

July  
**British Columbia's**

**Claim**

**For Better Terms.**

HR  
F5827  
C78  
cop.2

THE LIBRARY



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
BRITISH COLUMBIA

*The F. W. Howay and R. L. Reid  
Collection of Canadiana  
The University of British Columbia*

# British Columbia's

## CLAIM

Upon the Dominion Government for

# Better Terms.

---

Prepared and Compiled by

GEORGE H. COWAN, Esq.,

Vancouver, B. C.



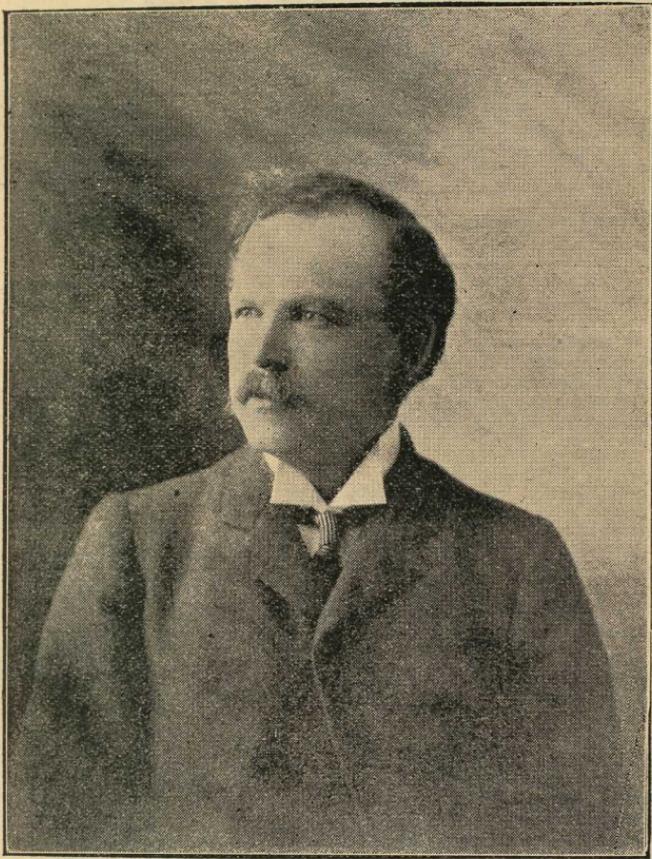
1904.

THE INDEPENDENT PRINTING COMPANY

VANCOUVER, B. C.

*Compliments of  
G. H. Cowan*





GEORGE H. COWAN, VANCOUVER, B. C.



# BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Three conditions, permanent in character, differentiate British Columbia's case from that of every other province, namely:

1. Its mountainous surface.
2. Its position in relation to the other provinces and other countries.
3. The character of its special products.

## *Mountainous Surface.*

Its habitable area is about one-fortieth of its entire surface, or about 6,000,000 out of a total of 238,483,007 acres, and lies more or less evenly distributed over the whole province, along narrow but widely separated valleys and gulches, immured by 360,000 square miles of snow-capped mountains. This is a condition for which no analogue in Canada can be found—and it is a permanent one.

## *Its Distinctive Effects.*

Wholly as a result of this feature—that 97 per cent., at least, of British Columbia's surface is mountains, the remaining 3 per cent. forming the interstices between—it follows as night the day that her settlements, whether in the valleys or on the hills, are, and of physical necessity will for all time be, radically different from those of the other provinces, in being—

1. Small in area.
2. Isolated in position.
3. Difficult of access.

The distinctive effects upon expenditure in British Columbia, especially for such local services to these settlements as public works, civil government, administration of justice, hospitals and charities, are not far to seek. True, in every new province whose settlements are small in area and population and are wide apart, the expenditure in these departments will at first be larger than it will afterwards become. But only in British Columbia, whose settlements must of physical necessity be and always remain widely separated by well-nigh impassable mountains, will there be an abnormal expenditure which will remain permanent. The permanency of this abnormal expenditure in British Columbia is traceable to a topography peculiar to British Columbia, and is one feature which differentiates and must always differentiate British Columbia's case from that of every other province.

### Public Works.

For example, to get communication with and between her isolated settlements, British Columbia's expenditure for roads, streets and bridges has been, and must always be, out of all proportion to that of every other province, as appears by the subjoined comparative tables of expenditure by provinces, prepared now for the first time and vouched for by the Dominion Statistician, Mr. George Johnson:

#### Annual Expenditure per Head for Roads, Streets and Bridges.

	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	Average
British Columbia.....	\$2.30	\$3.74	\$1.89	\$2.94	\$3.68	\$2.91
New Brunswick.....	.47	.48	.49	.72	.89	.61
Prince Edward Island		.31	.42½	.42½	.38	.38½
Nova Scotia .....	.19	.18½	.20	.25½	.20½	.20 7-10
Manitoba .....	.26	.17½	.25	.13	.15	.19 3-10
Quebec .....	.06½	.08	.11	.11½	.07	.08 4-5
Ontario .....	.05	.04	.07	.06	.09½	.06 3-10
Average.....						.26 1-5

The average population of the provinces for the above five years was:—

British Columbia.....	171,480
New Brunswick.....	330,377
Prince Edward Island.....	103,687
Nova Scotia.....	458,882
Manitoba.....	245,469
Quebec.....	1,636,454
Ontario.....	2,177,751

So that the ratio of British Columbia's average expenditure per head for five years for this service to that of New Brunswick, the next province in order of expenditure, has been 291 to 61, or upwards of 4:1 to that of Manitoba, the next province in order of age, it has been 15:1. To reduce this first ratio to an equation and put British Columbia on an equality with even New Brunswick, the least fortunate of the other provinces in the article of road construction, it would have taken for the five years a yearly allowance of \$2.30 per head of British Columbia's average population (the difference between \$2.91 and .61) or a yearly sum of \$394,404.00. Her ratio to the average annual per capita expenditure of all the provinces is 291.26 1-5, or upwards of 10:1, making an excess yearly of \$2.64 4-5 per head of her population.

And lest it might be thought that the addition of municipal to provincial expenditure for this service would vary results to the prejudice of British Columbia, Ontario may be selected for the purposes of comparison as having a larger municipal expenditure and fuller municipal statistics than any of the other provinces. Adding then Ontario and British Columbia's municipal expenditure per head for 1901 for roads, streets and bridges, to the above provincial average per head per year for the past five years we have:

	Br. Col.	Ontario.
Provincial expenditure for roads, per head, per year, for five years.....	\$2 91	\$ 06 3-10
Municipal expenditure for roads, per head, for 1901.....	1 58	1 63
Total.....	\$4 49	\$1 69 3-10

Showing an annual sum of \$2.79 7-10 per head, or \$466,425, needed to obliterate the inequality of British Columbia as compared with Ontario on the item of provincial and municipal expenditure for this service alone.

Or again, for the last 30 years (1873-1902) British Columbia's total expenditure—both provincial and municipal—per head of an average population of 90,634, as computed by the government engineer, was:

Roads.....	\$12,000,000
Trails.....	1,000,000
Total .....	\$13,000,000
Amount per head, per year.....	\$4 79

While for the last 10 years—1893-1902—Ontario's expenditure per head of an average population of 2,150,562 for roads, streets and parks was:

Provincial.....	\$ 1,218,749
Municipal.....	26,831,712
Total .....	\$28,050,641
Amount per head, per year .....	\$1 30

Showing this time a yearly sum of \$316,312 over the extended period, or \$483,068 over the 10 years, as necessary to obliterate British Columbia's deficiencies under this head.

