, and at present shows what can be done by applying capital to the soil. It is farther to the north, and generally more elevated than some sections already described. the risks of crops from summer night frosts may be said to be very considerable in the entire country on the waggon-road north of Pavillon Mountain, unless farms have a south aspect or are protected from north blasts. The remark applies more particularly to farms farther north than Alexandria.

"The surface in so large a section of country is, of course, varied. It embraces within its area fertile river-benches (terraces), table lands, large open valleys, immense plains and great rolling hills.

"The country near the Thompson, Bonaparte and Hat Rivers is very attractive to the eye; miles of green hills, crowning slopes, and level meadows; hardly a bush or a tree; fine grass almost to the hill-tops. The climate very healthful and enjoyable; rather a want of timber in parts, also of rain generally, but there are many streams.

"For grazing, the country cannot be surpassed, and its agricultural capabilities, so far as the soil is concerned, are in many parts very good. At Cache Creek and on the Bonaparte there is excellent arable land. The country through which the waggon-road passes to Williams Lake has some very good soil, with no more timber than is needed for farming purposes. The farming land is bounded by low hills, beyond which there are prairies and valleys. These hills are undulating and brightly green, and their grassy carpet is daisied over with countless wild flowers."

I have no doubt, when my honorable friend the Minister of Public Works has completed his improvements, we shall get 100 to 150 miles of navigation, up into the mineral regions, that will become available

Mr. BLAKE—Will it yield as much as Vancouver Island?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—He does not say anything about that.

Mr. MACKENZIE—It ought to do that, I should think.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I do not think that honorable gentlemen should abuse Vancouver Island after agreeing to expend four millions upon it.

I may say that the horses owned by the Government, are, in the Kamloops district, unhoused during the winter, and have been found to be in good condition in the spring. No part of British Columbia is better suited for settlement and cultivation than that of the Kamloops district.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is the best part of the country.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—There is no doubt of it; and that is one of the reasons for adopting it as the railway route. Honorable gentlemen opposite exercised a wise and sound discretion in committing the country to the construction of the 125 miles now put under contract, and which will bring us in communication with the navigation of the north and south Thompson, and render access to the rich mines of Cariboo comparatively easy. The gold and coal mines will be made accessible by easy and rapid communication, and promote, as the honorable gentleman said to his constituents at Sarnia, the opening up of the inaccessible parts where there are inexhaustible riches in the bosom of the earth. Well, sir, we resolved not to waste time in surveys, but to make a rapid exploration of the route to Port Simpson, and undertake at once the construction in accordance with our pledge to Parliament. Upon determining that the line to Burrard Inlet was the best we should have been false to ourselves and obliged to sacrifice the best interests of the country if we did not act promptly and carry it out. In putting this section under contract I am glad to be able to say that the contracts will not be found to be fraught with the danger that honorable gentlemen might suppose, unless they take the trouble to read them. They have been let in maximum quantities: after putting in everything that could possibly be required, $1,000,000 extra is added for any possible contingencies. The contracts themselves amount to $9,167,000; $1,000,000 of that is for contingencies. The contracts are let by the yard, but the Government have ascertained by proper evidence the very outside quantities possible required for the construction of a first class road; and the Government have reserved power to cut down the work to any extent that may be found practicable, and at the same time to construct road of the cheapest description from Kamloops to Yale. By carefully laying out the work, by carefully watching its progress, by carefully reducing the work; by increasing the curvature and increasing the grades if necessary and advisable, we may finish and equip the road below the actual amount, as stated in the contract; and we have also reserved the power to stop the work at any moment.

Mr. BLAKE—Could you do it now?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I still hope to prove to the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) that it would not be in the interest of the country to bring this work to a stand, to tarnish the fair fame of Canada by declaring that we were ready to repudiate solemn engagements, simply because they were entered into by our predecessors. We do not bind ourselves to build the road by 1890, as they did; we limited our obligation to build that road by the greater obligations that we owe to Canada, not to do anything that will materially interfere with the interests of the Dominion. We will not hold ourselves bound—although the honorable gentleman has pledged us to do it—to spend $2,000,000 per annum. We do not expect to spend $1,000,000 this year; and if we stop the contractor at any time, if,

through any disturbance of the Hon. the Minister of Finance's calculations or otherwise, it may be found expedient to do so, we can stop the work without paying one dollar for loss, or for the profits the contractors might otherwise have made. If that stoppage is ordered for six months, we must make compensation by extending six months to the time allowed for the completion of the contract. I expect, with the utmost confidence, that that road will be finished and equipped with a moderate amount of rolling stock in as cheap a manner as is compatible with safety in going over it, and that the whole of the cost will come within the $9,000,000. I will now refer to the objections to the Burrard Inlet route made a year ago, first that it was too near the American frontier.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Have you not shifted the frontier?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—We cannot prevent our line being exposed to having its traffic carried to a terminus in the United States; but there was a more important matter—that the Burrard Inlet could be commanded by guns on San Juan Island, and we considered how that difficulty could be met.

Mr. BLAKE—It might be done by getting a big gun ourselves.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—The honorable gentleman says by getting a big gun ourselves; but we have another mode of meeting the difficulty, namely, by the construction, when required, of eight miles of railroad, from the harbor of Esquimault to Sanwich Inlet, which will enable us to get to Burrard Inlet, and thus avoid one of the principal objections that I raised last year. The honorable gentleman will not have the opportunity, I think, to throw the taunt across the House that I carried out a policy to which I was opposed. I had the candour to say, last year, in the light of all that was then known, that I would select Burrard Inlet, and all we asked the House to say was that the location of that line was premature. The subsequent exploration and examination confirmed us in the course we adopted, and having made this examination I think we disposed of the word "premature." Having propounded the policy of the construction of this road by the appropriation of 100,000,000 acres of lands, the Government felt it was necessary to put before the world the most authentic information we could get in relation to that land, and, notwithstanding that a large amount of money has been expended on surveys, I think that it is not so large as we have been led to suppose. Some $900,000, charged for surveys, should have gone towards construction, because it was really in relation to the location and construction of the road. But, as the honorable First Minister of that day told the House, this was no ordinary survey. We were exploring a country running from Nipissing to St. James' Bay, running from Vancouver Island to Fort Simpson, and running from the fifty-first to the fifty-sixth parallel of latitude across the continent. The report I laid upon the table of the House last year was accompanied by a map giving the best information in possession of the Government in relation to the lands in the North West. In this map the portions of the country about which we had no definite information as to its value for settlement were indicated; and I am happy to be able to say that from the explorations of the past season we are now able to say that from the foot of the Rocky Mountains to the western

boundary of Manitoba we can find 150,000,000 acres of good land, and only 30,000,000 acres of land unfit for settlement.

Mr. MACKENZIE—That is not the railway belt.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—Yes, it is. The honorable gentleman can see that for himself from the map.

Mr. CHARLTON—Does it cover the Peace River district?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—It does to some extent. I am happy to be able to state that the surveys will be completed on the first day of July this year, and that every dollar in the estimates for the coming season will be expended in the construction of the road. Although in connection with the diversion of the line south of Lake Manitoba, to run through a country valuable for settlement—the best country for the railroad to pass through and to promote colonization as rapidly as possible—the length of the line was increased some twenty miles, nearly four miles were saved between Thunder Bay and the Red River. We have found a good line between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains, escaping the enormous gullies to the south of Edmonton Pass, which shortens the road by ten miles or more.

Mr. MACKENZIE—This is not measured yet.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—No; we are obliged to deal with approximate measurements in order to discuss this question at all. I am also happy to be able to say that, so far from the second 100 miles being open to the criticisms of the honorable gentleman, we have not only got a good line, but we have just received tenders for the construction of probably as heavy a section of line as there is between Red River and the foot of the Rocky Mountains, under $500,000 for 100 miles. The grades will not exceed those of the Grand Trunk or Great Western Railways. If there is any part of the line which it is important should have the best possible grade, it is that between the country from the Red River to Lake Superior. No person who heard the elaborate statement of the honorable the Minister of the Interior the other night, can doubt but that the population will increase in the country as rapidly as he depicted.

Mr. BLAKE—Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—I will refer the honorable gentleman to the Grit Bible for evidence of the accuracy of those statements. I have here an extract from the *Globe* newspaper:—

"It would not indicate extravagant hope to say that 1,000,000 people will be in the North West Territories before the 1,400 miles already considered have been constructed. But let us say that only 500,000 people are then in the North West. If they contribute to the Dominion treasury in the same proportion as the people of the other provinces, they will increase the revenue by $3,000,000 a year. The 1,300 miles of railway we treat of will certainly not cost more than $30,000,000 when completed and equipped. That sum represents an annual payment of interest of $1,200,000, so that no less than $1,800,000 would remain to the good. Part of it would, of course, go in expenses of government and protection for the 500,000 people contributing the whole, but it is easy to see that the Dominion has nothing to lose by carrying the Pacific Railway to the Rocky Mountains at an early date."

This is a corroboration of the statement, that we will be able to build the whole road from the customs duty alone of the 500,000 people that will shortly go into that country. Under the circumstances, I am astonished at

honorable gentlemen opposite arraying themselves in an attitude of hostility to this work, on the ground that it is going to plunge us into financial difficulties. Although I am not prepared to admit the accuracy of everything that appears in the *Globe*, I believe that the editor never penned a wiser or more patriotic article than the one I have just quoted. No man has been more unjustly assailed by that newspaper than myself, but after reading that article I am prepared to forgive that paper everything. I feel that at last, actuated by patriotic sentiments in a crisis like this, the editor feels bound to come forward and cast his great influence in favor of this important work demanded alike by good faith and the best interests of Canada. The same article continues :—

"We now come to the Lake Superior section, which is certainly a political necessity, but not required till the prairie line has been completed and connected with Thunder Bay. It is, as we have shown, reasonable to suppose that at least half a million people will be on the plains when the Pacific Railway reaches the Rocky Mountains. Every family going in afterward will increase the quantity of produce available for export. The population of the United States doubled itself in twenty-five years; in several western territories the population has been doubled in ten years. The Canadian North West will gain by immigration continually, and— as always happens where fertile land can be easily procured—births will be very numerous. By the time the line to the Rocky Mountains has been completed it will be wise to push on the road around Lake Superior, because before it can be built at a fair rate of speed a large traffic will await its opening. The Lake Superior section from the eastern terminus of the main Pacific to Fort William will be 620 miles long, and when completed it will offer to the traffic of the Canadian and to a large part of the American North West the shortest all-rail route to the seaboard. It is not needed till the prairies have been opened up by the line to the Rocky Mountains. After that has been built it may be safely completed as a commercial road, one that will pay better year by year, and will ultimately be a very valuable property."

What is our present position? On the 31st December last we had expended $14,159,665. I give the items :—The expenditure on the lines from Lake Superior to Red River has been $4,866,861; on telegraphs, $505,039; Pembina Branch, exclusive of rails, $511,214; on rails, bolts and spikes, for the work altogether, up to the 31st December, $2,968,062.

Mr. MACKENZIE—What has been done with the old rails?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—Those are the old rails. I am not including any considerable amount of the rails purchased since, because the payments up to 31st December have not been made to any large extent. On the Canada Central there was spent $563,715. I am glad to be able to say, in connection with the contract for the section west of Red River, that the contractor entertains no doubt of opening fifty miles by July, and of laying the track and being able to carry passengers over the one hundred miles by the end of the season. We also expect to be able to complete the first fifty miles of the second one hundred, west of Manitoba, by the July following, and the remainder during the year 1881. For engineering and miscellaneous expenditures in connection with construction, $993,000; payments not under contract, including such as for land at the Kaministiqua, and dredging at Thunder Bay, &c., $247,300. The total for construction, $10,729,257, to the 31st December last. Explorations, preliminary surveys, and general examination of the whole country from Nipissing to James' Bay in the east, and in British Columbia on the west from Victoria

to Port Simpson, extending throughout from the 49th parallel to the 56th parallel, $3,119,618. Total expenditure upon the Canadian Pacific Railway, including the Pembina Branch, $13,848,876. There is another item of Pacific Railway accounts of $22,995, being a payment on the Dawson route in settlement with one of the contractors, and on the Fort Francis locks, which cost $287,795, which, being one hundred miles away from the line, I do not think ought to be charged to the Canadian Pacific Railway account. But including this it reaches the total to the end of the year of $14,159,665.

It being six o'clock the Speaker left the chair.

AFTER RECESS.

Before six o'clock I was about taking up the question of the expenditure that will be required to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway. I will now submit a calculation I believe to be an outside one, or above the probable outlay. This estimate has been prepared by a gentleman who has had the widest and best opportunity of forming a deliberate and dispassionate judgment on the subject—a gentleman whose ability, in my opinion, is only exceeded by his caution—Mr. Sandford Fleming, Engineer-in-Chief of the Canada Pacific Railway. However much this estimate of expenditure may be reduced, I am sure it cannot be exceeded. The distance from Lake Superior to Burrard Inlet is 1,956 miles; that is adding twenty miles for the diversion of the line to the south of Lake Manitoba, and deducting three and three-quarters miles for the reduction in the distance between Lake Superior and Red River, and the shortening by the change of route passing north of Edmonton instead of south as before. That total includes the Fort William and Selkirk section of 406 miles as now reduced; and for that I submit an estimate for completion in the manner intended as a first-class road, and with a thorough equipment for the large traffic expected, and including terminal stations, $17,000,000, or $1,000,000 less for the reasons stated than my estimate of last year. The 1,000 miles from Selkirk to Jasper Valley, the dividing point just beyond the foot of the Rocky Mountains, including a light equipment—all that will be required for some years—Mr. Fleming estimates at $13,000,000, that is $3,000,000 more than the average estimate for the 200 miles west of Red River, in order to be entirely safe. We have 100 miles actually under contract, and have received tenders for the other 100 miles, and I do not expect the average cost to exceed that of the 100 miles just let.

Mr. BLAKE—What is the amount estimated for the equipment, per mile?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—A light equipment is all we shall require for some years.

Mr. BLAKE—Will it be $1,000 or $2,000 per mile?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—When the traffic demands a heavier equipment there will be the means of providing it.

Mr. BLAKE—I only want to know your estimate in dollars.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—It is $13,000 per mile, as against an estimate we should be justified in giving of $10,000 a mile, making $3,000,000 more than the average of the amount probably needed to complete and supply with a fair equipment the 200 miles we have under contract on the prairies.

From Jasper Valley to Port Moody the distance is 550 miles. From Jasper to Kamloops, in British Columbia, to which the portion now under contract extends, is 335 miles, which can be constructed I believe, for $40,000 a mile. But Mr. Fleming, more cautious, has given an outside estimate of $43,660 a mile. This is much heavier than the prairie district, but is light compared to the section we have let in the canyons of the Frasar. That will give $15,500,000 for the section from Jasper House to Kamloops. From Kamloops to Yale is 125 miles, which Mr. Fleming estimates at $80,000 a mile, or $10,000,000 to complete the road, with a fair equipment for any traffic likely to be required. In my opinion we may set down, instead of $10,000,000, $9,000,000 for that work. From Yale to Port Moody, 90 miles, he estimates at about $38,888 a mile, or $3,500,000. Those 550 miles foot up $29,000,000, to which, with his usual caution, Mr. Fleming adds $1,000,000; this makes, with the $17,000,000 for the road from Fort William to Red River, and $13,000,000 from Red River to Jasper Valley, $30,000,000 from that point to Burrard Inlet, a total of $60,000,000. To that, add for surveys and explorations, not included in the cost of engineering and locations, and other operations, $3,119,618. The House will be very much surprised to learn the lavish expenditure of the late Government in British Columbia, if at the time the then Premier did not intend to carry the work to completion. From June, 1871, to June, 1872, surveys in British Columbia cost $182,216; from 1872 to 1873, $315,000—the late Government, of course, not being responsible for that. From 1873 to 1874, $118,000; from 1874 to 1875, $191,241; from 1875 to 1876, $330,162; from 1876 to 1877, no less than $273,788, or $600,000 for those two years; from 1877 to 1878, $126,476; from 1878 to 1879, $50,112, and from July, 1879, to December, $25,000 more, making a total of $1,611,997, for surveys in British Columbia. To that, add the expenditure between Lakes Nipissing and Superior, and between Lake Superior and Red River and the Rocky Mountains, in all $1,507,621, making a total of $3,119,618, to be added to the $60,000,000, embracing all the other expenditures in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, except the Pembina Branch. The Pembina Branch is estimated to cost, when finished and equipped, $1,750,000, making in all, including the construction from Lake Superior to Burrard Inlet, and all the surveys, a sum of $64,869,618. That completes the Canadian Pacific Railway, with the exception of 600 miles from Fort William to Nipissing, the terminal point.

Mr. MACKENZIE—It is more than 600 miles.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—After the Canada Central Company extend their line to the Sault on the line I expect they will follow, it will be considerably less than 600 miles, because we will strike the Canada Central some 60 or 70 miles west of the southeast bay of Lake Nipissing. Therefore, my estimate is more likely to be over the mark than under it. I am inclined to think, from the surveys that have been prosecuted during the past year, from Nipigon to Fort William, a good and easy line can be obtained, so much so as to make it doubtful whether it may not be desirable to go to Fort William rather than to strike the line from Lake Superior to Red River, some 50 or 60 miles outside the present terminus. I have also had a survey made from Nipigon eastward to Long Lake, and the

line there is much more favorable than was before supposed. The line from Nipissing towards the head of Lake Superior is also found to be an extremely favorable line, running through an even country, well timbered. So that I am happy to be able to say that the completion of our national through line of railway from Ottawa to the waters of the Pacific—I may say from Halifax, on the Atlantic, to the waters of the Pacific—will be attended with much less difficulty and expense than we have been led to suppose down to the present time. I need not say we do not propose to grapple with the whole of this work at the present moment, but I believe that with the prospect of the development of the great North West and the increase of population, at a comparatively early day, the pressure for the construction of the through line will ere long become so great as to warrant and compel that work being undertaken as essential in the interests of Canada. Now, I believe we may safely put the cost of that work at $30,000 a mile. In the first place, we will have easy access to it by the Canada Central, at or near Sturgeon River, sixty or seventy miles west of the present terminus at South East Bay. From the head of Lake Superior at Nipigon we will again strike the line by water communication, and at Fort William we will have a railway for the purpose of reaching it at that end. Striking at these three points I believe we may safely put that work at $30,000 a mile, which would add $18,000,000 to complete this great national highway. If we were to put it at $30,000 a mile, an amount to which it may be safely reduced, we make a total of $82,869,618. Mr. Fleming estimates this 600 miles at $20,000,000, which woold make $84,869,618. When I remind the House that the land alone, according to the authority of the Right Hon. Minister of the Interior, upon a calculation which he believes to be sound, within the next ten years, will give us $38,000,000 in hand, and $32,000,000 to receive on mortgages within the following ten years, or a total sum of $70,000,000—it will be seen that we incur no risk. But suppose the land does not give us that, we have an authority which honorable gentlemen opposite will accept, that the customs revenue from the people who will go into the country for the next ten years will furnish the interest on $60,000,000. I have no hesitation in saying that the whole sentiment of the country has changed on this question. I am not at all ashamed to say that my own opinions have completely changed in relation to the character of this great work. I remember well that when the then First Minister brought in his act in 1874, for the construction of this as a Government work, I felt that we were incurring too great a responsibility. I believed at that time it was an unsafe and unsound policy for the Government of this country to undertake the construction of this great national work from end to end as a Government work, and I did not hesitate to express my opinions as freely and as forcibly as I could on the occasion of the passage of that measure. But the whole condition of Canada has changed since then. There is not an intelligent man in this country who does not look upon the prospect of the settlement and development of the North West with entirely different feelings from those that were then entertained. Why, who could listen to the glowing statements of the honorable member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) when he pictured the enormous tide of emigration into the North Western States, and pointed out that a similar tide

was only waiting for an opportunity to pour into our own North West; who could listen to the evidence the honorable gentleman gave that the investment of $54,000,000 capitalized, would have given the United States all the money that had been received from those lands and enable them to have disposed of them by free grants instead of by sale, without feeling that he was furnishing the strongest evidence of the safety of the course that this Government was adopting in grappling with this question. By our land regulations we present these fertile regions of our North West Territory in a more attractive form for settlement than even the lands in the United States were offered, and, at the same time, hold within our grasp, for sale, lands enough to more than recoup Canada for every dollar expended on this railway. Let me again quote an opinion that is much stronger with honorable gentlemen opposite than anything I can utter, that is, an article in the great organ of their party, the *Globe*, which, after a most careful examination of this whole question, says :—

"It is admitted by everyone that the plains of the North West Territories are exceedingly fertile, and capable of sustaining, by agriculture, a population twice as numerous as the present population of the United States. It is also admitted that a railway from Selkirk to the Rocky Mountains will open up the country so rapidly that in a very few years the line will pay, as a commercial enterprise. There is nothing to be gained by constructing it much faster than a continuous westward settlement can be made on the adjacent belt of land. But no one can doubt that it will pay the Dominion well to build that piece of road. It will be 900 miles long, or over one-third of the whole Pacific Railway. * * * * * * * We find, then, that no less than 1,924 miles of the proposed Pacific Road may be fairly considered as a commercial enterprise. That it is also a national enterprise, is a very poor argument against the project. When the road has been carried from the Eastern terminus to the Rocky Mountains, it is safe to say that the population of the North West will be great enough to contribute to the Dominion Treasury a larger sum than will pay the interest on the loan, for which the older Provinces must first pledge their credit. We have taken no account of the land sales, which must, if well managed, put every year, a large and continually increasing sum into the hands of the Government. * * * * * But there is a political side to the question. British Columbia will feel aggrieved unless some attempt is made to keep faith with her. To develop the resources of the Province in advance of the completion of the Pacific road is not an unreasonable wish. There is a considerable tract of good territory along the lakes and rivers of the proposed Yale-Kamloops section. That piece of road will cost perhaps $12,000,000 when equipped, and it is proposed to finish it during the next five years. Canada is asked to spend $2,400,000 a year for the purpose of colonizing and contenting British Columbia. The interest on the money will be $96,000 the first year, and $480,000 in the last and each year thereafter. Now, it may be thought that this is not a large annual sum to pay for a piece of road, which, though not necessary to the older Provinces, must be built some time, and in the meantime will materially

INCREASE THE WEALTH AND POPULATION OF THE PACIFIC PROVINCE.

If 100,000 people settle in British Columbia during the construction of the road—and there is every reason why that number should go there in the course of a few years—the Dominion will receive from them a revenue sufficient to pay the interest on the expenditure. It is no unimportant consideration that the people of the Pacific Province would rebel against the total abandonment of the line, and by clamoring for secession endanger the permanence of Confederation."

I trust these statements will relieve the honorable gentlemen opposite of any apprehension they may have as to the entire safety of at once undertaking the work, in the cautious manner the Government have adopted.

Now, I must refer once more to that great authority in the estimation of the honorable gentlemen opposite. On the opening day of the session, and long before that, at the time the Government were engaged in this exploration to Port Simpson, and investigating as to whether it were possible to find an easier line, what was the *Globe* telling British Columbia :—

"If Mr. Mackenzie had not been deprived of power, that route, at this moment, would have been under construction, and being rapidly pushed to completion."

