

Debate in Committee of the Whole on the Confederation Terms.

Monday, 14th March, 1870

The House having resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the Confederation Resolution, as arranged by His Excellency the Governor of British Columbia, the Hon. Mr. Ball in the Chair.

On the motion of the Hon. Attorney General, the Chairman read the Resolutions through.

The Hon. the ATTORNEY GENERAL said:— Sir, I rise to propose the adoption of the Resolutions as sent down to the House, having as its object the Confederation of this Colony with the Dominion of Canada. I desire to consult the wish of the Council as to the particular mode in which the terms should be discussed, whether as a whole or in detail, paragraph by paragraph. But before doing so I think it right, Sir, to make a few brief remarks on the Resolution as a whole. The conditions have been prepared with great care, and after the exercise of deep thought and mature deliberation on the part of His Excellency the Governor and the Executive Council. The subject is one of so large a nature, and of such paramount importance, so many interests both here and in Canada are at stake, and the issues involved are so extensive, that I sincerely hope that all Hon. Members will bring to its discussion an earnest desire to combine their individual efforts to work out a successful result, and to throw aside, for such an occasion, all former prejudices and distrust; and as we have unanimously affirmed the principle, the House is committed to Confederation in the abstract ["No, no," from Hons. Helmcken, Wood, and Drake.] Well, I think so, and the House will think so too. It has so voted. However that may be, I hope that we can all now act harmoniously together, and see whether we cannot now turn out such a scheme as will work well in practice; be just and equitable to Canada, who will certainly be just and equitable to us, and yet be so favourable to this Colony as to insure the terms ratification when submitted to the popular vote. All Hon. Members, whatever their opinions, desire the same thing, namely to get the best terms practicable for the Country; and the proposition now sent down, which is based upon the "British North America Act, 1867," contains, I submit, the best terms that can be devised, and will give the Local Government as large an annual balance of cash for local purposes as we can venture to ask. There is one danger against which I think it my duty to warn Hon. Members, and I do particularly caution those who favour the idea of Confederation against attempting to weight the conditions by additional suggestions and recommendations so as to overload them, and

against suggesting alterations in the terms which could not be granted by Canada. I believe we are all equally anxious to gain good terms, and we should be careful not to take away from the interest of the proposition before us by suggesting any other conditions that are not of material importance. I have observed a report in a newspaper of the previous proceedings of the Council, if I may be allowed to notice it without producing the paper, in which an Hon. Member is stated to have said, that any amendments of the Resolution would be accepted. I think it right to say, on behalf of the Government, that, while the Government can not consent to imperil the unity of their scheme by amendments, they will still be happy to receive, and fully consider, all suggestions of a practical and reasonable character; and I invite Hon. Members to bring forward such suggestions, particularly such as will be calculated to remove any of the disadvantages of the scheme, and so to improve its working and insure its more general acceptance. As the majority of the Council seem to be in favour of dividing the Resolution into parts, and discussing it paragraph by paragraph, I will follow the suggestion. I, therefore, now propose the adoption of the first paragraph:—

1. Canada shall be liable for the Debts and Liabilities of British Columbia at the time of Union.

These debts and liabilities, I would explain, include all the actual debts of the Colony now matured and due, as well as the liabilities for debts to mature at a future day. I will quote from the Returns sent down this day by the Governor, which give the full details of these liabilities, showing that our funded debt, on the 10th of March instant, consisted of the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Loans secured by Act, amounting in all to \$1,194,000, against which \$346,820 has been paid and invested as a Sinking Fund in reduction of Loans, leaving a balance of \$817,180 still to be invested, and a floating debt of all kinds of \$319,009, including over \$40,000 Savings Bank deposits. This floating debt it is in contemplation to consolidate by a Statutory Loan, at a lower rate of interest, and to procure the money from Canada, which, as Hon. Members are aware, is now rich, or elsewhere. For this purpose the Governor proposes to submit an Ordinance for the approval of this House, conferring the necessary powers. Owing to the mode in which the Sinking Fund is invested, there is reason to believe that it will be paid off at least a year before the time stated. Regarded as a whole, our public debt is by no means extravagant, as compared with that of other countries; but in our isolated position as a

young self-dependent Colony it is felt as a very heavy burden; of this burden, Confederation will relieve us; a benefit so apparent needs not a single word. Hon. Members are aware that this debt is a heavy tax upon the country, and prevents the undertaking of public works. The assumption of this debt by Canada, on fair terms, will not only relieve us of this burden, but will save us a large balance of cash, which will be available for public works to open up the country. I will now proceed to the next item.

Hon. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (MR. TRUTCH)—I would suggest that each clause should be discussed and passed separately.

Hon. Member for Victoria District (MR. DECOSMOS)—No, no. Let us hear the Attorney General on the whole Resolution.

Hon. Member for Yale (MR. BARNARD)—We shall not carry the matter so well in our minds if we take the whole together.

Hon. Chief Commissioner—I think that the clauses are so distinct that it will be better to take them separately.

Hon. Member for Victoria District—I would suggest, as one who has scarcely had an opportunity to read these Resolutions, I would rather hear the Government on the whole scheme.

Hon. Chairman—I think it better to put it to the House, whether these clauses should be discussed one by one.

On the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative.

Hon. Member for Victoria City (DR. HELMCKEN)—I presume Clause 1. will be agreed to.

Chairman—Has any Hon. Member anything to say upon this clause?

Hon. Member for Victoria District—What is the meaning of liabilities in Clause 1., is it intended to mean financial liabilities?

Hon. Attorney General—Financial liabilities.

Hon. Chief Commissioner—There may be liabilities which are not debts; there may be some liabilities which will become debts, liabilities which are not matured.

Hon. Member for Victoria District—Unmatured contracts, is that the meaning?

Hon. Attorney General—Yes.

Hon. Member for Victoria City—I move that the word "public" be inserted before "debts."

Hon. Member for Victoria District—That would imply private debts.

Hon. Member for New Westminster—I don't think so. Mr. Chairman, there can be no misunderstanding, it would make the clause no plainer.

Hon. Attorney General—It is as well that I should add that these terms come down complete in themselves; as far as the Government is concerned they are incapable of amendment, but the greatest attention will be paid to suggestions. I think it better to state this, to avoid misapprehension.

Clause 1. was passed as read.

Hon. Member for Victoria District—I suggest that Clauses 2 and 3 be taken together.

Clauses 2 and 3 were then read by the Chairman:—

2. The population of British Columbia shall for the purpose of financial arrangements be estimated at 120,000. British Columbia not having incurred debts equal to those of other Provinces now constituting the Dominion, shall be entitled to receive, by half-yearly payments in advance from the General Government, Interest at the rate of 5 per centum per annum on the difference between the actual amount of its Indebtedness at the date of Union and the proportion of the Public Debt of Canada for 120,000 of the population of Canada at the time of Union.

3. The following sums shall be annually paid by Canada to British Columbia, for the support of the Local Government and Legislature, to wit:—

An Annual Grant of \$35,000, and a further sum equal to 80 cents a head per annum of the population; both payable half-yearly in advance, the population of British Columbia being estimated as aforesaid at 120,000. Such grant, equal to 80 cents a head, to be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, when such may be shewn, until the population amounts to 400,000, at which rate such grant shall thereafter remain.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL, in moving the adoption of these clauses said:—I would observe that this estimated population of 120,000 is nominal, and has been arrived at by comparison of the revenue and population, because in the absence of actual census, and to facilitate financial arrangements, it has been deemed best to calculate according to the revenue producing powers of British Columbia compared with Canada. Thus we have it officially from Canada, that her Customs and Excise produced \$2.75 per head of her population; at the same rate, \$2.75 per head, our Customs represent the same present revenue as a population of 120,000 Canadians produce. This estimate of 120,000, therefore, though nominal, is really just and fair, hence 120,000 population has been adopted as the basis of our financial calculations. The \$35,000 in Paragraph 3, allowance for the general support of the Government, is an arbitrary sum adopted by Canada in negotiating with Newfoundland and New Brunswick. The allowance of five per cent. interest on the difference between our public debt and that of Canada, is arrived at in this way: we have it officially from Canada that her debt on February 9th, say 1st March if you like, amounted to \$22 per head of her population. This would entitle us with 120,000 people, to come in

with a much larger debt than our own, which at the time of Union would be, say, \$1,000,000. The interest at five per cent. on these amounts would give us the annual allowance of \$82,000 named in the papers before the House. The 80 cents a head on our population of 120,000, is the usual allowance prescribed by the Organic Act of Confederation.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—Mr. Chairman, I think that on these two clauses depends the whole stability of our scheme; and as I believe them to be of very vital importance ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos] I trust I shall be excused if I offer a few remarks upon them, although it is possible I may travel over the same ground as the Hon. Attorney General has taken up in introducing these clauses. I say, Sir, that 120,000 may appear extravagant at first sight. The basis of the population of 1861 is taken as the basis on which other schemes rest; but that would not do for this Colony. It would not give us an equal advantage with other Provinces. It has, therefore, been found necessary to take some other basis. And here, Sir, I desire to say that I am permitted to inform this House that the Executive are very much indebted to the Hon. Member for Victoria City, who is also a member of the Executive Council (Dr. Helmcken), for his able assistance and suggestions in preparing this scheme. I trust that this Council will find that the Hon. Member has been most practical and ardent in his endeavours to obtain good terms, if he has not been an enthusiastic advocate of Confederation. With regard to the reasons for adopting the number of 120,000 as the basis of population, we ask something for undeveloped resources. The expenses of living in this Colony are much higher than on the Atlantic Coast; there is more per head paid for taxes here than in any other part of the Dominion; one dollar here is in reality worth no more, that is to say it goes no further, than one shilling in the Eastern Provinces; and one man here pays as much to the Revenue as four on the other side. The basis is in fact the basis of Customs paid by each individual in this Colony compared with the Customs Revenue paid per individual in Canada. Taking the estimate of the present year, the Canadian Customs and Excise yield \$2.75 per head, on the present population; and our Customs being \$330,000 is equal to \$2.75 per head on a population of 120,000, upon comparison with Canada. Practically and equitably, I believe this to be a fair basis. It may be open to some logical objection, but I believe it is equitable. The estate which we propose to hand over yields at that rate, as we now farm it. We turn it over into the hands of those who are to manage it. It is not for us to consider how. If they reduce the Customs, it is nothing to us; we must have a basis as favourable as this. ["Perhaps more so,"—Hon. Mr. Helmcken.] Perhaps more so, as the Hon. Member says. The debt of Canada amounts to \$22 per head on the population, and this on a popu-

lation of 120,000 gives a debt of \$2,640,000. We may claim to have our debt taken over on the same basis as other Colonies, as before Union can be consummated, we may expect our debt to be reduced to \$1,000,000, leaving a balance of \$1,640,000, on which we will have a right to claim interest at 5 per cent., that is to say: \$82,000, as stated in the printed particulars now before the Committee. The subsidy of \$35,000, is equal to that given to Newfoundland. Referring again to the printed figures, you will find that the amount of Revenue retained by British Columbia is \$151,050. Add this to the subsidies, including the Interest on the difference of the debt, amounting to \$213,000, and we have a total Revenue of \$364,050. As we shall be relieved of all expenses but \$212,009.75, we shall have a clear balance of \$152,040.25 to be spent in local works.

This constitutes the Financial Scheme, and although it is open to argument, it is about what we are entitled to receive, and what we must receive to place us in a fair position under Union.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS, after asking the Hon. Mr. Helmcken if he wished to speak before him, and receiving a negative reply, rose and said:—Mr. Chairman, in rising to speak to the Resolutions respecting the proposed subsidies to be granted by Canada, I may possibly be wasting my breath, and the time of this House; but although that may be the case, my duty to my constituents and the country demands that I should do so. With respect to Confederation, I have ever looked at it from one point: it must have a money value. ["Hear, hear," from Dr. Helmcken.] A great deal has been said about the form of government—about Responsible Government—but I say this: that every Government, whether responsible or irresponsible must have money. It is impossible for the most perfect political system to move without it. Ways and Means must be provided. Now, I have always said, and I still maintain, in view of Confederation, that the amount that ought to be placed at the disposal of our Local Government when we enter Union, ought to be an annual surplus of \$200,000, or nearly so, after having provided for the annual current expenditure of our Local Government: that is, for all the offices and services that must be kept up at the expense of the Colony, in order to keep it moving as a Province of the Dominion. We know by reference to the Estimates what they are; but in addition, there must be a certain sum provided for keeping in repair public works, such as the main-trunk road from Yale to Cariboo, and our public buildings. After these expenses have been defrayed, I should expect a surplus to the credit of the Local Government of about \$200,000.