So that the ratio of British Columbia's per capita expenditure for this service to that of the other provinces has always remained constant, and, so long as the Rockies interpose their physical barriers to road building, it will remain constant at not less than 4:1.

To the cost per mile, rather than to the mileage, or the sparse population is due this abnormal expenditure for road construction in British Columbia. The mileage—far inadequate to the needs of the districts—is only about 6,000 miles of wagon roads and 5,000 miles of trails. Turning then to the cost per mile of road construction we learn from the government engineer that the average cost in British Columbia has been \$2,000 per mile for wagon roads. Nor does this average decrease as settlement and development increase; as the subjoined particulars of roads now under construction show:

**COST OF ROAD BUILDING IN  
BRITISH COLUMBIA.**

Statement showing length, width and average cost per mile of certain wagon roads.

*East Kootenay, North Riding.*

Toby Creek—Wagon Roads:

Length .....	20 miles
Width, graded, averages .....	9 feet
Cost per mile, approximate, .....	\$1,000.00
Still under construction.	

*Revelstoke Riding.*

Columbia River Wagon Road:

Length .....	4½ miles
Width, graded, averages .....	10 feet
Cost per mile, approximate .....	\$3,350 00
Still under construction.	

*Slocan Riding.*

South Fork Kaslo Creek Wagon Road:

Length .....	12½ miles
Width, graded, averages .....	9 feet
Cost per mile, approximate .....	\$1,600
Still under construction.	

*Yale, West Riding.*

Lillooet-Lytton Wagon Road:

Length .....	4 miles
Width, graded, averages .....	10 to 12 feet
Cost per mile, approximate .....	\$4,544
Still under construction.	

*Yale, East Riding.*

Main Kettle River Road:

Length .....	5¾ miles
Width, graded, averages .....	12 to 14 feet
Cost per mile, approximate .....	\$1,700

*Richmond Riding.*

Hastings-Barnet Road:

Length .....	4 miles
Width, graded, averages .....	16 feet
Width between ditches .....	22 feet
Cost per mile, approximate .....	\$2,000
Still under construction.	

*Rossland Riding.*

## Norway Mountain Wagon Road:

Length .....	6¾ miles
Width, graded, averages .....	10 feet
Cost per mile, approximate .....	\$1,185
Still under construction.	

*Westminster District.*

## Reformatory Road, near Vancouver:

Length .....	2.8 miles
Width, graded, averages .....	12 feet
Width, between ditches .....	16 feet
Cost per mile, approximate .....	\$2,220
Uncompleted.	

*Chilliwack Riding.*

## Mount Baker Wagon Road:

Length .....	9 miles
Width, graded, averages .....	10 feet
Cost per mile, approximate .....	\$1,510
Uncompleted.	

Average cost per mile .....

.....	\$2,123.22
-------	------------

On the contrary, the average cost of road construction must necessarily increase, as settlement finds its way up the hills to mining camps and into the less accessible valleys.

For the purpose of comparison with the other provinces and to establish another constant ratio, we will turn, not to the numerous roads in the east, built by statute labor without other cost, but to the expensive colonization and mining roads of North Ontario for which the figures are complete. We yield the advantages of a comparison of our roads with statute labor roads to the necessity of accurate figures, and, besides, we are content to be placed on a plane with the most unfortunate part of any of the provinces. An examination, then, of Return No. 24, printed in the sessional papers of Ontario for 1885, Vol. 17, Part V, reveals the fact that during 18 years, from 1867 to 1885, Ontario built 2,333¾ miles of new roads in Algoma, Muskoka and other northern parts of the province at a total cost to the province and the municipalities of \$684,946.74, or an average cost of \$294 per mile, as against an average in British Columbia of \$2,000 per mile. Here, again, are two averages gathered each from figures extending over a long period of years and establishing together that the ratio of the cost per mile of road construction in British Columbia to that in North Ontario is 2,000 to 294, or about 7.1. This inequality will be as lasting as are the everlasting hills that make it, and nothing but a yearly allowance of \$341,458, or an equivalent to the excess in cost [\$1,706] per mile of the yearly road construction in British Columbia—which in the past has averaged 200 miles—will put British Columbia in regard to this service on an equality with North Ontario, the least favored of any part of any of the other provinces in the matter of road construction.

To summarize results—the excess in the cost of road construction in British Columbia, over that of any other province has never been, and can never by any fair computation be made to appear to be less than \$341,000 per year, as shown in the table below. This excess is wholly due to permanent physical causes constantly operating in British Columbia, and, as we shall see, it was not allowed for or in any way provided against by the Terms of Union:

Term and kind of Expenditure	Expenditure per head		Difference per head	Equip'm't y'rly sum
	British Col.	Other Provs.		
5 years, 1898-1902 Provincial	\$ 2.91	N.B. .61	\$ 2.30	\$394,404
5 years Provincial 1 year Municipal	4 41	Ont. 1.68 3-10	2.72 7-10	466,425
30 yrs. for B. C. 10 " " Ontario Prov. and Municipal	4.70	Ont. 1.30	3.49	483,068
30 yrs. for B. C. 18 " " Ontario Prov. and Municipal	Expenditure per mile Brit. Col. North Ont.		Diff in cost per mile	341,458
	\$2000.00	\$294.00	1,706.00	

### Civil Government.

In every mining camp, on every side-hill, and in every gully where a community can huddle together, the civil government department must have its government agent, registrar, timber inspector, mining recorder, assessor, and what not, with salaries, offices, and equipment sufficient to serve a community much larger in numbers and area and in revenue producing power. Mr. Johnson's comparative table of expenditure by provinces under this head for the five years—1898-1902—is as follows:

### Annual Expenditure per Head for Civil Government.

Provinces	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	Average
British Columbia . . . . .	\$.87	\$.82	\$1.01	\$1.28	\$1.31	\$1.06
Quebec . . . . .	.17½	.17	.17½	.16½	.16	.16 9-10
Manitoba . . . . .	.19	.15½	.13	.15	.15	.15½
Ontario . . . . .	.11½	.11½	.12	.13	.13	.12 1-5
New Brunswick . . . . .	.08	.09	.09	.09	.09	.08 4-5
P. E. Island . . . . .	.06	.05	.05½	.06	.07	.06
Nova Scotia . . . . .	.05	.04½	.04½	.04½	.04½	.04 3-5

Here again, there is an abnormal expenditure in British Columbia, so out of proportion to that of the other provinces and so radically different in amount as of itself to require adjustment. British Columbia's excess per year for the five years over Quebec, the province next in order of amount, is 89 1-10 cents per head of an average population of 171,480, or a yearly sum of \$152,788, the perennial result of permanent conditions peculiar to British Columbia and not provided against in the Terms of Union.