The *Globe*, no doubt, when it found the honorable gentleman not only advertising for tenders, but actually making an expenditure of $32,400, in hot haste during the progress of a general election, to move the rails from Esquimault to Yale, concluded that he was just as serious as I concluded he was. I was not alone, for the organ of his party seems to have been laboring under the same misconception, as a reference to the *Globe* will show. Not only did the *Globe* say that, but it also stated, on the opening day of this session, if I remember rightly, at the time the leader of the Opposition was actually intimating that he was prepared to go back upon his own record, and abandon the keeping of good faith with British Columbia, to which he had pledged this country, it told the people that if he had not lost power the work would have been under construction at that moment. I need not say more than that to show how thoroughly the honorable gentleman had convinced every person of his intention to go forward with that work. I dare say I will be told by the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake): Granted that your figures are correct, assuming that you can build this railway for even less money than you have estimated, you have only encountered the first difficulty; you have then to operate the line, and the cost of that will be so greatly beyond anything you can hope to obtain from it, that you will place an intolerable burden upon the people of this country. I must address myself for a few moments to that question. I will first give the information I have just received from the Superintendent of the Pembina Branch :—

"The 160 miles we have now opened in the North West, shows that from the 1st day of March to the 12th of April we have carried 5,236 passengers, and 1,248 loaded cars, containing 12,460 tons of freight. The gross receipts during that short period were $36,387, and working expenses $15,000, leaving a net profit of $21,387, and this during a more difficult and stormy period than has been known for many years."

By July, 1882, we will have about 700 miles of this road in operation; we will have 85 miles from Selkirk to Emerson or St. Vincent. We will have 200 miles in operation west of the Red River, which, with the branch of 16 miles to Winnipeg, will give us some 700 miles in operation, without reference at all to the section in British Columbia. I have every reason to believe that every mile of that road, from the day it is opened, will make an ample return for all the expenditure incurred in its operation. I think it is safe to say that in every succeeding year, as we extend gradually this road towards the Rocky Mountains, it will furnish such an additional volume of traffic from Red River to Thunder Bay, which will become the great *entrepot* of that country, as will prevent it from burdening the people, and give us some fair return for the interest on the money used in its construction. Honorable gentlemen must not forget, as I said before, that the whole aspect of affairs in this country has entirely changed within a brief

period; that that which would have been properly regarded as highly imaginative in relation to the development of the Canadian North-west, must now be looked upon with very different eyes indeed. My honorable predecessor need only recall to his mind the fact that he publicly advertised, in 1876, offering $10,000 a mile and 20,000 acres of land for the construction of the road, and asking how much more capital tenderers would require four per cent. upon for twenty-five years to induce them to undertake this work. And what was the response? Not a tender. So completely had the honorable gentleman opposite succeeded in imbuing the minds of capitalists in this country and abroad with the hopelessness of this enterprise, that not one of them would undertake it as a commercial enterprise on any terms. What is the condition of things to-day, supposing this Government were to put an advertisement like that in the papers asking on what terms capitalists would come forward and construct the road from Red River to Kamloops, and repay us all the expenditure we have made beyond Red River, and undertake to maintain and operate not only all that part of that road, but the rest of the road down to Yale or Burrard Inlet? Would there be no response? If such a proposal were made to-morrow, does he not know that the first capitalists of this country would come to the front and offer to construct and operate that road on terms that would for ever settle the question as to whether this undertaking would be a serious burden on the people of this country. I have good reason to state that such an offer as that would secure the construction and operation of the whole line from Red River to Kamloops, with the operation and maintenance of all the road to the Pacific, at a cost not exceeding $13,000 or $10,000 per mile from Red River to Kamloops, and 26,000,000 acres of land. In that case we would be in this position, as the honorable gentleman would see, that the whole expenditure of an unknown quantity, proving a burden that could not be calculated, would be entirely removed, and we would be in a position of having this great national work accomplished within ten years, and on terms that would involve comparatively light expenditure from the people of this country, and that would be a thousand times recouped from the development of the North-west.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Not a thousand times.

Mr. BLAKE—Nor a hundred.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—While I say recouped, and when I said a thousand fold, I did not mean, as the honorable gentleman knows, that the actual amount would be returned a thousand times. I meant that there would be such a development of the magnificent North West of this country as would lift Canada rapidly into the position of a nation. And I would ask the honorable gentleman whether, under these circumstances, the Government is not in a position to say that they feel entirely free from any apprehension as to the cost either of the construction or the operation of this road after its construction. Before I sit down, I must refer to the question of cancelling the contract of the Georgian Bay Branch. As the honorable gentlemen know, the Georgian Bay Branch was undertaken without the necessary information. As the honorable gentlemen know, the policy of the Government of that day had to be completely changed after they ascertained the difficulties they would encounter, and the uselessness of the work after it

was done. Instead of going from Nipissing to the Georgian Bay, it was decided to stop the road at Cantin's Bay, and canalize the French River from that point. The Government satisfied themselves that, in the interest of Canada, all the money that was expended south of Lake Nipissing would be thrown away. Having satisfied themselves of that they cancelled that contract. It is now evident that the attention of the whole of this country has turned to the question of obtaining the shortest line of communication to our Great North West by Sault Ste. Marie. Honorable gentlemen opposite may remind me that at one time I entertained serious objection to going by Sault Ste. Marie, but the case is different to-day.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Most other people are going to the States.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER—There is nothing that makes one despair so much of the future of this country as the determined, settled policy of honorable gentlemen opposite to decry and trample down their own country; but I tell honorable gentlemen they mistake the patriotism of our people if they imagine they will ever ride into power over the ruins of their country. What is wanted to give a rapid and decided impetus to the progress and prosperity of Canada is that patriotism in the hearts and minds of its sons—(cheers)—which will enable them to unite in taking up a great national question free from the lowering and degrading tendency of party politics, which leads men to seek party and personal advantages at the cost of the country. When I opposed the construction of the line to the Sault, it was at a time when we had no line under construction from Thunder Bay to Red River; but the moment the Government was committed to the building of that line, it was our duty to look for means by which we could make it productive. What are those means? I have satisfied myself that the road, with its easy grade and cheap rate at which it will be able to bring down the products of the North West, cannot possibly have a competitor. What would be the result of the extension of this road from Nipissing to the Sault Ste. Marie? The distance from Montreal to Winnipeg *via* Chicago is 1,741 miles. But, suppose a road were built to the Sault, and a line was built to St. Paul along the south shore of Lake Superior, the distance by that route would be 1,563 miles. By Duluth, the shortest line to be obtained by way of the United States, would be 1,514 miles. From Montreal to Nipissing, and thence to Thunder Bay and on to Winnipeg, the distance would be 1,358 miles, while by the Sault Ste. Marie and water communication from Goulais Bay to Thunder Bay, it would be only 1,288 miles. (Cheers.) I believe that with the character of our road, the cheapness with which we can bring the traffic of the North West across it, there is no road, be it by way of Duluth or St. Paul, that can compete with us. Therefore, I am glad that there is the prospect of seeing either the Canada Central or Pacific Junction carried through to the Sault, bringing our great North West within sixty hours of Montreal, and Toronto 100 miles nearer, and that within a comparatively brief period. Those who will look at the Union Pacific Railway, and notice the enormous difficulties its builders had to contend with, will see ours is not a stupendous task. They had to go through a comparatively barren country compared with which ours is a garden. For more than a thousand miles they had to surmount heights of 4,500 feet above the level of the sea, while

the passes through which we cross the Rocky Mountains are under 4,000. They have to go through a country where the snowfall in the passes reaches thirty feet, and where they have forty miles of snow-sheds, to prevent trains from being buried. They have to pass through a country with steeper grades than we will have to encounter, and yet the road was built in the teeth of just such parliamentary struggles as we are to-day obliged to endure. But, when constructed, the road silenced all opposition; and if with a country which, according to a high American authority, embraces three-fourths of the remaining wheat zone on the American continent, if with this advantage, and our other advantages, we hesitate in discharging our duty to the country, we should be unworthy of the position we occupy, either as statesmen or patriotic Canadians. (Loud Cheers.) No person can look abroad over the Dominion without feeling that the great North West Territory is the district to which we must look for our strength and development. Just as the older of the United States look to their great North West, with its rapidly increasing population adding hundreds of thousands and millions to their strength, not only may we look for strength by reason of an additional customs revenue from the increased population of that territory, but we must look upon that western country as a field for the mauufacturing industries of the older and more settled parts of Canada. Every person acquainted with this country knows we have exhausted to some extent its bread-growing power, but under the National Policy that Canada has adopted, we must look forward not only to building up thriving centres of industries and enterprise all over this portion of the country, but to obtaining a market for those industries after they have been established, and I say where is there a greater market than that magnificent granary of the North West, which, filled up with a thriving and prosperous population, will make its demands upon Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for these manufacturing products that we for many years will be so well able to supply? I regret that honorable gentlemen opposite should have made this a battle ground of party. (Cheers.) If there was a single question upon which the Government had a right to demand from honorable gentlemen opposite a hearty, cordial and unanimous support, it was on their endeavor to assume, and to deal with the responsibilities which they had placed upon the shoulders of the people of this country. I believe at the time they proposed their scheme they were doing an unwise and dangerous thing; but the improving times, the change that had come over the country, and the development of the North West had altered the position. At this moment the eyes of a large portion of the civilized world are centered upon the great North-west of Canada, and hundreds of thousands of people in every foreign country, as well as the British Empire, are studying the question as to whether they shall come with their capital and industry and build up Canada into a great, prosperous, and progressive country. Under these circumstances, honorable gentlemen opposite are unwise and unpatriotic in making this a battle ground of party. There was no necessity for it. (Cheers.) I recognize to the fullest extent, the advantage of having two great political parties grappling with each other, not on the low ground of personal or party ambition, but on a great national question on which a broad line of demarcation can be made between them, and regarding which they can do battle

for great principles on which they differ. We have such a question in the National Policy without dragging in the Pacific Railway. If we are defeated on that issue, honorable gentlemen opposite will take our places irrespective of the policy of the Pacific Railway. Having that line of demarcation between us, let us, on the great national question of the Canadian Pacific Railway, unite as a band of brothers, irrespective of old parties, showing, not that we are Liberals or Conservatives, but that we are Canadians, and that in every word that is uttered, whether we sit on the Treasury benches or on the Opposition side of the House, we feel we owe it to Canada, to ourselves and to our children, to do all that men can do to strengthen the hands of those who are engaged in a great national enterprise, upon the suecess of which the rapid progress and prosperity of our common country depends. (Loud and long-continued cheers.)

SPEECH OF HON. H. L. LANGEVIN, C.B., M.P.

Mr. LANGEVIN—When, eight or nine years ago, this question of the Pacific Railway came before the house, we all considered that it was one of the most important and weightiest questions that could require the attention of Parliament. That question has lost none of its importance, none of its weight or interest since that time. On the contrary, the people have attached more importance, year after year, to this great work. This evening the question has acquired still greater importance, from the fact that the honorable member for West Durham proposes to postpone one of the most important portions of the railway. I should say that the Pacific Railway question disappeared before another great question, which is: "Shall we continue to maintain this great Confederation of ours in its integrity?" The fact is, the proposal of the honorable member for West Durham, I suppose on behalf of the Opposition, is nothing else than repudiation. When British Columbia sent her delegates to settle the terms of Confederation with this Government, one of the conditions was that we should build the Pacific Railway. That condition was assented to by the Government of Canada. It was submitted to this Parliament and assented to. There may have been, on the part of honorable gentlemen opposite, some difference of opinion about the expediency of undertaking such a great work at that time, but the Act of Parliament was passed and became the law of the country, and honorable gentlemen on both sides of the House had only to bow to and obey the law. When the Government of 1873 left office, and the Administration of honorable gentlemen opposite came into power, they did not repudiate that condition of the Confederation or union of British Columbia with Canada. They went to work to execute that great undertaking, and the only point of difference that we saw amongst the members of that Government and their supporters was that, when the question of the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway was proposed to the House, the honorable member for West Durham, separating himself from his party, voted with a few friends against that measure, and the Government of that day were not powerful or willing enough to pass it in the Upper House. If the Government had only expressed a desire that the Bill should pass, against which the honorable member for West Durham had voted, it would have become law. But there was a power behind the Throne—a power that may still exist to-day behind the leader of the Opposition. This power was stronger than that Government, and the measure for the construction of the railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo was lost. Nevertheless, the Government of 1874 down to 1878, went on with the construction of that railway. They undertook a portion of the road from Thunder Bay towards the west, and another section further on, leaving a gap of 185 miles. If I am not mistaken, the honorable member for Lambton, who was then at the head of Government, called for tenders for those four sections in British Columbia, that the honorable member for West Durham has attacked so

fiercely. At that period, I believe, the honorable member for West Durham was one of the strongest supporters of the Mackenzie Government. And, moreover, I think the honorable member for Lambton has stated, some time ago, that he never intended to build those four sections.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I said no such thing.

Mr. LANGEVIN—I understood the honorable gentleman said he had not decided to go on with those four sections. But my honorable friend the Minister of Railways has shown that, although the honorable gentleman had not decided to go on with them, he had ordered and given a contract to convey 6,000 tons of rails from Victoria to the Fraser River. The honorable gentleman had given a contract for that, nevertheless he says, he had not decided to build the railway! The honorable gentleman says, yes; perhaps he will remember what he said on another occasion. It is for him to reconcile what he has just said with what he said then. At the elections for Ottawa, in September, 1878, the honorable gentleman spoke as follows, according to his organ the *Free Press*:—

> On the west, we have, at this moment, very nearly completed 302 miles of road, and during this year will lay at least 270 miles. In British Columbia we have only 6,000 tons, moved up now to Yale, where we will commence, next spring, if Parliament sanctions the contract, to build the road to Kamloops.

And yet the honorable gentleman has not decided to proceed with this work!

Mr. MACKENZIE—Certainly not.

Mr. LANGEVIN—But the honorable gentleman said before the electors that he had so decided. Either he deceived the electors of Ottawa or has deceived this House. At that time, the member for West Durham supported the late Government, and had been the colleague of the honorable Premier; he had assented to his policy, and never separated from the honorable Premier on account of the railway work going on. But what a change! As soon as the late honorable Ministers left office, their party ceased to regard the Pacific Railway in the same light. The honorable member for West Durham, especially, became frightened at the prospect of the construction of more than four sections in British Columbia. Everything became dark to him and his party; the greatest ruin was threatening us in connection with that work, which the late Government had not attempted to construct. But what is the cause of this change? It is this: that instead of having large deficits we have taken the means of preventing them, at the same time carrying on the Public Works of the country. The member for West Durham should remember that he accepted the Carnarvon terms exacted from the late Government. Of course, the late Government inserted the condition about not raising further the rate of taxation, but that was after they had raised the taxation by $3,000,000. But did they meet the ordinary expenses even with the $3,000,000 additional taxation? No. All the time they were in office they ran into debt, which we have now to meet. The honorable gentleman says that those terms were not accepted by the Government without the consent of Parliament. No doubt, but they were accepted by the country. It was understood that $2,000,000 would be expended per annum in British Columbia, but the honorable gentlemen opposite, following their ordinary course towards that

Province, repudiated those terms, and sent a Commission to British Columbia; she would not accept $750,000 in exchange for the original bargain. Up to that time he would not repudiate the Railway altogether; but that Government offered that amount to content that Province for the postponement of the work, as says the honorable member for West Durham. But she was not poor or reduced enough to accept such a bribe, saying: "We have a Treaty with Canada, which we know is just and proud enough to do justice to a small, weak Province like British Columbia;" and she was right. She is not unreasonable; she has taken the word of this Government, that it will go on with the Railway; and though the work was not begun before the 1st of January last, the Province knew it was not our fault, and that the contracts would be given out early. Now, if the people of British Columbia see the road does not progress at full speed, they will not complain because they know we are acting in good faith, and that if we are not spending more millions and going on faster, it is because we cannot afford it. They know we are proceeding gradually and surely with the work. We do not want to plunge the country into debt and ruin as the honorable member for West Durham asserts; but we want to keep faith with British Columbia, though not at the immense expense he thinks we shall incur. We wish to build a good road, a colonization road, as intended from the beginning. We shall save a great deal in grades and curvatures, and by that means, be able to build the road from the Pacific to the older Provinces in such a way as not to overburden this country with expenditure. The honorable member for West Durham desires to catch Irish sympathy and Irish votes by expressing great regard for Irish rights and claims, almost going as far as Home Rule, and anticipating benefits to Ireland from the recent change of Government. I have no doubt that Ireland will get justice whatever Government is in power, as Canada got justice when our fathers struggled for a responsible Government. We are as much as the honorable gentleman in favour of Irishmen, and we showed our sympathy by proposing to Parliament a vote of $100,000 for the distressed populations of Ireland. Our sole regret was our inability to do more. But we do not on this or any other occasion wish to parade that sympathy. It was proper to show it at the proper time; but what reason is there for the honorable gentleman to appeal to Irishmen in connection with the Pacific Railway? Another of the honorable gentleman's objects was to catch all the honorable members from Quebec, and enrol them under his banner. What a bad Government, said he, is this Government which will not give Quebec a Railway to connect it with the Pacific Railway, after it has spent $11,000,000 for the beautiful railway from Quebec to Ottawa. He says to the honorable members from Quebec:—"The Government will not extend the Pacific Railway far enough east to connect with your road; therefore, look, be careful, do not miss this opportunity to vote against your friends; my motion proposes to suspend the Railway in British Columbia." Did he speak about the eastern end of the railway in his motion? Not a word. He might, therefore, have spared himself the trouble of this appeal. The Government have not changed its policy, which is to have a continuous railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The water-stretches will not be a part of the railway, as was the case under the late Government. But we must take the necessary time for the work. We can trust our supporters,

on telling them we are completing the gap of 185 miles between Fort William and Selkirk, and have put under contract, 200 miles on the prairies to the west, and four sections in British Columbia, which the late Government put themselves under contract and decided to build. The road will not cost the large amount the honorable member for West Durham supposes. He speaks of an expenditure of $120,000,000. If we were to build a railway with a grade of 24 or 26 feet to the mile, it might cost that sum. But, as declared, the Government has no intention of building a railway with those small grades. They are all very well, even essential, for that portion which will carry the trade of the prairies from Red River to Thunder Bay. It was required it should be a first class road, with small grades and proper curvatures, the lightest grades we can, under the circumstances, obtain. But we do not say, for all that, we are to undertake at once all the sections of the road. We will proceed with them gradually. The connection with the railways in Quebec and Ontario will also come, when the railway is built from Lake Nipissing to the main line. Whilst I am on the subject, let me quote from the organ of the honorable gentleman opposite, the *Globe*, a paragraph about this eastern end of the railway :—

"We now come to the Lake Superior section, which is certainly a political necessity, but not required till the prairie line has been completed and connected witn Thunder Bay. It is, as we have shown, reasonable to suppose that at least half a million people will be on the plains when the Pacific Railway reaches the Rocky Mountains. Every family going in afterwards will increase the quantity of produce available for export. The population of the United States doubled itself in twenty-five years; in several western territories the population has been doubled in ten years. The Canadian North-West will gain by immigration continually, and—as always happens where fertile land can be easily procured—births will be very numerous. By the time the line to the Rocky Mountains has been completed, it will be wise to push on the road around Lake Superior, because, before it can be built at a fair rate of speed, a large traffic will await its opening. The Lake Superior section, from the eastern terminus of the main Pacific to Fort William, will be 620 miles long, and, when completed, it will offer to the traffic of the Canadian and to a large part of the American North-West, the shortest all-rail route to the seaboard. It is not needed till the prairies have been opened up by the line to the Rocky Mountains. After that has been built, it may be safely completed as a commercial road, one that will pay better year by year, and will ultimately be a very valuable property."

That is the opinion of the *Globe* newspaper, and I have no doubt that, at all events, a large majority of the honorable gentlemen opposite will not repudiate this article. The honorable member for West Durham has attacked the figures quoted by my honorable friend the Minister of Railways, giving the cost of the railway from Thunder Bay to Burrard Inlet. The honorable gentleman has made his calculations; it was a new *role* for him to play, being a lawyer, and we have very seldom seen him plunged so deeply into figures as he was this evening. He thought that as he had not handled figures for some time he would make free use of them on this occasion. So when he was making his calculations as to the cost of the railway, he thought he might as well as not double the cost estimated by Mr. Fleming. The Minister of Railways stated yesterday that the first portion of the road from Fort William to Selkirk would cost $17,000,000; from Selkirk to Jasper Valley, $13,000,000; From Jasper Valley to Fort Moody, including equipments and engineering, $30,000,000, say $60,000,000 altogether. Add

to this the cost of preliminary surveys, explorations, etc., $4,869,000, it would make a total of $64,869,000. Add to this a section of the Pacific Railway from Nipissing to Fort William, $24,000,000, if the cost is $40,000 a mile; but if the cost is $30,000 per mile—as it is more probable to be—it would amount to only $18,000,000, which, added to the $64,000,000, would make a grand total of $82,869,000. The honorable gentleman has tried to convince the House that these figures have been put together for the purpose of the moment, and that they had no basis, that we could not show that they were the results of careful examination and calculation, such as an engineer should place before the head of his department. Under these circumstances, I may be allowed to give the House the data upon which the Chief Engineer has based those figures. It is proper that the House should know that these figures have not simply been put together to show that the railway will cost $64,000,000 *plus* the Nipissing and Fort William portion of the road, making altogether $88,000,000. The Chief Engineer has furnished the data of his calculations, which I will read to the House :—

"OTTAWA, April 15, 1880.

"*To the Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, K.C.M.G., Minister of Railways and Canals:*—

"ESTIMATE OF COST, CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

"SIR,—I have the honor to submit the following estimate of the probable expenditure necessary to place the Canadian Pacific Railway in operation from Lake Superior to Port Moody. I understand the policy of the Government with respect to the railway to be :—

"1. To construct the section between Lake Superior and Red River, with the limited gradients and curves set forth in my report, laid before Parliament, so as to secure cheap transportation, and to provide, by the time the railway shall be ready for opening, an equipment of rolling stock and general accommodation sufficient for the traffic to be then looked for.

"2. To proceed with the work west of Red River by constructing 200 miles of the route recently established. The roadway to be of the character defined by the 48th contract and the tenders for the 66th contract recently received.

"To proceed with the construction of 125 miles in British Columbia, under the 60th, 61st, 62nd and 63rd contracts. The expenditure on the 125 miles to be limited, in accordance with the provisions of the contract and the views set forth in my report of 22nd November last.

"To proceed gradually with the intervening distance. To delay placing additional sections under contract in British Columbia until the 125 miles are completed or well advanced, thus preventing any undue increase in the price of labor.

"To carry construction westward from Manitoba across the prairie region only as settlement advances.

"In my report of last year, I placed the cost of the section between Lake Superior and Red River at $18,000,000. Since that date, the steps taken to keep down expenditure on the 185 miles between English River and Keewatin, have been so far successful, as to reduce the length about 3¾ miles, and the estimated cost about $500,000. The rails for these two contracts have likewise been secured at a considerable lower price than the estimate. Whatever an increasing traffic in future years, may demand, in the way of territorial accommodation and rolling stock, I am confident the line can be opened for traffic between Fort William and Selkirk, well equipped for the business which may for some time be expected, at a cost not exceeding $17,000,000.

West of Red River, 100 miles have been placed under contract, and tenders have been received for a second 100 miles section. These two sections are designed to be constructed and equipped in the most economical manner, dispensing with all outlay, except that absolutely necessary to render the railway immediately useful in the

settlement of the country. It is intended that the line be partly ballasted to render it available for colonisation purposes, full ballasting being deferred until the traffic demand high speed. It is intended to provide sufficient rolling-stock for all immediate wants, postponing full equipment until the country becomes populated and the business calls for its increase.