Hon. MR. TRUTCH—As against \$152,000 in the estimate accompanying the Resolutions?

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—Yes: some surplus of that kind would be about the proper amount, if we expect the Colony to be any better off after Union than before, and if we expect our Local Government to do anything towards developing the resources of the country. Now, Sir, how shall we get that surplus? By the proposition before us, for which the Hon. Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmcken) gets the credit as the originator? No, Sir. But I will not anticipate the answer to these questions. Let us first examine the Government financial scheme, of which the Hon. Member for Victoria is the financier. The first proposition made by the Government is that we shall assume for financial purposes that our population is 120,000. Now, Sir, I am one of that number who do not believe in assumptions in matters of finance,—one of those who deem it to be dangerous to found financial measures on fiction instead of fact; for in no department of Government ought there to be maintained a stricter regard for truth and fact than in the department of finance. The financier who resorts to fiction, no matter how well-intentioned, nor how patriotic, may justly be doubted. It may be as the Hon. Chief Commissioner has said: that the assumption of a population of 120,000 may be illogical and untrue, yet the result may be equitable. But, Sir, I do not think that we ought to assume, neither do I see the necessity for assuming, that we have a population of 120,000 instead of 40,000, as I believe it to be, as it is recognized to be, and as it is in fact. The magnitude of the subject, the historical aspect of the terms, the dignity of the contracting parties, the nobleness of the work of nation-making, our own self-respect, ought to lift us above the atmosphere of assumption and fiction, ought to guide us by an accurate and genuine political standard, and ought to inspire us with such pure and lofty political sentiments as would stamp the financial terms with the indelible marks of truth, fact, and statesmanship, and for ever shut out the possibility of posterity associating our public men with mere parish politicians, instead of ranking them with enlightened and able statesmen. At the utmost, our population does not exceed 40,000, including men, women, and children,—Whites, Chinese, and Indians,—10,000 civilized and 30,000 semi-civilized. It would be a mistake to estimate an Indian to be equal to a white man as a consumer; but when we consider that in our white population the males are largely in excess of the females, and that in this country they are very large consumers, it would not be incorrect to conclude that there is no unfairness in making our whole population—Whites and Indians—as equal to 40,000 consumers in the Dominion. Starting, therefore, with a population of 40,000, we base our calculations on facts, and not on fiction, as in the governmental assumption of a population of 120,000. I will now, Mr. Chairman, proceed to deal with the financial proposition of the Hon. gentleman for Vic-

toria City—which is the Government scheme—by which he proposed to get \$152,000 surplus revenue for the Colony after the Union. The proposed sources of revenue to produce this surplus, are four in number, viz: 1. an annual subsidy of 80 cents per head of our population, which is assumed to be 120,000, and on that basis of population would yield \$96,000; 2. a fixed subsidy of \$35,000 per annum; 3. interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum on the difference between the actual amount of the debt of the Colony at the date of Union, and the proportion of the public debt of Canada for 120,000 of the population of Canada at the time of Union, which is estimated at \$82,000 per annum; and, 4. the balance of our present revenue (not including the Customs, Excise, Postage, &c., that go to the Dominion) estimated at \$151,050 per annum. Now, Sir, I have already shown that our maximum population does not exceed 40,000. If we estimate the population of the Dominion on our admission in 1871, at 4,300,000, and the public debt at \$86,000,000, the rate per head would be \$20. Now, \$20 per head for our 40,000 people would entitle us to a public debt of \$800,000; and as our public debt, after deducting Sinking Fund, would be in 1871, about \$1,050,000, the Colony would enter the Dominion with a debt of about \$250,000. So no revenue can be acquired from the third source of revenue on the basis of 40,000 population. Again, if the proposed terms allowed us to enter with the same debt per head, as old Canada entered the Dominion, that is \$25 per head, our population of 40,000 would only entitle us to a debt of \$1,000,000, leaving us still in debt \$50,000 on our admission. No revenue still. Let us now take a passing glance at the Newfoundland terms of Union. The debt per head allowed to New Brunswick on her admission was, we are told, accepted on behalf of Newfoundland, by those who negotiated the terms, and that was \$27.77 per head. Now 40,000 people at \$27.77 per head, would entitle the Colony, on admission in 1871, to a public debt of \$1,110,800, instead of \$1,048,644, our public debt then leaving a difference of \$62,156, on which, on the basis of the third source of revenue, we would be entitled to draw interest at 5 per cent. That difference, \$62,156 at 5 per cent, would yield only \$3,107, a sum very far below \$82,000 per annum, the estimate in the terms proposed. So it is neither on the Newfoundland basis, nor on a basis of fact, that the Hon. Member for Victoria City had framed the Government scheme of Union. I will now come, Sir, to the real point at issue. I will try with all fairness to discover whether there is or is not any ground on which to base the assumption of a population of 120,000. We have been told by the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and by the Hon. and learned Attorney General that the financial calculations are based on the proportion between the receipts of Customs and Excise in this Colony, and the receipts from

Customs and Excise in the Dominion of Canada. Now, Sir, from statistics in my possession, I find that the Customs of Canada yield \$8,640,000. That amount, with a population of 4,300,000 would be equal to \$2 per head per annum. Let us now see what the Customs yields per head in British Columbia. In 1869, the Customs were \$342,126. The difference between the average per-centage of Customs duty imposed in British Columbia and in Canada is 7 per cent. less under the Canadian than under our tariff. Now, as we imported in 1869 \$1,775,000, 7 per cent. on that amount would be equal to \$124,250. If we deduct \$124,250 from \$342,126, our Customs receipts in 1869, we shall have \$217,876, the total revenue Canada would have received from British Columbia in case we had been in the Dominion. If we divide this \$217,876 by our population, 40,000, we shall have 5 and ninety-twoths per head; in round numbers $5\frac{1}{2}$. We can now easily discern the reason why the basis of population has been fixed at 120,000 for financial purposes in the Government scheme of union. It is apparent that the Government estimate of population has been founded on the conclusion that in British Columbia the Customs would be about \$6 per head, and in Canada \$2 per head, or three times higher here than there, and therefore our population of 40,000 ought for financial purposes to be 120,000, or three times greater than it really is. If there were not reasons for the opinion that under Confederation the Customs and Excise of the Dominion as applied to this Colony would not perceptibly exceed the rate per head in the Dominion East, I would cheerfully assent, for financial purposes, to the assumption of 120,000 as our basis of population. I cannot, however, conscientiously do so, for with the extension of the Dominion to the Pacific, I hold, will come the equalization of political rights, and the equalization of taxation. The equalization of political rights will be established by the extension of the Dominion; but equalization of taxation, though it may not come in the first year after union, yet it is bound to come within two or three years after union shall have been proclaimed. In proof of this assertion, I could direct the attention of the Council to what I deem facts. 1. That as soon as union shall have been proclaimed, Canadian manufacturers will enter our ports duty free, and that the reduction of Customs receipts from this source will, on the basis of our imports for 1869, be \$58,400 per annum; 2. The reduction of Customs receipts after union, for Canadian produce entered duty free, and by the increase of agricultural produce in the Colony, will be, on the imports of 1869, \$66,100. Now these two reductions are equal to \$124,500, and if we deduct \$124,500 from \$217,876, the amount that has been assumed by Government that Canada would draw from this Colony in Customs receipts, we shall have only \$93,376; and thus \$93,376 will be only a fraction more

than \$2 per head for our 40,000 population, very nearly the same rate per head of Customs taxation on the Pacific as on the Atlantic. I might enter into explanations at greater length to show the correctness of this conclusion, but I deem it undesirable. The certainty of the equalization of taxation all over the Dominion renders the assumption of a population of 120,000 for financial purposes a pure fallacy, and nothing more nor nothing less. It is simply taking a temporary, a transitory state of things; a state of things that will pass away in a year or two, as the basis for permanent conditions. Besides there is a serious disadvantage in assuming that we will pay \$6 per head per annum in Customs duty to the Dominion after union; and it is this:—Nearly every one would like to see all kinds of foreign merchandise, except such as would enter into competition with home-grown produce and home-made manufactures, entered duty free in Victoria, in order to foster and extend commerce. Now, if the Dominion Government made such an exemption from Customs for our benefit, it is but natural that we should make good to Canada in some other way what her revenue would lose by such an exemption. If Vancouver Island were exempted from Customs, and its population were taken to be 20,000, the Local Government would be expected to pay to the Dominion, \$6 per head, or \$120,000 per annum for the exemption. But if instead of the temporary rate of \$6 per head, the permanent rate of \$2 per head were taken, the 20,000 people of Vancouver Island would only have to provide \$40,000 per annum in lieu of \$120,000, a saving of \$80,000. The advantage of adhering strictly to facts instead of fallacious assumptions, are consequently perceptible to every one. By following facts we can have a scheme of union with a true corollation of parts, a thing impossible if we follow the proposed assumptions. I have stated that \$93,376 is all the Revenue that Canada is likely to receive in Customs from British Columbia on the basis of Population and Imports of 1869. Now if a wide margin be allowed, and these figures be raised to \$120,000 per annum, it would only, at \$2 per head, entitle us to a population of 60,000. That population would entitle the Colony to a debt of \$1,200,000, or only \$150,000 in 1871 over our present debt, and on which the interest would be but \$7,500 per annum. It is useless for me to follow the matter further to show that the financial terms are not based on correct premises. But before I conclude this section of the subject, I would remark that I have not taken into account the amount of Internal Revenue, such as Excise, Postage, Stamps, Malt Tax &c, that the Colony is likely to contribute to the Dominion Treasury; for so far as I can estimate the rate it will not exceed \$1, or \$1.25 per head, and offers little or no grounds on which to base financial terms. The only difference, it appears to me, between the Customs and Internal Revenue Laws of Canada, as applied

for Revenue purposes to this Colony is, that the Internal Revenue Taxes are likely to be from the date of our admission, at the same rate per head here as in other parts of the Dominion; whereas the Customs will be higher here per head for a few years than there. Turning now, Sir, to that portion of the financial terms that proposes to get \$151,050 from sources of revenue to be reserved after union to the Colony, I cannot help thinking that there has been a mistake all through the governmental scheme, and that the amount of revenue proposed to be obtained from those sources is another instance of governmental blundering. As I sum up these sources of revenue from the Estimates of 1870, they are as follows:—Road Tolls \$50,000, Land Sales \$6,000, Land Revenue \$4,000, Rents \$1,500, Miners' Certificates \$11,000, Mining Receipts \$12,000, Spirit Licences \$25,000, Trading Licences \$15,000, Fees of Court \$4,200, Fees of Office \$6,050, and Vancouver Island Road Tax \$6,000, making a total of \$141,250, instead of \$151,050, as in the governmental estimate submitted with the proposed terms of union. The way in which I make the difference, is by not taking into account as permanent sources of revenue, such items as arrears of Vancouver Island Real Estate Tax \$8,000, Over-payments recoverable \$500, Sale of unserviceable Stores \$1,500. There can be no grounds for including such accidental sources of revenue under the head of permanent sources of revenue. Hence we must reduce the \$151,000 of local revenue to \$141,000. But the latter amount must also be reduced by deducting the Vancouver Island Road Tax \$6,000 therefrom, thus leaving only \$135,000 as permanent sources of revenue; for if the Vancouver Island Road Tax be included in our estimate of permanent revenue, we ought also to include the annual revenue of the cities of Victoria and New Westminster, which is simply absurd. The Vancouver Island Road Tax is a purely municipal matter, and so the Government has blundered in mixing up municipal with provincial revenue. The Yale-Cariboo Road Tolls are estimated as a permanent source of revenue at 50,000 dollars. This is another mistake, for the Road Tolls are falling off every year. In 1868, they were 67,825 dollars; in 1869, 46,500 dollars; and in all probability will be much less in 1870; and as mining diminishes in the upper country, year by year, so will the Tolls. If ever the proposed Railway be built, away go the Tolls altogether. Besides that, the present Road Tolls are oppressively high. On the receipts of last year, they are equal to 150 dollars per waggon load of 6,000 lbs., or 2½ cents per lb.—an enormous tax, that no one in his senses would ever think of regarding as permanent. If any toll at all were levied permanently, it could not be fixed at a higher rate than one-sixth of a cent per pound, or 10 dollars per load of 6,000 lbs., from Yale to Cariboo. At that rate the Road Tolls instead of yielding 50,000 dollars per year, would only produce 3,333