*Administration of Justice.*

This department, with its administrative staff of registrars, clerks, sheriffs, gaolers and other officials, and its offices and records in every settlement gives British Columbia an equitable claim to another yearly sum of \$86,597, or 50½ cents per head of her population, as the following table shows:

*Annual Expenditure per Head for Administration of Justice.*

Provinces	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	Average
British Columbia . . .	\$1.11	\$1.15	\$.69	\$.59	\$.61	\$.83
Quebec . . . . .	.32½	.31	.32	.30	.37	.32½
Ontario . . . . .	.20	.19	.19½	.19	.19½	.19 2-5
P. E. Island . . . . .	.16	.14½	.16	.17	.20	.16 7-10
Manitoba . . . . .	.11	.13	.10½	.12	.14	.12
New Brunswick . . . . .	.06	.04½	.05½	.05	.06	.06 1-5
Nova Scotia . . . . .	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03

*Hospitals and Charities.*

Owing to her physical characteristics, British Columbia will always have a large number of isolated settlements too small and remote from others to afford a living practice to a resident physician or sufficient support to a hospital to make it self-sustaining. In consequence, both will always have to receive provincial aid, and hence the yearly excess in British Columbia of \$41,670, or 24 3-10 cents per head over Nova Scotia, the province next in rank, as the following table shows:

*Annual Expenditure per Head for Hospitals and Charities.*

Province	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	Average
British Columbia . . . .	.32	.36	.31	.46	.45	.38
Nova Scotia . . . . .	.13½	.13	.13	.12½	.16½	.13 7-10
Ontario . . . . .	.09	.09	.09	.09	.10	.09 1-5
Manitoba . . . . .	.07	.06½	.07	.11	.07	.07 7-10
P. E. Island . . . . .	.06½	.06½	.07½	.07	.07	.06 9-10
New Brunswick . . . . .	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02½	.02

*Four Services Added and Compared.*

The next table adds together in one total the average expenditure per head of each province during the five years, 1898-1902, for the four services of—

1. Roads, streets and bridges.
2. Civil government.
3. Administration of justice.
4. Hospitals and charities.

The wide disparity between British Columbia and the other provinces, and the similarity amounting almost to sameness amongst the latter, point unmistakably to a disturbing cause constantly operating in British Columbia alone, and verify by statistics what we know by observation and experience, that mountain climbing and mountain life—however novel and entertaining—however novel and entertaining—are neither easy nor inexpensive. As well try to reduce the cost of cultivating 20 farms of 10 acres each, widely separated by hills and unconnected by roads, to the cost of farming 200 acres in a block, as to reduce British Columbia's expenditure under these heads to that of the other provinces.

*Average Expenditure per Head for Five Years,  
1898 to 1902.*

Province	Roads, etc.	Civil Govt.	Justice	Hospital, etc.	Total
British Columbia...	\$2.91	\$1.06	\$.83	\$.38	\$5.18
New Brunswick....	.61	.08 4-5	.06 1-5	.02	.78
P. E. Island .....	.38½	.06	.16 7-10	.06 9-10	.68 1-10
Quebec .....	.08 4-5	.16 9-10	.32½	.02 2-3	.60 3-10
Manitoba .....	.19 3-10	.15½	.12	.07 7-10	.54½
Ontario .....	.06 3-10	.12 1-5	.19 2-5	.09 1-5	.47 1-10
Nova Scotia .....	.20 7-10	.04 3-5	.03	.13 7-10	.42
Average.....					.80 9-10

By this table it appears that the ratio of British Columbia's per capita expenditure under these four heads of service to that of New Brunswick, the next province in order of amount, is \$518:78 or nearly 7:1; and to that of Manitoba, the next province in order of age, it is 9:1; while the ratio of New Brunswick to Nova Scotia, the lowest of the provinces, is 78:42, or about 1 4-5:1. It further appears that to place British Columbia on an even keel with New Brunswick, the province next highest in expenditure, she should have had each year an allowance of \$4.40 per head of an average population of 171,480, equivalent to a yearly sum of \$754,512.

And it also appears that British Columbia's expenditure under these for the five years has placed the average expenditure of all the provinces at 80 9-10th cents per head, per year, high and dry above that of New Brunswick (78) cents the highest of all the other provinces. What a significant fact this is, proving, as it does, irresistibly and with mathematical accuracy that some cause operating persistently, for five years, at least, in British Columbia, and operating not at all in the other provinces has produced this abnormal yearly excess of three-quarters of a million dollars in British Columbia's expenditure for these four services alone. What is this persistent cause? It cannot be a luxurious or extravagant taste for road-building, hardened by long use into an iron law of custom with all British Columbia governments; because it is a notorious fact, that, owing to the great cost of connecting settlements by roads over long stretches of unpeopled mountains and country, the British Columbia highways are wholly and hopelessly inadequate to the needs of the settled districts, to say nothing at all of colonization roads. And this inadequacy, notwithstanding the deplorable circumstance that, as we shall see, her provincial taxation is

high beyond parallel and the limit of her borrowing power has been reached. And yet, in the absence of a faith that will remove mountains, there is still a crying need for Works (more Public Works) to cast up the highways to bring communities having a common interest together.

*Total Expenditure for all Services in all Provinces  
for Five Years.*

As indicating that this same persistent cause has for the same five years been operating in other departments of government expenditure, besides the four above compared, to produce, not to the same extent but to a marked extent, an abnormal expenditure, the following comparative table of the total expenditure for all services by all the provinces for the past five years, 1898-1902, in order of amount per head per year is instructive:

Provinces	Av. pop. for 5 years	Total expend. for 5 years	Amt. per hd per year
British Columbia.....	171,489	\$10,813,905	\$12.61
Manitoba.....	245,469	5,132,134	4.18
P. E. Island.....	103,687	1,526,494	2.94½
Quebec.....	1,636,454	22,057,010	2.69½
New Brunswick.....	330,377	4,027,154	2.44
Nova Scotia.....	458,882	4,815,300	2.10
Ontario.....	2 177,751	19,969 942	1.37½
Total.....	4,451,138	\$68,341,939	\$3.07

Here, then, we have the sum and result upon expenditure for five years of all the inequalities and physical disabilities peculiar to British Columbia. It is the difference between her average annual per capita expenditure of \$12.61 and \$3.07, the average annual per capita expenditure of all the provinces. This difference is \$9.54 per head, per year, of her population, and is equivalent to the sum of \$1,635,919 per year for the past five years.

This extra burthen, which the hard conditions of British Columbia's mountains impose upon her taxpayer, and which should have been shifted from his shoulders at the time of Union, when she gave to the Dominion, in the way of revenue, three times as much per head of her population as the other provinces gave, is about ¾ths of his total burthen. Of his whole burthen for roads, streets and bridges, civil government, administration of justice, and hospitals and charities, about 5-6ths is extra; and of his whole burthen for roads, streets and bridges alone about 10-11ths is extra—showing that the more the service has to do with these mountain conditions, the more abnormal is the expenditure in that service—abnormal, that is to say, as compared with the other provinces. What in the other provinces would be an abnormal expenditure is in British Columbia, owing to her physical characteristics a normal expenditure, i. e., an expenditure that cannot be helped, if her people are to live in the country as all. British Columbia's ratio to Manitoba is here only 3:1, and it will be noticed that Manitoba's per capita yearly expenditure, \$4.18, has here gone slightly above the average, \$3.07; but the circumstance is traceable, not to any permanent physical cause peculiar to Manitoba, but to her indulgence for the time being in a modern, up-to-date school system, as the following table shows:

*Annual Expenditure per head for Public Schools.*

Province	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	Av'ge
Manitoba .....	\$4.70	\$4.82	\$4.98	\$4.92	\$5.32	\$4.95
British Columbia .....	1.80	1.94	1.66	2.95	3.06	2.28
Ontario .....	1.88	1.94	1.92	2.11	2.16	2.00
Nova Scotia .....	1.84	1.78	1.93	1.84	1.98	1.87
New Brunswick .....	1.50	1.80	1.88	1.81	1.79	1.76
Prince Edward Island .....	1.49	1.44	1.49	1.60	1.62	1.53
Quebec .....	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.27	1.31	1.18
Dominion .....	1.70	1.71	1.76	1.86	2.00	1.81

*Total Expenditure for all Services in all Provinces for 30 Years.*

The question, then, remains whether these mountain conditions, operating so persistently for the past five years, have for any longer period been operating in the same way; in other words, whether British Columbia has always been presented—and will always be presented—with this extraordinary bill for administering her "sea of mountains." To resolve this question, the following comparative table of the total expenditure for all services of all the provinces for the past 30 years, 1873-1902, arranged in order of the amount per head, per year, is added:

Provinces	Av. pop. for 30 yrs.	Total Expend. for 30 years	Av. per head per year
British Columbia .....	90,634	\$ 32,243,068	\$11.86
Manitoba .....	123,801	16,025,974	4.31
Prince Edward Island .....	104,062	9,179,906	2.94
Quebec .....	1,421,994	104,027,881	2.44
New Brunswick .....	314,802	20,381,060	2.16
Ontario .....	1,961,260	*105,798,513	1.79
Nova Scotia .....	434,585	21,525,863	1.65
Totals .....	4,451,138	\$309,182,264	\$2.32

Thus, it appears that the excess of British Columbia's annual expenditure per head of her population over the average annual expenditure per head of all the provinces was exactly the same for the last 30 years as it was for the last 5 years, namely, \$9.54. "So flows the stream and shall forever flow."

It may be thought that the wide disparity shown in the foregoing statistics is due to the initial cost of construction in a country in a state of nature, and that the same ratio will not hold after this initial expenditure is met, and only maintenance is to be dealt with. In other words, it may be contended that British Columbia is now making, what the older provinces in their infancy before Confederation had to make at their own cost, and what every province in its infancy has to make, namely, an initial outlay of capital to produce permanent assets, in the way of roads, streets, bridges, public buildings, etc., whose maintenance in the future will not be at all equal to the initial cost of production, and that the Dominion should not be called upon to as-

sume any part of this initial outlay. But an analysis of the statistics will show that this is not the case. That an initial outlay incident to her infancy is not the cause of British Columbia's high expenditure is shown by the ratios of her expenditure to that of Manitoba, the other infant. These ratios are: For roads, streets and bridges, 15:1; for the four services above, 9:1; for all services, 3:1.

That such initial outlay is not so initial as to allow British Columbia's excess of expenditure to diminish as time passes is shown by the fact that her excess per head was as much, indeed, exactly the same for the last five years as for the last 30 years, namely, \$9.54. If, however, there is any such initial outlay which in British Columbia is in any degree abnormal, and which, therefore, in any degree accounts for the excess of her per capita expenditure over that of the other provinces, it is itself accounted for by the extra outlay occasioned by her mountainous surface and should be assumed by the Dominion. If, on the other hand, this initial outlay is not peculiar to British Columbia, but is incident to the infancy of every province, it should still in her case be assumed by the Dominion to the same extent, at least, as by the following tables it appears to have been assumed in the case of the other provinces.

### *Provincial Debts assumed by the Dominion.*

#### At Confederation:

Canada [Province] .....	\$ 62,500,000
Nova Scotia .....	8,000,000
New Brunswick .....	7,000,000

#### Subsequently Assumed or Allowed:

Nova Scotia [1869] .....	\$ 1,186,756
Province of Canada, [1873] .....	10,506,089
Ontario .....	2,848,289
Quebec .....	2,549,214
Nova Scotia .....	2,343,959
New Brunswick .....	1,807,720
Manitoba .....	3,775,600
British Columbia .....	2,029,392
Prince Edward Island .....	4,884,023

Total Provincial Debts assumed ..... \$109,430,148

Taking the population from the Dominion census of 1901, the provincial debts assumed by the Dominion for British Columbia and the other provinces are:

Provinces	Population	Debts Assumed	Amt. per head
British Columbia . . . . .	178,657	\$ 2,029,392	\$11.35
The Other Provinces	4,881,009	107,400,756	22.50

Thus, British Columbia pays for local services 4:1 of the other provinces, and, we shall see, contributes to the Dominion treasury 3:1 of the other provinces; but, when we come to the provincial debts assumed by the Dominion, we find the inverse ratio of 1:2 of the other provinces.

*British Columbia's Case.*

This, then, would seem to be British Columbia's case, and her claim would seem to be the yearly sum of \$9.54 per head of her population, except, of course, so much of it as may be found upon proper enquiry to be due, not to the permanent causes herein assigned, but to temporary conditions or conditions covered by the Terms of Union. And other mountainous countries are in the same case with British Columbia in the article of high expenditure: In 1901 Chili's per capita expenditure was \$33.67, whilst Venezuela's was \$3.72; Norway's was \$12.23, whilst Denmark's was \$8.41.

*Insufficiency of Provincial Revenue to Meet Expenditure.*

What, then, are British Columbia's sources of revenue for local purposes, and how far have they been sufficient to provide for those local services which devolve upon her by the Terms of the Union Act, and some of which, as we have seen, are far inadequate to the needs of her settlements?

Only once in her history, in 1879, has revenue met expenditure, as appears by the following table:

Year	Receipts	Expend.	Year	Receipts	Expend.
1873	\$ 370,150	\$ 372,619	1874	\$ 372,418	\$ 583,360
1875	351,241	614,659	1876	381,120	728,310
1877	408,348	685,046	1878	430,786	514,879
1879	213,058	186,715	1880	390,908	446,575
1881	397,035	378,779	1882	405,483	474,428
1883	425,808	594,102	1884	503,174	590,629
1885	600,399	655,438	1886	514,720	772,211
1887	537,335	731,307	1888	598,252	788,955
1889	698,955	857,545	1890	835,463	954,021
1891	959,248	1,032,105	1892	1,020,002	1,430,920
1893	1,019,206	1,431,438	1894	821,660	1,514,405
1895	896,025	1,906,924	1896	989,765	1,614,723
1897	1,383,148	1,569,071	1898	1,439,623	2,001,032
1899	1,531,639	2,156,474	1900	1,544,108	1,831,205
1901	1,605,920	2,287,821	1902	1,807,925	2,537,373

Making a total—Receipts, \$23,452,022; Expenditures, \$30,243,068.

Thus it is seen that for 30 years, from 1873 to 1902, her total revenue was \$23,452,022, and insufficient by \$8,791,044 to meet her total expenditure of \$32,243,068. In anticipation of the charge of extravagance for parliament buildings we will deduct from the \$8,791,044 the sum of \$1,000,000, and still we have an excess of expenditure over revenue of \$7,791,044, or 24 1-5 per cent. for the 30 years. Nor has an increase of revenue, time, or an other cause changed this ratio in later years. Taking the figures from 1897 to 1902—starting with 1897, because that was the first year in which the mining development brought in considerably increased revenue, helping, in fact, to increase it 40 per cent. over the previous year—we find that for these six years expenditure (\$12,382,976) exceeded revenue (\$9,312,203) by \$3,070,713, or 24 4-5 per cent

*Limits of Borrowing Power.*

As Mr. Procter in his suggestive article on "The Financial Crisis in British Columbia" points out: "This large deficit has been so far provided for by various loans, but when it is considered that year after year our expenditure exceeds our receipts, and that it is necessary to continue borrowing to keep up the sinking fund and other payments, it is not difficult to realize that the province is drifting into serious financial embarrassment."