On this basis, and on the data furnished by the contracts which have been let and the tenders recently received, I am of opinion that the railway can be opened from Lake Superior to the Pacific coast within the following estimate:—

46 miles, Fort William to Selkirk, with light gradients, including a fair allowance of rolling-stock and engineering during construction.....		$17,000,000
100 miles, Selkirk to Jasper Valley, with light equipment, etc.....		13,000,000
550 miles, Jasper Valley to Port Moody, with light equipment, etc., Jasper to Lake Kamloops, 355 at $43,660.....	$15,500,000	
Lake Kamloops to Yale, 125 at $80,000.....	10,000,000	
Yale to Port Moody, 90 at $38,888.....	3,500,000	
	$29,000,000	
Add.....	1,000,000	
		30,000,000
Total miles 1,956.....		$60,000,000

The above does not include cost of explorations and preliminary surveys throughout all parts of the country north of Lake Nipissing to James Bay in the east, and from Esquimault to Port Simpson in the west, latitudes 49° and 56°, not properly chargeable to construction, $3,119,618; or the Pembina Branch, $1,750,000; or with other amount with which the Pacific Railway account is charged.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

Another point the honorable member for West Durham endeavoured to make against my honorable friend was when he stated that, from Lake Kamloops to Yale, we had no data to go upon when we stated the Railway between those two points would cost $10,000,000. On that point, as on the other, I will ask the permission of the House to read a short extract from a report of Mr. Fleming, on which this estimate was based:—

I have examined, says Mr. Fleming, the rates given in the lowest tenders; they generally bear a fair relation to each other, and are about the prices for which other work has been recently placed under contract on other sections of the railway. I do not think experienced and responsible contractors would be safe in undertaking to do the same work at less rate.

The total sum of the lowest tenders for the four sections, as above stated, is $9,167,040. It will be borne in mind that the character of the contract to be entered into is materially different from ordinary contracts. This sum represents the maximum. The contract is not to exeeed the amount, but it may be very much less.—(See clauses 5, 6, and 7.)

Those who made the surveys and calculations inform me that the quantities are very full, and that, in actual execution, they can be largely reduced. I am convinced, moreover, that, by making an extremely careful study of the final location, by sharpening the curvatures in some places, by using great judgment in adjusting the alignment to sinimosities and sudden and great inequalities of the ground, by substituting the cheaper classes of work for the more costly whenever it can safely be done, and by doing no work whatever that is not absolutely necessary, a very marked reduction can be made.

The House will see by this statement with what precaution the Government acted in this matter. We took care to keep in our hands full power to stop that work at any time, if it should become necessary to do so, or to curtail the amount of work, or diminish the expenses. The contracts are entirely in the hands of the Government. If a financial crisis should occur, we would only have to stop the contracts, and the only liability on the part of the Government would be that of giving to the contractors a time equal to that of the suspension of his contracts. Therefore, though the honorable gentleman from West Durham tried to frighten the House, he must admit that the whole thing is in the hands of the Government. If we have the money, we may go on; if we have not the money, we need not proceed. The Government is pledged to British Columbia, and we must keep faith with her. When I speak of the Government, of course, I speak of Parliament. because we, as a Government, are in the hands of Parliament, and Parliament may, at any time it thinks proper, stop the work.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Parliament is in your hands.

Mr. LANGEVIN—The country will thank our party and this Government for such a boon. The honorable member for West Durham, in warning the Province of Quebec against this Government in its policy on the Pacific Railway, should have given some evidence of the good will and great services, and great concessions that the Province of Quebec had ever received at the hands of honorable gentlemen opposite. He should have told the members from that Province how they had been treated when, two or three years ago, their Province came to this House and asked for redress. He should have told them how the petition of that Province was treated by those honorable gentlemen when it was presented to the House. What redress did they give to Quebec? In 1878, where was the honorable member for West Durham when that question was put to a vote? Did he show his friendship towards Quebec and her representatives? Did his name appear in the division that then took place? You will see that amongst the names of 70 members out of 112, the name of the honorable member for West Durham is not to be found in the vote on the Letellier question. The honorable gentleman had been in the House, but when the vote came on he was not to be found. He would not give his vote for the Province of Quebec. After that, it is rather doubtful whether the members for Quebec will put themselves in the hands of the honorable member for West Durham. And now, it is well that we should study a little, the course of the honorable gentleman on the Pacific Railway question. He was opposed to the branch from Esquimault to Nanaimo, and the honorable member for Lambton had not the courage to resist him, and he threw out the Bill. The honorable gentleman further says, that we are not bound by the Carnarvon terms. I suppose the honorable member for Lambton had again to bow to his honorable friend, and say the Carnarvon terms must go also. The next point is, the honorable member for West Durham said, or wished the country to believe, that there was some pledge on the part of the Government of Canada, to build a railway there. Therefore, he assented to the proposal of the honorable member for Lambton, to offer that Province $150,000 as compensation. That was refused. For what was it offered? As compen-

sation for the delays that occurred in the building of the road in British Columbia.

Mr. BLAKE—And would occur.

Mr. LANGEVIN—Then came the tenders called for by the Hon. the First Minister, for the four sections in British Columbia. The honorable member for West Durham assented to them.

Mr. BLAKE—How did I assent to them.

Mr. LANGEVIN—The honorable gentleman assented to them by continuing to give his support to the honorable member for Lambton, and by supporting him at the elections.

Mr. BLAKE—I was in England before these tenders were called for, and I did not return until last December.

Mr. LANGEVIN—Then why did not the honorable gentleman state on the hustings that he did not agree with his honorable friend?

Sir RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT—Because he was not here at the time the elections came off.

Mr. BLAKE—I said I had left this country for the Old Country before these tenders were called for, and I did not return until last December. As a matter of fact, I was not aware that any such tenders had been called for until a few months within the present speaking.

Mr. LANGEVIN—I accept what the honorable gentleman says, but it is strange he never took an opportunity of declaring that he had not assented to the calling for these tenders, and that he knew nothing about them. It is one of the strangest things possible that the honorable gentleman, while from the country, never saw a Canadian paper, and was ignorant of what was going on in this country. The honorable gentleman now says that if his honorable friend, the honorable member for Lambton, had wished to build these four sections he would have opposed him. It is late in the day to make this statement. We can see how the mind of the honorable gentleman is drifting. There is, first, the giving up of the Esquimault and Nanaimo Branch; then the offer of $75,000 compensation, and, subsequently, his attitude in relation to these four contracts. Now, what has he done during the past year? The honorable gentleman, being convinced that this Government was to build the railway to Bute Inlet, denounced the policy of the Government, and it was asserted on the other side of the House that we were expending $20,000,000 more than would be required to build the same road on the Fraser River. Had we adopted that route they would have asked, "Why did you not take the route we selected by the Fraser River? We called for tenders, and by accepting them you would effect a saving of $20,000,000 to the country." So they found their little game was over, and now their policy was to denounce what they wished for themselves. Now, what is the next move of the honorable member for West Durham? He asks us to postpone these contracts, and his next move will be to ask that there shall be no railroad at all. The country, however, is not of that opinion. The country wants this railway, as it wanted the Intercolonial. We do not want to be at the mercy of our neighbours on the other side of the line. We want to build up a great

nation in British North America. We want this Confederation of ours to be a success, and to make it a success we must have a Pacific Railway of our own. It is a necessity of our position, a necessity of Confederation, and therefore the people have determined that that road shall be built. But we are alive to the position of the country. We do not want to build 1,956 miles of road in two, three or four years. We will take the necessary time to construct it, and we will construct it as the wants of the country require it. Another thing that must have struck honorable gentlemen is the determination of honorable gentlemen on the other side (and I am sorry to say the honorable member for West Durham) to depreciate this country. From beginning to end, the speech of the honorable gentleman was a depreciation of our resources and our country, and an eulogium of the United States. He has done his best to prove that our lands are not equal to those of the United States, and that our institutions are not as good as those of the United States, that we cannot have as large an emigration as the United States, that we have not the means of peopling our North-west as the United States have of peopling their Western States. And why? Because, I suppose, this is British territory; because we have British institutions I maintain that the emigration from the British Isles will not hesitate to come to our North-west if they can find there good lands and the protection and institutions they have left at home. In that country we have the best lands in the world. We have free lands there, to begin with, and settlers may also purchase lands there at a very small rate. They have also the free institutions of the Old Country, and the greatest protection possible. They will have communication with the old settled Provinces as soon as the railway is built. To the manufacturing industries is attributed this attraction of foreign emigration, and the emigration from the old Provinces of the Dominion. But there is no reason why that emigration should not go to our North-west in a very short time. The National Policy is building up manufacturing industries in this conntry that will require all the hands we can furnish in this country, and furnish employment for the emigrants from abroad. Already there is an emigration from the United States into British territory in the North-west; I saw from a paper the other day that three heads of families, with their wives and children, had just arrived at Winnipeg for the purpose of settling in the North-west. Last year I am informed that no less than 3,000 people from the United States had settled in the North-west. The honorable gentleman said that we would have but a small emigration to the North-west, and he characterized the figures of my honorable friend the Minister of Railways and Canals as "absurdly extravagant." Now, supposing the emigration and purchase of lands were only half that calculated by the honorable gentleman. The honorable gentleman is still not satisfied; he is afraid that too many emigrants will come; and he puts in their mouths good arguments to induce them not to remain, but to go into what he calls that beautiful land, the United States. I do not wish to say that the honorable gentleman is not patriotic, but I am afraid that he has forgotten that patriotism for which he had such a high notion However, I was glad to hear the honorable gentleman say that, for this year and next year, we could expect a large increase. He says the circumstances are peculiar, and we may expect an emigration this year, probably a larger

influx than any previous year, but he will not allow us to have any more after ; they must all go to the United States.

Mr. BLAKE—The honorable gentleman is misrepresenting what I said.

Mr. LANGEVIN—The inferenee to be drawn from what the honorable gentleman said was certainly that which I have stated. Why, if we are to have emigrants coming this year, snould we not have them next year and the year after, and so forth? The same reason that will cause them to come this year and next year, will cause them to come the following years also. Surely there is no reason to prevent them coming. The peculiar cirsumstances are such that these people must emigrate from the old countries if they want to live, which in Canada offers exceptional attractions for all classes. We know that we had to vote a large sum of money the other day—and we did it willingly, cheerfully, and with the greatest pleasure; and we only regret that our means would not allow us to double or treble the amount—to feed a portion of the people who form the population of the British Isles. A portion of that people will emigrate and come out here, as they did before ; their lands are too small in extent, and they know if they come over the Atlantic there are homes for them in the prairies of the west, on British soil. They know they will find free land and that they can purchase more, and that they will not find foreign institutions ; they will find free institutions, and here they will find home rule, of which we have heard so much. Here they will find the institutions they have dreamt of ; here in Canada they will find their compatriots ; they will find them in every station of life ; they will find them on the Bench, in Parliament, in the Local Legislatures ; they will find them at the Bar, in all the liberal avocations ; they will find them among the merchants, and they will find them among the most wealthy and influential people in the country ; amongst all these, Irishmen are found taking a prominent position, and well treated, on an equal footing with all of us. We are always willing to receive them, and, if I speak for my own Province, I would say that when, at a certain period, a large number of these poor emigrants were obliged to come to this country—and many of them lost their lives by the plague or other disasters—their children were not left there unassisted, unclothed, unfed, uncared for ; they were received by my own countrymen in the Province of Quebec ; they were taken care of, and we now find numbers of them in the best positions in this country. They were not of our own blood . they were not of our own nationality, but they were human beings, and we received them in our houses, we received them as our children. Yes, Mr. Speaker, Irishmen will find here a home, they will find peace here, and contentment, and honorable gentlemen need not be afraid, as the honorable member for West Durham insinuated, that they will not come because they will be under the same British flag, because they will be under the same rule as in Ireland. They know better than that ; they know that they are as free in Canada, under the British flag, as they would be in the United States, under the Stars and Stripes. Ask Irishmen in the United States, ask Englishmen who have gone there, whether we do not have institutions in Canada as good, as free, as independent, as the United States. We have freedom here, Mr. Speaker, perfect freedom, but no license. The honorable gentleman has also stated that the honorable the First Minister

had no right to expect from these emigrants settling in the North-West any large contribution to the revenue for many years. And what reasons does he give us? He says they will have to build a house and a barn; they will have to buy cattle and horses and agricultural implements; they will have to maintain themselves and their families; they will have to provide clothing and food; and the whole of these, he says, with hard cash. The honorable gentleman tries to prevent emigrants—I do nor know why—from coming here; he says to them: "Do not come here in this country, you will have to pay for everything you require with hard cash." Well, Sir, I do not know with what they pay for the same articles, horses, cattle, implements, clothing, food, and so on, in the United States if it is not with hard cash. They surely do not give them these horses, cattle, implements, food and clothing for nothing in the United States. Have they not to pay for all these things there, as well as here, with hard cash? This is a very argument to use; it is not worthy of the honorable member for West Durham. I am surprised that he should attach so much importance to it. But he gives the emigrant another reason against coming here. He says:—"You will have to smuggle, and you will smuggle; you will smuggle a great deal." That is the accusation he brings against the people coming from England; that is the accusation he brings against these Irishmen, and against Scotchmen and Englishmen, and French-Canadians. Those are his words:—"He will smuggle as much as he can, and I expect he will smuggle a good deal;" and he gives that as a reason why we will have no revenue from that source. I think for my part the Hon. the Minister of Finance will call upon the Hon. the Minister of Customs to take care that the smuggling does not go on in that direction. The honorable gentleman continues and speaks of the value of real estate. He says it has sunk everywhere, except that the honorable member for Vancouver claimed differently for British Columbia. But the value of real estate has not gone down by the policy of this Government. If real estate did go down very low; if it sank and sank, while the honorable gentlemen were in power; it is well known that since the National Policy has been inaugurated, real estate has been improving; it has gone up from one end of the country to the other; and the honorable gentlemen, speaking of banks and bank stocks, said that a number of banks had disappeared. Let him look at and compare the list of stocks two and a half years ago with the list to-day, and he will see an immense difference this year, and last year, in the value of stock. He is determined to have nothing good in this country; he is determined to see, and show, nothing but ruin and decay. It is the old cry; his friends, when he was quite young, spoke of the same ruin and decay; and so it is going on, and will go on from generation to generation; and I have no doubt this same cry will be repeated at appropriate intervals, by the children of these gentlemen in ten, and fifteen, and twenty, and thirty years hence. As long as they cannot sit on these Benches, so long as they are not in power, everything ceases to be bright, everything is dark; no emigration can come.

Mr. BLAKE—That is just what you said at the last election.

Mr. LANGEVIN—The honorable gentleman says, that is what we said at the last election. We had good cause at that time. The honorable

gentlemen opposite had brought the country to the last point possible; we had been brought to the eve of a national bankruptcy, by the financial policy of gentlemen on the other side; the country was in a most deplorable condition; people were leaving it at every point; the revenue had fallen off; deficit after deficit had rolled up, and we had to call upon the people and point out the cause of this state of things. That brought about a change, and having been put in power by the people, we inaugurated a wise policy for improving the condition of the country, and the honorable gentleman must see that we have been successful enough. The country understood us, and they have brought us here to promote the prosperity of the country, and we have to a great extent succeeded already, though we may expect to do more during the next year. In conclusion, I only wish to say that the present occasion is, in my opinion, the only opportunity that this Parliament has had of deciding on this great question decisively. This is the first time that we have been met, face to face, with the important question, whether or not we are to continue to have Confederation, for which we have labored year after year to bring about, whether that great work is to last or not? It is for honorable gentlemen to decide, and I appeal to the honorable member for Lambton —he must be in favour of Confederation—as his honorable friend, who, I am sorry to know, is in a very precarious state of health. Let us vote this amendment down. Do not let us destroy Confederation; it is a great, a good work, a work by which the institutions of England are to be made permanent on this continent; it is a work to secure freedom for our children for all time to come, to build a great Empire on this continent. We shall not, perhaps, see it fully peopled; but the time will come, if we look to the country instead of to ourselves; if we look to the country instead of to these benches. Honorable gentlemen should not forget that at the period of this Confederation being brought about, these Provinces were small dependencies of England; they were scattered, and far asunder; the leading men of each Province did not know the leading men of the other Provinces; they had no common intercourse; they did not know their separate institutions; they were separated and isolated from each other as much as we are separated from Ireland or China; but to-day we are a united Dominion; we are a great country, a powerful country, if we be only true to ourselves. We are not very numerous—a little over 4,000,000. But when the United States separated from England they were only 4,000,000; to-day they are 40,000,000 of people, perhaps 45,000,000; and, Mr. Speaker, they have not a better country than ours; they had no better prospects and advantages than we have; they have had bloody wars; we have had no bloody wars; they had a bloody war to bring about their independence, and they had another bloody war afterwards; they had a fratricidal war, which was a most bloody war. We have had no such bloody wars; England has recognized our rights, has recognized the true policy of making this country a free country, and we are so free that we have not a single British soldier, we have not a soldier of the British army amongst us, with the exception of a small number at Halifax, left to assist in the guardianship of that coast. We are left in the free exercise of our rights, and every man is loyal to the Empire and to our Queen, because we know that we are protected in case of war, protected on the seas, and protected, not only in this country, but abroad; for every citizen that goes

abroad is protected by the flag of England. Mr. Speaker, once more; do not let us destroy Confederation; do not let us destroy the charter of our liberties; let us be true to ourselves, and continue to progress as we have been since the first day of Confederation; let us continue to be contented and happy. If we begin by passing this amendment, we are, in the words of the honorable member for West Durham, saying to British Columbia, "You may go; you are not reasonable." It would be unreasonable for us to tell British Columbia to go. She has been patient and reasonable. She will wait until the good times come, when the means of the country will allow us to build the road with vigour. We will build that railway year by year, and shortly we will have a road from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and most likely, on that day, we will, I hope, find the honorable members for Lambton and West Durham in a first-class car going to see their friends in British Columbia; and at that period they will regret having attempted to destroy the future of Canada, by running down their country and eulogizing the United States of America.

SPEECH OF J. B. PLUMB, ESQ., M.P.

Mr. PLUMB—The attention of the House and country has been painfully drawn, within the last four or five days, to the important discussion proceeding in this House. We were prepared for a very able review of the fiscal history and policy of the country by the notice given by the member for West Durham, and the expectations of the House and public have been in some degree justified by the elaborate manner in which that honorable gentleman has treated the great questions reviewed by him. He has made a speech which must be regarded, in connection with that of the member for Lambton, as the *pronunciamento* of the fragment of the party which they lead and represent. The member for West Durham has been distinguished by his erratic course. He first joined the administration of the member for Lambton, being for a time a Minister without a portfolio. Then the honorable gentleman quitted the Government, and re-entered it, remaining till it was overthrown.

Mr. BLAKE—No.

Mr. PLUMB—He continued to be a member of the late Government at least until the last session in which it was dominant was over—an erratic and uncertain co-adjutor, first without portfolio, then after sitting one session on the back benches he re-entered it in succession to Mr. Fournier as Minister of Justice, then again, taking the chair left vacant by his colleague, Mr. Cauchon, he gave up the department of justice to another colleague, Mr. Laflamme. The honorable gentleman went in and out and shuffled about so many times that it is difficult to follow his movements.

His last utterance on a public platform during the election campaign was at Teeswater, in his then constituency of South Bruce, when the country was anxiously waiting to hear him defend the Administration of which he was a member. His friends were greatly disappointed. He scarcely referred to the issues of the campaign so far as they turned upon the acts of his Government, and his half hearted support of his associates was their implied condemnation. He did not fail, however, to deal most minutely with matters connected with his own department of Justice, claiming great credit for having achieved without difficulty what his predecessor (Sir John Macdonald) had failed to accomplish—for having cleared up accumulations of business left on his hands, I infer, by Messrs. Dorion and Fournier, who had gone to their reward on the Bench where electors cease from troubling, for having despatched promptly and with ease the ever increasing business of the Department, and yet at the following session the honorable gentleman did not hesitate to support a measure of his Government for the division of the Department, and the new appointment of an Attorney-General at a salary of $7,000 a year, on the ground that the labour was too heavy for one chief officer.

At the Teeswater meeting it was noted that the honorable gentleman was very lukewarm in justifying the course pursued by his colleagues. He

was amply able, if he had so chosen, to find arguments, whether sound or otherwise, for the defence of the Government of which he had been a member, but though he failed to do so, the public has always held him responsible, and will always hold him responsible, for the whole course of the Administration of which he formed a part. We have heard for the first time now the conditions upon which he says he took office under the honorable gentleman who led the late Government (Mr. Mackenzie.)

The chief characteristics of the honorable gentleman's political career are its capricious inconstancy and its utter inconsistency. At one moment, "letting I dare not wait upon I would," he refuses a seat in the Government; at another, he accepts a position befitting his professional standing; at another, retires from it to a comparative sinecure made vacant by the promotion of a colleague whose presence was a perpetual reminder of unsavory transactions, while his own place was filled by an arrangement for which he is directly responsible, and which ought to have received his indignant opposition.

The honorable gentleman says he retired, but he carried with him the responsibilities of which he cannot rid himself, complicity with every act of which he had been cognizant while he remained in office.

We were then told that the honorable gentleman intended to withdraw from political life. He doubtless knew far better than we did the sins which he would be called upon to justify if he remained. The anxious electors of South Bruce sent urgent delegations to him urging him to accept re-nomination, and he at last, when they brought him a requisition having a formidable array of signatures, "vowing he would ne'er consent, consented," but wisely left his supporters to fight the battle while he turned his back upon the campaign and remained absent from the country until the elections were over and his own signal defeat had been secured.

Again he coquetted month after month with those of his party—and they were not by any means the whole of his party—who desired to bring him back to the present Parliament, one session of which had been held without his presence.