dollars, which for all practical purposes might as well be abolished, for the cost of collection would exceed the receipts. For another and all important reason, I think a great mistake has been made in entering the Road Tolls as permanent revenue after union. It is this: the entire people of the upper country have determined to abolish the Road Tolls as soon as possible. No compromise will be accepted. So under this head our future revenue cannot be estimated higher than 3,333 dollars, or nothing. The revenue from Land Sales is also put higher than we are justified in fixing it. In 1868, the receipts under the head of Land Sales were only 1,200 dollars; in 1869, 5,564 dollars; and as permanent revenue, for all time to come, under union, at 6,000 dollars. Now, as it is alike our policy and our interest not to make Land Sales a source of revenue, I do not think that we would act judiciously in considering the terms of union if we estimate a higher amount of permanent revenue from this source than the receipts of 1869, 1,200 dollars. Neither Land Revenue nor Rents appear to be as uncertain in their returns as Land Sales, so I will pass on to the items of Miners' Certificates, 11,000 dollars, and Mining Receipts, 12,500 dollars. Here again it appears to me another mistake has been made. Such gold mines as are worked in British Columbia will be worked out. Such diggings are sure to be deserted in a very few years. The white miners will retire, and the Chinese will take their place. When the Chinaman leaves, the mines are worked out. I can, therefore, see but little hope of permanent revenue from the gold mines. Already the mining revenue has begun to fall off. In 1867, Miners' Certificates yielded 13,645 dollars; in 1868, 11,535 dollars; in 1869, 10,500 dollars, and is likely to be less in 1870, although the estimate is 11,000 dollars. In 1867, Mining Receipts were 22,208 dollars; in 1868, 15,756 dollars; in 1869, 11,500 dollars, and yet for 1870 the estimate is 12,500 dollars. At the utmost, from all departments of mining, we cannot, in my opinion, estimate higher than 10,000 dollars as permanent revenue, and but little of that amount will ultimately be drawn from gold-mining. Now, Sir, with respect to Spirit Licences, which have been estimated by the Government at 25,000 dollars as permanent revenue; there could be no greater blunder made. The Hon. gentleman who framed these terms seems to have had no notion whatever of the systems of taxation that obtain in the Dominion, and has consequently repeated his mistake of mixing Municipal Taxation with Provincial. In the Dominion there are three forms of Government viz: Municipal, Provincial, and Dominional, and each has its own system of taxation. Here we have but Provincial and Municipal Governments, with their respective systems of taxation. Now it appears that consideration has only been given, in framing these terms, to taxation under the Customs and Internal Revenue Laws of the Dominion. But Provincial Taxation ought

also to have been considered, and the starting point should have been the equalization of our Provincial Taxes, with the Provincial Taxes of the Eastern Provinces. This is made very apparent with respect to Spirit Licenses. Here the Provincial Government levies 200 dollars per annum on retailers in towns, and in the country 50 dollars per annum. In Ontario the retail spirit license is 20 dollars per annum in cities, 17 dollars in town, and 10 dollars in the country. In estimating our future Revenue from this source, we are not justified in placing it higher than the rate of Ontario, and that would reduce the receipts from Spirit Licenses from 25,000 dollars, to about 6,250 dollars per annum. The excess above the latter amount, if levied, ought to be levied for Municipal purposes. The Trade License here is also estimated too high. Now, after careful study of these sources of Provincial Revenue which it is proposed that the Colony, after Union, shall exclusively possess, I cannot make the permanent receipts higher than 50,000 dollars per annum. The difference therefore between my estimate of Provincial Taxation, and that of the framer of these terms, is 101,050 dollars, or as 151,050 dollars is to 50,000 dollars. If a larger amount than the latter be levied by our Provincial Government after admission, our taxes will be out of proportion to the taxes in the Eastern Provinces for Provincial purposes. Before propounding what I consider ought to be the financial terms of Union, I will conclude this part of the subject by stating that the terms submitted in the Resolutions, and illustrated by the printed Estimate, instead of giving the Colony a permanent total revenue of \$364,050 per annum, will only produce 248,567 dollars, unless higher provincial taxation be levied here than in other parts of the Dominion. The way in which I make up these results is as follows:—By the terms submitted by the Government, there is 1st. Fixed subsidy 35,000 dollars; 2nd. Interest on difference of Public Debt, 82,000 dollars; 3rd. 80 cts. per head on 120,000 population, 96,000 dollars; 4th. Reserved revenue. 151,050 dollars: Total 364,050 dollars. By my interpretation of the proposed terms, there is: 1. Fixed subsidy, 35,000 dollars; 2. 80 cts. per head on 120,000 people, 96,000 dollars; 3. Interest on difference of debt, taking 20 dollars per head as the debt of Canada 67,567 dollars; 4. Reserved Revenue, 50,000: Total 248,567 dollars. Now, if we deduct from the latter amount, the Government estimate of current expenditure, viz: \$211,009, there would only remain a surplus revenue of 36,558 dollars, instead of 151,050 dollars, as anticipated. I therefore sincerely think that the Government scheme is wrong, and ought to be revised. Mr. Chairman, I therefore propose to bring under the notice of the Council, what I consider ought to be the financial terms, taking for granted always, that Canada will become liable for our public debt at the time of admission. When the Provincial Delegates met in Quebec and London, to decide on the terms of

Confederation, they divided the Provinces into three groups, viz.; Upper Canada, Lower Canada, and the Maritime Provinces. Lower Canada was taken as the initial point. Now Sir, in deciding finally as to the terms, I consider that British Columbia ought to be treated as the fourth group, whilst the Northwest Territory may be regarded as the fifth. The first thing that strikes me, on looking at the Eastern Provinces, is their territory. Ontario has 121,260 square miles; Quebec has 210,000; and all the Maritime Provinces, 88,065. Territorially then, we are their equal, and greater than either of them. The natural capacity of our territory to support population, is as great as Lower Canada. We have a finer climate, and more varied natural resources. Quebec sustains a population of about 1,250,000, or more. Ontario has 2,000,000. It is true that they are two centuries ahead of us, and we are in our infancy, with a handful of people. But that is no reason why, in framing terms, that we should not look forward to the rapid development of the Colony, and to the possession of a large settled population. Considering our geographical position, our natural resources, our wide spread population, and our future, I think that we are entitled to as large a fixed subsidy as Ontario, that is \$80,000. The proposed terms, submitted by the Government, ask only \$35,000 per annum. Now, this is placing British Columbia, with its 220,000 square miles, its great natural resources, and the best climate in the world, on a par with Newfoundland, with its 40,000 square miles, its sterile soil and inhospitable climate,—a country that has never yet developed any capacity for anything but catching and selling codfish. Prince Edward's Island is also offered a fixed subsidy of \$35,000 per annum,—a little insular community with a territory of 2,100 square miles, a hundred times less in area than our own country, and with a climate far inferior to ours. It is simply absurd to propose such a thing as ranking this Colony in subsidies with either of the Provinces except Ontario. I want neither more nor less than what the latter Province gets as a fixed annual subsidy. Every Hon. gentleman present who gives the matter a moment's consideration must agree with me that \$35,000 is entirely out of the question, and that the least we can accept is a fixed subsidy of \$80,000 per annum. [Hear, hear.] In the next place, I propose that our population be taken at 40,000, and at no time shall it be considered less; and that we shall be entitled to receive 80 cents per head annually until our population shall have reached 1,000,000. By this proportion we have truth and fact on our side. Our population will be subsidized at its actual number and not increased by a fiction—an unnecessary assumption—as in the terms proposed. Under this head we would get on entering the Dominion \$32,000 per year. Besides that, as our population increases, this *per capita* subsidy would increase annually in amount, till it reached

the maximum number of inhabitants of 1,000,000, and then it would stop. Now, the terms sent down to us by the Government assume, as I have shown before, the existence of a population of 120,000, and propose that we shall receive 80 cents on that number at once and that we shall receive no increase till our population shall have actually reached and passed that number; so it may be twenty years or longer before our actual population shall be equal to the assumed population, 120,000; and in the *interim* the *per capita* subsidy will remain unchanged. But this is not all. The Government scheme proposes to limit our maximum population to 400,000, the same as in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and as proposed in the terms to Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island. This is part of the same error made in copying the fixed subsidy. If we sum up the maximum of population entitled to a *per capita* subsidy in the four Maritime Provinces it will amount to 1,600,000. Now, if we rank our population with our extent of territory, we who possess three times as much territory as the Maritime Provinces, and equal capacity to support population, ought, at least, to be entitled to fix our maximum number of inhabitants entitled to the *per capita* subsidy at one million. [Hear, hear.] Now, Sir, neither of these two subsidies, nor both, would meet the current expenditure of the Government,—keep the necessary offices and services of the Colony moving. Both, only amount to \$112,000 per annum, and we require at least \$162,000 to meet current expenditure on the basis of the Estimates of 1870. But, as it accidentally happens, if we add the proposed fixed subsidy, \$80,000, and the *per capita* subsidy, \$32,000, to the reserved revenue, which I have previously shown ought not to be estimated higher than \$50,000, we shall have \$162,000 and nothing over,—no surplus to enable the Local Government to do anything to develop or settle up the country. If we were to receive nothing more than these two subsidies and reserved revenue, we would gain nothing by joining the Dominion. It would be simply jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire,—a change without financial improvement. Under such circumstances, I would oppose Confederation. Now, Sir, in addition to the fixed and *per capita* subsidies, I ask for a temporary subsidy of \$150,000. [Hear, hear.]

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—For how long?

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—I ask for a temporary subsidy of \$150,000 per annum, to be diminished annually in amount, in proportion as our population shall exceed 40,000. New Brunswick has a temporary subsidy of \$63,000 for ten years. Nova Scotia a temporary subsidy of \$82,000 for ten years. The grounds on which I ask a temporary subsidy for British Columbia are: firstly, that the cost of living here is greater than in the Eastern Provinces, and, consequently, public officers must be paid higher salaries, and necessary services cost more in this country

than there; secondly, our country is very large, and our population is small and widely scattered, and, consequently, requiring a larger staff of officials than a more compact and more populous community might require elsewhere; lastly, we require the additional temporary subsidy on the highest of all grounds,—expediency, that has governed politics in all times and countries. Without a surplus of at least \$150,000 per annum, the Local Government will be able to do nothing to advance the interests and settlement of the country. Confederation would soon prove itself a source of disappointment, if there were no money spent annually for public works, immigration, education, &c. A change, without financial improvement, would destroy all hope of any such thing as the loyal and cordial co-operation of our people with the Government of the Dominion. Expediency, therefore, demands the subsidy, and expediency justifies the demand. In concluding my remarks, Sir, on this subject, I will briefly contrast the terms proposed by the Government and the terms suggested by myself. The Government scheme, as I have shown, calls for only \$248,567, instead of \$364,050 as alleged. Of the former sum it can draw in subsidies \$198,567, in lieu of \$213,000 as intimated. Now, by the terms which I have proposed the three subsidies, viz: fixed subsidy, \$80,000 per annum, *per capita* subsidy, \$32,000, temporary subsidy, \$150,000, would yield \$262,000 per annum, and adding thereto the reserved revenue (the details of which have been explained) \$50,000, the Colony on and after Union would have a Revenue amounting to \$312,000 per annum. If we deduct \$162,000, the sum required by the Estimates of 1870, to keep up and pay for our Provincial offices and services, and make the necessary repairs to certain roads and buildings, we will have a clear surplus of \$150,000 per annum to be devoted to Education, Charity, Public Works, and Immigration. Besides which the equalization of taxation for Provincial purposes would reduce taxation at least \$100,000 more. If we deduct the current expenditure of the Government, viz: \$162,000 from \$248,567, the actual total amount of Revenue to be received under the terms submitted by Government to the Council, the surplus Revenue will be \$86,567, as against \$150,000 in that which I have proposed, making a difference between them, of \$63,433. ["Hear, hear."] I shall hereafter move a Resolution suggesting the adoption of the terms that I have explained, and as an amendment to the Resolutions now under discussion. ["Hear, hear."]