How swiftly she is drifting is seen in the following statement of gross debts from 1882 to 1902:

*British Columbia's Gross Debts.*

Year	Gross debt, \$
1882	800,566
" 1883	961,778
" 1884	770,812
" 1885	800,258
" 1886	976,911
" 1887	1,157,001
" 1888	1,780,185
" 1889	1,772,871
" 1890	1,797,870
" 1891	1,843,154
" 1892	2,876,036
" 1893	3,187,456
" 1894	3,904,807
" 1895	6,499,688
" 1896	6,469,768
" 1897	6,586,004
" 1898	7,425,262
" 1899	8,243,083
" 1900	8,866,868
" 1901	9,827,605
" 1902	10,761,891

Comparing the net debt by provinces we have for 1902 the net debt per head of the population, as follows:

British Columbia	\$37.33
Quebec	13.25
New Brunswick	9.26
Nova Scotia	5.11

Ontario and Manitoba have no net debt, but, instead, Ontario has a large surplus of assets over liabilities. The statistics for Prince Edward Island are not compiled.

Besides this, British Columbia owes largely for current expenditure, and her bankers, contractors and other creditors have become clamorous. Last session, to reduce the government's overdraft with its bankers, and at the dictation of these bankers the legislature authorized the government to borrow, and the government afterwards did borrow, \$1,000,000, repayable (with interest at 5 per cent. per annum

half yearly) in 10 equal consecutive annual instalments of \$100,000 each. Only by this ruinous rate of interest and these short-date payments was the government enabled to secure the loan, and then, not in the ordinary money markets, but only from special sources with the aid and influence of the banks.

### *Taxation.*

Nor can the rocks of financial embarrassment be very well avoided by the device of increasing the taxation to lighten the ship of her extra cargo. In the vain attempt to make revenue meet expenditure British Columbia has already exploited all the sources of revenue left to her by the Terms of Union, and is drawing from these to the limit in disregard of the hampering effect upon the immigration of labor and capital into the province and upon the operations and the revenue-producing powers of those who are already there. Besides the sources of revenue resorted to by the other provinces, she is drawing heavily upon other sources available to, but as yet untouched by, those other provinces. For example: she has a real property tax of 1 per cent., a wild land tax of 5 per cent., a personal property tax of 1 per cent., each on the actual cash value as the property would be appraised in payment of a just debt from a solvent debtor. She has an income tax ranging from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; she has a poll tax of \$3, and a mineral tax of 2 per cent. on the value of the ores mined. In short, she has no source of revenue left unexploited, or upon which she could draw more largely without defeating the purpose of the draft.

So much for this branch of British Columbia's case, dealing, as it does, only with facts disclosed by comparative tables of provincial revenue and expenditure with the hallmark of Mr. Johnson's office upon them, and dealing not at all with the contributions of the provinces to the Dominion treasury, and drawing only the one irresistible inference that, owing to permanent physical causes of constant operation in British Columbia alone, the local sources of revenue at present possessed by her are now and will always be inadequate to carry on those services devolving upon her as a province and vital to her development. Limited thus to the incontrovertible facts to be found in the public accounts of the provinces, the case lacks that warm coloring which it has in the minds of the British Columbia settlers, to whom the mountains are a daily reminder that they occasion, not only high provincial and municipal expenditure, but high cost of living, of labor, of transportation and development, and that they render impossible competitive local railway rates by making more than one railway up the same valley an absurdity. But apart altogether from the settlers' viewpoint, apart from the fact that British Columbia's contributions to the Dominion's treasury are as 3 to 1 of the other provinces, and even if this ratio should become reversed, still the foregoing considerations sufficiently indicate:

1. That British Columbia's ordinary per capita expenditure exceeds that of any or all of the other provinces by about 4:1.
2. That this excess has meant a yearly sum of \$9.54 per head of an average population of 90,634 for 30 years.
3. That owing to its causes, this excess will in large part be continuous.

4. That her revenue always has been and will continue to be insufficient to meet expenditure.

5. That to meet her local wants British Columbia has exhausted her credit and her local sources of revenue by a high direct taxation.

6. That it is impossible, therefore, for British Columbia to carry on her ordinary expenditures under the present Terms of Union.

But there is another branch to British Columbia's case, in that she imports more dutiable goods and hence pays more customs duties per head of her population than any other province. In so far as this excess proceeds from permanent causes peculiar to British Columbia, it would seem to constitute by precedent a claim upon the central government. That is to say, if one tariff applied over all compels British Columbia, by reason of her being permanently unfitted from any cause for the manufacture of dutiable goods, to make an excessive contribution to the revenues of the Dominion, this circumstance will in itself be recognized as an inequality requiring adjustment. And it would seem that there are causes of constant operation which unfit her to compete with the other provinces in the manufacture for home consumption of dutiable goods. For example:

1. Her special products—minerals, fish and lumber—are not the raw materials that go most largely into the manufacture of dutiable goods most largely consumed in the province.

2. Her position in relation to the other provinces and other countries adds both imposts and long distance freights to the initial cost of the articles brought in for use as materials in the manufactures and mechanical arts.

3. Her mountains render all transportation difficult and expensive and all competitive railway rates impossible.

Under these circumstances we would expect to find that her people, engaged mainly in the production and transportation of her special products for sale in foreign markets, and engaged but slightly in the manufacture of dutiable goods consumed in the province, or in the production of materials that enter into such manufacture, will import more largely of these goods and pay more per head in customs duties to the Dominion than the other provinces. We have several indicators to turn to for this purpose. We have the census of 1901, though as yet unpublished and in an unfinished state. From this source comes the following table showing that in 1901 the percentage of British Columbia's population engaged in mining, fishing and sawmill work was five times that of the other provinces:



*Persons Employed in the Fishing, Sawmilling and Mining Industries. Census of Canada, 1901.*

	Fisheries	Sawmills	Mining	Total	Per cent. of Pop.
British Columbia.....	18,448	3,315	9,577	31,340	17½
Nova Scotia .....	25,859	4,437	11,058	40,354	8¾
Prince Edward Island..	7,286	84	15	7,385	7
New Brunswick.....	11,504	7,887	602	19,993	6
Quebec.....	18,005	14,177	3,361	35,543	2
Ontario.....	3,022	24,824	3,937	31,783	1½
Manitoba.....	2,367	821	197	3,385	1½
Northwest Territory .....	1,727	339	899	2,965	1½
All Canada except B. C.....					2¾

*Population of Canada--Census of 1901*

British Columbia .....	178,657
Manitoba .....	255,211
New Brunswick .....	331,120
Nova Scotia.....	459,574
Ontario.....	2,182,947
Prince Edward Island .....	103,259
Quebec .....	1,648,898
The Territories .....	211,649
Canada .....	5,371,315

Or, turning from the number of persons employed to the value of the product, we find by the next table that British Columbia's mineral product in 1901 was 34.18 per cent. of that of the Dominion and in amount per head of the population was 10 times that of all Canada.