When it was announced last autumn that the retirement of Mr. Burke had been arranged, and that the honorable gentleman would accept the nomination for West Durham, we waited with much curiosity to hear what ground he would take in the platform for his canvass. We expected to hear additional theories, unsubstantial as those of the Aurora declarations, and perhaps more startling and disturbing, for at one time he appears as the advocate of radical changes in our political system, involving a progress which is almost revolutionary, and which many less ardent but perhaps more sincere and practical levellers deem dangerous. At other times, as we have just now heard, he calls upon us suddenly to halt in the midst of our career, to make a swift retreat and entrench ourselves behind the dismantled and decaying fortress of 1871, a retreat that would involve the abandonment and surrender of all the great advantages we have gained since that period. When, however, at West Durham he proclaimed his platform, we were surprised to find that part of his speech—and a very large part of it it was—which bore upon the National Policy was made up of stale quotations from the *Globe*—was in fact an argument prepared apparently out of

the threadbare editorial articles of that paper. He entered Parliament and took a seat on the back benches with ostentatious humility. He has shown that he is not to be contented with that position. He has now placed himself in such an attitude that his utterances must be dealt with as of a party character, and it is almost distressing to see the manner in which his late colleague, and I may now say his late leader, the honorable member for Lambton (Mr. Mackenzie), humbly takes up his argument, and even goes further than the honorable gentleman himself in decrying the ability of the country to build the Pacific Railway, which was the gravamen of that honorable gentleman's argument. I followed him (Mr. Mackenzie) through a great part of his speech with surprise and deep regret, as I have no doubt did many other honorable gentlemen who noted its tone and spirit. There has been nothing said or done in the House so well calculated to dishearten and discourage this country as the remarks of both those gentlemen. The speech of the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake), especially, was a funeral dirge from beginning to end—a doleful sound from the tombs—a wail over a lost Israel of power—a Jeremiad like the lamentations of the Hebrew Prophet whose name has become an adjective. He warned us we were going too fast—that we had no justification for claiming that we were making healthy progress; that this country could offer no attractive inducements for emigrants; that the Teutonic races were led to form settlements in the United States by common political sympathies and Democratic sentiments; that the Celtic expatriation was always towards the great Republic which heard and responded to the appeals of down-trodden Ireland, and that the expatriation would now be checked by reason of the change in the Imperial Government, in the "so-called United Empire,"—and we marked the sarcastic sneering emphasis with which he pronounced these words—and we might hope through that change for the Sunburst of Home Rule, and for the resulting justice so long denied or delayed. He said we had practically nothing to look for to take up our vacant lands except the immigration of a few English tenant farmers, who would be attracted to the Dominion by similarity of institutions and political sympathies; that there was no hope for us except in immediately reversing our whole policy; that otherwise the country could not possibly meet its pecuniary engagements, or sustain the burthens which could not be thrown off. But the hon. member for West Durham did not utter warnings of this kind during the five years of the rule during which he sanctioned by his presence on the Treasury Benches the disastrous depletion of the Treasury, the reckless increase in departmental expenditure, and the extravagant and blundering railway policy of a Reform Government that had nothing to reform except their own mal-administration. During the great depression under which the country was suffering in that trying period, when the colleagues with whom he was associated were proceeding with the extravagant schemes he now denounces—were engaged in expensive enterprises of which they have thrown upon the present Government, the necessity of carrying forward—building railways, opening up new territory, and increasing in every manner, which the hon. member for West Durham now eloquently condemns, the public debt, while the Treasury suffered from increasing deficits, for which no provision was suggested by the hon. gentleman, or by his immediately culpable colleagues, he did not lift up his voice of warning. He

did not take the position he now assumes, though there was a greater reason for it then. He allowed his friends to go on and deplete the Treasury; he saw the House filled with contractors, yet never uttered a word in denunciation of that iniquitous system by which the late administration disgraced the country. He was a consenting party to everything done by it, and it does not become him or anyone on his side to hint at an exploded thread-bare scandal, when they have proven scandals of their own of ten times its magnitude. In his attack upon a sister Province he spoke of the madness of throwing our gold into the canons of British Columbia; he charged us with squandering the public money in the undertaking of the construction of the railway line along the Fraser, an undertaking we feel ourselves bound in honor and good faith to proceed with. For the first time I heard in this House, during this debate, that there was never any sincere intention on the part of the gentlemen on the opposite side to build any portion of the railway in British Columbia. I supposed that when they accepted the Carnarvon Award—when they introduced the bill to sanction the construction of the Nanaimo and Esquimalt line, and especially, latterly, when they transported the rails provided for that line to a convenient point on the main land, and drew attention to the fact as an earnest of their good faith, they intended in all honor to carry out the scheme agreed upon. That agreement was ratified time after time by the House, and while the Carnarvon terms were accepted the hon. gentlemen were so intent upon fulfilling them that they left out the proviso in respect to increase of taxation, which had been adopted in all previous legislation, and, it is said that the resolution offering that reservation was an afterthought of the hon. member for West Durham, who put it in the hands of the hon. member for West Middlesex (Mr. Ross), by whom it was moved several days after the debate on and acceptance of the Carnarvon terms, in a speech in which that hon. member propounded the doctrine that emigration into the Northwest must precede railway construction. I can scarcely undertake to follow the hon. member for West Durham in his five or six hours' speech. In the array of figures that he produced during his treatment of the financial branch of his argument, I think I recognized a practised hand, one that can make figures assist an argument on one side as well as on another. The honorable gentleman from West Durham himself used them as a pleader handles a brief on which he must make an argument, before he has time to study it. It was evident that his forte was not statistics compiled from the Public Accounts and in deductions therefrom he was evidently at sea. The state of things which my honorable friend has brought forward does not prove his case. It is useless to say that this country is not in a state in which we may look for progress and improvement. If there has been no satisfactory progress attained since 1873, we all know where the responsibility belongs. It does not belong to the honorable gentlemen on this side of the House, who have honestly endeavored to promote the public welfare, but it lies upon those who, from the moment of their accession to power in 1873, whether on the Treasury Benches or in opposition, have endeavored in every possible way to alarm capitalists and prevent them from investing their money in undertakings which would enhance the prosperity of the country. My honorable friend complained a little while ago that we charged him with being unpatriotic. I say the charge is a general one

against his side of the House, although I regret to say that the chief offender of all, because I believe he sins against light and knowledge, is the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake), whose utterances are still ringing in our ears. It is painful to hear what that honorable gentleman has said of the state of affairs in this country, and it would be still more painful to hear it if we did not know that it was but a mere figment of his bilious imagination. It is more than two years ago since the late Finance Minister jauntily predicted ftom his place in this House that the culminating point in our commercial depression had been reached. That honorable gentleman, when it suited him, could speak as cheeringly about the prospects of the country as any one upon this side of the House. But he wished merely to cover his shortcomings; he had no actual knowledge that the time had come when the depression was to pass away. But that honorable gentleman never tired of pointing out the condition of the United States as an example to be shunned. He told us that that highly protected country, having committed suicide by adopting a protective system, was in a state of fiscal ruin from which it could never recover. Now the tune is entirely changed. Consistency cannot be expected from desperate partisans, and I was not surprised to hear the honorable member for West Durham lauding the United States, and quoting it as an example of prosperity which we could not hope to reach or even approach. But when I ventured, as I thought I might, to ask him whether that country which he was so highly lauding, was not a highly protected country, the honorable gentleman, instead of answering me candidly, put his hand upon his heart and said he was too feeble to be interrupted, and trusted we would not question him and allow him to go to the end of his speech without interpellation. I have always endeavored to treat that honorable gentleman with the courtesy to which I think every honorable gentleman has a right. I refrained, therefore, from pressing for a reply, although I believe that the interpellation had its effect and will take a place in the official reports as a parenthesis in the honorable gentleman's speech, and be, perhaps, a small antidote to a great bane. My honorable friend said there was a large increase of population in the United States. He must remember that the system of exclusive protection was initiated in that country in 1861, when the Morrill Tariff was passed, and the great increase of population and the rapid growth of prosperity to which he refers, notwithstanding the civil war, dates from that period. But the honorable gentleman did not state half the case when he gave the quantity of the sales of land that had been made in the Western States, and built upon it an argument against the calculation of the Premier. He then only stated the sales the Government had made, which are not, I venture to say, although I have not made the calculation, 10 per cent. of the entire sales. The great sales of land in that country have been made by railway corporations holding enormous grants of the public lands under the very system we propose to adopt here, that of building railways in advance of settlement, and trusting to the sale of lands to recoup the outlay. The railways of the Western States preceded the influx of population which the honorable gentleman emphasises, and acted as potent colonizing agents. Kansas, which the honorable member has specially referred to, would be nothing without

the great railways which run through it. It was by a combination of railway charters with land grants that the Western States had been built up and have increased so rapidly in population. Northern Missouri and Illinois were largely populated by such means, and Illinois was one of the first which felt the influence of that system. The Illinois Central Railroad was greatly instrumental in filling that State with inhabitants, and giving it wealth and power. Now, we have proposed to take a leaf out of the book of that country which my honorable friend says is so prosperous, and which, under his commendations, we may perhaps venture to imitate. Why should not the same system prove successful here that has proved so successful there? What have they got which we have not? What advantages have the North Western States which our own North Western Territories have not? The whole argument of the honorable gentleman opposite is that our country does not present advantages to intending emigrants which are presented by the States upon the borders of Manitoba and southward, including Texas, that owing to the difficulty of transport of supplies, absence of markets, isolation and many other objections with which we have been made familiar, emigrants will not be induced to take up our lands, that the climate is inhospitable, and last and worst, that the system adopted by the Government is calculated to deter actual settlers and throw the lands into the hands of speculators. It is claimed by the honorable gentlemen opposite that the experience of the Western States confirms their previsions. I think they are greatly mistaken. We have seen that the great railway which extends from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean has been built by private enterprise. Notwithstanding the enormous sums spent upon it, there has never been a day in which the bonds of the California Central Railway have been below par, even in the greatest period of depression. We are told now that we must halt after having expended millions on our Pacific Railway, after having fully committed ourselves and the country to the great enterprise, although we believe we are fully in accord with public sentiment in the course we are pursuing, and that the country reposes full confidence in the wisdom and prudence of our leaders in respect to the rate at which the work shall proceed, although we feel assured that the task can be accomplished without permanently or presently increasing the public burthens. My honorable friend from West Durham presents his Budget to the House, containing a dismal, but, I fear, not a candid array of statistics, and demands that we shall abandon a scheme which the Government of which he was a member, equally with that which I support, are bound to fulfil. Nothing can be imagined which would be more detrimental to the interests of this country than the acceptance of his proposition. I undertake to say that, if the policy he urges were adopted, our securities in the English market would immediately fall, and continue to decline in price. To adopt that policy would be a confession of judgment, and we should soon see the effects of it. The honorable gentleman is trifling with the best interests of this country when he proposes to go back upon our word in regard to that great undertaking. I have never advocated going on with it in such a way as to press unduly upon the taxpayers of this country. But the first act of the honorable gentleman and his friends, when they came into office, was to increase the taxation by a sum declared by the late Finance

Minister to be $3,000,000. It is useless for them to say it was because there were other obligations resting on the country than that of building the Pacific Railway which were to be thus provided for. It can be shown that money raised under the tariff of 1874 was spent in the abortive Pacific Railway schemes of the late Government, contrary to the solemn pledges of Parliament. I was surprised at the disingenuousness of the manner in which the honorable member for West Durham brought before the House the charge—so often repeated and never substantiated—that there was something culpable in the increase of the expenditure of ten millions in 1874, as compared with 1867. I took the pains to examine every item of the increased expenditure; I produced them here, and challenged our friends opposite, to show where there had been an increase in any one of them which was not necessary and justifiable. I pointed out that there had been no objection made to them at the time by any member of the then opposition. I asserted, without contradiction, that nearly a million of dollars of the expenditure, properly chargeable to 1875, was fraudulently thrown upon that of 1874. The honorable gentleman instituted a comparison between the expenditures of 1871 and 1874.

Mr. BLAKE—I made no such comparison.

Mr. PLUMB—My honorable friend will not interrupt me, because I claim the same privilege that he did. I say fraudulently, in a political sense; and I say that the honorable gentleman can easily be shown that the growth of the country—her recognized obligations and her necessary duties, to say nothing of her best policy—absolutely forbids and makes it impossible for her to go back to the scale of expenditure of 1871, which he urges, as one that should be adopted. And I defy my honorable friend to take up item by item of the increased expenditure, which he so strongly condemns, and shew a single instance, up to 1872, to which there was any objection made at all. In the spring of 1873, I acknowledge that the honorable member for Centre Huron (Sir Richard Cartwright) did make a feeble criticism of the budget of my honorable friend then, and now the Finance Minister. He had previously confined his financial criticisms to a few feeble utterances upon the militia estimates. In 1872, it will be remembered, the *Globe* newspaper denounced that eminent financier as a mixer and muddler of figures, and violently opposed his election; but my honorable friend from West Durham accepted him as a colleague holding the Portfolio of Finance in 1873; and is from that time responsible for every act which he sanctioned by remaining in office. Between 1867 and 1874, every item of expenditure had been made necessary by circumstances and obligations connected with the union of the Provinces and the extension of our territory; and I defy the honorable gentleman to point to a single item of expenditure which has not been accepted and continued by the Administration which succeeded the Government overthrown in 1873. They were entirely untrammelled when they came into power—and I would ask, Why did they not cut off that expenditure; why did they not reduce that expenditure; why did they not fulfil their loud-mouthed promises of economy and retrenchment? We may admit, for argument's sake, that they were bound by the Pacific Railway agreements with British Columbia, although my honorable friend argues that they were not. But, why did

they go on with that expenditure, as a Government work, when, as is asserted on the other side of the House, our scheme had failed? Why did they make the obligations larger year by year? Why did they at the outset throw away immense sums on useless telegraph lines, long before the railway line, to which they were to be an adjunct, had been located or even surveyed? I defy my honorable friend from West Durham to answer those questions satisfactorily. I would like my honorable friend to explain whether he and his colleagues in one single instance reduced, without injury to the country, one single item of the expenditure which they assert had been so reckless, so extravagant, and so corrupt. When those honorable gentlemen came into power, they found an overflowing treasury. They found that there had been a large surplus year by year, notwithstanding a heavy remission of taxes, in taking off the duty on tea and coffee, during the Administration that held power from the time of Confederation till 1873. During that time over $10,000,000, out of the surplus revenues, had been spent in public works, properly chargeable to capital account; and there was no deficit impending when they took the keys of the public chest. There could not have been a deficit in that year or the next. Upon meeting, in the spring of 1873, the Parliament, which had been elected the previous summer, my honorable friend (Sir Leonard Tilley), then as now the Finance Minister, stated that engagements which had been and would be entered into would probably involve an ultimate necessity for increased taxation. He said that the revenue for the coming year would be sufficient for all purposes, and leave a moderate surplus, but that he would probably find it necessary to deal with the Tariff at the next session, and that when he did so he should keep in view the protection of our home industries, and promote the interests of this country in that direction as far as practicable. He was succeeded by the Hon. the ex-Finance Minister (Sir Richard Cartwright), who, it is well known, commenced his career by denouncing his predecessors in the most violent terms, by grossly overstating and misstating the extent and character of the obligations under which they had placed the country. He roundly asserted that the Pacific Railway they had undertaken to construct would cost the country more than $150,000,000; that they left above 131 millions to provide for; that it would create a greater public debt, in proportion to our resources and population, than the national debt of England; and that they had left upon him 131 millions of obligations which, poor man, he had to provide for—but he added that he was fully equal to the task. He painted everything in the blackest colours, he stated that the country had been ruined by the extravagance of the Ministry that had just then retired. The honorable gentleman then increased, or permitted the increase, of the public expenditure in every possible form. He piled deficit on deficit, he made no provision for those deficits, except a notable suggestion that the yearly contributions to Sinking Fund should not be charged against the yearly expenditure on income account, and when he went out of office, the necessity devolved on my honorable friend of providing for them. I have not heard my honorable friend from West Durham, during the course of his long and exhaustive oration, touch at all upon any plan which he would have proposed to bring forward to relieve the country from the burdens which had been

thrown upon it by the gentlemen with whom he has been associated for five years. The honorable gentleman is a special pleader. He takes his pleas from his brief with great ingenuity, energy and eloquence, but after all, it is nothing but special pleading. Every one who listened to the honorable gentleman during the whole of his oration, felt that he was endeavoring to present from his point of view, arguments, not as a statesman, not as the rising hope of a great party, to whom the young men of Canada at one time looked for better things, but as a pleader of a special case, for a special purpose, which every man who listened to him felt was nothing more nor less than the word of a trained advocate, and an ingenious hair-splitting counsel. The speech of the honorable gentleman gives us the *raison d'etre* of his again coming in the flesh among men, and claiming to take a part in the affairs which he affected to have done with forever. Less than a year ago he described himself as a ghost revisiting the earth whose interests he had ceased to interfere with. But the honorable gentleman soon tired of playing the role of a wandering spirit cut off from his familiar associations and ambitions, and he comes, like Banquo, with twenty mortal speeches in his mouth, to push his late leader from his stool and usurp his place. The honorable gentleman's temper is too excitable, and his nature is too imperious and arbitrary, and his organization is too nervous to bear the brunt and stress which must be borne by a party leader, especially the leader of a forlorn hope, disorganized and demoralized like that which now confronts us and is not at unity with itself. The honorable gentleman could not refrain from a malignant attack upon the Sister Provinces in his denunciation of the policy by which they have been misled into Confederation. According to him each one has been guilty of a lapse of virtue which is little better than shameless prostitution. Nova Scotia was secretly bribed, and then, half reluctant, forced into consent. A disgraceful bargain seduced Quebec. New Brunswick sold her wares in the market, and pocketed the price of her dishonour. Prince Edward Island yielded to the tempter and fell. Even weak Manitoba made some show of resistance, which was but coyness, and became an easy, if not a willing victim, but the crowning shame was the foul bargain with British Columbia, which was made, according to the honorable gentleman, "on the first day of April, 1871, "fitting day for fitting deed." Do we understand the honorable gentleman, that he considers the bargains, if such they are, of a nature that they should now be repudiated, or is he willing to abide by a wrong, provided he can rule the destinies of a Union which he so eloquently denounces. To go back to 1871 would be to cast off British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, and disfranchise Manitoba and the Northwest. Is it part of the hon. gentleman's programme, one of the issues of his new departure, to untwine the bonds that unite the Provinces? The studied effort to sow discontent among them would seem like it, but it is impossible to measure the depth or height of the honorable gentleman's arguments. As he said at Aurora, he is always fond of making disturbing speeches, and he is also always "ill at ease," and "languishes for the purple mists" of chimeras which every one but a vague political dreamer knows to be unsubstantial and unattainable. His gloomy utterances might have found some response when our community were bowed down by the disasters through which we were passing three or four years ago, and the bravest held his breath while the

financial tornado and hurricane was at its height, but now he is as one born out of due time. There is a hopeful feeling, a spirit of enterprise abroad, and the instincts of a young, energetic country are entirely antagonistic to his sepulchral doctrines.

The honorable gentleman from Lambton (Mr. Mackenzie) has just told us that when he came into power, he found that the negocia. tions of Sir Hugh Allan and his co-Directors, in respect to obtaining means for building the Pacific Railway under the charter that they held, had wholly failed, but that his Government, recognized that they were the trustees of the preceding Government and of the people, in so far as the agreement to construct the road was concerned. They were, however, free from the trammels of any previous legislation in respect to the manner of constructing the road, and they chose to undertake it as Government work. My honorable friend is never tired of repeating, both here and elsewhere, that when he brought down the Pacific Railway resolutions in 1874, they were passed without an amendment having been proposed, without the change, as he said on one occasion, "of the dotting of an 'i' or the crossing of a 't.'" The honorable gentleman was then backed by an enormous, unreasoning, over-bearing, mechanical majority. When the honorable gentleman brought down his resolutions, they were rushed through at a late hour. At three o'clock in the morning the debate was choked off ruthlessly, and there are gentlemen now present sitting in this House to-day who know that when the honorable gentleman stated that no amendment was offered to those resolutions, either his memory was treacherous or he intentionally stated that which was not the case. The honorable gentleman, if he will look at the votes and proceedings of that day—I have them here—will find there were three amendments proposed, one by the honorable member for Frontenac and two by the honorable member for Vancouver. They were voted down, of course, by the large majority that sat behind the honorable gentleman, ready at all times to submit to his dictum. The honorable gentleman, in the course of the next session—early in 1875,—laid on the table of the House two Pacific Railway contracts: One for No. 13, being for grading and bridging the then contemplated line from Fort William Town Plot to Shebandowan westward, 45 miles, for $406,904; one for section 14, from Selkirk, on Red River, to Cross Lake eastward, 77 miles, for $402,950. In the summer of 1876 he entered into contract No. 25 for section 25, from Sunshine Creek, where No. 13 was terminated, to English River, 80 miles, and for ballasting and track-laying from Fort William to English River, 112½ miles, for $1,037,061; and in January, 1877, for No. 15, from Cross Lake to Kewatin, 38¼ miles, including ballasting and track-laying of No. 14 and No. 15, for $1,594,486. When asking the House to sanction the contracts for sections 13 and 14, he at the same time asked authority to let section 15, from Cross Lake to Kewatin, and some discussion arose between the honorable gentleman (Mr. Mackenzie) and the honorable the present Minister of Railways (Sir Charles Tupper), who said: "The statement made by the Premier (Mr. Mackenzie) afforded one "of the most apt and forcible illustrations of the unwisdom of undertaking "to let contracts without any such survey as would put contractors in a

"position to know anything like the amount of work required to be per-
"formed." Mr. Mackenzie said, in reply: "It so happened that a most
"elaborate survey had been made of this section. It would be impossible to
"have a more careful survey or closer examination than had been made in
"these 37 miles. There had been no such survey on the Intercolonial." The honorable gentleman (Mr. Mackenzie) now makes the disingenuous statement that he let the contracts upon the surveys which had been made by his predecessors, but he knows perfectly well that the line was not fixed upon to Kaministiqua in preference to the Nepigon until after he came to power, therefore there could have been no close survey previously of the line which he adopted. The Fort William Town Plot had not previously been a make-weight in determining the terminus. Mr. Fleming has stated in his evidence before a Committee investigating the letting of the contracts, that when the line from Fort William to Shebandowan was put under contract they did not know where they were going, and it turned out, in fact, that they did not go to Shebandowan at all, and we have in evidence taken before that committee, of which the honorable gentleman was a member, that it was found impossible to get a practicable line to Shebandowan. When the contracts were let, Mr. Fleming, if he was a party to them at all, was acting under the direction of the honorable gentleman; and I must say that I never heard anything on the floor of this House more unfair and ungenerous in its character than an attack the honorable gentleman made on his chief engineer to-day, in the desperate hope of screening himself. It was in evidence that the contracts were let without the most elementary knowledge of the line; that they were let upon bills of work containing specific quantities, which were merely guess work, not ascertained by actual survey, but made up here in Ottawa; that no survey whatever had been made, not even a trial line, on Section 14; that Section 13 had been let when the engineers did not even know where the line was to run; that the elaborate and exhaustive survey of Section 15 was a line run by eye and compass only, by Mr. Carre, who says that no mortal man—upon the data he had thus obtained, the only data that the quantities were based upon—could have given an idea of the cost. Mr. Fleming says that Section 13 was not thoroughly surveyed before letting; that "it was done hurriedly," and that he "represented to the Minister that the quantities given had no pretensions to accuracy as to the final cost of the line, and were simply a means of comparing tenders." When the work was let, he says, "we didn't know where we were going to." The whole thing, he tells us, was done hurriedly in the office at headquarters, simply upon the rough profile furnished by the Engineer in charge. The men who were taken up by the contractors to work on Section 13 were kept for some time idle, while the engineers were locating the line; and the contractors were paid by the Government for the lost time. The engineers arrived on Section 14 to make the survey, when the contractors, who had taken the work, went up to commence operations. As to Section 15 we have seen that the survey was simply a trial line, and it turns out that the surveys of Section 25 were in no better state for letting contracts. The results are that the quantities in some cases are enormously increased, and in others suspiciously reduced; that, in all cases, the cost of the four Sections, which was emphatically stated by the honorable gentleman to be $24,500 a

mile, or half that of the Intercolonial, is so enormously increased that it will reach $40,000 a mile; that that increase took place under the honorable gentleman's Administration, and must have been, or ought to have been, known to him when he repeated his statement as to the cost; and it must have been known to him that he had no authority from Mr. Fleming to make such a statement upon the hypothetical amounts of the contracts. These remarks apply with directness to sections 13, 14 and 25. As to section 15, the honorable gentleman claimed that elaborate and exhaustive surveys had been made, but the honorable gentleman must have had, or ought to have had, some evidence of those surveys before he made the positive statements in the House in 1875. Where is the record? We have seen that nothing can be more fallacious. Important engagements, committing the country to termini at Fort William and at Selkirk, the former involving a flagrant job and the latter at least a costly blunder that has cost the country, as we are told by Mr. Carre, the Division Engineer, $360,000 from fault of location alone, and contracts hurriedly let on imaginary quantities, were made by the honorable member for Lambton, who was the responsible Minister, and no one who knows the honorable gentleman will believe for a moment that he was not wholly responsible for all those lettings, and that he was not or ought not to have been fully cognizant of the state of the surveys upon a line that he had himself fixed upon. It is of no avail whatever for that honorable gentleman to attack his chief engineer for errors or worse for which I believe the country will justly hold him entirely responsible. In contract 13, taken at $406,494, but part of the work was done, but in that the ratio of cost was considerably exceeded. Contract 14 was for $402,950; the work executed under it amounted to $722,264. Contract 25 was for $1,037,061; the work executed under it amounted to $1,384,639. Contract 15 was for $1,594,085; the estimated cost up to January, 1879, was $2,525,000. In all these cases certain quantities stated on the contracts were enormously increased. In contract 25, for instance, the earth excavation at 33 cents a yard was increased from one million to one million nine hundred and fifty thousand cubic yards. In contract 15 the earth excavation was increased from 80,000 yards at 37 cents a yard to one million six hundred and fifty-seven thousand yards, and it is said that there will be a further increase of one million three hundred thousand yards. There was a radical change in the plan of executing section 15, dispensing with trestle work and substituting rock and earth. This change took place in the summer of 1878. An attempt was made to lead the Committee to believe that the change was not made upon Mr. Rowan's return from Ottawa at that time, but the evidence in the Committees of the House and Senate prove otherwise.