The Hon. MR. HELMCKEN, Member for Victoria City, said:—The Honourable gentleman says in fact, we should go to Canada and say we want \$250,000. I say we don't want to be Confederated. Canada wants Confederation. We don't ask Canada, Canada asks us to be Confederated. I agree that we ought to have \$250,000 from Canada at least. The Hon. Member who has just spoken, attempts to show that Canadian

manufacturers will come in free. Twenty years hence Canadian manufacturers may come in, but I will not go into that question; why should Canada complain of her goods coming in, what she gains will be more than she loses. She desires a larger market for her manufacturers, and she must pay us for that; she cannot complain that she is losing by supplying us with her manufactured goods. The Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos) says that equalization of labor, and of value of property and productions, will come about. I admit that it may be so, but in my opinion it will not be for some years to come; if there is equalization of labor, there will also be equalization of taxation and offices. The Local Government can look after this when it happens. I do not suppose that Canada will be disposed to look at our terms critically; they are getting this Colony far too cheap, I think \$250,000 is too cheap. The Hon. gentleman (Mr. DeCosmos) says that we should go to Canada and ask \$80,000 per annum, because another Province has the same, and that this Colony, which is larger in extent of territory than the largest of the Provinces should have \$80,000. But the Hon. gentleman must recollect that we do not produce revenue equal to what the other Provinces produce. With regard to the limit of population for the purposes of representation, I think 400,000 is too small, it ought to have been 1,000,000, not indefinite. 120,000 gives us the right to have eight members to represent us; this is a matter of expediency. There is a fault in the Resolution to which I will draw attention, it is this, that we do not get any increase in Revenue to the Colony until we get a population of over 120,000 persons. We have to calculate what our Revenue will be now under Confederation, and we cannot look for any increase for years to come. Which ever way we look at it, the figures come back to the same thing, we want \$250,000, and there are several ways in which we can get it; in point of fact we ask Canada to lend us that sum of money.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—My proposition would give \$650,000 more than the Government scheme and set free Internal Revenue for local or Municipal purposes.

Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—The Hon. Member wants \$150,000 now, and as the population increases the sum is to decrease.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—We should always have \$150,000, with our present or a greater population.

Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—The long and the short of the story is, that the two propositions amount to much the same thing. We go to Canada and say we want \$250,000. According to this scheme, Canada will only be out of pocket \$128,000. I say that Canada's expenses will diminish in two years from this time by \$60,000, so that Canada will only be paying \$68,000 a year. This is a very low rate of payment, far too low

in my opinion. I say, Sir, that if one thousand miners go to Peace River this year, our revenue will be increased by \$100,000, and if Peace River succeeds, "pans out well" as the saying is, I am quite certain that \$250,000 a year will not purchase this Colony. If Peace River is a failure, Canada may get it.

The Hon. MR. HOLBROOK said—Sir, I rise to support the motion of the Hon. Attorney General for the adoption of these clauses. I prefer the scheme put forward by the Government to that suggested by the Hon. Member for Victoria District; it is more statesmanlike, and deals with the subject in a larger manner. I agree with the Hon. Member who has just sat down (Mr. Helmcken) that there is a great probability of our having a large increase of revenue from the Peace River mines. It is impossible at present to form any opinion, beyond mere conjecture, on this head; but still I think we ought to be prepared for the contingency. I believe, Sir, that in a short time, the Dominion Government will be drawing a large amount of revenue from this Colony, probably a million, or a million and a half of dollars, and I am of opinion that provision ought to be made, by which the Province will derive some material advantage from that large increase. The United States Overland Railroad is producing such an effect as to turn California's attention to the Pacific Coast. I should be glad to see a scheme proposed, by which we should get back a part of any such increase of revenue, and if any Hon. Member will bring in an amendment, to secure us some local advantage out of any such prospective increase of revenue, I will support it: failing such amendment, I am prepared to support the clause as it stands.

The Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS, Member for Lillooet, said, Sir, I rise to support the amendment of my Hon. colleague (Mr. DeCosmos). In my opinion, Sir, the magnificent, bold, and statesmanlike scheme propounded by the Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos) has entirely demolished that of the Government. Hon. gentlemen have said much about Peace River mines, so much, that they would almost lead us to suppose that if Peace River was to fail in fulfilling the expectations that seem to have been formed respecting it, the Government measure will also be a failure. I say, Sir, that nothing is known about Peace River, which will justify any such expectations. It is folly to talk about the revenue to be derived from the Peace River mines; the amount of prospecting in that district has been too trifling to afford any data upon which to base even an argument or suggestion, so far as the terms, financially speaking, are concerned. I think that the proposition laid down by the Hon. Member for Victoria District, (Mr. DeCosmos) is worthy of the serious attention and consideration of this House. I should like, Sir, to see a scheme carefully laid down, which

would involve no subsequent reflections and troubles, such as we have seen in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; it is better to go through all the squabbling and discussion that we have to do in this House now, than leave it to involve us in serious trouble hereafter.

HON. MR. BARNARD—The Hon. Member says that the scheme proposed by the Hon. Member for Victoria District has quite demolished that of the Government. I should be glad to hear the Hon. Member for Lillooet point out the distinguishing differences between the two schemes.

HON. MR. HUMPHREYS—The difference is apparent. I think that I have said enough to show this Council the advantages of the scheme propounded by my Hon. friend; if Hon. Members cannot see differences which are so plain, it is not for me to supply them with brains.

The Hon. MR. WOOD said—Sir, I speak with considerable diffidence upon matters connected with finance. It is a subject which I have not made my particular study. The class of observations which I shall feel it my duty to make upon these clauses, will be more for the purpose of enquiring whether this Council has taken properly into consideration, the possibility of the population of this Colony increasing within ten or fifteen years to 100,000, or about that number, if such an increase should take place, with the debt of British Columbia paid off, as it will be by that time, Canada will gain enormously under these terms. Of the prospect of there being a large consumption of Canadian goods here, I can say nothing. I do not think it likely that the Railway will supersede sea carriage in bulky staples. There are great difficulties connected with the transport of any goods, and until the Railway is in operation, I apprehend that the bulk of our dry goods will come as heretofore, from England, whilst that class of unmanufactured articles, which we are now importing from America, will still be likely to come into the market cheaper than Canadian goods, even though they are subject to a tariff. It is the difficulty of transport, our isolation in fact, as the Hon. Attorney General has stated, and not the tariff which is the real and substantial impediment to trade. I cannot help thinking that it is the probable destiny of this Colony to be numbered by hundreds of thousands, rather than by millions. This is the ultimate part of the world. We are in this Colony further removed from the great centres of civilization than probably any other known portions of the globe; we may almost be called the last Country in the World; and it is probable that only exceptional articles of manufacture will come to us from Canada. The consumption of manufactured articles imported from England, which can produce every kind of manufactured article cheaper and better than Canada, is not likely to decrease. Canada

cannot compete with the facilities afforded by England and the United States in manufactures. With regard to the advantages to be derived by Canada from the terms, I take it that the present population of consumers in British Columbia is in reality about 25,000, instead of 40,000. As the population increases the Customs Revenue, which will always be the main source of income, will increase; the advantage, consequently, will be entirely on the side of the Dominion; their profits grow in proportion as our population increases, whilst their burdens are becoming less. Customs would increase and judicial fees would increase; in fact, with a population of 100,000, I think I am not far wrong in stating that Canada would take from \$800,000 to \$1,000,000 from this Colony in the shape of Revenue every year, and would leave British Columbia with an increased expenditure necessary for carrying on the local Government, without any corresponding increase of income. The clauses proposed show, in my humble opinion, a present temporary and uncertain advantage, against a certain and prolonged future loss.

HON. MR. HELMCKEN—In Canadian calculations the Indians are reckoned as white men, therefore we have a population of more than has been stated, for the Indians alone exceed 40,000.

HON. MR. ROBSON, Member for New Westminster, said:—Mr. Chairman, I have listened with interest to what has been said upon these clauses, and have endeavoured to follow the Hon. Member for Victoria District through his figures, and after hearing all, I am not prepared to think any the less of the Government scheme, for the remarks which have fallen from the Hon. Member, the scheme proposed by him as an amendment to the financial clauses of the Government indicate a vast amount of research, calculation, and thought. I congratulate the Hon. Member for Victoria District on the vast advance which he has made in the last two years. He then only asked for \$142,000, inclusive of subsidy and head money. I think, Sir, that the Government has hit upon the soundest, best, and most feasible scheme. I consider it a real stroke of statesmanship, and am glad to find that the Un-Official Members of the Executive Council have added so much to its value. With regard to the number at which it is proposed to estimate the population; it is all very well for Hon. Members to say that this is a fiction, but there is nothing dishonest in the assumption. If we were going to impose upon the Canadian Government it would be dishonest, but we cannot impose upon the Government at Ottawa any more than we can upon ourselves. There is a real honest intent. The explanation of the Chief Commissioner is fair and satisfactory upon this point. The policy of the scheme proposed by the Government is less intricate than that of the Hon. Member for Victoria District; it is more business like. It is important also as a basis of representation. If we adopt 40,000

as a basis of population, we shall only be entitled to a much smaller representation. By fixing the basis at 120,000 we give the Country a better status abroad, and with the Dominion Government, than it could have if the basis were fixed at 40,000. This is where the fiction comes in if at all. Besides, we are upon the brink of great changes, which will enormously increase our population. We have every reason to expect our population to be doubled in a very short time. The public works which would commence immediately after Confederation will increase it at once, and it is fair to put our population up to meet the increase. There is, in my opinion, a great deal of reason in the arguments of those who say that as the population of this Colony increases the policy of the Dominion will tend to free trade ["No, no," from Mr. DeCosmos], and the Canadian Government look forward to the time, and that very shortly, that Internal Revenue or Excise will exceed the External Revenue or Customs, and the Customs Revenue of this Colony will not increase much above its present standard from the reduction of duties and the importation of Canadian goods. Hon. Members may look surprised at this, but I will tell them that there are large Canadian Houses now in negotiation with merchants of this Colony respecting the transmission of goods to this Colony, and I believe that cargoes of Canadian goods will come in to this port immediately after Confederation. This will be a relief to us. The Revenue from our own Customs will in a few years come to a stand still, or rather, notwithstanding the increase of our population, the Revenue will decrease. Looking ahead, it is argued by some Hon. Members that these terms look good for the present time, but bad for the future. I believe, however, that the bargain about to be made is a good one. Let us, if we can, strengthen the hands of the Government in asking more, but let us do nothing to weaken them and compel them to take less. We want more money just now. My idea is that the expenses of Local Government are set down at a figure which is unnecessarily high. I think the expenses might be considerably reduced, and thereby a saving made to the Colony. The subsidy of \$35,000 is, I think, too small. I will, therefore, move to increase it to \$50,000, and to increase the limit of representation from 400,000 to 1,000,000. I make this proposition with the more confidence because I believe that the Dominion Government will think very little of \$15,000, but they might think a good deal of the \$45,000 which would be necessary to increase the subsidy to \$80,000. In regard to the mines of this Colony, I think they will be more lasting than some Hon. Members predict; and I also differ from those who think that our prosperity depends entirely upon our mines. I believe that there is a great future for the Colony. I believe that the mineral resources will last our time, and that of our children. I believe, also, that our agricultural resources may be developed so as to

give us one million of population within ten years, and that this Colony will become of immense importance when the Overland Railway, the true North-west Passage, is established. I conceive that it is not all an exaggeration to assume that this Colony will have a population of one million within our lives. With such a climate as we have, and with such natural advantages, this Colony has stood still at a marvellous rate.

The Hon. MR. CARRALL, Member for Cariboo, said:—Sir, Hon. Members have said, and I think with reason, that the policy of the Dominion tends towards Free Trade. Excise Duties are gradually taking the place of Customs, and I incline to the opinion that the importation of Canadian goods will reduce the revenue of this Colony considerably, but in any case, if a surplus should accrue to the Dominion Government, then a proportion of that surplus should revert to us, so that it might be applied for local purposes. If the inequalities foretold should arise, then with such representation as we shall have, we shall have the means of securing a due proportion of the surplus. If the Canadian Government do not give us a fair share, we will force it from them. We shall be strong enough even with the number of Representatives proposed by these Resolutions. If the population really increases, as it is said it will, we shall have a vast representation. As regards the Indian population, it is roughly estimated by the Vicar-General at 60,000.

The Hon. MR. DRAKE, Junior Member for Victoria City, said:—Sir, I do not think that the advantages to Canada have been fairly put; it has been said that the sum of \$35,000 is an arbitrary sum similar to the subsidy allowed to Newfoundland, from the expenses of carrying on the Government of this Colony in proportion of the expense of the Government of Newfoundland in comparison to the population. I say that the sum is out of proportion and too small for the requirements of this Colony. I would put it up to \$70,000. Canada will receive, after paying subsidies and expenses \$128,000, Canada will no doubt fund the debt at a smaller rate of interest.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—Canada cannot fund it at less.

Hon. MR. DRAKE—It is a matter of assertion, but I am of opinion that she will, and with the payment of debts in five years, Canada will pay out about \$53,000 only a year, therefore I move a recommendation to the Governor that "\$70,000" be inserted in the conditions, instead of "\$35,000."

The Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER, said:—Mr. Chairman, I shall be glad, speaking for myself as an individual member of this House, to accept any reasonable suggestion, and shall not oppose the recommendation of the Hon. Member for New Westminster. With reference to the amount of our debt, the Government scheme gives the Colony the full benefit of the debts to come in. I say that the debt of British Columbia, after Confederation, cannot be funded, or the

greater part of it cannot, for this reason, the debt is payable in Debentures which fall due at certain dates. After Confederation the price of Debentures will go up, and Canada can get no further benefit by funding, except as regards the Floating Debt. With regard to the remark of the Hon. Mr. Wood, who says the Resolution is framed with reference to present gain and future loss, I say we may wait and the horse may starve while the grass is growing. When we enter Confederation; we must do so in the expectation that we shall participate in all the advantages of Confederation, any increase of revenue or population will bring its share to us; we must believe that Canada will deal fairly with us. Now, Sir, I followed the Hon. Member of Victoria District through his figures when he propounded his new scheme, and I must say that I am better pleased with the Government measure than I was before; ours comes out on a stronger basis than before, in contradistinction to his. By his scheme he proposes to ask a clear gift; we ask much the same amount, but show the grounds. The Hon. Member has based his arguments on assumption more than the Government have. It is wrong to look upon the estimate of population as a fiction, it is not so, it is based upon calculation. Call it an expediency if you will, but it is no fiction. He seems to treat British Columbia as if it were an estate to be parted with for a *quid pro quo*, which is not a fair way of treating the subject. If Canada send us goods she will derive greater advantages from doing so than we shall, but nevertheless we shall participate. When our population increases rates of taxation will be reduced; a lower tariff, cheaper manufactured goods, and lower rents, are amongst the advantages that I look for out of Confederation. With regard to the Road Tolls, I look upon it as essential that they should be kept up to meet the expense of maintaining the roads and keeping them in repair. It has been a question, and perhaps it is still open for debate, whether the care and maintenance of the Main-trunk Road should not be thrown upon the Dominion Government; if we regard the road as Military work necessary for the defence of the country, its maintenance may fairly be a charge upon the federal revenue. I think we shall be in a better position to uphold the terms after this discussion. I believe that our future will be speedily prosperous, and I am quite satisfied that the Dominion Government should share in our prosperity. It will not do for us to depreciate our own future prospects.

The Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—I have not much to say in favor of Canada, but this much I will say: if British Columbia prospers by reason of Canada's works and capital, surely Canada has a right to an ample share of the increased Customs Revenue which will be so produced.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—Mr. Chairman, the credit of the Government proposition now before us has been given to the Hon. Member for Victoria (Mr. Helmcken). Now,

Sir, I am perfectly content that he should enjoy the credit, and the whole credit. In speaking briefly he has quoted a word used by myself—"expediency." Now, I again say the whole thing is a matter of expediency. I have not heard anything, however, either from that Hon. gentleman or others who followed me, to disturb the solid foundation of my scheme, resting as it does on truth and fact, and a plain out-spoken statement of our monetary requirements. I have always said that this question of Confederation was one of a monetary character—that it had a money value, and I maintain, as I have always done, without shadow of turning, that we ought to have a surplus revenue of about \$200,000 on entering the Dominion. I have always said that we must have that surplus, or its equivalent, with Confederation, or else no Confederation. That is the point round which I have been revolving. I have made no stride in advance, none to the rear, the Hon. gentleman opposite to the contrary. I have ever kept before the public the same idea, that when the terms of union were negotiated, they must bring that sum in a surplus revenue into our Treasury. It was a simple point that every one could understand and not forget. It is the sum that I asked at first; it is the sum that I ask now; and it is the sum that I propose now in amendment to the Resolution of the Government. The real surplus in the Government scheme is so far below what it ought to be, that it will be repudiated as an absolute failure, if ever it comes before the people for ratification. They will reject it. It will create just as much dissatisfaction here as there was felt in Nova Scotia. I will now, Sir, as I promised, move the following as a recommendation to His Excellency, and in substitution of Resolutions 2 and 3:—

1. That the Council recommend to His Excellency the Governor, the following Resolutions for his consideration: 2. The population of British Columbia shall be estimated at 40,000. 3. The following sums shall be paid semi-annually by Canada to British Columbia for the support of the Local Government and Legislature, to wit:—An annual grant of \$80,000, and a further sum of 80 cents a head per annum of the population, both payable half-yearly in advance, the population of British Columbia being estimated as aforesaid. Such grant of 80 cents per head to be augmented till the population shall be shown to be One Million, at which number it shall thereafter remain. Canada shall also pay to British Columbia, in semi-annual advances, the sum of \$150,000 per annum, which shall from time to time be reduced in proportion as the population may exceed 40,000.

Hon. Member for New Westminster—I object to the basis of population being changed, otherwise I would support some part of the recommendation.

The Hon. MR. ALSTON (Registrar General) said:—This being a Government measure, I shall support the Resolutions, but I

shall at the same time be prepared to give my assent and support to any sensible recommendations that are proposed. It strikes me that the Resolution of the Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos) is based on proper grounds. It is a mistake to say that the allowance for representation is based on a fictitious estimate of population. The Executive Council must have estimated it on the area and extent of the Colony. I believe that our representation would accord with the recommendation of the Hon. Member for Victoria District. I do not think that Canada is advancing in the direction of free trade. Her advance is more likely, in my opinion, to be towards protection. I have no doubt that Confederation will open the door for Canadian goods to be brought in. I have no hesitation in voting for a larger subsidy, because I believe that, in a few years, from the increase in our revenue, Canada will have very little to pay, and in the Government Resolutions there is no suggestion for any refund from Canada, if the Customs Duties should amount to a very large sum. I shall, therefore, vote for the Resolutions, but I shall support the recommendations of the Hon. Member for Victoria District, because I consider that it is grounded on common sense.

Hon. MR. BARNARD, Member for Yale, said:—Mr. Chairman, I shall support the Government proposition as it stands, particularly the estimate of 120,000. New Brunswick, with a population of 250,000, is entitled to fifteen members in the Dominion House of Commons. If the basis of representation is to be taken from population, then 40,000 would only entitle us to two members in the House of Commons, instead of eight. For that reason, in my opinion, if for no other, 120,000 ought to stand. Besides, as a matter of fact, our population exceeds 40,000. There is not an Indian in the Colony who does not contribute as much to the revenue as a Canadian. They are entitled to be represented as well as white men. Eight Members in the House of Commons will give us, as has been suggested, almost the balance of power between parties; eight, standing firmly together, will have great influence, but what would be our influence with two?

After a few words from Hon. Mr. Humphreys, in support of the basis of population, as disclosed in the scheme of the Hon. Mr. DeCosmos,

The several recommendations of the Hon. Messrs. DeCosmos, Drake, and Robson were read by the Clerk.

Some discussions ensued as to how the vote was to be taken, and the Chairman decided to put the recommendations of Hon. Mr. DeCosmos first, by itself, and then the recommendation of Hon. Mr. Drake, which was an amendment on the recommendation of Hon. Mr. Robson.

The recommendation of the Hon. Mr. DeCosmos, on a division, was lost. Ayes 5, Noes 14.

The recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Drake, as an amendment to that of the Hon. Mr. Robson, on a division, was carried.

Clauses 2. and 3, were then passed as read.

On motion, the Committee rose, and asked leave to sit again.

Hon. Mr. DeCosmos voted against the Report of the Committee being adopted.

House adjourned at 6 p.m., until 1 o'clock on Wednesday.

Wednesday, 16th March, 1870.

Committee sat at a quarter past one.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL moved the adoption of Clause 4:—

4. The Dominion shall guarantee Interest at the rate of 5 per centum per annum on such sum, not exceeding £100,000, as may be required for the construction of a first class Graving Dock at Esquimalt.

He said, it is pretty generally known that a company was started for the construction of a Graving Dock at Esquimalt, and that negotiations with that object in view had taken place under a former administration, but although both the Admirals and Governor Seymour had reported in favour of it, the thing had fallen through, owing to the inability of the company to obtain the necessary funds. They were only able to get a small loan in aid from the Admiralty. The Dominion guarantee of 5 per cent. on £100,000 sterling, with a prospect of ultimate profits from the undertaking itself, will, it is believed, secure the whole amount of capital required, which has been variously estimated; but from preliminary surveys and investigations which have been made, the sum of £100,000 is deemed sufficient, and there is little doubt that if a company can get a guarantee for that amount, they can carry out the undertaking on the largest practicable scale. I am aware that some opposition has been expressed to the locality; but it is to be supported on general grounds. It will be general to the whole Colony. £100,000 cannot be spent in any part of the Colony without benefiting the rest of it. The Navy are at Esquimalt. Esquimalt is the first port which Ocean ships reach when they want repair, and the last point they leave when they receive sailing orders. Captain Richards, and all the Admirals from first to last, have reported in favour of Esquimalt for a Dock. Without Admiralty patronage and aid, the thing could not succeed. Another advantage in a Dock would be, that it would enable us to utilize our great white elephant—the Dredger. As to any opposition to the locality for Burrard Inlet and New Westminster, though as much interested as any Hon. Member round this Board in those places, I must say that they already have the larger share of benefit from the terms; for in my opinion the Overland Railway

must follow down the main artery of the Colony—Fraser River—and have its terminus either at New Westminster or Burrard Inlet. Therefore, on public grounds, and because I believe that it will be a public benefit, I support the establishment of a Graving Dock at Esquimalt.

The Hon. MR. HOLBROOK,—Sir, I rise to oppose this clause, because I deem it too sectional; all sectional views should be set aside. I think the locality should certainly be left out, and the question decided hereafter. I have no objection to getting all the money we can from Canada, but I am not sure that there is any present necessity for a Dock. I believe that for some time to come, it will be cheaper to send ships to San Francisco. What is wanted, is one of Clarke's patent Slips. We shall, before long, have plenty of ships at Burrard Inlet, and when the community requires it we shall have plenty of private parties ready to come forward to construct them. Both at Burrard Inlet and New Westminster, there is so great a rise and fall in the tide that they would be good places. I have been asked to support the substitution of Burrard Inlet for Esquimalt in the terms, but I will not do so. I would prefer striking out the name altogether. We ought, I say, to let go sectional ideas, and go in for the public good.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS said—Sir, I am at a loss to understand any opposition to this clause. Any such guarantee, if it lead to the expenditure of so much money in any part of the Colony, will be an advantage to the whole community. It is an easily understood benefit. It will not, in my opinion, make much difference where it is built; perhaps it would be better to leave the selection of the locality to a Committee, who might indicate to the Canadian Government the best locality. I am of opinion that we want a Graving Dock, we don't want ships to go to San Francisco.

Hon. MR. ROBSON, Member for New Westminster, said—I may, perhaps, be expected to oppose this clause, and ask for New Westminster to be inserted, but I shall not do so. I have no sectional feelings in supporting Confederation. I think the word Esquimalt is perfectly harmless, although like my Hon. friend (Mr. Holbrook) I should have preferred that no locality had been made. I do not think that naming the spot will, of itself, decide the question. The Dock will no doubt be built in the most suitable place. As the word is in, let it remain.

Hon. MR. WOOD said—Sir, I agree with what has fallen from Hon. Members who object to the naming of the locality, and I shall move that the word "Esquimalt" be struck out, and the words "such place as the Dominion Government shall appoint" be inserted. I desire, if we are to have this organic change, that we should be free of sectional and local feelings of irritation. The naming of Esquimalt as the locality for the Dock, seems to me to be an endeavour

to purchase the good-will of Victoria, whose population is known to be anti-confederate. ["No, no," from DeCosmos]—of Victoria, which stood the test of Confederation at the last Election, and whose Members sit here pledged against Confederation. This is bidding for the favour of the Victoria constituency. ["No, no," from Hons. Attorney General and Chief Commissioner.] I judge of the effect which it is likely to have upon others by the effect it has upon me. I own some small portion of land at Esquimalt, at Constance Cove, near the probable site of the Docks, and that I confess has a softening effect upon me; and though I do not allow it to influence my vote, it does influence my mind. [Laughter.] Confederation, as the Hon. Member for Victoria (Dr. Helmecken) has said, means a Railway, Docks, and money; it means to each person the possibility of getting \$1,000 at the end of two years, or \$100 a month in rents. I do not believe that these terms will be submitted to, and if the inducements are taken away, I say the people will not have Confederation. If they do accept it under the inducement of material benefits, I fear that we shall very shortly see a strong feeling of reaction. Why should we name Esquimalt? What right have we to do so, if it is not intended to have effect on the Victorian interest? Why not leave it open? If Esquimalt is named, it seems to me to tie down the Dominion Government to a locality of which they may not approve, and may be disadvantageous to the negotiation. The more that is left to the Dominion Government, the better is the chance of carrying out the negotiations successfully.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—What is the estimated cost of constructing the Docks?