*Total Value of Mineral Product for 1901*

Province	Amt. of Product	Amt. per head of Pop.	Per Cent. of total product
British Columbia.....	\$14,679,777	\$82.18	34.18 per cent.
The Territories.....	4,908,592	23.20	11.43 "
Nova Scotia.....	9,042,003	19.67	21.05 "
Ontario.....	10,479,772	4.80	24.39 "
New Brunswick.....	650,679	1.96½	1.52 "
Quebec.....	2,960,704	1.79	6.89 "
Manitoba .....	216,830	.85	.50 "
Prince Edward Island.....	15,735	.15	.04 "
Canada.....	42,954,092	7.99	100. "

On the other hand, the value of her agricultural products—so much used in the manufacture of and in substitution for dutiable goods—was only 1.83 per cent. of that of the Dominion in the same year and in amount per head of the population was only about half the per capita value of Canada's products, as the following table shows:

	Per Cent of Land occupied	Value of Agricultural Products	Per Cent. of Total Agricultural Products	Amt. per head of Population
Ontario.....	15.13	196,952,362	54.24	92.23
Quebec.....		85,034,401	23.41	51.58
Manitoba.....	21.48	24,459,710	6.74	95.80
Nova Scotia.....	37.68	16,294,305	4.48	35.45
The Territories..	3.50	13,389,190	3.69	63.26
New Brunswick..	24.87	12,873,480	3.55	38.86
Prince Edwd Id..	85.44	7,497,567	2.06	72.31
British Columbia	0.63	6,664,369	1.83	37.30
Canada.....		363,126,384	100.	67.60

Whence it is that her imports per head for 30 years, from 1873 to 1902, have been more than twice those of any other province, except Quebec, as the following comparative table shows:

*Value of Total Imports by Provinces.  
1873-1902.*

Provinces	Av. Pop. for 30 years	Total Imports for 30 years	Amt. per head per year
British Columbia.....	90,634	\$ 143,671,777	\$52.83
Quebec.....	1,421,994	1,586,016,689	37.17
Manitoba.....	123,801	93,087,770	25.06
Ontario.....	1,961,260	1,390,378,532	23.63
New Brunswick.....	314,802	191,855,361	23.00
Nova Scotia.....	434,585	276,281,997	21.20
Prince Ed. Island.....	104,062	22,806,917	7.31

And whence also the startling fact that in amount per head of her population British Columbia has been, and is now contributing by way of customs and other revenues to the Dominion treasury in the proportion of about 3:1 of the other provinces. Such, at least, is the conclusion reached by the British Columbia government in its case presented to the Dominion after an exhaustive comparison of statistics and a careful study of all the conditions, and this conclusion is here accepted as correct.

*Interprovincial Trade.*

The commercial object of Confederation was the development of interprovincial trade. Under the strangling hand of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 that trade had fallen in 1866, when the treaty was abrogated by the United States, to \$2,000,000 per year, being less by half a million of dollars than the value of the trade in 1853. Since Confederation our yearly inter-provincial trade has gone up by leaps and bounds, until now it is larger than either our export or our import trade, as the appended estimate by Mr. Johnson shows:

Trade of the two central provinces with the outer provinces .....	\$ 150,000,000
Trade of the two central provinces with each other	115,000,000
Trade of the three Maritime Provinces with each other .....	30,000,000
Trade of the Western Provinces and Territories with each other.....	20,000,000
Total.....	\$315,000,000
Or, say, \$60 per head.	

All of which goes to show that Confederation is attaining its object, and that, as Mr. Johnson points out, it would be "letting out at the bung-hole and pouring in at the spigot to obtain reciprocal trade relations with the United States at the expense of our inter-provincial trade."

But what is British Columbia's share in all this inter-provincial trade, for which she is paying, as we have seen, a three-fold price? Under a compelling tariff her imports from the eastern provinces are considerable. But imports will not make a market for her products or make a trade. A trade implies an interchange of products and commodities—an inter-provincial give and take. With this interchange the inter-provincial, next to the home market, is the best market, and, like the quality of mercy, blesseth him that gives and him that takes. The economic value and one of the objects of Confederation is to develop for each province a free market for its products and commodities in the other provinces. What, then, of British Columbia's exports to the other provinces? These consist chiefly of lumber, shingles, fish and fruit to the Territories and the Eastern Provinces and goods to the Yukon. From a comparison of the figures to be found in the reports of the various Boards of Trade, and after allowances of every kind in its favor, this trade does not exceed \$3,000,000.

Thus, British Columbia being 3 per cent. of the whole population pays 9 per cent. of the price of Confederation and gets in return 1 per cent. of its trade benefits.

Or, taking all the figures from the statistics for last year, we find that all the provinces contributed to the Dominion the sum of \$36,197,340, of which British Columbia contributed \$2,945,331, or upwards of 8 per cent., and that all the provinces enjoyed the profits on an inter-provincial turn-over of \$315,000,000, the profits on \$3,000,000 of this only, or less than 1 per cent. going to British Columbia.

So that, whether we take the figures of the British Columbia government's case, covering, as they do, the whole period of her Union experience, or whether we take the trade and navigation returns for 1903, we find that the other provinces are making from 8 to 9 times as much money out of Confederation per head of their population as British Columbia is, and, obversely, that British Columbia is paying from 8 to 9 times as much for the trade benefits of Confederation as compared with the other provinces, she ought to pay.

Wherefore, on the ragged edge of her borrowing power, with the taxes ruinously high and, still, with a revenue wholly insufficient to meet an intolerable burthen of expenditure that is unavoidable, unknown to the other provinces, unshared in by the Dominion; with a heavy tribute paid to the Dominion receiving next to nothing in the way of trade returns—there is coming down upon British Columbia from the heights of a lofty but ill-executed sentiment for “rounding off Confederation,” a full, unchecked torrent of financial hardships and inequalities of which an excessive statement can scarcely be made or a parrallel be found.

**MR. BORDEN'S REPLY.**

---

*To the claim herein set forth Mr. Borden, leader of the Conservative party, has replied in a telegram of the 10th October, 1904, to the Hon. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, K. C., President of the Liberal-Conservative Union of British Columbia, as follows:*

“ Let me say that I have given much thought to the conditions in  
“ British Columbia, which, in your opinion, call for special attention  
“ in considering the financial relations between the Dominion and that  
“ province. You claim not only that these conditions are exceptional  
“ and peculiar to the situation and physical character of your province,  
“ but also that they are permanent in their nature. In my opinion  
“ they are such as to demand immediate inquiry and investigation, to  
“ the end that any injustice clearly established may be immediately  
“ relieved.”

## PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

Mr. George H. Cowan, at the Conservative rally, held in the city hall, Vancouver, B. C., on Thursday evening, October 13, 1904, delivered the following address on Provincial Rights:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you for your kindly and generous reception, and from it I conclude that I am permitted at the outset to say that I share in those sentiments of pleasure, already so happily expressed, at the presence of the ladies here to-night. And I would say to you, ladies, that, while it may be true that the rough contests of the political world are not suited to the dignity and the delicacy of your sex, it is at the same time true that those same rough contests have an important influence in moulding the public morals and sentiments of the community, and it is for you to watch that influence on the tone of public morals, to watch it with all your powers of moral perception, powers which are both quicker and juster than those of men. In the heat of contest men sometimes forget themselves, and put forth the false maxim that there is one morality for politics, and another morality for other things (applause); that, in their political conduct towards their opponents, they may say and do things, which, in private life, would be false and calumnious. But, ladies, your presence here to-night reminds us that our mothers, the affectionate and effective teachers of the human race, have always taught a different doctrine. (Applause.)