There had been three sets of tenders prepared and advertised for on Section 15. The final advertisement was made for September, 1876. The plan was to construct the fillings of the hollows with trestle-work—to have no earth-work except the stripping of the rocks. Strange to say, this would involve the use upon the line of a stretch of nearly fifteen miles of timber of a size that the country could not furnish. When the lettings were made, and, in fact, when the tenders were advertised for, it will be found

that Mr. Fleming was not in Canada. Mr. Marcus Smith, Acting Chief Engineer, was in the West, and he telegraphed the hon. member for Lambton from Winnipeg, after the bids were opened, if the contract had not been let, to wait till his return. This, however, did not suit the hon. gentleman. The tenders were received—twenty-one of them—that of A. P. Macdonald & Co., for $1,443,175, was the lowest. They were notified to undertake the work, and arrangements were made by them for executing the contract and furnishing the security; but they heard, while their arrangements were pending, that two years' extension of time for finishing contract 14 had been given. Their contract included laying track over that section, and its completion within the time first agreed on was necessary in order to enable Macdonald & Co. to get in supplies to Section 15. The contractors for Section 14 were Sifton, Ward & Co., of Petrolia—staunch friends of the hon. gentleman—and I have good reason to believe that the extension was made when it was found that the bid of A. P. Macdonald & Co. was the successful one.

Mr. MACKENZIE—No such thing.

Mr. PLUMB—I do not accept the hon. gentleman's "no such thing," for I rather think that, if the matter came to the test, that I could prove it.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Well, prove it.

Mr. PLUMB—Messrs. A. P. Macdonald & Co. contracted under the impression that the Government would hold Sifton, Ward & Co. to the completion of the contract within the specified time. They wrote to the Department stating what they had heard, and said that the prices at which they had tendered were based upon the supposition that Sifton, Ward & Co.'s contract would be finished in time to enable Macdonald & Co. to lay the track over Section 14 by August, 1877. They conclude by asking if such an extension had been granted, and say: "It would be imprudent for us to "enter into the contract unless we were put in possession of the advan- "tages which the specifications and forms of tender led us to believe and "base our calculations upon."

What was the answer to that reasonable request? We must bear in mind that this tender of A. P. Macdonald & Co. was that of a perfectly responsible firm, whose contract anybody, acting in his own private interest or having the public interest solely at heart, would have been anxious to secure. The Government gave no satisfactory explanation whatever. Mr. Braun briefly requests them to execute the contract immediately. Messrs. A. P. Macdonald & Co. reply:—

MONTREAL, 16th October, 1876.

SIR,—In reply to your communication of the 14th instant, we beg to state that we cannot enter into contract for Sections 14 and 15 Canadian Pacific Railway, on account of reasons stated in our letter of the 13th instant.

We therefore most respectfully decline to sign said contract, but beg to add that if the Minister of Public Works should see fit to change his decision we would most gladly enter into contract.

We have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servants,

(Signed,) A. P. MACDONALD,
" ROBERT KANE.

F. BRAUN, Esq.,
Secretary Public Works Department,
Ottawa.

Martin, Charlton & Co. were the next lowest bidders ; the amount of their tender was $1,540,090, nearly a hundred thousand dollars more, it must be noticed, than that of A. P. Macdonald & Co., whose bid was warned off. The next award was to them. Mr. Charlton seems to have been the negociator, and he spent several weeks in offering securities of different kinds for the fulfilment. It would not be unfair to say, to obtain delay, that for some purpose or other, seemed to be his chief object. While an active correspondence is going on between him and the Department, another actor suddenly appears, no other than Mr. Joseph Whitehead, whose characteristic letter to the honorable member for Lambton I will give in full :—

OTTAWA, November 28th, 1876.

DEAR SIR,—It is the general impression outside that you are going to give the contract, Section 15. to Charlton & Co., and he is going to turn the contract over into the hands of some Americans from New York, and according to the feeling, you are going to make a great mistake if you allow such a thing to be done, as it is well known that Charlton says that he never intended to put a spade into the contract, Section 15 ; he only wants to make some money out of it, the same way he did out of the Grenville Canal, when he sold out to Cooke & Jones, and got six thousand dollars.

Now, if you will give the contract, Section 15, to Sutton & Thompson's tender, I will guarantee that the grading, track-laying and ballasting shall be done and completed ; the engine into Section 15 by the month of August next ; and further, the whole of Section 15 shall be finished, completed, by the fall 1878, and for every day over and above, if any, you shall have the best of security that the Government shall be paid five hundred dollars per day for every day over and above the two dates named above, and this is the only way to put some life into the Pacific Railway, as there has been no life in it yet.

Now, I hope you will pardon me for taking the liberty of writing you this note, as I have no other object in view than to let you know the feeling outside, as you must admit that Sutton and Thompson's tender is not an extravagant one, only I know what I have said in this note can be done.

I remain,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) JOSEPH WHITEHEAD.

Honorable ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

The bidders next on the list were the firm recommended by Mr. Whitehead ; Sutton & Thomson, of Brantford, Ontario, whose bid was $1,594,085 ; or, as stated by Mr. Mackenzie in a memorandum which I shall give $1,594,155, a trifle of $150,980 over that of A. P. Macdonald & Co. Not long after Mr. Whitehead's letter was written, the unready Mr. Charlton seems to have become discouraged. He writes as follows :—

"I have met with so many unfortunate difficulties in procuring security for so "large a sum, so as to satisfy the demands of the Government, and have been so "worried and disheartened by the difficulties of the position in which I found my-"self, and consequent failing health, that I am reluctantly obliged to say that I can-"not now undertake so serious an enterprise, more especially as all the most experi-"enced men whose advice and assistance I have asked, have convinced me and my "friends that the work cannot satisfactorily be performed for the price tendered for."

I beg, therefore, to ask that the Honorable the Minister of Public Works will "allow me to withdraw my tender," and will please to return to Mr. Beard, of Brooklyn, who proposed to join in the work, his deposit : and also return to me the papers which I deposited as given to make up the balance of the security required.

And in a final agony of despair, he soon afterwards sends the following telegram :—

MONTREAL TELEGRAPH COMPANY,
27th December, 1876.
(*By Telegraph from Montreal.*)

F. BRAUN,
Public Works Department—

Dissension from within, added to *extraordinary pressure from without*, has left no alternative but withdrawal.

(Signed) E. J. CHARLTON.

Mr. Martin seems not to have been then aware of Mr. Charlton's dilemma and its unhappy consequences, but on learning that there had been a failure to furnish the security on the part of Mr. Charlton, he writes as follows, two days after the date of the mournful but suggestive telegram:

OTTAWA, 29th December, 1876.

SIR,—*Re*-Section 13, Canadian Pacific Railway, I have just learned with much surprise through your Department that E. J. Charlton has withdrawn from our joint tender to build said Section 15, Canada Pacific Railway. His withdrawal was without my knowledge or consent.

I am prepared to deposit the security required by the Government, and am prepared to perform the work mentioned in or contemplated by said tender.

And I now offer to comply with the conditions and requirements of the Government, as specified in the advertisement calling for tenders for said work, and, in our said tender, I protest against any and all acts depriving me of said contract.

Trusting that justice will be done me in the premises,

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Most respectfully yours,

(Signed) PATRICK MARTIN.

To the Honorable
Minister of Public Works of Canada,
Ottawa.

No reply seems to have been made to Mr. Martin's protest.

And it may be notieed here that the ingenous Mr. Charlton seems to have had a wide connection, for on the 28th of December Messrs. Baird & Co., of New York, wrote to the Department complaining that he had used them shamefully ; that they had gone to Montreal to meet him, and had stayed there three days, but had been unable to find him. They asked to be allowed to deposit cash security, and take the contract under Charlton's tender.

The next lowest bidders were Messrs. Sutton & Thompson, the acceptance of whose tender we have seen was strongly recommended by Mr. Whitehead ; a memorandum signed by Mr. Mackenzie, in the following words, recommends that their tender be accepted :—

30th December, 1876.

(*Memorandum.*)

The undersigned reports that tenders having been invited for construction of Section No. 15, Canadian Pacific Railway, twenty-one have been received at schedule rates, which, when extended, are found to vary between $1,443,175 and $2,950,000.

That the firms whose tenders are first and second lowest, respectively, Messrs. McDonald & Kane and Messrs. Martin & Charlton, are unable to furnish the necessary security.

That the third lowest tender is from Messrs. Sutton & Thompson, of Brantford, amounting to $1,594,155 (one million five hundred and ninety-four thousand one hundred and fifty-five dollars).

That this firm are prepared to make the necessary five per cent. cash deposit, and propose to associate with themselves Mr. Joseph Whitehead, contractor, of Clinton, Ontario.

The undersigned, therefore, recommends that the tender of Messrs. Sutton & Thompson be accepted, and that they be allowed to associate Mr. Whitehead with themselves accordingly.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed) A. MACKENZIE,

Minister Public Works.

Thus it will be seen that on the day after Martin offered to put up the security, and three days after Charlton withdrew in such moving terms, the contract was awarded to Messrs. Sutton & Thompson, and, strange to say, the disinterested Mr. Whitehead consented to put a little more life into the Pacific Railway by becoming, first a partner nominally of that firm, and lastly by taking the whole work himself. It will be observed that the memorandum of Mr. Mackenzie, which I read a few moments ago as a reason for giving the contract to Sutton & Thompson, states that A. P. Macdonald & Co. and Martin & Charlton have been unable to furnish the necessary security. As to A. P. Macdonald & Co., we have seen that there was no lack of ability, but that they were apparently forced off in another way. There was no good ground whatever for this assertion as respected Martin & Charlton, for Mr. Martin, in his letter just quoted, distinctly proposed to furnish ample security, and protested against the contract being taken away from him. Every contractor has a right to make as good a bargain as he can, of course, and I do not intend in anything I have said or shall say, to make any charge against Mr. Whitehead, or to blame him in any way. In the tender of Messrs. Sutton & Thompson, the timber was taken at prices so low, and the quantity required was so enormous, that it would have been absolutely impossible to deliver it. It could not be had in the country, nor was it to be found nearer than the head waters of the Mississippi, and I say that the Minister of Public Works, when he adopted a radical change in the plan of construction of the section, which he seems to have decided upon just before the tenders were advertised for, and in the absence of his Chief Engineers, should have ascertained that the timber could be found in the neighborhood of the work, and I want the House and the country to understand that he was responsible for the letting, for the principle adopted in the plan of construction, and he does not pretend that it was decided upon when Mr. Fleming was in Canada, or that the letting was under his advice. Mr. Whitehead had not long been at work on his contract when Mr. Rowan, the resident Engineer, recommended that the work should be radically changed by substituting rock and earth embankment for trestle work. His letter recommending the change stated that the trestle work was perishable and liable to take fire. I suppose most men could have known, without a professional opinion, that wood was a substance that would decay in process of time and might perhaps take fire if exposed to ignition; but Mr. Rowan was careful not to state that the trestle-work timber could not be obtained

in the country. Anyone could see the trestle-work plan was a dangerous and imprudent one. But I believe it suited some purpose of the hon. gentleman to have the letting made at a comparatively low figure, and he seems to have acquiesced with commendable alacrity in the necessity of awarding the contract to bidders who were $140,000 higher than the lowest, and he did not at all object to Mr. Whitehead. It would not be far out of the record to say that when he let the contract on the timber plan he had no real expectation to have it fulfilled upon that plan. The timber was taken at ruinously low prices, the earth and rock at extravagantly high prices, and consequently when the timber was released, and earth and rock were substituted, the change was enormously in favor of the contractor. The quantity of loose rock at $1.75 a yard was exactly doubled. The solid rock at $2.75 was increased from 300,000 to 525,646 yards. We have seen that the modest little quantity of 80,000 yards of earth at 37 cents a yard—not so modest a little price—was increased to 1,657,000 yards, and we hear that 1,300,000 yards more is to be done. Mr. Fleming approved of the proposed change, and wrote a letter recommending it to the late First Minister. The latter, in his evidence before the Committee, says that he himself approved of it, but he did not see fit to recommend it to the Council; but Mr. Rowan, the Engineer directing the work, left Ottawa under the full understanding—the full conviction, as he states in his own evidence—that that change was to be made: Mr. Fleming left for England the next day, after he had written an approval of Mr. Rowan's proposed change, and believed that his recommendation was approved of. Mr. Mackenzie states that he had constant communication with Mr. Marcus Smith, after Mr. Fleming's recommendation was made, prior to the departure of Mr. Smith for the Northwest, and discussed railway matters exhaustively with him. Strange to say, he never thought it worth while to speak of the proposed change of Section 15, one of the most important matters connected with the whole subject. When Mr. Smith reached Winnipeg, he found that the work was proceeding on the changed plan, for which he disclaims, and, I think, justly disclaims responsibility. Mr. Rowan's evidence was not quite satisfactory, but I will not refer further to that. Mr. Fleming certainly, I must say in all fairness, cannot be held culpable for the *laches* of his chief, the late Minister of Public Works. Mr. Fleming's leaning towards work of a character, perhaps too expensive for the road bed required for the Northwest, is well known. It is scarcely possible that he would have risked his reputation in recommending so flimsy, and, in fact, so impossible a plan as that on which Section 15 was let, and no one can doubt for a moment, not only that the change he recommended was a proper one, if it was not an imperatively necessary one, but that the present Government had no alternative but to accept it. The mischief was in the inception. The late First Minister cannot throw the responsibility of that upon any one else, and he ought not to attempt on the floor of this House to place it upon one who, from his peculiar position, is not able to reply or to defend himself. The fact is that no one seems to have been responsible. It seems intended that there should be some convenient method by which the responsibility should be evaded, and it is cowardly and shameful to say that the responsibility rests on Mr. Fleming. The honorable gentleman knows that Mr. Rowan's reports upon the pro-

gress of the work after the change, were not made as promptly and regularly as they ought to have been. The contract was taken in such a way as to increase the estimated expenditure more than one million dollars, and the end is not yet. It was the same with the Georgian Bay Branch. As to the reckless rushing into a contract in utter ignorance of the nature of the country to be traversed, we have heard the honorable gentleman on the floor of this House to-night accuse the Government of having neglected to build the Georgian Bay branch, and of having been unfaithful to Quebec. The extraordinary contract with the late Mr. Foster has been condemned from time to time, and in regard to it we have received no satisfactory explanation. That contract, too, was made for work upon a line which no engineer had ever seen. Although the honorable member for Lambton has attempted to shirk all responsibility in respect to these contracts, I shall hold him responsible for them, and the country will also hold him responsible for them. I repeat that the honorable gentleman ought to have known, if he did not know, that there were no surveys worthy the name when those contracts were let. The honorable gentleman stoutly asserts in the face of these facts that he was perfectly justified in going before the country and saying that he was building the line embraced in the four contracts for one-half the cost of the Intercolonial Railway. I knew the honorable gentleman was inaccurate in his estimates when he made them. It is too late for the honorable gentleman to attempt to throw the responsibility on others; it rests with him. The responsibility also rests on him of the hybrid system of navigation, the mixture of mud and water which he attempted to "utilize," to use his favorite word, between Port Savanne and Keewatin. If the honorable gentleman had succeeded in carrying out his scheme, he would have been able to transport over his portage, according to first tender, exactly five car-loads of grain per day, or 1,665 bushels, and if he had done so steadily from the opening until the close of navigation he would have carried 280,000 bushels, or about six vessel loads. If he had found for it employment from the end of the harvest till the close of navigation, about eighty thousand bushels would have been all that could have been carried, or a cargo and a half would have been all the honorable gentleman would have been able to transport to market by his line. At one end of the line there were 112 miles of railway that were to cost, according to the latest estimate, about $40,000 per mile, that is $4,400,000; at the other end a line of the same length at the same figures, $4,400,000 more—making a total of $8,800,000. He was to spend on Fort Francis Locks, and the improvement of navigation by railway, river and tramway, say $500,000 more, and all this expenditure would be incurred for the purpose of a line having, at the utmost, during the whole of its navigable season, a carrying capacity of 280,000 bushels. The mere interest on capital therefore would have been $2.00 per bushel for every bushel that could possibly be carried over the line. The honorable gentleman rose in is place to-day and advocated that policy. If the honorable gentleman had thrown into the sea every dollar that was expended in the Fort Francis Locks he could not more effectually have wasted it. There is not one point of utility in connection with that undertaking. The honorable gentleman quoted extensively from reports in relation to the Northwest. I have no doubt he was at great pains to take out of those reports

anything unfavorable to that country that he could find. I believe the honorable gentleman carefully passed over many a page that would have refuted his own argument. He seemed impelled by a mocking, imperious and cruel fate to follow in the wake of the gentleman who preceded him (Mr. Blake), and to be forced to assist him in condemning the Great West, and the schemes which he has advocated everywhere himself, and which never till now failed to receive his strong support. The Opposition seem to have proceeded upon a settled plan in their tactics this session, inspired, no doubt, by the new aspirant to the leadership. First the whole chorus rang changes on the utter failure of the National Policy, and the utter and hopeless ruin of the country, with no prospect of its revival. Next the Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlten,) brought forward his resolution condemning the Government Land Policy in the North-West, and it was his patriotic endeavour to show there was no possibility of utilizing them, and that the country to the south had every possible advantage over ours, so that we could not compete with it in advantages offered to settlers. But an overwhelming majority of the House negatived his proposals. He must have been surprised to find he was utterly at variance, in his ideas and policy, with the great organ of his party in Toronto. The next act in the dismal drama was the speech of the member for West Durham—the logical sequence of all that had preceded. We have now had the strongest and darkest presentation of their unpatriotic course that could have been made by hon. gentlemen opposite. We may congratulate ourselves we have heard the worst, and it is worse than anything that could possibly be urged by gentlemen who wish well to the country. Even had they had some warrant for their contention, it was not patriotic to present the dark side of the shield. But more unwarranted, misleading statements never were made. I regret that the opposition have been led into a course which, I think, they will regret before a year has passed. The member for Lambton, who is now apparently in most points at one with the honorable member for West Durham, ventured, however, to differ with him in respect to the entire prosperity of the United States. He tells us that its Protective Policy has ruined its shipping trade. The following extract from an authority that he will not venture to gainsay refutes that assertion :—

"We have at our doors all the illustrations and experiences of protection, and its benefits required for our guidance. The United States have adopted a protective policy, under which their manufactures have been fostered and promoted until in 1870 their products reached the sum of four thousand two hundred and fifty-three million dollars, giving employment to two million operatives, and disbursing over seven hundred and seventy-five millions in wages.

"It has been charged that protection has prevented the extension of foreign commerce in that country. That may be true; but it is estimated that the domestic commerce of the United States last year reached the enormous proportions of two hundred million tons, valued at ten thousand million dollars. What is the foreign commerce of that country compared with the vast domestic trade that goes on increasing without the fluctuations or risks of foreign trade? Look at the progress of the cotton trade in that country. Previous to the import duties on foreign cottons, in 1824, British manufactures crushed out all efforts to establish factories in the republic, but the imposition of 25 per cent. duty on foreign cottons had the effect in a few years not only of building manufactories, but led to the production of an article

better in quality and lower in price than the Americans received from the British before their own industries were established.

"In 1860, the United States were exporters nearly 10 per cent. of their whole cottons manufactured.

"When a protective duty was imposed, iron manufactories were established, and in a short time the price of iron was brought down several dollars a ton, and it is now sold cheaper than British iron was ever offered for in that market.

"The shipping interest of the United States was one of the most signal illustrations of the benefit of a protective policy that could be produced."

That is the statement of a gentleman who has had a large commercial experience and whose utterances are entitled to great consideration when dealing with statistics only—I mean the member for North Norfolk, Mr. Charlton. That was a portion of his speech delivered in this House four years ago, as I find it in the official record. Then, sir, he ably and judiciously advocated Protection, upon which he spoke with much force and sincerity. The Right Honourable the Premier has been greatly strengthened by the organ of the Liberal party in Toronto, in his late estimates of the value of our North Western lands. That paper has given no uncertain sound with regard to the lands which we hope to sell to defray the cost of constructing the railway and with regard to the great promise and value of the country which it will develop. I believe that no statement of the First Minister exaggerated the value of our great domain, portions of which will be purchased by capitalists for profitable investment and cultivation, as well as by our own people and settlers generally seeking comfortable homes. I believe the menacing labour question in the United Kingdom will compel its statesmen to face it, and consider the best method of disposing of the enormous population depending on manufactures for support, that is increasing in a far greater ratio than the food supply can be increased. In that direction we offer to England a priceless boon, which no other country can offer, a region and soil best adapted to the development of the Anglo-Saxon race—a country possessing the laws, traditions and loyalty of that race, and practically as near to England as Land's End was to Glasgow 40 years ago. We have a new world to place at the disposal of the over crowded mother country, and British statesmen will soon be forced to turn their attention to some system of co-operation with this Dominion for the development of the soil of that new world. The member for West Durham speaks of the preference of the Teutonic and Irish races for the United States, doubtless with some truth, but we have large and flourishing settlements of Irishmen, Scotchmen and Englishmen, and of races from the North of Europe, too, with every prospect of their extensive increase. Besides, the sentiment of loyalty, overlooked or excluded by honorable gentlemen opposite, will attract to our territory, through preference and sympathy, multitudes of the British people.

In respect to our financial policy, so virulently attacked by the honorable member for West Durham, I do not believe the present Government desire to emulate the reckless expenditure of their predecessors, or continue building costly works while incurring growing deficits. I believe they will take a different course, so different that the country will appreciate at its fullest value the contrasted policy of the late and present Administrations in this

respect. I believe that this discussion was artfully contrived to alarm the timid and deceive the unwary and ignorant; but I venture to predict it will fail of its object, and that the gentlemen, compelled from their position to sustain these resolutions, will find they meet with no sympathy elsewhere, and that they have plunged still deeper into that abyss from which I believe there is no political resurrection.