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—£100,000.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—I think Mr. Chairman, that it is much to be regretted that the Hon. Mr. Wood has attributed not very creditable motives to the Government. ["Hear, hear."] I am sorry to have to say so. I am sorry I cannot congratulate him on statesmanlike qualities when he says he might have been influenced. I have never taken this view. I believe the influence of a vote never occurred to any Member of the Executive Council. I protest against such insinuations. I congratulate the Hon. Member for New Westminster upon the course he has taken, and on his support of the Government without reference to any sectional views. I feel bound to explain why Esquimalt has been named by the Government. The main object in asking for a Graving Dock there, is to secure the head quarters of the Navy, on the Pacific coast, within the Colony. When you come to remember that Esquimalt is the Naval Station, and has been for years, and when you come to consider that assistance is offered by the Imperial Government, it will not be difficult to discern that there was reason on our side. I could give you good commercial reasons, but it is sufficient to say, that the

Government named Esquimalt, especially, with a view to the retention of the Fleet; both the late Admiral and the late Governor agreed in reporting in favor of Esquimalt; we should therefore have been remiss in not pointing it out. I think it hard that the Government should be twitted with the intention of catching votes. [Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos] I scout the idea. There is an Imperial Act, which only allows the Admiralty to lend a limited sum to Colonial Docks. The Act of 28 & 29 Victoria, Cap. 206. This Act allows a loan of £20,000 from the Admiralty upon certain terms; it is a loan of so much money that is contemplated, and not a guarantee of interest. Last year I stated to this Council, that the Admiralty had offered to lend £20,000, at 4 per cent. The Company did not think it sufficient inducement. We hope to get Imperial assistance still, that is one reason for the locality being named. I stand here to say that Esquimalt is the place. I am surprised that a Member from the Mainland should bring an accusation of sectional proclivities against the Government in this matter, for the Railway will specially benefit the Mainland; I believe and hope it will follow down the valley of the Fraser, and immediately benefit the district from which the Hon. Member comes. Fraser River is the main artery, and the probable course of the Railway. I did not, therefore, expect to hear of any sectional prejudice in the Resolutions from any Member from the Mainland, when, if there is any immediate benefit to any special locality, it will be to the Mainland of British Columbia.

Hon. MR. RING, Member for Nanaimo, said:—Sir, I am prepared to support the Government upon this clause. Why should we set ourselves up in opposition to the opinion of the successive Admirals who have been upon this Station, and who can have no prejudices? I think it is a waste of public time to impute motives. Esquimalt has been pronounced by Engineers to be the proper place. I am not one of those who, like certain Hon. Members here, would constantly "pin their conscience on their sleeves for daws to peck at." Such motives as are suggested, could never have entered into the minds of the Executive. They have been repelled by the Hon. Chief Commissioner, and why should we be accused of giving personal votes?

Hon. MR. WOOD—No personal motives are imputed.

Hon. MR. ROBSON—It seems like such an imputation. I think the Hon. Member should withdraw his motion. Consider how such a principle as that suggested by the Hon. Mr. Wood would work. It in effect, amounts to this:—"Because you have a local interest, you must refrain from supporting by your vote what you conscientiously approve of as beneficial to the community."

Hon. MR. WOOD—I must correct my Hon. friend (Mr. Ring). I do not attribute personal motives in any improper sense; but

I say, is there a butcher, or baker, or any other man who will, in these days of pressure, fail to vote as his pocket will be influenced? The material benefit to the individual is an influence at all elections, and rightly so. I can see, in my mind's eye, banners floating at the next general election, and can imagine placards posted with the inscription in the largest type: "Vote for DeCosmos and the Esquimalt Dock." This object may not be intentional, but yet can it be otherwise? What is it? Intending without intending? I deny that I impute any dishonest motive in the Executive, but it is clear that the Dock at Esquimalt will influence many votes, and I confess I gave them credit for foreseeing so obvious a consequence.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—I say this, Sir, that if any such motives had guided the Executive Council; if any considerations, such as have been suggested, had swayed them; if the object had been a different one, we could have prepared a much more palatable dish; we could have shewn you pecuniary advantages. If we had had the intention to get votes, we could have framed the Resolutions very differently. But they were framed with no such views. It was the intention of the Government to prepare terms on a fair and proper basis, to be submitted to the people.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—As a Member of the Executive Council, Sir, I confess that I was pleased to see Esquimalt mentioned as the site for the Docks. I will meet the Hon. Mr. Wood on this issue, and say that supposing this is put in for the sake of gaining the vote of the Victoria people, what is Confederation? Confederation means union to benefit every part of the Colony. To follow out the Hon. Member's reasoning, there should have been no public works at all named in the conditions. I state that the insertion of Esquimalt in the Government Resolutions was not governed by sectional prejudices. The Executive Council took the broad view, that it was for the interest of the Canadian Government to build this Dock, because if Victoria prospers under Confederation, it will be so much the better for the Dominion revenue. If the work is a benefit to Victoria, through bringing labourers, it will benefit the whole Colony, and our position will be improved, and therefore we shall become a more important part of the Dominion. If it pleases the people of Victoria, if they consider it a sufficient inducement to go into Confederation, let them do so. The people of Victoria are here to make money, and not to found empires; their children may perhaps make the kingdoms and empires. If the people like Confederation on these terms, I say let them vote for it.

Hon. MR. CARRALL, Member for Cariboo—"It may not be intentional but it is so," were the concluding words of the Hon. Mr. Wood. I say yes. So far as this: that the whole of the conditions of this scheme were intended to benefit the whole of the Colony. As a Member of the Executive Council, I

repudiate entirely the narrow motives which have been suggested by the Hon. Mr. Wood. The Executive Council were actuated by no sectional views; their object was to make the whole of the Resolutions, not only palatable, but beneficial to the Colony. The merits of Esquimalt as a site for the Docks, are in themselves a sufficient reason to advance in favor of the Executive opinion being correct. I shall vote for the Clause as it stands.

Hon. MR. DE COSMOS—I am one of those who think it proper to have the locality for the Docks named; and I think the Government would have made a blunder if they had left out the word "Esquimalt." It would have been wrong in my opinion if the Government had framed the Resolutions with any sectional views. But it appears to me whilst they are likely to do the Colony good generally, they have been framed with a tendency to create the popular vote, and I do not see much harm in that. The point which I want to hear about is, whether £100,000 will be sufficient to construct a good Dock; and what sort of a Dock it is to be? It is possible that a large Stone Dock may not be of so much use as a Patent Slip. I have visited the Floating Docks in the Arsenals of the United States, to take such observations as would serve an unprofessional man. And I confess that if it is to be a Stone Graving Dock in Constance Cove, to admit of one vessel at a time, I am inclined to the opinion that it would not be as good, or as much public utility, as a Patent Slip. I shall support the item, or a larger sum than £100,000. I believe that a Dock, or a Patent Slip, at Esquimalt, will attract ships from Puget Sound. It is a step in the right direction. There is a feeling abroad, that the Colony would have to construct this Dock. This would be a mistake: but to get Canada to endorse the scheme, by giving a guarantee for the interest, is in my opinion the right course to pursue.

Hon. MR. TRUTCH—That is the intention; that a private company should undertake the work, the Dominion giving a guarantee. It will be left for the company to choose. Probably Clarke's patent slip, with hydraulic lift, would be the easiest worked, as it would be the cheapest. It could probably be erected for £75,000, whereas a cut stone Graving Dock would cost more. One of the advantages of the latter would be that there would be more money expended in the Colony during its construction, whereas the principal cost of a patent slip would be expended elsewhere for machinery. I cannot say if £100,000 would be enough for the construction of a cut stone Dock or not. I think that a guarantee of five per cent on £100,000 will be a sufficient inducement for any company to take the matter up. I am convinced that £100,000 will not build a stone Dock of sufficient capacity to take in such a ship as the Zealous.

Hon. MR. WOOD—If the people of Victoria desire the terms why should not they vote for Union? My desire is, if we are to be united, to see a union which shall be

lasting. I say that these terms are not lasting. They are in the nature of direct and immediate pecuniary advantage. Reaction will set in after the Railway and Dock are built. Show me in these terms continuing and abiding benefit and I am satisfied. Let the people of Victoria choose, but I ask Hon. Members, who understand human nature, whether the people would not choose direct benefit in preference to prospective and continuing advantages. Mankind will choose direct present pecuniary benefit, rather than that benefit which is to be lasting and remote. I fear reaction. I look upon this place as my home, and shall complain, I think with justice, if ten years' hence I find a great reaction of the present hasty action.

Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—Would it be better to have Confederation with no terms at all, or with terms equal to these?

Hon. MR. WOOD—I ask for different terms; power to impose our own tariff for instance.

Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—The objections of the Hon. Member are not correct. When the Dock and Railway are built, I admit that some source of labour, and consequent interest, will be gone, but then we must look for other interests to arise. I admit that discontent may arise; it has frequently been so in England, when a large number of labourers have been thrown out of employment; but I say that the Dominion and Local Governments will have the power and the sense to remedy any such evils as they occur.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I cannot fancy anything more calculated to promote permanent benefit than the establishment of Graving Docks. Every ship that comes in would spend money, would be a benefit to the town, and a continuing benefit; and not to the town only, but to some extent to the whole Colony. If the Colony goes on and increases, so must the work to be done in the Docks go on increasing. I regret that the Hon. Mr. Wood should have taken the ground that the Executive are influenced by any sectional motives. I do not see why the Hon. Member should refuse benefits which come under Confederation. He would surely not prefer to go in without terms.

Hon. MR. DRAKE—I doubt whether the amount named is large enough. I have information from good authority that double that amount will be required. Canada is only asked to guarantee the interest. I shall, therefore move an amendment, in the shape of a recommendation to His Excellency, that the sum of £100,000 be increased to £150,000 in the conditions. I am of opinion that the terms should be put in as favourable a light as possible for this Colony.

Hon. MR. PEMBERTON—I would ask the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works whether it would be possible to connect the supply of water with the Docks. London is supplied by a large fresh water reservoir, and it is possible that the same course might be adopted as regards this city. If the course

of the water in the valley of Victoria Arm were stopped, the Gorge being a natural valley, if it were possible to exclude the salt water from the whole of Victoria Harbour, a vast natural reservoir of fresh water might be formed, which would supply the whole city with water. Being no engineer, I feel some diffidence in putting it forward. I only put it as a suggestion to the Chief Commissioner, with the view of inquiring whether it could be done.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—It is impossible for me to offer an opinion upon the suggestion of the Hon. Mr. Pemberton. The supply of water upon the supposed plan, would contemplate the expenditure of much more money than the sum required for Graving Docks besides the proposed place is too low, and would necessitate the water being pumped up to a second Reservoir. Moreover I am of opinion that the supply of water is too much of a local matter to be worthy of mention in the Terms.

Hon. MR. HOLBROOK—My Amendment is, that the word "Esquimalt" be struck out, on the grounds that it is too sectional. I believe that any Company which is formed will erect a Patent Slip, instead of a Dock. It has been shown in practice to be more useful. I move that the word "Esquimalt" be struck out.

Hon. Mr. Wood's recommendation to strike out the word "Esquimalt," and to insert "such place as the Dominion Government shall appoint," on division was lost, two only voting in favor of it.

Hon. Mr. Drake's recommendation "That the sum of £150,000 be named," on division was lost, eight voting in favor of the recommendation.

Clause 4 was then passed as read.

The Chairman then read Section 5.

5. In addition to the other provisions of this Resolution, Canada shall assume and defray the charges of the following Services:—

a. Salary and allowances of the Lieutenant Governor;

b. Salaries and Allowances of the Judges and Officers of the Supreme Court, and of the County Courts;

c. The charges in respect of the Department of Customs;

d. The Postal Department;

e. Lighthouses, Buoys, Beacons, and Lightship, and such further charges as may be incident to and connected with the Services which by "The British North America Act, 1867," appertain to the General Government, and as are or may be allowed to the other Provinces.