They have always taught us, that falsehood will stand for falsehood, and calumny will be a breach of the commandment, whether it is committed in politics or in the concerns of private life; that in neither the political nor the private concerns of life can man ever withdraw himself from the perpetual obligations of conscience and of duty. It is of these pure doctrines that we are reminded by your presence here to-night, and it is in teaching morals such as these that woman performs her sacred duty to the state and fulfils her high destiny. (Applause.)

But, sir, I have been invited by Mr. Ellis who has been rightly called the future member of Vancouver, to speak to you upon another question; a question which underlies the peace, prosperity and happiness of British Columbia; a question which touches the pockets of every individual elector of British Columbia; a question which, if ignored or improperly treated now, may in the future result in the most serious consequences to Confederation and to this province; it is the question of Provincial Rights. You know, ladies and gentlemen, that for years our different provincial governments, composed of liberals and conservatives alike, have, in a spirit absolutely free from partisanship and in the most courteous language, been pre-

senting to the Ottawa government the just claim of British Columbia for better treatment at the hands of the Dominion. Surely such a claim, made persistently from year to year by one of the provinces upon the Dominion and presented in the most formal way by delegations to Ottawa, merited some notice, was entitled to some consideration and reply. But, sir, for years no reply was made, no sound, no whisper from Ottawa reached our ears—Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government remained as silent as the grave upon the question. Finally, however, in the early part of the present year, our own premier, our own able young premier, Mr. McBride, by dint of much perseverance succeeded in extracting from that government a reply, a reply in the form of a letter from the Dominion premier, a letter to the effect that British Columbia had no special claim upon the Dominion, and that if we thought she had we could make it a matter of public discussion for all they cared. That is the only reply we have had from the present government at Ottawa, and that is the attitude of that government towards British Columbia. And I say, sir, that by that attitude and by the righteousness of our cause we are driven in self-respect and in self-defence to stand man to man and shoulder to shoulder for the rights of British Columbia. (Prolonged applause.)

What are the rights of which British Columbia has been deprived? The government party at Ottawa and its mouthpiece in British Columbia, the *Victoria Times*, have thrown down the gauntlet and challenged the people of British Columbia to show that they have been deprived of any rights, that they are suffering or have ever suffered from any unfair treatment whatever at the hands of the Dominion. I venture to think

that on behalf of the people of British Columbia there will be found many besides myself ready and willing to accept that challenge and to prove by facts and figures that at the time of Union there was a shameful betrayal and surrender of the rights and revenues of this province, and that ever since, and especially since 1896, there has been a still more shameful encroachment upon the few rights and revenues left to us by that Union. We know that at the time of Union and ever since there has been the widest difference between the physical conditions of British Columbia and those of the rest of Canada. We know that British Columbia is the only mountainous province in the Dominion; that she is the most mountainous country of any size on the face of the globe; we know that the Hon. Edward Blake described British Columbia as a "sea of mountains;" we know that her entire surface is one ragged, jagged, rough rolling sea of mountains. We know from surveys and other sources of knowledge that the arable land of British Columbia is only about one-fortieth part of her whole surface; that for every acre of arable land in British Columbia there are 39 acres that cannot be cultivated. We know that this arable land lies for the most part along narrow valleys and up almost inaccessible gulches—gulches that are "cabin'd, cribbed, confined, bound in," immured, by 360,000 square miles of thick-ribbed, snow-capped mountains. We know all this, and we know that this is a condition for which no parallel in Canada can be found. (Applause.)

Will the Ottawa government tell us, will the *Victoria Times*, out of the great heap of its wisdom, tell us that it costs this province no more to administer and develop this rough surface of hers than it would if she had a surface such as they

have in the other provinces? Will they tell us that wagon roads can be blasted out of the rocks of British Columbia and bridged over the rivers, ravines, canons of British Columbia as cheaply as they can be built in Manitoba or Ontario? That civil government can be carried on, justice administered, or schools maintained as cheaply here as there? They cannot tell us so, and, if they do, they tell us "that which is not." (Applause.)

I happen to have gone to considerable trouble in gathering statistics upon this subject, and, sir, statistics show that British Columbia in the first 30 years of her life as a province paid for roads and bridges 15 times as much as she would have had to pay if her surface had been like that of Manitoba; 14 times as much as she would if her surface had been like that of Nova Scotia, and 10 times as much as she would if her surface had been like that of the rest of Canada. In other words it cost British Columbia for the first 30 years of her life as a province, for roads and bridges, 15 times as much per head of the population as it did Manitoba, 14 times as much as Nova Scotia, and 10 times as much as all Canada. But road-making is not all. There are other things necessary in order to develop this rough surface. Our government has to provide government agents, timber inspectors, mining recorders, assessors, sheriffs, schools, hospitals and what-not for every little settlement in every nook and cranny between the mountains of British Columbia. But all this costs more than it would cost if our mountains were out of the way. In fact, the exact figures of statistics show that for the first thirty years of her life as a province the administration of this province cost \$22,000,000 more than it would have cost if our mountains had been out of the way. That is to say, statistics

prove absolutely that the same duties for the same period would have cost British Columbia \$22,000,000 less if her surface had been the same as that of the other provinces. But her surface was not, is not, and never will be, the same as that of the other provinces, and so this \$22,000,000 is an extra burden upon us. That sum is the measure of the disadvantages which we have been under for the last 30 years as compared with the sister provinces. That is the handicap we have been under. (Applause.)

Now then, was this extra burden, this disadvantage, this handicap of three-quarters of a million per year, taken into account at the time of the Union and an extra revenue provided to British Columbia to meet it? Not one dollar of extra revenue was kept back for that purpose. The Terms of Union handed over to the Dominion our revenues, our powers of indirect taxation and our powers of protecting our local industries without making the slightest provision against this extra burden. How then have we met or tried to meet this extra burden? Partly, but not altogether, out of our provincial revenues. They have always been insufficient. Not one year in our history as a province, except in 1879, has revenue met expenditure. No, but we have borrowed and borrowed to meet this extra burden until to-day our debt is about \$13,000,000, three times as much per head of our population as that of Quebec, four times that of New Brunswick and seven times that of Nova Scotia. I cannot make comparisons with Manitoba and Ontario, because they have no net debt, but instead, Ontario has a large surplus of assets over liabilities. We have borrowed until our borrowing power is gone. Finding our credit gone, finding that we could borrow no more, that the money markets of the world had

closed their doors to us, what did we do? What did our present provincial government do? I think we did the only honorable thing left to us. With the honest purpose of meeting our liabilities at any cost we increased our own taxes until to-day we of this province are the highest taxed people on the continent of America. But tax as we may, borrow as we may, we cannot lift that extra burden of expenditure which our mountains impose upon us and which the Terms of Union fail to provide against. Those terms gave us everything essential to our provincial life, except the means to live, and these they handed over to the Dominion. (Applause.) We cannot lift that burden. (Applause.)