SPEECH OF MR. THOMAS WHITE, M.P.,

CARDWELL.

The following is the report of the speech delivered by the member for Cardwell on Tuesday, on the Pacific Railway debate :—

Mr. WHITE (Cardwell) was received with cheers. He said :—Mr. Speaker,—It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the subject which has, for the last three or four days, been engaging the attention of this House. It is difficult to imagine any question more fraught with interest for, or more affecting the future well-being of the Dominion than that presented to us for solution. It assumes two phases, to my mind, namely, that viewed from the standpoint of the national obligation, and that from the standpoint of the material interest of this Dominion. The honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake), in relation to the first view of the question, referred to what had been said by the honorable the Minister of Railways as a "delving into antiquities." That honorable gentleman, as a lawyer, knows this, that all our rights depend upon a delving into antiquities. If he has any legal question in dispute between man and man, he determines it by delving into antiquities; and we have to do the same thing in questions arising between communities, or individuals, or parts of communities. It seems to me that it did not come well from the honorable member, for West Durham, to sneer at the honorable the Minister of Railways because he referred to the past history of this question, and to describe that reference as a "delving into antiquities."

OUR DUTY TO BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Notwithstanding that sneer, I shall, with the permission of the House, take the liberty of delving into the antiquities of this question, with regard to the relations between the Dominion and the Province of British Columbia, the duty we owe to the Province, and the obligation imposed upon us to perform the terms entered into with that Province. It is not necessary to refer to the earlier history of the railway. It is well known to those gentlemen who have any knowledge of the circumstances in connection with the construction of the Pacific Railway, that it was originally by no means a party question, that both parties were in favor of its construction; and honorable members who are in the habit of studying what has taken place will remember that the strongest language was used by the leading organ of honorable gentlemen opposite in denunciation of those who forgot that the construction of the Pacific Railway from ocean to ocean was a duty, to neglect which would inflict upon us the liability of being accused of want of patriotism, and as being hostile to British connection. (Hear, hear.) It was not a question whether we should build the Pacific Railway, that was urged upon us by the leaders of both parties. But it was the manner in which it

was to be built, the time it should take to build it. That became a question engaging the attention of Parliament, and upon that a division took place between the two political parties in this country. When British Columbia was incorporated in the Dominion we incurred the responsibility of building the railway, commence it within two years at each end, and undertaking to complete it within ten years. The Government of that time, under the instructions of this House, let the contract in accordance with the determination arrived at, that the road should be built by a private company, aided by a subsidy of money and a subsidy of land; and if that company had succeeded, I think it would have been a great advantage to this Dominion. Who would not now gladly give fifty million acres of land and $30,000,000 to see that railway built from ocean to ocean? (Hear, hear.)

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE RAILWAY.

But that scheme failed. I am not going to discuss the causes of that failure, which were many. Sir Hugh Allan, who obtained, along with his associates, a charter for his company, was, as I think, unfortunately mixed up with other railway enterprises, which brought against him the strong hostility of the most powerful Canadian railway corporation in London. He proposed not only to build a railway across the continent, but a railway from Quebec to Ottawa, to be continued to the Sault Ste. Mary, with a branch to Toronto, and then again by the Great Western to go farther West, and thus secure competition with the Grand Trunk. As a consequence of that scheme, he met, in London, with the bitter hostility of the Grand Trunk directors and shareholders, who did everything they could to prevent his success. This strong corporation, with all the influence it had in London, was aided by circumstances on this side of the water. I am not going to say the honorable gentlemen opposite were not justified in endeavoring to turn out the Conservative Government of that day; but, I think, looking back to the past, that every one will admit it would have been the more patriotic course, considering the interests this country had at stake, and that those honorable gentlemen had pressed strongly the construction of this railway, had they held their hand, and not aided, by a political crisis at the moment, those on the other side of the Atlantic, who were doing their best to defeat the enterprise. I believe that, in spite of the opposition of the Grand Trunk in England, Sir Hugh Allan would have succeeded, and that we should have had enormous sums of British capital expended here for the construction of the road had that opposition not been aided by the political crisis here. The road would thus have been built by a powerful company, whose interest it would be to aid the settlement of the country, and which, through its President, controlled a magnificent line of steamships—and which had, spread over the United Kingdom, 1,200 agents, passenger brokers, every one of whom would have been an emigration agent for this country, and would have aided in filling up our Northwest territory. (Hear, hear.) But the Allan Company failed; the Government of that day was defeated, and honorable gentlemen opposite took office.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE REFORM GOVERNMENT.

If the statements we have heard since this debate commenced are to be

accepted, I think we may fairly say it was open to the late Government, had they chosen, to have said to British Columbia:—"We cannot fulfil the bargain made, and therefore must ask you to release us, and we will build the railway as rapidly as we can, consistently with our financial position." (Hear, hear.) They did not take that course. On the contrary, they recognized by their first act the obligation of the Dominion to construct the railway, and that, in spite of the fact that they, according to their own statement, made then and frequently since, were not bound to go on with the work except as the finances of the Dominion would permit. In a report of the Committee of the Privy Council, dated 8th July, 1874, on the mission of Mr. Walkem to England, and a cable message received from the Colonial Secretary—a report in which the Roman hand of the member for Lambton is visible in every line—we find this statement as to the position in which the bargain stood:—

"Mr. Trutch, the delegate of the British Columbia Government, present in Ottawa during the discussions on the terms of union, expressed himself as follows at a public meeting, in order to reassure those who were apprehensive of the conveyances of so rash an assumption of such serious obligations:—

"'When he came to Ottawa with his co-delegates last year, they entered into a computation with the Privy Council as to the cost and time it would take to build the line, and they came to the conclusion that it could be built on the terms proposed in ten years. If they had said twelve or eighteen years, that time would have been accepted with equal readiness, as all that was understood was that the line should be built as soon as possible. British Columbia had entered into a partnership with Canada, and they were united to construct certain public works. But before one would protest against anything by which it should be understood that the Government were to borrow one hundred millions of dollars, or to tax the people of Canada and British Columbia to carry out those works within a certain time (loud cheers) he had been accused of having made a very Jewish bargain, but not even Shylock would have demanded his pound of flesh if it had to be cut from his own body (Laughter and cheers.)"

These expressions show very clearly that the terms agreed to were directory rather than mandatory, and were interpreted by circumstances, the essence of the engagement being such diligence as was consistent with moderate expenditure and no increase in the then rate of taxation."

Then, again, in another report of Council, dated 23rd July, the honorable gentleman more tersely and more emphatically stated the same fact. He said:—

"It was distinctly understood by the British Columbia delegation at the time the terms of union were agreed upon, that the taxation of the country was not to be increased on account of this work beyond the rate then existing."

Now, it was with that understanding of the agreement that the late Premier entered into the negotiations with which we have now to deal. He might then have said to British Columbia—we cannot pretend to build this railway at present, but will do what we can to carry it across the Continent and meet you at the earliest possible moment consistently with the proper expenditure of the public money, and you must depend on our good will and good faith. And he might the more readily have said this in view of the position of the finances at that time. The Finance Minister had just imposed $3,000,000 additional taxation, so that when he sent his delegate to British Columbia and entered into the Carnarvon Terms, he had actually increased the burdens of the country by upwards of $3,000,000. (Hear,

hear.) He did not take that course. He sent a delegate, Mr. Edgar, to the British Columbia Government and made it an offer, without any pressure, in accordance with his own conception of the obligation of this country towards British Columbia. I do not propose to refer to the incidents of that mission, as I wish to detain the House not a moment longer than is possible. In the report of the Committee of the Privy Council, to which I have already referred, the proposals made by the member for Lambton, of his own motion, are thus succinctly stated :—

"The propositions made by Mr. Edgar involved an immediate heavy expenditure in British Columbia *not contemplated by the terms of union*, namely, the construction of a railway on Vancouver's Island from the port of Esquimault to Nanaimo, as compensation to the most populous part of the Province for the requirement of a longer time *for completing the line of the mainland.* The proposals also embraced an obligation to construct a road or trail and telegraph line across the continent at once, *and an expenditure of not less than a million and a half within the Province annually on the railway works* ON THE MAINLAND, irrespective of the amounts which might be spent east of the Rocky Mountains, being a half more than the entire sum British Columbia demanded in the first instance as the annual expenditure on the whole road."

THE CARNARVON TERMS.

How Lord Carnarvon understood these propositions of the Government may be inferred from the despatch which he himself sent out, dated the 16th August, 1874; and as it is important to emphasize distinctly the voluntary offers which were made by those honorable gentlemen when they were responsible for the government of this country, it is well to have Lord Carnarvon's own words as giving his understanding of those proposals :—

"The proposals made by Mr. Edgar, on behalf of the Canadian Government, to the Provincial Government of British Columbia may be stated as follows :—

"1. To commence at once, and finish as soon as possible, a railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo.

"2. To spare no expense in settling as speedily as possible the line to be taken by the railway *on the mainland.*

"3. To make at once a waggon road and line of telegraph along the whole length of the railway in British Columbia, and to continue the telegraph across the continent.

"4. *The moment the surveys and road on the mainland are completed, to spend a minimum amount of* $1,500,000 *annually upon the construction of the railway within the province.*

Lord Carnarvon suggested two amendments to these terms. He suggested first that the annual expenditure should be two million dollars instead of one million and a half; and he suggested, secondly, that the road should be completed before 1890. The Government accepted the first of these propositions in these words, which I think I may fairly assume are the words of the honorable member for Lambton :—

"In regard to the second proposal, the committee recommend that Lord Carnarvon be informed (if it be fonnd impossible to obtain a settlement of the question by the acceptance of the former offer) that the Government will consent that, after the completion of the surveys, the average annual minimum expenditure *on the mainland* shall be two millions."

Then as to the second, or time limit, which Lord Carnarvon desired to impose, the honorable member for Lambton said :—

"There can be no doubt that it would be an extremely difficult task to obtain the sanction of the Canadian Parliament to any specific bargain as to time, considering the consequences which have already resulted from the unwise adoption of a limited

period in the terms of union for the completion of so vast an undertaking, the extent of which must necessarily be very imperfectly understood by people at a distance. The committee advise that Lord Carnarvon be informed that, while in no case could the Government undertake the completion of the whole line in the time mentioned, an extreme unwillingness exists to another limitation of time ; but if it be found absolutely necessary to secure a present settlement of the controversy by further concessions, *a pledge may be given that the portion west of Lake Superior will be completed so as to afford connection by rail with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States and by Canadian waters during the season of navigation by the year* 1890 *as suggested.*"

And, finally, we come to the agreement actually made, as stated by Lord Carnarvon in his despatch of the 17th September, and I read that with a view of completing this part of my statement. These were the agreements that were made by Lord Carnarvon and accepted by the Government of that day :—

"1. That the railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo shall be commenced as soon as possible and completed with all practical despatch.

"2. *That the Surveys on the mainland shall be pushed on with the utmost vigour.* On this point after considering the representations of your ministers, I feel that I have no alternative but to rely, as I do most fully and readily upon their assurances *that no legitimate effort or expense will be spared first to determine the best route for the line and secondly to proceed with the details of the engineering work.* It would be distasteful to me, if indeed, it were not impossible, to prescribe strictly any minimum of the time or expenditure with regard to work of so uncertain a nature, *but happily, it is equally impossible for me to doubt that your Government will loyally do its best in every way to accelerate the completion of a duty left freely* TO ITS SENSE OF HONOR AND JUSTICE.

"3. That the waggon road and telegraph line shall be immediately constructed. There seems here to be some difference of opinion as to the special value to the province of the undertaking to complete these two works ; but after considering what has been said, I am of opinion that they should both be proceeded with at once, as indeed is suggested by your Ministers."

It is worth while remarking that these two works, the waggon road and the telegraph line, were not asked for by British Columbia, but, on the contrary, British Columbia intimated that they were useless, and that she did not desire them ; but they were forced upon her and forced upon Lord Carnarvon by the honorable gentlemen opposite when they occupied seats on this side of the House :—

"4. That $2,00,000 a year and not $1,500,00 shall be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the province *from the date at which the surveys are sufficiently completed to enable that amount to be expended on construction.* In naming this amount, I understand that, it being alike the interest and the wish of the Dominion Government to urge on with all speed the completion of the works now to be undertaken, *the annual expenditure will be as much in excess of the minimnm of* $2,000,000 *as in any year may be found practicable.*

"5. Lastly—That on or before th 31st of December, 1890, the railway shall be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seabord to a point at the western end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters. *To proceed at present with the remainder of the railway extending by the country northward of Lake Superior, to the existing Canadian lines ought not in my opinion to be required,* and the time for undertaking that work must be determined by the development of settlement and the changing circumstances of the country. The day is, however, I hope not very distant when a continuous line of railway through Canadian territory will be practicable, and I therefore look upon this portion of the scheme as postponed rather than abandoned."

MR. BLAKE'S APPEAL TO LOWER CANADA.

We had an appeal by the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) the other evening to the honorable gentlemen from the Province of Quebec, and we had a suggestion from him that this scheme of the Government, this disposition to expend money only on the western end to the exclusion of that portion north of Lake Superior, was in fact an attack upon the interests of the Province of Quebec. But here we find in this arrangement, which was made by the honorable gentlemen opposite when they occupied seats on this side of the House, a positive agreement to expend at least two millions, and as much more as they possibly could, every year in British Columbia upon the mainland; and that the line north of Lake Superior should be postponed indefinitely, abandoned, in fact, so far as any present indication to construct it was concerned. (Cheers.) Now, here are the words in which the Privy Council accepted those terms. The report is dated 18th December, 1874:—

"The minute of Council of September 17th contained a statement of reasons showing why some of these modifications should not be pressed, but the Government actuated by an anxious desire to remove all difficulties, expressed a willingness to make these further concessions rather than forego an immediate settlement of so irritating a question, *as the concessions suggested might be made without involving a violation of the spirit of any parliamentary resolutions or the letter of any enactment.*"

So that the very reason for the offer to expend two millions a year at least in British Columbia after the surveys were completed, in addition to the expenditures upon the eastern end of the line, was that that could be done without involving a violation of the spirit of any parliamentary resolution or the letter of any enactment. That was after three million dollars of additional taxation had been added to the burdens of the people of this country, in excess of the rate of taxation existing when the Province was admitted to the Union, and the first resolution limiting the obligation of the Dominion, so frequently referred to, was passed by Parliament. The report of Council proceeded:—

"The Committee of Council respectfully request that your Excellency will be pleased to convey to Lord Carnarvon their warm appreciation of the kindness which led his lordship to render his good offices to effect a settlement of the matter in dispute, *and also to assure his lordship that every effort will be made to secure the realization of what is expected.*"

(Cheers.) When, Sir, Lord Carnarvon reads the debates which have taken place in this House; when he compares the different statements made at different times by the honorable gentleman then at the head of the Government, and of one of his supporters who had a short time before been a member of the Government, and who a short time afterwards was again a member of the Government, he will be shocked at the perfidy of Canadian public men. The comparison will certainly not be calculated to raise us in the estimation of British statesmen. Lord Carnarvon accepted in the spirit in which they were given the thanks awarded him, and said, on the 4th of January:—

"It has been with great pleasure that I have received this expression of their opinion. I sincerely rejoice to have been the means of bringing to a satisfactory conclusion a question of so much difficulty, of removing, as I trust, all ground of

future misunderstanding between the Province of British Columbia and the Dominion, and of thus contributing towards the ultimate completion of a public work in which they, and indeed the whole Empire, are interested."

THE PERFIDY OF THE LATE GOVERNMENT.

The honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) in his speech, stated that within a few months after this correspondence had taken place, after this interchange of compliments with Lord Carnarvon, he entered the Government upon the distinct understanding that these terms were to be abandoned. I think too much of him and of the member for Lambton to believe that any such compact could have been made. It is true that he contends that the defeat of the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway destroyed the Carnarvon terms. And he contends that the offer of $750,000 was to be regarded as a compensation for the abandonment of those terms. It was nothing of the kind. The Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway was promised in excess of the terms of union, and as compensation for the non-fulfilment of the condition to build the main line by 1881. When the bill providing for the building of this railway was defeated in the Senate, the duty of the Government was to provide a substitute for the compensation for the delay on the mainland. (Hear, hear.) They offered that compensation in the form of a money grant of $750,000, that being in fact, as stated by the member for Lambton (Mr. Mackenzie), the sum which he proposed to give as a subsidy to a private company to build the island railway. This offer, therefore, so far from being an abandonment of the Carnarvon terms, was a confirmation of them, an admission of their binding character, a doing, in fact, in another form, precisely what was agreed to be done in those terms. (Hear, hear.)

THE QUESTION OF INCREASED TAXATION.

But, Mr. Speaker, we are told that we ought not to go on with the road because there is an obligation on the Government not to go on if it will involve increased taxation. Whatever force there may be in that argument, members of the late Government have deprived themselves of the right to use it. The late First Minister, when he entered into the Carnarvon terms, when he made the terms with British Columbia, actually appropriated $3,000,000 of additional taxation to enable him to carry out those terms. Here is the statement made by the honorable member for Lambton (Mr. Mackenzie) in the minute of Council of the 23rd July, 1879, sent to England for the information of the Imperial Government on this question. He said :—

"So anxious, however, were the present Government to remove any possible cause of complaint, that they did take means to increase the taxation very materially *in order to place themselves in a position to make arrangements for the prosecution of the initial and difficult portions of the line as soon as it was possible to do so ;* and, at the same time, a special confidential agent was deputed to British Columbia for the express purpose of conferring with the Government of that Province, and to endeavor to arrive at some understanding as to a course to be pursued which could be satisfactory to British Columbia and meet the circumstances of the Dominion."

That was the statement made to the Imperial Government on the responsibility of honorable gentlemen opposite ; that when they sent their agent to British Columbia they sent him armed with the fact that $3,000,000 had

been appropriated to the carrying out of terms to be agreed upon in reference to this railway; and yet honorable gentlemen now say that we must dishonor ourselves, because the carrying out of the terms, which they made a show of carrying out by the infliction of $3,000,000 increased taxation, would involve a very much smaller increased burden on the people. But we have another report. In order to enable the Government to fulfil the terms, and so that no excuse might be allowed for supposing that they were unwilling to carry them out, we find them stating in another report of the Privy Council on the 8th of July, that they had raised the average rate of taxation 15 per cent. The actual statement thus made is as follows :—

"*In order to enable the Government to carry out the proposals, which it was hoped the British Columbia Government would have accepted,* the average rate of taxation was raised at the last session about fifteen per cent., and the excise duties on spirits and tobacco a corresponding rate, both involving additional taxation exceeding three millions of dollars on the transactions of the year."

(Cheers.) That is a statement made by the authority of the Government that this increased taxation was made expressly to enable them to carry out these Carnarvon terms; and yet we have from these very gentlemen, now, an appeal to the country to oppose the policy of the present Government in the direction of carrying out those terms, on the ground that it may increase the taxation of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the proposals of the Government will not involve anything like so large a burden.

MR. MACKENZIE'S RECOGNITION OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The honorable gentlemen, as I shall be able to establish, has never until this year gone back upon that record. Session after session we have had the statement of the honorable member for Lambton that he recognized the obligation resting upon him to carry out these Carnarvon terms. (Hear, hear.) Every session we have had his assurance to that effect. Let me read two or three such assurances given by him, when submitting his yearly statements to the House. In his speech in submitting the Pacific Railway policy in 1876, he said (and at this time the honorable member for West Durham was a member of the Government, and is therefore responsible for every word uttered) :—

"We have felt from the first that while it was utterly impossible to implement to the letter the engagements entered into by our predecessors, *the good faith of the country demanded that the administration should do everything that was reasonable and in their power to carry out the pledges made to British Columbia,* if not the entire obligation at least such parts of it as seemed to be within their power and most conducive to the welfare of the whole Dominion as well as to satisfy all reasonable men in British Columbia, which province had fancied itself entitled to complain of apparent want of good faith in carrying out these obligations."

* * * * * * * * * *

"Let me say, so far as the work itself is concerned, that I have always been an advocate of the construction of a railway across the continent, but I have never believed that it was within our means to do it in anything like the period of time within which the honorable gentleman bound Parliament and the country."

That is by 1881. After an elaborate statement of surveys, and a suggestion of the advantages of the Pine River Pass, he said :—

"But this route is open to the objection that if we were to decide upon surveying

that country, *it would be practically putting off the construction for some time longer than would be necessary by adopting the line we have already surveyed.* If British Columbia were to act with consideration for national interests with regard to the obligations assumed by the Dominion at the time of the union, it undoubtedly would be the policy any administration would seek to carry out to examine the conntry more thoroughly before action. With the irritation that is felt by many in British Columbia, and the constant complaints made, *it is doubtful whether the country would be justified, even for a permanent advantage unless that one of so decided and conclusive a character as to be apparent at sight, in pursuing such a policy.* Assuming, therefore, for a moment—and assuming what I may call almost a certainty—that the Jasper House Pass would be the crossing place in the Rocky Mountains, we have the line tolerably clearly defined from east to west."

Thus, Sir, at that time we had a statement that further explorations must not be undertaken lest delay might occur in the work of actual construction. The honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) at that time sat beside the then First Minister. (Cheers.) And speaking of taxation, the late Finance Minister that very same session, the session in which this statement was made by the honorable member for Lambton, came down and announced that there was a deficit of $1,900,000, and amended the tariff with the view to still further taxation. Yet, in spite of that deficit, and of that increased taxation, we had the statement of the honorable member for Lambton that so important was it that this arrangement should be carried out and the terms fulfilled by an immediate commencement of the work of construction, that he was actually prepared to forego further explorations unless the advantages of such explorations were apparent at first sight. The honorable gentleman in the same speech said:—

"Our policy was this:—It is utterly impossible to commence the construction in British Columbia until we have overcome the initiatory difficulties by carefully surveying the country and ascertaining the line which would have ultimately to be adopted. From the statements I have made it will be seen that an enormous force has been engaged and a large amount expended in that Province, and it is unjust in the people of British Columbia to complain that we have not prosecuted this work with all due diligence. *Directions were given by the Government to the Chief Engineer and by him to his staff that anything that could be done was to be done in order to push the work forward as rapidly as possible.*"

In the same speech, in order to give additional proof of his sincerity and of his determination to carry out this work, he referred to the steel rails which had been sent to British Columbia. He said:—

"It has been assumed that as this road is not to be constructed the rails shipped to British Columbia are therefore utterly useless. That is a great mistake. *If we are able to commence the work of construction this coming year in British Columbia these rails would be required.* It may be said to be impossible to commence the construction of the road in British Columbia without having the rails on the spot.

"There are five thousand tons in British Columbia, and if we have erred in sending them there we have simply erred in our earnest desire to shew the people of British Columbia *that we are desirous of keeping faith with them,* THAT OUR SPEECHES WERE NOT MERE EMPTY PROMISES, and that we are resolved to place ourselves in a position they could not misunderstand."