The Hon. the ATTORNEY GENERAL moved the adoption of this Clause, which he said was taken from "The British North America Act, 1867," and would relieve the Colony of the payment of a certain amount annually in the shape of Salaries.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS—I shall move a recommendation that the maintenance of the Roads by the Dominion Government, be included in this Clause.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—This seems to be a made up Clause, it is provided for in "The British North America Act," and the insertion of the Clause in these Resolutions looks like setting it before the Country for the object of educating them up to what they are expected to ask for.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—It is an essential part of the whole scheme.

Hon. MR. TRUTCH—I think it is partly provided for by "The British North America Act;" yet it is included in the Terms of the proposed admission of Newfoundland.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—And of all the other Provinces.

Hon. MR. ROBSON—I do not agree with the Hon. Member for Victoria District. I think the Act of British North America applies to original Provinces, and provision is made for the admission of others. They might be presumed to apply to us, but I think it is proper to ask in an address that these charges should be put in, and that it is as necessary to insert these as it is to insert any clauses. We should make it plain that we desire to have these terms applied to us.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—There is no provision in paragraph *b*. for payment of salaries of Judges of Admiralty or District Courts.

Hon. MR. WOOD—I move to strike out these paragraphs; they are mere verbiage. One word with respect to the Admiralty Court, which ought to be included if the Supreme Court is inserted.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—We have no power, as a Council, to deal with the constitution of the Admiralty Court; nor is this the proper time to enter into any discussion respecting it.

Hon. MR. WOOD—I say we have every power, and I take this opportunity of saying that the Admiralty Court is badly managed. I have heard it insinuated that the Judges of the Admiralty Court in this Colony have been influenced by fees to prolong the business of the Court, and drag out Admiralty business to its utmost length, instead of pushing it through, as the business of the Common Law Courts is pushed through. There ought to be no fees. Admiralty practice in this Colony is likely, in case of war, to assume enormous proportions. I do not see why a condition should not be inserted to provide us with an Admiralty Court with Judges to be paid by fees.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—Does the Hon. the Attorney General intend to insert Admiralty Court?

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—We must not arrogate to ourselves powers which we have not; and the insertion of such a clause in the Resolutions which we are now discussing would be entirely out of place, and I would suggest to Hon. Members not to introduce

this Resolution now, but let it be brought up as a substantive measure. It cannot be brought up again if it is decided now.

Hon. MR. WOOD—I said, and I repeat it, that if the Imperial Government were properly approached this thing might be done, just as if the Crown were properly approached, the Crown Salaries Act might be repealed.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—I think some action ought to be taken. I wish to call attention to the fact that the Canadian Parliament have power to fix the salaries of the Judges in Admiralty, where they are paid by salaries.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—Then bring the matter up separately.

Hon. MR. DRAKE—I would draw the Attorney General's attention to section 100 of the "British North America Act," which includes Admiralty Courts where the Judges are paid by salaries and pensions. It is expressly stated that the terms of the "British North America Act" shall apply to this Colony; then why not insert it in the words of the Act, though we are aware that these Resolutions have to be carried, there is no reason that we should not add recommendations. I think section 100 of the Act is better than our clause. I will move the addition of the word "pensions."

Hon. MR. ROBSON—I cannot see that the application of section 100 would meet the case. It would be ineffectual because our Judges of the Admiralty Court are not paid by salaries, therefore it would be inoperative as regards British Columbia. Whilst I deem it quite desirable to make the change suggested, I do not think this is the time to make it. I should suggest postponing the discussion of the question as to Admiralty Court until these Resolutions are settled.

Hon. MR. TRUTCH—Why complicate the question? Why not bring it up in open House and discuss it?

Hon. MR. WOOD—It could be done in three or four months. The Judges of the Admiralty Courts could be put upon salaries, and Section 100. would then be applicable. We are upon the question of Judges, and why not decide it at once.

Hon. MR. TRUTCH—I am not prepared to discuss this question, as to the Admiralty Court, now. If proper notice is given of its being brought up, I shall then be prepared to go fully into its merits.

Hon. MR. WOOD—The principle is bad to pay Judges by fees.

Hon. MR. RING—The question is: are the Judges of the Admiralty Court Judges? Why should we not say, say clearly and unmistakably what we mean? I shall support the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Wood, and I hope the members of the Government will pause before they oppose it. Let them consider whether it is desirable to admit the principle that any person exercising the office of a Judge should be paid by fees. I say that the question is properly before us now, and

the recommendation comes fairly and correctly in this place.

Hon. MR. ALSTON—I agree with the Hon. Mr. Wood, as to the constitution of the Admiralty Court, but should vote against the recommendation, and for the Resolution, because I do not think that this recommendation, or amendment, for it virtually amounts to that, if acted upon by the Executive, would effect the cure; the Judges would still take fees.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I shall be obliged to vote against this recommendation, if it is pressed, on account of the way in which it is brought up here. The friends of the alteration are those who are refusing to join in bringing it forward at this inopportune time. A vote taken now, would prevent free discussion of the subject. I recommend the Hon. Member to withdraw his amendment, and I invite full and free discussion of the subject of the Admiralty Courts upon a special day to be fixed.

Hon. MR. TRUTCH—This discussion is inapposite at this time. If this side of the House were against the consideration of the payment of Admiralty Judges by fees, they could let it pass in Committee, and kill it in the House; then, under our Standing Orders, it could not be brought up again, but we do not intend to do so. I shall vote against it.

The Hon. Mr. Wood, with the permission of the Council, withdrew his recommendation, on the understanding that it was to be brought up at a future day as a distinct motion.

The Hon. Mr. Drake's recommendation as to Pensions was put, and lost.

Hon. MR. WOOD—It is treating the recommendations of non-official members with contempt and disrespect, to find the Government Members voting them down. ["No, no," from the Attorney General.] ["Yes, yes," from Mr. Drake.] Let us have an opportunity of putting our opinions upon record. This Government vote operates as a wet blanket upon all occasions.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—It is the common sense of the House, which says that recommendations which are against the basis of the Resolution should not pass.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS—If what we do is not to meet the eye of the Executive, it is of no use being here. I never felt so mean. Our position in this Council is nugatory; utterly futile and contemptible. If all the elected members felt as I do, we should leave the Council in a body, and have nothing more to do with it. ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos.] I find it difficult to speak of the Government conduct of business in this House with patience.

Hon. MR. TRUTCH—I should really like to know what this is all about. One Hon. Member says that the course is disrespectful, because the sense of the Council was against him. The Hon. Member for Lillooet in-

dulges in a species of harangue which is peculiar to him, when he is at a loss for an argument, he shakes the red flag of officialdom before him, lowers his head, and charges at it madly. With regard to disrespect, I think we treat them with respect by discussing them here at all. We might allow them to pass here, and vote them down in the Executive; but instead of that, the Executive Members enter freely into the discussion here, and declare what their views are fully. As to voting recommendations of Hon. Members down, when a suggestion is made to substitute one scheme for another, it would be strange if the Government Members should not unite in voting it down. With regard to the recommendations for adding to the terms and conditions, they ought to be carefully made, or their insertion may create great disappointment in the public mind by leading people to expect more than will be acceded. Hon. Members should weigh their votes well. I, for one, will not vote for what I cannot recommend to His Excellency in the Executive Council.

HON. MR. HUMPHREYS—I am not in the habit of holding my head down. I always hold it up. I agree with the Hon. Mr. Wood, that all we are likely to do for the public benefit is crushed by the official vote.

HON. MR. CARRALL—The Hon. Mr. Wood has stated that the recommendations of the Elected Members would be treated with contempt. He is not a Member of the Executive Council. I as a Member of that Council can tell him that they are always treated with the greatest respect.

HON. MR. WOOD—What I say is that the recommendations of Independent Members do not reach, and will not reach, the head of the Executive. We want them to reach. We all believe that the Members of the Executive will mention them, but that is not what we want. We desire that these recommendations should meet the eye of the Executive. I disdain to consider that the Executive rules this Colony. They do not; they administer the Government, and I consider it to be the duty of the Executive to sink their own views, when they do not accord with the popular will. It is quite possible that the Executive may be wrong and the Popular Members right occasionally.

HON. MR. TRUTCH—I do not think the position of the Hon. Mr. Wood is correct. There are now Three Resolutions of, so called, Popular Members before the Executive; why are so many of their recommendations carried if there is any desire to treat them with disrespect? The difficulty is, that the Hon. gentleman persisted in trying to force a vote upon his Resolution about the Admiralty Court. I, if pressed to give an opinion at an inapposite time, would vote against it.

HON. MR. DECOSMOS—The conviction in and out of this House is, that the Elected Members are useless, being out-numbered by the official vote. The only reason why

I would endeavour to be elected to a seat, in a Council so constituted, is to prevent evils that might happen. The Government might get tools to go in and vote as they liked. The Government might get some one to be elected, and then call it the popular vote. The mistake has been in interpreting recommendations into amendments.

HON. MR. ROBSON—Mr. Chairman, I think that nothing can be more unfair, nothing more ungenerous, than the position taken by some Hon. Members towards the Government. This scheme was brought down to the House by the Government, and we were invited by the Hon. Attorney General, and other Members of the Government, to make any recommendations or suggestions that we thought proper, and they would receive every consideration at the hands of the Executive. I fail to see one single act or vote at variance with that position. I have seen the leading Members of Government voting different ways; and this I take to be an evidence of their sincerity. There seems to be a disposition to run away with the impression that the unofficial members are treated with disrespect, to me, Sir, such a position is undignified and absurd. Because I have moved a recommendation, and the House has voted it down, am I treated with disrespect. Why I follow this up and an adverse vote would be in every case an insult to the minority, and legislation would become an impossibility. I am grateful to the Government for what I consider a great scheme, grateful for having the opportunity of voting upon it, and I join the Hon. Chief Commissioner in warning the House against voting alterations in the Terms, lest such a course should create hopes to be afterwards disappointed, and lead to a reaction which might result in the defeat of the whole scheme at the polls. I would also caution Hon. Members to avoid attempting to induce the Government to insert terms which would imperil the scheme with the Dominion Government. I shall set aside any particular views and suggestions I should like to make, to avoid that result. I can understand enemies of the cause rushing in resolutions calculated to raise extravagant hopes, and so produce disappointment and fatal reaction, but not friends of the cause. In recommending alterations to Government our reason and judgment should be fairly and calmly exercised.

Clause 5 was put to the Committee by the Chairman, and passed as read.

The Chairman read Clause 6:—

6. Suitable Pensions, such as shall be approved of by Her Majesty's Government, shall be provided by the Government of the Dominion for those of Her Majesty's Servants in the Colony, whose position and emoluments derived therefrom would be effected by political changes on the admission of this Colony into the Dominion of Canada.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL said:—In proposing the adoption of this clause, it is only necessary for me to state to the House that it is inserted in accordance with Lord Granville's despatch. Confederation will, in all probability, affect the positions of certain officials, and the despatch advises that provision should be made, hence this clause.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS—I do not approve of the principle of pensions, and I cannot understand why pensions should be given to men who came out to this Colony, as I came out, as needy adventurers. The people of this country do not approve of pensions. If Hon. Members had been induced to come out from England to assume positions under Government for life, I could understand their being provided for with pensions, on the positions being abolished. I was once a Government Officer in this Colony myself, and should of course have liked to get a pension; but in my opinion the present Government officials have drawn very good pay for doing very little work, for long enough; and before a pension is given, it should be shown that the person to whom it is given has done the State some service.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—We have now, Sir, arrived at the Government's "wisdom" in delaying Confederation in 1868, and subsequently, and of which we heard from the Hon. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. The Hon. gentlemen who own this Colony, for the Governor and Executive virtually own the country, are now ready to execute a quit claim deed of this Colony to Canada, for a pension to each, and it may be the cheapest mode of getting rid of them. Pensions are a modern discovery. The Romans granted triumphal entries as a reward to their most distinguished citizens; and the Greeks crowned those whom they would honor with laurels; but now pensions are the fashion. How much more substantial! The whole secret of the opposition of the Government to Confederation lay in the question of pensions. [No, no]. [Yes, yes]. Still I shall vote for the clause, as I believe this to be the cheapest way of buying out the present possessors, the virtual owners of the Colony. I think it ought to be pensions or compensation, but I will move no amendment.

Hon. MR. HOLBROOK—I am prepared to support this clause. It shows that Great Britain does not forget her public servants. It is a good and proper clause, and a usual one. This is following out what is done in every other British Colony. I shall support the clause.