And I charge that for five years at least the Ottawa government has had knowledge of these facts and with that knowledge has become more guilty, more responsible than the framers of Union for the financial distress and the discontent of this unfortunate province. I say, sir, that every dollar of our debt of \$13,000,000 was incurred to help carry that extra burden of expenditure which the Dominion should have carried, and that every dollar of that debt belongs rightly to the Dominion and should be assumed and paid by the Dominion. (Prolonged applause.)

But, the Ottawa government with a knowledge of all the circumstances denies our claim, denies that any allowance should have been made or should now be made to us to meet this extra burden. Worse still, while denying and denouncing our just claim, the Ottawa government has been misusing, has been prostituting for the purpose of plunder the powers of taxation handed over by this province to the Dominion at the time of Confederation, and I charge that by manipulating our

tariffs and appropriating our fishery revenues they have taken out of this province since they came into power in 1896 \$11,000,000 more than they have returned to the province—\$11,000,000 more than they should have taken, and have squandered this sum in the other provinces instead of using it to pay off a debt that should never have been ours, that should always have been the Dominion's. [Applause.]

Not only have the Ottawa government ignored our claim for better terms and taken out of this province three times as much per head of the population as they have taken out of any other province, but there lies at the door of that government a still more serious charge. At the time of Union the power of protecting our local industries was handed over by the province to the Dominion, was handed over as a sacred trust in the belief that the trust would not be abused, that the power would be used for protecting and not for destroying our industries. But, sir, I charge and the fact is, that the present government at Ottawa have been unjust stewards of that power. [Applause.]

What protection have they given our fisheries and our fishermen against fish traps?

Have they not rather destroyed the occupation of the fishermen, the property of the canner and the industry itself [Applause.]

What protection have they given the logger and the lumberman against American lumber coming in duty free into our legitimate markets, the markets of Manitoba and the Northwest?

What protection have they given our shipping, our seafaring men and our provision merchants against American bottoms coming into our ports and carrying goods which should be carried

by our ships, built in our province, manned by our sailors, provisioned by our merchants. [Applause.]

What protection have they given our workmen against the importation of alien labor? Has it not rather been proven in our own courts that their alien labor legislation is not worth the paper it is written upon, and that it was placed upon the statute books to hoodwink and not to protect the workmen of Canada. [Applause.]

What protection have they given our brave militia men against political interference? Have they not driven out of this country the noblest son and bravest soldier that ever sailed from Scotland's shores? [Prolonged applause.]

I say, sir, that the government party in the Dominion—I do not call them the liberal party, because they have long since forfeited all right and title to the name—I charge it home to that party that by breach of trust, by abuse of the confidence reposed by this province in the Dominion, they have converted the power of protecting local industries into an engine of destruction, they have converted the power of taxation into a system of plunder in this province, and, that, hearing but a feeble bleat of remonstrance from their lamb-like followers from this province in the Dominion house, they have made bold to slaughter and sacrifice our just claim for better terms at the altar at which they worship, the altar of the mighty voting power of Quebec and the east. [Applause.]

Saddled from the first with an intolerable burden of expenditure this province managed, nevertheless, by borrowing to trudge along under her weary weight until in 1896 the present government at Ottawa crossed her path. Since then her burden has been added to, her people have been bled white with Dominion

taxation, her local industries have been paralyzed, her credit has been ruined and the canker of debt and taxes has eaten at the very vitals of her prosperity. I say, sir, that British Columbia has from the first been unjustly and unconstitutionally deprived of her rights, that of late years, since 1896, she has been ground under the Dominion heel and has had her just rights trampled upon and her just claims ignored. [Applause.]

The time has come when the free people of British Columbia cannot allow this state of things to continue, even if we would. We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire the rights handed down to us, those rights, the history of whose purchase is written in the best blood of the race. We owe it to posterity not to suffer those rights, their dearest inheritance, to be neglected or destroyed. But if it were possible for us to be insensible to these sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves from which nothing can acquit us. To suffer even our own rights to be trampled upon without protest would be a crime as much worse than suicide as a life of freedom is better than one of slavery; and if that life be the bounty of Heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if without protest we suffer ourselves and our children to be rifled and bereft of that certain rule of living, and those constitutional rights, without which no people can be otherwise than miserable and contemptible. That the people of British Columbia should be so utterly degenerate as to suffer this—I refuse to think so meanly of them. The blood of the Anglo-Saxon race is in their veins and human nature is the same in British Columbia to-day as it was in Nova Scotia in 1868. [Applause.] The Dominion government of that day saw fit to grant to Nova Scotia the better

terms she sought. And I stand here to-night to advise and warn, not to threaten and predict. When Sir Wilfred Laurier refused to grant or consider the question of granting to British Columbia terms similar to those granted to Nova Scotia, and by that refusal forced us into this contest with the Dominion for our rights, I felt, and I think we all felt, that act was ill-advised and might result in the most serious, the most momentous, consequences to Confederation and to this province. Not that I predict that a show of force or rebellion will have to be resorted to in order to gain our rights. I sincerely hope and believe that nothing of the kind will be needed and that nothing of the kind will ever happen. But I would remind the Ottawa government that the Terms of Union prepared with such criminal disregard of our most sacred rights and interests, and now being executed by that government in such singular and such criminal bad faith, have never been and will never be effective to transfer to the Dominion the love we feel for the province of our adoption, or the loyalty we owe to the king and flag we serve, and if by any mischance the present government should be continued in office, and should continue its unfair and, will I say, insulting treatment of this province—[applause]—then I would warn that government that they may force us to see the unhappy day when the people of this province will come to feel that it would be but little wrench to either their love or their loyalty if in order to break fetters that had been unustly and unconstitutionally put upon this and future generations, it should become necessary to break Confederation. But, sir, I myself feel sure that no such necessity will ever arise. I feel sure that the good sense of the people of Canada at the

first opportunity will return to power the man who on more than one occasion has shown himself the valiant defender of the people's rights. And, sir, I have the right to stand here to-night, and in some sense, to speak for Mr. Borden, and to say that when he is returned to power, as he will be on the 3rd of November next, he will take up the cause of British Columbia and will right the wrongs of the past as far as that can be done. [Applause.]

Impressed for years with a sense of the justice of British Columbia's claim, with a feeling that up to the present time she has had nothing but the blackest injustice dealt to her, I went east last spring and spent hundreds of my dollars and months of my time, in getting at the facts that prove conclusively the nature and extent of that claim. And when, after gathering the facts, I laid the case before Mr. Borden, he was frank then to say what he has said in his recent telegram to Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, that in the light of the facts presented British Columbia had a strong claim based on conditions peculiar to British Columbia and permanent in their character, and that on his return to power any injustice clearly established would be immediately relieved. Wherefore it is that I appeal, and appeal with confidence to all classes, regardless of party affiliations, regardless of personal or local irritations—to all electors, who, like myself, desire in this province by the sea, on this silver coast of fairy isles, to make a home for themselves and their children—to all I appeal to rally to the support of Mr. Ellis, in order to prove to the world that our wrongs cry out for justice and in order that we may strengthen the arm of Mr. Borden, that master mind, that honest statesman, the first of any party

to undertake that under his leadership, the east will mete out justice to the west. For myself, the local conditions are happily such at the present time, that it lies in the mouth of no man to impugn my motives, to question the sincerity of my convictions, or to doubt the singleness of my purpose and my desire to further only the best interests of my adopted province. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