That was the statement, in 1876, made by the honorable gentleman from his place on the Treasury benches. The honorable member for West Durham sat beside him at the time and was responsible for every word he

uttered. And yet the honorable gentleman comes here and tells this House, and he tells this country, that he had before this made an arrangement that this work was to be postponed. Let me read another extract from the same debate. The honorable member for Cumberland said :—

"He had followed the hon. gentleman closely, and failed to learn what was proposed to be done in regard to the great question of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The British Columbia papers merely shewed that the Government had succeeded in bringing matters to a dead-lock, and the Premier was bound to tell the House, before asking it to vote this large amount, what we intended to do."

"Hon. Mr. BLAKE—The last paragraph in the papers will show."

"Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—I said our policy from the first was to do everything in our power to keep the bargain the hon. gentleman and his friends made, *and nothing will be lacking on our own part to bring it to a successful conclusion in British Columbia.* I have shown pretty conclusively that nothing I am aware of has been left undone that could be done. I do not know what the hon. gentleman wants."

LORD DUFFERIN'S CONCEPTION OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE REFORM GOVERNMENT.

That is to be taken as the interpretation of the arrangement made by the honorable member for West Durham when he entered that Cabinet. But we have another authority as to what the late Government intended to do, which to my mind seems utterly to negative the suggestion made by the honorable member for West Durham that he entered the Cabinet upon conditions which would have dishonored the Government that accepted him on such terms. Lord Dufferin, then Governor-General of Canada, was sent to British Columbia in 1876. I should perhaps not use the word "sent," but he went to British Columbia, though judging by his speech, perhaps I am right in saying that he was sent there. He went there at any rate. He went through the country. Honorable gentlemen who have been trying to decry British Columbia will do well to read Lord Dufferin's speech on that occasion, wherein he described what he calls "this glorious country." But sir, the then Governor-General of this Dominion, after his return from his tour through the interior of British Columbia, and just before he embarked for San Francisco, made a speech in Victoria. How serious he felt that speech to be may be gathered from one expression, which I will read, and which was an extraordinary expression for a nobleman in his position to use :—

"I would sooner cut my right hand off than utter a single word that I do not know to be an absolute truth."

This statement was made in order to convince British Columbia that what he said, he said from a knowledge of the facts, with a resolution to say nothing but what he knew to be absolutely true. The honorable member for West Durham, (Mr. Blake) as a good constitutionalist, knows that being a Minister at the time, he was responsible for every word Lord Dufferin then uttered. Here is an extract from the speech :—

"Let me then assure you, on the part of the Canadian Government and on the part of the Canadian people at large, that there is nothing they desire more earnestly or more fervently than to know and feel that you are one with them in heart, thought and feeling. Canada would indeed be dead to the most self-evident considerations of self-interest, and to the first instincts of national pride, if she did not regard with

satisfaction her connection with the province so richly endowed by nature, inhabited by a community so replete with British loyalty and pluck, while it afforded her the means of extending her confines and the outlets of her commerce to the wide Pacific and to the countries beyond."

Well, Sir, at that time there was a suspicion prevailing that the honorable member for Lambton had not acted in good faith in connection with the Carnarvon terms. There was a suspicion prevailing, because two honorable gentlemen of the Senate, prominent friends of that gentleman, who were known to be so good party men that one could hardly conceive their voting against any measure which the Government sincerely desired to see passed —yet voted against this bill—there was a suspicion that he had procured the defeat of the measure for the construction of the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway in the Senate ; and referring to that suspicion Lord Dufferin said :—

"Had Mr. Mackenzie dealt so treacherously by Lord Carnarvon, by the representative of his sovereign in this country, or by you, he would have been guilty of a most atrocious act, of which I trust no public man in Canada or in any other British colony could be capable. I tell you in the most emphatic terms, and I pledge my honour on the point, that Mr. Mackenzie was not guilty of any such base and deceitful conduct ; had I thought him guilty of it, either he would have ceased to be Prime Minister, or I should have left the country."

I ask you, where is the difference between conspiring to secure the defeat of the measure in the Senate which had passed the Commons, and which the Ministry pretended to be in favor of, and conspiring to arouse public sentiment, as those honorable gentlemen are doing to-day, in order to prevent the carrying out of the Carnarvon terms. (Cheers.)

"I saw Mr. Mackenzie the next day, and I have seldom seen a man more annoyed or disconcerted than he was ; indeed, he was driven at that interview to protest with more warmth than he has ever used against the decision of the English Government, which had refused, on the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, to allow him to add to the memb rs of the Senate, after Prince Edward Island had entered the Confederation."

And yet these honorable gentlemen come here now and ask us to postpone the construction of this railway, to postpone the carrying out of these terms which have been entered into, this solemn bargain which has been made, and in order to carry which, they, at that time, four or five years ago, actually tried to violate the constitution by creating additional members of the Senate. (Cheers.) Well, sir, after discussing the question of the action of the Senate, Lord Dufferin said :—

"But there is one thing I admit the Senate has done, it has revived in their integrity those original treaty obligations on the strength of which you were induced to enter Confederation, and it has reimposed upon Mr. Mackenzie and his Government the obligation of offering you an equivalent for that stipulation in the Carnarvon terms, which he has not been able to make good."

Then he refers to the offer of $750,000 as compensation for the failure of that part of the Carvarvon terms which the Senate had made it impossible to make good :—

"My only object in touching upon them at all is to disabuse your minds of the idea that there has been any intention on the part of Mr. Mackenzie, his Government or of Canada to break faith with you· *Every single item of the Carnarvon terms is at this moment in the course of fulfilment.*"

The honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) is responsible for that statement. Lord Dufferin pointed out how this was the case, and then he went on to say: and I beg the honorable member for West Durham to listen attentively to what he did say in relation to the conduct of those who, being strong in numerical majority, would try to oppress a small Province because it had not sufficient members to compete with them:—

"Your numerical weakness as a community is your real strength, *for it is a consideration that appeals to every generous heart.* Far be the day when on any acre of soil above which floats the flag of England, mere material power, brute political preponderance, should be permitted to decide such a controversy as that which we are now discussing. It is to men like yourselves, who, with unquailing fortitude, and heroic energy, have planted the laws and liberties, and the blessed influence of English homes amidst the wilds, and rocks, and desert plains of savage lands, that England owes the enhancement of her prestige, the diffusion of her tongue, the increase of her commerce, and her ever-widening renown, *and woe betide the Government or the statesman who, because its inhabitants are few in number, and politically of small account, should disregard the wishes or carelessly dismiis the representations, however bluff, boisterous, or downright, of the feeblest of our distant colonies.*"

I draw to those words the special attention of the honorable member for West Durham, who for the moment has permitted himself to sink the statesman who can think of the next generation, into the parish politician, who thinks only of the next general election. (Cheers.) That was the position in 1876, and I think I may say that I have established beyond controversy, beyond the possibility of controversy, the fact that the honorable gentlemen were at least committed, the honorable member for West Durham amongst the rest, at that time, to the honest fulfillment of the bargain which they had made. (Cheers.)

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE OBLIGATION OF GOVERNMENT TO THE BRITISH COLUMBIA EXPENDITURE.

In 1877—it was reported—I do not know what truth there was in the report—that it was in consequence of Lord Dufferin's visit to British Columbia, the question of the selection of the Burrard Inlet route came up for the first time. Up to that time that route had hardly been heard of, and the honorable member for Lambton was known to be in favor of the Bute Inlet route.

Mr. MACKENZIE—I have no objection to tell the honorable gentleman that Lord Dufferin had nothing personally to do with it. It was adopted purely upon practical engineering reasons. The honorable gentleman is quite correct in saying I was in favor of the Bute Inlet route for a considerable time. In fact I was in favor of it until I got something better.

Mr. WHITE—Who suggested the change is not a matter of any consequence to my argument. I simply gave the report as it was current at the time, and the honorable member knowing the facts contradicts it. In 1877 the Burrard Inlet route came up for the first time, so far as Parliament was concerned, and so far as the suggestion of it as a serious route was concerned. The honorable member for Lambton, in reply to the honorable member for Cumberland, who asked whether, in connection with some other statements which he made, he proposed to settle that question and put the line under contract without the consent of Parliament, that being apparently the intention of the Government, from the speech of the honorable gentleman, Mr.

Mackenzie replied :—" Certainly not ; I think I stated we hoped to have " the tenders submitted to Parliament next session." (Cheers.) So that in 1877, as in 1876, there never was a thought of abandoning the line in British Columbia, or violating the Carnarvon terms ; but on the contrary the Government of the day were acting in good faith in their desire to carry out those terms. Well, Sir, in 1878 the honorable gentleman, the last time he had the privilege of making a statement from the Ministerial benches, referred to the great surveys which had taken place in connection with the proposed road through British Columbia. Throughout all his speeches on the subject, from first to last, there runs a line of argument showing how sincerely he was devoted to carrying out the scheme of beginning the work on the mainland. He pointed out that 47,000 miles of country had been traversed by the various parties who were sent out to explore the country, and that there had been " actual instrumental surveys laboriously measured " yard by yard, of not less than 12,000 miles, or nearly five times the length " of the road when completed from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean."

MR. MACKENZIE'S INCONSISTENCY.

Then he gave his reasons for desiring to go on at once as follows :—

" If there were no political considerations governing the action of the Government, and these political reasons referred to our obligations with the British Columbian Government and people to proceed as fast as possible—or as the hon. member for Vancouver (Mr. Bunster) says two or three times every day " proceed immediately,"—if there were no considerations of that kind to govern our action, it might be, I have no doubt it would be desirable to spend another two years exploring the country which is yet comparatively unknown."

* * * * * * * * * *

" The governing considerations then, sir, are all in favour as it appears to me of adopting the views of the Chief Engineer in respect to this line. The Government have not at the moment formally resolved upon the adoption of this line, but it is the opinion of the Government that the considerations to which I have alluded in these remarks are such as must govern their action if they are to attend to this matter purely in the public interest."

That was the statement made by the honorable member the last time he addressed this House from the ministerial benches. What occurred afterwards ? Parliament was prorogued, the general elections were coming on, and the honorable gentleman advertised for tenders for the construction of that very portion of the railway which we are now asked to postpone. Now, what are we to infer from that ? Governments do not do those things, on the eve of general elections, which are likely to be unpopular with the country. He advertised for those tenders simply because the public mind of this country had been thoroughly imbued with the fact that the honor of the country was pledged to the carrying out of this arrangement. (Cheers.) He had been going on through four sessions, making the only condition of commencement, the completion of the surveys, and as soon as the surveys were completed he advertised for tenders. (Cheers.) It is true he has suggested, and I am bound to say I was astonished at the suggestion and I am sure this House will be astonished when I offer them the proof I am going to offer,—it is true he suggested he did not intend to build the road, although he advertised for tenders, intimating that he advertised for tenders

simply in order that he might find out how much it was likely to cost. (Laughter and cheers.) After all the surveys made and all the reports obtained, we are actually asked to believe that he had advertised simply with with the view of obtaining an idea of the cost. The only object he had in view in sending this advertisement from one end of the Dominion to the other, inducing contractors to make enquiries about them and to go to the expense and incur the loss of time in getting up their tenders, was simply to ascertain the probable cost without any idea of practical work. (Hear, hear.) All I can say about it is this: he deceived his own friends most wonderfully if that was his intention. Here is a statement in the Toronto *Globe* of the 20th September last, I do not quote it because it is in the *Globe*, but because it is an evidence of what was the popular impression as to his intention in advertising for tenders :—

"Sir Charles Tupper's Pacific Railway resolutions proposed to construct 125 miles of road in British Columbia during the present season. By that promise the British Columbian members were induced to vote for the tariff, so injurious in itself to their Province. They have been amused ever since by tales of explorations, surveys, guarantees, purchases of steel rails, and announcements that operations would soon begin. It is now late in the year, nothing has yet been done, and very little could be done before winter if the work were now begun. HAD MR. MACKENZIE REMAINED IN OFFICE, A LARGE PORTION OF THE LINE WOULD NOW HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTED, AND ACCESS TO THE INTERIOR HAVE BEEN GIVEN. The people of British Columbia may well wonder at their folly in parting with the 'bird in hand.'"

That was the impression the honorable gentleman made. Well, Sir, a short time afterwards it was announced that the Burrard Inlet route had been agreed upon, and that the Government were advertising for tenders for the construction of a road in accordance with that decision. And here is what the *Globe* said on the 27th October in reference to this question :—

"Just a year ago Mr. Mackenzie, as Minister of Public Works, was making preparations for the letting of contracts to build a line from Yale to Kamloops, about 120 miles, and the work of transporting the rails from Esquimault to the mainland was actually begun. As soon as the present Government came into power, the order for the transportation of the rails was countermanded, and the project of building the Yale-Kamloops line was abandoned."

* * * * * * * * * *

"In other words, they are shut up to a choice between acknowledging that they have by their incompetence lost a whole year to the construction of the line, and confessing that they never meant to give it up at all, and sought only to temporize in the face of difficulty at the expense of the feelings and hopes of the unfortunate islanders."

That was the opinion of the Toronto *Globe* in relation to the action of the hon. gentleman. There was then no suggestion that the road should be postponed, but a suggestion that time had been lost in not having gone on with it earlier. (Cheers.) I have evidence still stronger than that—the evidence of the hon. member for Lambton himself—which hon. gentlemen opposite will perhaps accept. Last year the hon. member delivered a speech on the floor of this House. He had no responsibility of office upon him; he was in a position, if he had chosen to do so, to have done then what he has humiliated himself by doing on this occasion. (Hear, hear.) But he did not do so. Here is the assurance that he gave to hon. gentleman on this side :—

"They will always find that gentlemen on this side will be prepared to consider

all such questions from a truly national point of view. *We recognize the obligation resting upon us as Canadians*, and while I assert, in the most positive manner, that nothing could have been done by any administration during our term of office that we did not do or try to do, in order to accomplish or realize those expectations which were generated by the Government of hon. gentlemen opposite in their admission of British Columbia into the Confederacy I say, at the same time we endeavoured, not merely to keep the national obligations, but we ventured to a great extent our own political existence as administrators; we risked our political position for the sake of carrying out to completion, in the best way possible, the course which hon. gentlemen opposite had promised should be taken."

They are evidently not going any longer to risk their political position for the sake of carrying to completion, and in the best way possible, the obligations which hon. gentlemen opposite had so emphatically rivetted upon the Dominion. Then he gave to this country from the Opposition benches, a declaration of his policy :—

"Our proposal was this : We endeavoured in the first place to obtain some modifications of the terms. We despatched an agent to British Columbia, and Lord Carnarvon ultimately offered his good services in order to arrive at some understanding with that Province, and we reached the understanding that we would endeavour to build a railway from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean by 1890, that we should expend a certain amount per annum in British Columbia after the surveys were completed and the line adopted. *The line never was surveyed sufficiently to enable us to reach that conclusion* TILL LAST YEAR, AND AS SOON AS WE HAD INFORMATION TO GUIDE US WE ADOPTED THE BURRARD INLET ROUTE AND IMMEDIATELY ADVERTISED FOR TENDERS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THAT LINE."

(Cheers.) That is the statement of the hon. gentleman ; but I have another passage from his speech stronger than that. It will be remembered that the policy of the Hon. the Minister of Railways was this : He asked this House to declare that the selection of the Burrard Inlet route was premature, to give him permission to make further and other explorations, and further to allow him to let 125 miles of railway where he might determine after these explorations were made. What did the hon. member for Lambton say to this proposition? Here is an extract from his speech, and I beg hon. members to note it well :—

"I do not see how it is possible that this House can authorize the Government first to select a line, and, at the same time, when that line is not made known to Parliament, that we should authorize the Government to enter into a contract for building 125 miles of the railway. If the Government ask for power to let out contracts on lines that have been already thoroughly surveyed and are located, I would not blame those who approved of the policy of the Government, for giving them that power, *and, if they ask for the power to build* 125 *miles on the line which I believe to be best, I will be prepared to support that proposition*, but I am not prepared to support any proposition to place power in the hands of any Government to expend money in building a portion of a railway, without, at least, communicating the place where that money is to be expended."

(Cheers.) Now, it comes to this, that had the honorable member for Cumberland been less anxious to select the best possible route for British Columbia, had he been willing to come down here last year and ask permission to let 125 miles of railway on the Burrard Inlet route, the honorable member for Lambton would have supported him, and, I need not say, the whole party at his back would have supported him as well. (Loud cheers.)

THE SECRET OF MR. MACKENZIE'S CONVERSION.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what has brought about this change? Certainly the financial position last year was not better than the financial position this year. (Hear, hear.) Certainly the business outlook was not better last year than this year. (Hear, hear.) Certainly the prospect in this country in relation to the filling up of the North-west was not better last year than this year. (Hear, hear.) Why, then, was he prepared last year to give his support to the precise expenditure asked for to-day, while this year he advocates a postponement of the work? There is a reason for it. An honorable gentleman who was not here last year has returned to public life. (Hear, hear.) We have the honorable member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) again in this House. That is why this opposition is put forward. Those who have watched his political career since 1867 know that he never brooked leadership, and that he does not brook it now. He is to-day aspiring to the leadership of his party; but I will tell him, if he will permit me to do so, that a man who does not know how honestly to follow will never successfully lead. (Cheers.) Well, what is the result? Those who have watched Parliament, as I have watched it from that gallery, know that the incorporation of the North-west territories has always received the support of the honorable member for Lambton. He has always been in favor of filling up the Northwest, and never until last night has he ever uttered a single sentence of discredit against that North-west territory. But those who have, as I have said, watched the course of events in this Parliament, will remember the almost open rupture that took place between the honorable member for South Bruce (Mr. Blake) and the honorable member for Lambton, because the latter supported the policy of the Government in regard to bringing in this North-west territory; and they will also remember that the honorable member for South Bruce ultimately left the House in a pet, and did not vote at all. Not satisfied, I say, with placing his leader in the humiliating position in which he has placed the honorable member for Lambton, by inducing him to turn his back on his political record, he compelled him to devote two hours last evening in that triangular speech of the honorable members for West Durham, North Norfolk and Lambton, the details of which were announced in advance by that honorable gentleman, to reading extracts from reports and books calculated to discredit the country, and to prove, if the statements were true, that the then member for South Bruce was right in his refusal to incorporate the North-west with the Dominion, and that the member for Lambton was wrong in supporting the Government on that question. (Cheers)

THE LIBERAL POLICY OF DISPARAGING THE COUNTRY.

The honorable member for West Durham referred to the question of Western development, and he stated that that Western development had been most marvellous There is one thing that will strike every honorable member in this House that according to the honorable members on the other side everything American has been marvellous and everything Canadian has been the reverse. He selected two States—Kansas and Nebraska—as illustrations of progress, and in order to prove that we had no reason to look for any

such progress, he gave reasons showing the great advantages enjoyed by the Western States as compared with the Canadian Northwest. The honorable gentleman dwelt strongly upon what he called the vast recruiting ground which the Western States possessed in the United States, and as an illustration of this, he pointed out that of the increase in the population of the States and Territories, west of the lakes, between 1850 and 1860, 81 per cent. was native and 19 per cent. was foreign; and that between 1860 and 1870, the proportions were 79 per cent. native and 21 per cent. foreign. Then he went on to show that there was no possibility of our copying that wonderful development in our Northwest; that we had no such native recruiting ground as the Western States. It will be perceived that while the honorable gentleman is pleased to build up a Chinese wall as against immigrants coming into this country, he pulls it down when Canadians are to go into that country (hear, hear.) Mention has been made two or three times of the large number of Canadians going into the United States. There is no doubt that such an emigration has been going on. But it is worth while to point out that by the census of 1870, it appears that of the population of the United States there were 1.26 per cent. of the whole population Canadians, and that in British North America 1.85 per cent. was of American birth. That rather pulls down the Chinese wall on both sides, and shows that the people do come and go from and to both sides.

A BRIGHT PICTURE OF THE FUTURE.

But after proving to his own satisfaction that we could get comparatively no population into our Northwest, the honorable member for West Durham went on to ask of what value the population going there will be to the older Provinces. And referring to the suggestion that the manufacturers of the east will find a market in the west, the honorable gentleman asked, with one of his most cynical sneers, whether the N. P. was to have no effect there. (Hear, hear.) Well, sir, it is well known that in the United States, where protection prevails in the west as well as the east, western development has resulted in home markets for eastern manufacturers. (Cheers.) So much is this the case, that the group of manufacturing States has increased in population in an equal ratio with the whole United States. (Cheers.) I think it will be admitted by everyone who knows anything of the progress of immigration, notwithstanding the suggestions of the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) that emigration has always gone on lines of latitude, that the tendency in the United States is for the emigrant to go into new territory. Places that were the centres of immigration only ten years ago, are now the recruiting ground for emigrants going still further westward; and as we have, at this moment, in our Northwest, the newest regions—almost the only places remaining on the North American continent entirely new—we shall have the same process or movement from east to west, into our territory, in the future, in addition to the large immigration from the Old World. (Cheers.)

THE IRISH IN CANADA.

Then the member for West Durham told us as another reason why we could not hope for much emigration to that country, that the people of Ireland

were not likely to come into Canada; and we had an appeal to Irish sympathies as a means of signalizing, perhaps, the advent of Irish leadership, and the downfall of Scotch ascendancy in the Liberal party. If he had been disposed to deal fairly with his own country, he might have referred to the fact that there is no part of the North American continent where the Irish race occupies a better position than in Canada. What is the fact in the United States to-day? The governing party are bitterly opposed to the Irish race; and the most effective cartoons of the great Republican carricaturist Nast are those in which he appeals to Irish antipathies among native Americans. Do we find anything of that kind here? On no other part of this continent have the national and religious feelings of the Irish Roman Catholics been recognized as in Canada. (Cheers.) Even in the Act for opening up our new territory there is a constitutional provision made for supplying the Irish Catholics with schools in accordance with their own religious convictions. The honorable gentleman might, when making that appeal to Irish sympathies, and endeavoring to secure a new alliance, with a view to the building up of his party, have said this much in relation to the Irish race in Canada. Nowhere, whether in politics, commerce, or the professions, has the Irish race achieved greater renown or a more pre-eminent position than in the British North American provinces. (Cheers.)

THE RAILWAY AS A COLONIZING AGENT.

But I am glad he admits that the railways in the United States have been the secret of their development. There is no doubt of it. In the Republic, in 1860, only 18 years ago, there were only 36,635 miles of railway; in 1878, there were 81,841,000; the average mileage built every year for the last 18 years was 2,845, equal to the entire length of the Canada Pacific Railway. (Cheers.) Though he admits that it is to those railways is due the rapid peopling of the American Northwest, giving an example of a movement of population and of settlement on a scale never before seen, yet he seeks to place his party on the platform of building no more railways in Canada. (Hear, hear.) The member for North Norfolk, referring last night to the impossibility—for that seems to be the theme on the opposite side—of building up our Northwest country at all, alluded to the small progress made in the Western Sates from 1800 to 1830. When he had to go back that far he was hard pressed for an argument. (Hear, hear.) At that time it is quite true the Western States were not peopled at all. Their population was, I think, about 760,000, the whole population of the country being 12,866,020. But since, and in exact proportion to railway development, the Western States have been developed. Up to that time there was scarcely any emigration from the Old World to the United States. It is rather a curious fact that from 1815 to 1840 the emigration from the British Isles to the British North American Provinces actually exceeded the whole emigration from them to the United States by 82,000. Down to 1847, the year of the Irish famine and the terrible ship fever, the emigration from the British Isles to Canada was 746,163, and to the United States 780,048, the difference being only about 24,000 in favor of the United States. But since that year emigration has been on a larger scale to the United States, in consequence of those very Western territories attracting the people from the

Eastern States, who left room for the people from the Old World. By the census returns, while 645,608 people came from the United Kingdom to Canada, from 1847 till 1870, 3,692,624 went to the United States. We have in our mother land an important recruiting ground for emigrants to this country. (Hear, hear.) In spite of the enormous emigration from the Mother country, the population still increases. From 1860 to 1870, its emigrants to all parts, including Australia, Canada, and the United States, reached 1,571,729, despite which its increase of population was over two and a half millions. That shows how important a recruiting ground the British Iles furnish for this Dominion. (Hear, hear.) We are told we are not going to get much money from our lands in the Northwest. The member for West Durham stated that 11,770,000 acres were sold in the United States, from 1860 to 1869, and from 1869 to 1879, 47,170,000 acres.

Mr. BLAKE—Not sold, but granted and sold to settlers.

Mr. WHITE—I understand—located or taken up. But he did not refer to the railway lands disposed of.

Mr. BLAKE—I mentioned that that number did not include the railway lands.

Mr. WHITE—I so understood you. But what do we find? That the United States Government granted to its railway companies 192,308,311 acres, and that the companies sold to June 30th, 1879, 43,698,068 acres. Thirteen railway companies in the United States sold in 1877, 1,006,266 acres, and in 1878, 2,570,744. Sixteen companies sold their lands at an average of $5.70 an acre. So there is proof that the railway companies in the United States have succeeded in outdoing the Government, and that people have actually gone West and paid large prices for railway lands when they could have got homesteads and pre-emptions for little or nothing, showing the advantages and good results that have flown from a perfectly organized system in inducing these companies to co-operate in the settlement of those lands. The total receipts from the sale of lands in the United States for this century are $204,447,473. Those figures show that the lands of that country have been yearly growing in attractiveness; that there has been a greater demand, a large number of sales and more competition, for the land year by year. We may fairly assume, then, in connection with our Northwest, the settlement of a large population in it at no distant day. (Cheers.)

THE DEBT OF THE COUNTRY.

Another reason urged by the member for West Durham why we could not hope for success in selling the Northwest was that we have a large debt in Canada. We have. I very much regret it is so large. But we are incurring obligations, perhaps in the hour of our greatest weakness, that will suffice for years. We are building up large enterprises, such as those connected with the canals; deepening our rivers, erecting lighthouses on our coasts, in the interest of that great commerce that must come to the country in the future. These expenditures make additions to our debt. But those improvements go on adding, not by way of direct return—which the hon. gentleman seems to think is the only possible return a nation can have for its expenditures, but in the development of our industries, of our trade and commerce, and in the promotion of that prosperity which is very much

more valuable than any question of so many dollars as tolls from those works. (Cheers.) Take the Welland Canal; it does not yield us a great deal in direct returns. And yet who is there in the country would oppose the expenditure on its improvement? Who would even dream of looking for a return from that work from the tolls on the vessels passing through it. It is simply a means of bringing the largest vessels from the Western lakes into Lake Ontario, to enable Canada to compete with the United States for the shipment of grain to Europe. Nothing could be more unfair than to refer to the debts for such public works as if they had to be repeated from year to year. They are sources of development which the people have voluntarily undertaken in view of the great advantages to result from them. (Cheers.) The honorable gentleman should have dealt honestly with our debt, which he told us had increased from $77,706,000 net debt in 1871, to $147,485,070 in 1879, or about 89 per cent.; and he went on to compare that increase with the increase in European States whose large debts have been incurred, not for the purpose of development, but for destructive objects and great armaments. But with all this great increase, it will be admitted that the measure of the burden of the debt is the annual interest paid upon it. Now what is the fact? That while the net debt has increased about 89 per cent., the actual interest on the debt has increased rather under 40 per cent. (Cheers.)

Mr. BLAKE—I stated that.

Mr. WHITE—Yes; but the honorable gentleman so emphasized his statement as to cause the fact to be overlooked. That is the real position of affairs as to the increase of debt upon which the honorable gentleman dwelt. There was no object, I think, speaking in the interest of his own country, in throwing into the face of those who might desire to take advantage of the fact, that a large increase has taken place; no object in giving an opportunity to those who are opposed to Canada, and who are watching this debate, ready to use the expressions of the honorable gentlemen to the detriment of this country in England and Europe generally; no necessity to refer to an increase of the debt in a way to cause an erroneous impression in regard to it. In that increase about $14,000,000 are debts of the provinces which have been assumed by the Dominion; that is no real increase, but a transference of debt.

Sir RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT—That is a mistake.

Mr. WHITE—Does the honorable gentleman deny that view?

Sir RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT—Certainly.

Mr. WHITE—I think I am right; and I do not think the member for West Durham will venture to say that the assumption by the Dominion of the debts which had to be paid by the provinces, is any addition to the burdens of the people; it is a mere transference of the obligation from the provinces to the Dominion, the taxes coming from the same people all the while. (Cheers.)

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES CONTRASTED.

Then the honorable gentleman referred to the annual expenditure in Canada, which was, if I remember aright, $6.69 per head, while in the United States it was $6.13 per head. Well, what is the fact with regard to our expendi-

ture? It is well that our condition, as compared with the United States, should be understood when the whole policy of honorable gentlemen opposite is to show how much more desirable a country from every standpoint is the United States to settle in than Canada. The honorable gentlemen referred to the large decrease of debt which is taking place there, and happily taking place, because it is well that all free governing communities should be as lightly taxed as possible. But the honorable gentleman, in taking that ground, ought to have pointed out that the expenditures of the Dominion of Canada practically include the expenditures of the Provinces, (hear, hear), and that there is one item, the subsidies to the Provinces, which, it seems to me, ought always to be considered in presenting the expenditures of the Dominion of Canada. What are the State debts in the United States? What are the debts outside altogether of the debts of the Federal Government? The last official census of 1870 shows that there were State debts, county, town and city debts, independent altogether of the Federal debt, amounting to $868,676,758. (Hear, hear.) The amount raised by direct taxation in the United States in connection with the State, county, town and city debts, amounted to no less than $280,591,521. In 1860, those direct taxes, outside the Federal taxes altogether, outside the revenues of the Federal Government, amounted to $94,186,746 for that year, and in 1870 they had increased to $280,591,521, or an increase during that period of $196,404,775. (Hear, hear.) The honorable gentleman referred to another point. He says:—Look at the enormous taxes involved in the Customs' duties. Under this Customs' tariff we have the large sum of 19.62 per cent. of everything that is imported into the country going into the Dominion Treasury, and he urged that, I presume, as a reason why people should go to the United States rather than come to Canada. (Hear, hear.) Well, he might also have stated that in the United States, of the total imports, free and dutiable, no less than 29.44 per cent. goes into the Federal Treasury. Or, if he came to dutiable goods alone, he might have pointed out that while in Canada it is somewhere about 24 per cent., in the United States it is 45.28 per cent. of everything that is imported that goes into the Federal Treasury. That is a specimen of the kind of argument with which this House has been treated, in order to prove that this country is hardly a fit country to live in, that we have neither present nor future to hope for, and that all sensible men should feel that the proper place to go to, if they want to change their homes at all, is into the United States and not into Canada. (Hear, hear.)

THE RESOURCES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

And now, sir, I come, for a moment, to the question of British Columbia itself. It seems to me that in relation to British Columbia there is a determination from one end of the country to the other to belittle that Province. We have heard about the 12,000 people there; we have heard about the enormous injustice done to this country by the representation given to those 12,000 people; we have heard about British Columbia being a source of large expenditure, and as practically returning nothing to the Treasury; we have heard of it as a country utterly useless; we have heard honorable gentlemen say, with a flippancy which I am sure every one

must regret when you come to remember the position they occupy, that if it is a question between building this railway and letting British Columbia go, they say: Let her go—they almost say, let her go whether the railway is built or not. What are the facts with regard to this Province? I do not repeat the remarkable figures given by the honorable member for Victoria (Mr. DeCosmos) in the speech he has addressed to this House. He gave us figures which I think will have a very considerable influence in educating the public sentiment of this country in relation to British Columbia. What was the revenue last year of that Province which we are asked to regard as being utterly valueless, which has not yet commenced to be developed, but which I think will be found to contain natural riches—I was going to say hidden riches—which, in the near future, will make it, if not the richest, one of the richest provinces of this Dominion? The revenues last year from customs, seizures, excise, mariners' fees, stamps, &c., amounted to $572,955.29. Sir, what was the expenditure? I do not admit that the expenditure on surveys can fairly be chargeable to British Columbia. British Columbians would have been glad, I have no doubt, if the Dominion of Canada had consented to begin the road without a survey at all (hear, hear). The expenditures for surveys in British Columbia have been made for the exclusive benefit of Canada as a whole. They have been made with the object of finding the cheapest and best route for the railway with a view to future saving and future advantage, and therefore they are in no way chargeable to that province solely. But taking the expenditures on subsidy, collection of customs, excise, lighthouses, coasts surveys, fisheries, salaries of Lieutenant-Governor and Receiver-General, penitentiary, hospital, Indians, administration of justice, public works, post office,—taking all these, we find the expenditures were $462,172, so that there was an annual balance in favor of the Dominion last year $110,782. That was the position of British Columbia in connection with the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. BLAKE—Have you included the interest on the debt and the subsidy?

Mr. WHITE—I have included the subsidy only.

Mr. BLAKE—And the interest on their share of the debt?

Mr. WHITE—How much is it? Will the ex-Finance Minister kindly say how much it was?

Sir RICHARD J. CARTWRIHT—According to the statement of the Deputy Finance Minister it was $97,000.

Mr. WHITE—Then we have still a balance in favor of the Dominion. But what I want to point out is this, that the revenues have been progressing in that Province. In 1874 the revenue from customs which I take as a fair test, not having had to examine the others in detail, was $306,436; in 1875, $337,451; in 1876, $490,226; in 1877, $405,650; in 1878, $426,607; in 1879, $517,261, shewing a steady progress every year, with the exception of 1876, when the revenues increased by nearly $90,000 by some means which I have not been able to learn With the exception of that year there has been a steady progress from $306,436 in 1874 to $517,261 in 1879. Then there is another point which I think indicates that the people of British Columbia are somewhat progressive. There is no better test of the progress of a people than the post-office I find that the collec-

tions in the post-office of British Columbia amounted last year to $18,438, while in Prince Edward Island, with its one hundred thousand inhabitants, a province which we all admire, the garden province of the Dominion, the receipts were $20,840, or a difference of only about $2,400 between British Columbia with its 12,000 inhabitants and Prince Edward Island. (Hear, hear.) This indicates an activity on the part of the people of British Columbia, an enterprise and intelligence, which augur well for the future of that Province (hear, hear.) Sir, why should we not expect that this piece of railway in British Columbia will return something to this Dominion in the form of regular tolls, and by the development of the Province itself? If any one will take the trouble to look over the library, they will find that in 1860, 1861 and 1862, almost every body seemed to be engaged in writing books about British Columbia, showing that that Province contains within itself sources and wealth which are certainly equal to those which are to be found in any other part of the Dominion. There is nothing more unfortunate than the disposition to measure all national wealth by the grain producing power of the country. We have our prairies where wheat can be raised: we have in Nova Scotia our magnificent mines of coal and iron, which are going to make that Province very wealthy in the future; we have in New Brunswick forests of timber and the shipbuilding industry which are the distinctive features of that Province; and we have in British Columbia great sources of riches, and particularly of coal, iron and other minerals, which have always been the basis of powerful States, and which I venture to believe will make British Columbia one of the wealthiest Provinces in this Dominion. Apart altogether, therefore, from the considerations of national honor, which seem to me to be strong, and which have been presented with so much force by honorable gentlemen opposite, when they occupied a position on this side of the House, that they cannot escape from them. I say that, on mere grounds of material development and natural well-being, we ought to do something towards the development of that province. The honorable member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) talked last night of an expenditure of $30,000,000 in British Columbia. There is no such expenditure demanded from the House at this time. As I understand, the policy the Government has announced it is this: honorable gentlemen opposite admit that we must complete the portion of the road we have already under contract from Thunder Bay to Red River and the 200 miles west of Red River. I understand the policy of the Government is to build the 125 miles of railway which opens up the best section of British Columbia, and which gives entrance to a great length of navigation, and will open up such portions of that province as are capable of development and improvement; and that the work of the Pacific Railway shall go on in accordance with the wants of settlement in the prairie regions. There is no necessity in British Columbia for the continuance of that road to the Rocky Mountains until the railway across the plains is ready to meet it. (Hear, hear.) But as the road goes on over the plains in advance of settlement, the intermediate country will become filled with people, and when we get to that point where we shall be receiving advantages, which I venture to believe will be considerable, then the question of the connection of the line on the prairies with the line which is now proposed to be constructed will become an important question for this Domini-

on to decide. (Hear, hear.) That does not become an important question at present, and it is not right, therefore, for the honorable member for North Norfolk to talk of an expenditure of $30,000,000 in connection with British Columbia. I venture to believe that if the policy which is announced to us here is fairly carried out; if the policy is determined upon to build these railways with the least possible expenditure of money consistent with the safe working of the railway; if everything is done that can be done to put people in these western prairies; if we devote ourselves to the development of these enormous sources of wealth which are to be found in British Columbia itself; I think we may fairly look forward, as a result of that policy, to such resources in the future as will enable us to carry on to completion the great works which we have undertaken. Honorable gentlemen opposite have chosen a different course; they have determined to cry halt; their disposition is to ignore altogether the obligations which they have entered into; but I mistake the people of this country if any party can hope to build up success upon national repudiation and national dishonor. The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amid loud and long-continued applause.

Estimate referred to in Parliament, 15th April, 1880, by the Honorable the Minister of Railways and Canals.

The Minister of Railways and Canals to the Engineer-in-Chief.

DEPARTMENT OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS,

OTTAWA, 15th April, 1880.

DEAR SIR,—The Pacific Railway debate will begin this afternoon, and I must ask you to furnish me with an estimate of cost. In doing this, take the following data :—

The four contracts recently let in British Columbia, making full allowances for the reductions to be made and referred to in your report on these contracts.

The contract for the first 100 miles west of Red River, as it is being carried out with half ballasting, etc.

The accepted tender for the work on the second hundred miles section west of Red River, ($438,914).

With regard to the location and character of the railway, I am aware that your own preference has been for a line with light, easy gradients. The Government recognizes the advantage of this feature between Lake Superior and Manitoba, but west of Red River we attach less importance to it than the rapid settlement of the country and the immediate accommodation of settlers.

The policy of the Government is to construct a cheap railway, following, or rather, in advance of settlement, with any workable gradients that can be had, incurring no expenditure beyond that absolutely necessary to effect the rapid colonization of the country.

In accordance with this policy, Mr. Marcus Smith has found a line on the second hundred mile section where, two years ago, he reported it impossible under the old system of gradients, and he has stated to me that there will be no heavier hundred mile section than this one between Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains. I am, therefore, perfectly justified in calling upon you to take the accepted tender for the second hundred miles section as the basis for estimating cost up to the mountains.

You have recently shown me returns from Messrs. Caddy & Jennings, indicating large reductions effected on Sections 41 and 42. The rails for these sections have been secured at very low rates, and there are other circumstances which I need scarcely say will enable you to place the cost of opening the line from Selkirk to Lake Superior at much less than the sum named a year ago.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

SANDFORD FLEMING, Esq.,
Engineer-in-Chief,
Canadian Pacific Railway.

The Engineer-in-Chief to the Minister of Railways and Canals.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,
OFFICE OF THE ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF,
OTTAWA, 15th April, 1880.

The Honorable
Sir CHARLES TUPPER, K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Railways and Canals.

SIR,—I have the honor to submit the following estimate of expenditure necessary to place the Canadian Pacific Railway in operation from Lake Superior to Port Moody.

I understand the policy of the Government, with respect to the railway, to be :—

1. To construct the section between Lake Superior and Red River with the limited gradients and curves set forth in my reports laid before Parliament, so as to secure cheap transportation, and to provide, by the time the railway shall be ready for opening, an equipment of rolling stock and general accommodation sufficient for the traffic to be then looked for.

2. To proceed with the work west of Red River by constructing 200 miles on the route recently established. The roadway and works to be of the character defined by the 48th contract and the tenders for the 65th contract recently received.

To proceed with the construction of 125 miles in British Columbia, under the 60th, 61st, 62nd and 63rd contracts. The expenditure on the 125 miles to be limited in accordance with the provisions of the contract, and the views set forth in my report of the 22nd November last. *

To proceed gradually with the intervening distance. To delay placing additional sections under contract in British Columbia until the 125 miles are completed, or well advanced, thus preventing any undue increase in the price of labor.

To carry construction westward from Manitoba across the Prairie Region only as settlement advances.

In my report of last year, I placed the cost of the section between Lake Superior and Red River at $18,000,000. Since that date the steps taken to keep down the expenditure on the 185 miles between English River and Keewatin have been so far successful as to reduce the length about 3¾ miles, and the estimated cost fully $500,000.

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* Report on the British Columbia Section, 22nd November, 1879. Extracts :—"The total sum of the lowest tenders for the four sections, as above stated, is $9,167,040. It will be borne in mind that the character of the contract to be entered into is materially different from ordinary contracts. This sum represents the maximum—the contract is not to exceed the amount, but it may be very much less. (See clauses 5, 6 and 7.)

"Those who made the surveys and calculations inform me that the quantities are very full, and that in actual execution they can be largely reduced. I am convinced, moreover, that by making an extremely careful study of the final location, by sharpening the curvature in some places, by using great judgment in adjusting the alignments to the sinuosities and sudden and great irregularities of the ground, by substituting the cheaper classes of work for the more costly whenever it can safely be done, and by doing no work whatever that is not absolutely necessary, a very marked reduction can be made."

The rails for these two contracts have likewise been secured at a considerably lower price than the estimate. Whatever an increasing traffic in future years may demand in the way of terminal accommodation and rolling stock, I am confident the line can be opened for traffic between Fort William and Selkirk, well equipped for the business which may then be expected, at a cost not exceeding $17,000,000.

West of Red River, 100 miles have been placed under contract, and tenders have been received for a second 100 miles section. These two sections are designed to be constructed and equipped in the most economical manner, dispensing with all outlay except that necessary to render the railway immediately useful in the settlement of the country. It is intended that the line be partly ballasted, to render it available for colonization purposes, full ballasting being deferred until the traffic demands high speed. It is intended to provide sufficient rolling stock for immediate wants, postponing full equipment until the country becomes populated, and the business calls for its increase.

On this basis and the other data furnished, the railway may be opened from Lake Superior to the Pacific Coast within the following estimate :—

Fort William to Selkirk (406 miles) with light gradients, including a fair allowance of rolling stock and engineering during construction		$17,000,000
Selkirk to Jaspar Valley (1,000 miles) with light equipment, etc.		13,000,000
Jaspar Valley to Port Moody (550 miles) with light equipment, etc :—		
Jaspar to Lake Kamloops, 335 at $43,660	$15,500,000	
Lake Kamloops to Yale, 125 at $80,000	10,000,000	
Yale to Port Moody, 90 at $38,888	3,500,000	
	$29,000,000	
Add	1,000,000	$30,000,000
Total miles, 1,956		$60,000,000

The above does not include cost of exploration and preliminary surveys throughout all parts of the country north of Lake Nipissing to James' Bay in the east, and from Esquimault to Port Simpson in the west, between Latitudes 49° and 56°, not properly chargeable to construction, $3,119,618, or the Pembina Branch, $1,750,000, or with other amounts with which the Pacific Railway account is charged.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

SANFORD FLEMING, *Engineer-in-Chief.*

The Engineer-in-Chief to the Minister of Railways and Canals.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,
OFFICE OF THE ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF,
OTTAWA, 16th April, 1880.

The Hon. Sir CHARLES TUPPER, K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Railways and Canals.

SIR,—In compliance with your directions, I have the honor to consider the cost of the eastern section of the Pacific Railway extending from Thunder Bay, Lake Superior, to the eastern terminus, Lake Nipissing.

In my report recently laid before Parliamnnt, I have referred to the projected line between South-East Bay, Lake Nipissing, and Sault St. Mary. The explorations of this district have established that a location can be had north of Lake Nipissing, which would be common for 60 or 70 miles to the St. Mary's branch and the main trunk line to the North-West. As the St. Mary's branch will, in all probability, be constructed before the through line is undertaken, the length of the latter will be reduced by the length of the location common with the two lines. The eastern

terminus will consequently be advanced some 60 or 70 miles to the west, beyond the theoretical starting-point at Lake Nipissing. The length of the eastern section therefore, may be assumed not to exceed 600 miles.

It is impossible to say what labor and materials may cost some years hence, when the period arrives for the eastern section to be undertaken. Taking the basis of present prices and present contracts, and adhering to the economic principles of construction set forth in the letters of yesterday, I feel warranted in stating that $20,000,000 may be considered a fair estimate of the cost of opening the line from Fort Willliam to the Eastern Terminus.

In order that the estimates of the cost of the line from Fort William to the Pacific, and from Fort William to the Eastern Terminus near Lake Nipissing, be clearly understood, I deem it proper to submit the following explanations:—

I have, in previous reports laid before Parliament, advocated a location for the railway with generally light gradients and other favorable engineering features. The policy of the Government, as stated in your letter, likewise the change of line by the abandonment of the old location west of Red River, render it necessary on my part to modify the views I have previously held.

The estimates now submitted are based on the new conditions and the data to which you refer, viz.: on contracts recently let for four sections in British Columbia, and the reduction to be made thereon; on the contract for the first 100 miles section west of Red River; on the accepted tender for the second 100 miles section west of Red River; and on the assurance made by the Engineer who conducted the surveys in the Prairie Region, that there will be no more costly 100 miles section between Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains than the second 100 miles section west of Red River; that hence this section may be taken to be representative of the whole work to the base of the mountains. I have likewise estimated the amount of rolling stock as limited to the extent considered absolutely necessary for colonization purposes, and I have not overlooked the fact that the transportation of rails and other materials, after our own line from Lake Superior to Manitoba shall have been completed, will be reduced to nominal charges to cover actual outlay, instead of the very high rates we have been compelled to pay by the railways in the United States.

It must be borne in mind that if the present defined policy with respect to the gradual progress of the work be modified, or if the extent of the work be different from that assumed, or if its general character be altered, the cost may be affected by the change. The same result may be looked for if a higher price has to be paid for materials, or for labor, and if through these or other causes, the contractors failing to perform what they have undertaken, the work in consequence has to be relet at higher prices. Under these circumstances the cost of the whole line may be increased.

The cost may be enhanced, moreover, if the location of the line be placed in the hands of careless or inefficient men, who may fail to exercise the prudence and judgment called for, or who may neglect, through want of care or skill, to lay out the work with regard to economy. Or if the supervision of the contracts be lax, so as to admit of the possibility of work not absolutely required being executed, or of payment being made in excess of work performed, increase of cost will result. From first to last the strictest economy will have to be enforced, and rigid control exercised over the expenditure. The estimate submitted is based on the data set forth, and on that data the whole main line, from Port Moody, on the Pacific coast, to the Eastern Terminus, in the neighborhood of Lake Nipissing, may be constructed, in the manner and under the circumstances referred to, for about $80,000,000. But to meet any of the possible contingencies to which I have referred, I beg leave to recommend that, in considering the subject of capital required for the undertaking, a liberal percentage be added.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

SANDFORD FLEMING,

Engineer-in-Chief.