Hon. MR. WOOD—I shall support this clause. It stands out in strong contrast to the action of the Imperial Government, in their treatment of public officers upon the occasion of another Union. I am glad to see this clause inserted, as representing a principle that ought always to be recognized.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—The Hon. Member for Victoria District is attributing motives again. If he throws dirt on others, he must expect to have it thrown back on himself, and it might as well be said that Hon. representative members who vote for Confederation, only voted for it for the sake of the loaves and fishes. ["No, no," from Mr. DeCosmos]. This is a question for the Canadian Government, not for us. Government officials are entitled to some compensation for loss of offices, and the Canadian Government will think so too. To them I leave it. They will, I believe, settle the question honourably.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—I challenge any man to say that I ever asked to have any Government post or appointment. I have lived half a century, and three-fourths of that time I have earned my own bread, and spent my own money.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—I don't accuse the Hon. Member of seeking office. I say the argument might be used, and if gentlemen will throw dirt, they must expect to get it thrown on them.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—The remarks I made, were as to times past. As to dirt. I never use it. I deal in facts. I know men, however, who have for themselves and friends stuck closely to the loaves and fishes, and I could name some public men who did their best and succeeded in depriving the Colony of Vancouver Island of half a million of dollars, that the Duke of Newcastle, as Colonial Secretary, said belonged to it. [Hon. Mr. Helmcken—"Name"]. No, I will not mention names. I say, again, that the chief reason for this question not being taken up in 1868, was because pensions were not provided. Now, Sir, I am glad the Hon. senior Member for Victoria City has afforded me an opportunity to explain the part that I took in pressing Confederation on the Council in 1868. I first endeavoured, with the Hon. Member for New Westminster, to enlist Governor Seymour in the matter,—get him to take it up as a Government measure,—and open negotiations with the Canadian Government. But he refused to interfere in it, and said the Council might deal with it. Without the support of the Governor, in a Council so constituted, there was no hope for the measure. It then became a question whether any Resolution on it ought to be brought forward in the Council. Some confederates urged that it would not do to have a Resolution defeated. On the other hand, I thought it best to make some proposition, merely to elicit an expression of the Council's opinion, and show the country its attitude on the question. For in agitating the question, unless it could be proved incontestably that the Council and Executive were opposed, the people could not be aroused to take action. I, therefore, brought it up in a series of Resolutions before the House, and not in Committee of the Whole. If I had had the least hope that it would have passed, I would have had it considered in Committee of the Whole, the

proper place to settle such an important matter, after the terms had been settled between the two Governments. As a matter of course, the Resolutions were defeated. But subsequently, when it was urged upon the Governor, at the instance of the Collector of Customs, that the Council be allowed to take action, he said "No. Let the people act."

Hon. MR. CARRALL—I shall vote in favour of this clause, and I only desire to offer three remarks, the Council have had two objects mainly in view: first, to bring in a scheme which should bring general prosperity; and, secondly, that no vested interests should be affected by the act of Confederation. The positions held by official gentlemen are, I contend, vested interests, and as such, entitled to protection. As regards the way in which members have been treated in other Colonies, there are numbers who are now receiving pensions. I may instance two notable members of the Imperial Government: the Right Hons. Robert Lowe and H. C. E. Childers. I desire to put it upon record that I vote for this clause with as much pleasure as I support any clause of the Resolutions.

Clause 6 was then read by the Chairman, and passed as read.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL proposed the adoption of Clause 7:—

7. The Dominion Government shall supply an efficient and regular fortnightly Steam Communication between Victoria and San Francisco, by Steamers adapted and giving facilities for the conveyance of passengers and cargo.

This clause speaks for itself, and it is unnecessary for me to say anything in support of it.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—I regard this paragraph of the Resolution as a make-weight, nothing more nor less. It is a mistake to make it one of the essential conditions. The time may come when we don't want this steam communication. The Railway may come to Puget Sound, and then this clause will be unnecessary. People will say, at first, that this is a splendid thing. But it is all included in the "British North America Act."

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—The Hon. Member refers, I suppose, to clause *b.* of Section 92, which excepts "Lines of Steam Ships between the Province and any British or Foreign country" from the "Local works and undertakings" which are declared to be subjects of exclusive provincial legislation. The Dominion Government would have to make provision for mail steamers. This clause provides for regular communication. When we have communication with Canada by railway, such a clause as this would be unnecessary, but now, if confederated, we shall need more than ever, regular and more frequent communication with San Francisco, which is the chain of communication with Canada.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—There seems to be a spirit of distrust in this and other clauses of these Resolutions, a desire to have everything in writing. I believe that we should have a steam ship line without this clause.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—The Hon. Member says it is of no use. If the clause was not there, the Dominion Government need not give us this communication. Postal communication it must give, but that means only communication with Olympia.

Hon. MR. ROBSON—I do not think that this implies distrust any more than asking a man to give a note for a debt implies distrust. In the conditions framed on the admission into the Confederation of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, these matters are set out with great minuteness. I perfectly agree that we might trust the Canadian Government, but we are not in Canada, and we are asked to name specific terms. Surely we ought to do so. It would be very unbusiness-like to say to the Dominion, we will leave it all to you. The Dominion Government would say let it be prepared in black and white, so that we may say whether we can perform it or not.

The Chairman read Clause 7. Passed as read.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL proposed the adoption of Clause 8:—

8. Inasmuch as no real Union can subsist between this Colony and Canada without the speedy establishment of communication across the Rocky Mountains by Coach Road and Railway, the Dominion shall within three years from the date of Union, construct and open for traffic such Coach Road, from some point on the line of the Main Trunk Road of this Colony to Fort Garry, of similar character to the said Main Trunk Road; and shall further engage to use all means in her power to complete such Railway communication at the earliest practicable date, and that Surveys to determine the proper line for such Railway shall be at once commenced; and that a sum of not less than One Million Dollars shall be expended in every year, from and after three years from the date of Union, in actually constructing the initial sections of such Railway from the Seaboard of British Columbia, to connect with the Railway system of Canada.

I move this Resolution, Mr. Chairman, as being the practical bond of Union between the Dominion and this Colony. I leave it to other members to discuss the details. I merely say that three years is the time deemed necessary to make preliminary surveys, and the expenditure of a sum of \$1,000,000 is the best practical guarantee that the work will be done. The Dominion would not submit to the expenditure of such an amount if they did not intend to push the work forward as quickly as possible.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—Sir, I do not claim any honour in connection with the Resolution respecting the Railway. I am perfectly willing to accord the praise that is due to the originator of this clause, but think a portion of it a great mistake. I do not altogether like the way in which these Resolutions are got up. I don't like the preamble as to "real union." In all these Government Resolutions there is something of a "catching" character; little hooks to catch the popular vote. Material union can exist without railroads. Look at the real union between this Colony and Great Britain. People who were here in 1859 may recollect how safe they felt during the San Juan difficulty, and subsequently during the Trent affair. There was then a physical union: we felt that we should be protected by force if necessary. I believe that I was amongst the first or second of those who moved in the matter of the transcontinental coach road. But whilst on this subject I will take occasion to do justice to the memory of the gentleman who proposed the Overland Railway through British America. It was during the administration of Sir Robert Peel, in 1844 or 1845, that A. W. Godfrey, a bookseller in Halifax, addressed letters to Sir Robert Peel, about a Railway from Halifax to Vancouver Island. Previously, Whitney had proposed his scheme for a Railroad from Texas to the Pacific. Our worthy old citizen, Mr. Waddington, has been distinguished among those who have taken active measures in favor of the Railway. Till Lord Granville's despatch arrived, none of the railway agitators seemed to have made much headway. At the Conference of Delegates from British North America in London, an Overland Railway was considered and described as "a subject of the highest importance, and one to be promoted at the earliest stage that the finances of the country would admit of." The proposition before us shows how great a stride has been made in this matter since 1867. I have no wish to claim any honour or to detract from that which is due to others, but we must recollect that \$1,000,000 a year is not a Railway across the Rocky Mountains. I have, however, year after year looked upon Railway communication as the only means to settle up the interior of British Columbia. I never could see how British Columbia could be settled up without a Railway to connect Fraser River with Kamloops. I think, Sir, that a different course ought to be pursued by the Government with the Dominion than that proposed. Assuming that the Coach Road may be open in three years, for I am ready to admit that proposition, when people settle the country from Thompson River to Osooyos Lake the farmers must have the means of transport for their various productions. How are they to get them out? I maintain that the true course for the development of the resources of the country is to make a line of Railway from some navigable spot on the Fraser to Lake Kamloops. I claim for this that it might be regarded as a part of the transcontinental

line, and in my opinion it would do more to build up the country than anything else that could be conceived, and I believe it to be thoroughly practicable. I, therefore, move a recommendation to His Excellency that the construction of a Railway from steamboat navigation on the Fraser River to Kamloops Lake be inserted in the terms, instead of commencing from the initial sections on the Seaboard of British Columbia.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—Sir, I approach the consideration of this clause with a great sense of the magnitude of the work which we propose to the Government of that Dominion with which we propose to be confederated. My mind seems somewhat to shrink before the contemplation of its magnitude; and it is only when the reflection is gradually forced upon me, that the union can never be a reality until the Railway is commenced in our own territory, and that it is necessary, that I can bring myself to believe that it should be done. That it is practicable is undeniable and needs no argument. From all information I have been able to obtain, and comparing it with the difficulties which have been overcome on the Pacific line, I believe the proportion of cost of the proposed line of Railway from the Seaboard of British Columbia to Canada to be not more than two-thirds of the cost of the line already built from California across the Sierra Nevada. There will of course be difficulties to overcome, which may influence the choice of the best line of route. I believe we are justified in asking for the construction of the Railway, and I am satisfied, I may say I know, that there is a great desire on the part of those now in power in Canada to construct this Railroad, and if it be in their power to do it, it will be done. To go to the terms: objections have been made to the time of commencement. I would ask the House to consider what an amount of prospecting and survey will have to be done before any commencement can possibly be made in the work. I do not think that there is any delay suggested by fixing the time of three years. I think it is the shortest time that could be named. The proper line could hardly be determined sooner. We do not presume to suggest the scheme, or the means. My opinion is that the Railway will be built by private enterprise, under a guarantee. As the Imperial Government have shown a desire to encourage Confederation, I think we have a right to expect that they will render some assistance in the building of the Railway, especially after Lord Granville's despatch. [Hear, hear.] I hope that the Canadian Government will have the assistance of the Imperial Government in carrying out this scheme. It will be some time before the scheme can be developed, and then at least two seasons must elapse, as an immense amount of reconnoitering and surveying will be necessary. Three years is not too much. The Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos) objects to the framing of this Resolution as too catching. I think his objection is unfounded. I believe that the

benefits will be real and substantial. The reason that so small a sum as \$1,000,000 is asked for is that it is only intended to be an earnest, so to speak, on the part of the Dominion Government that the Railway will be made. I believe that the expenditure of \$1,000,000 upon the first twenty miles will bring an accession of from 5,000 to 10,000 to our population. We have a right to ask that the Railway should be commenced here. It is desirable that it should be made here. It will be found that when once it is commenced here a nucleus of population will be formed which will add considerably to the prosperity of the Colony. It has been argued that no profit can arise from the expenditure of the vast amount of capital that will be required to build this Railway. It will cost probably \$20,000,000, and therefore is not likely to be profitable for years to come. We cannot, in my opinion, expect any pecuniary return for years. It behoves the Dominion Government, if they desire the prosperity of this part of the empire, to develop the resources of the estate which we are handing over. If they value it as we do, and as we believe that they do, they will endeavour to realize the advantages at the earliest possible date. This Railway will do so, when it is completed across the Rocky Mountains, and in my opinion not till then we shall have a population. Before concluding, I desire to say that it is intended, although it is not so stated in the terms, to give an assurance to the Dominion Government that any amount of land which they think reasonable will be given. This will be made a part of the scheme for the construction of the Railway if thought desirable.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS—Sir, I look upon this clause as most important. I am one of those who believe that there can be no real Confederation without a Railroad. Government has made a mistake in naming the sum of \$1,000,000 to be expended on the Seaboard. There is no necessity to put this in. This would only bring a floating population, which we do not want. I agree with the Hon. Member for Victoria District that the Railway ought to be commenced in the agricultural districts of the Mainland, so as to connect them with the head of navigation on the Fraser.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—It does not become us, I think, to dictate in what way the work should be done, or to describe the details of the scheme to Canada. I feel confident that if this plan is really taken up it will be done much more quickly than if only \$1,000,000 a year were spent. I think that several millions a year will be expended, and if so I have little doubt that the Railway from the Seaboard to the agricultural districts will be made in 5 years.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—What is the Seaboard? Does it mean Barclay Sound?

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—That is what we have purposely left open. The line may come down the valley of the Fraser, as in my opinion will be best, or it may come through to Bute Inlet or Bentinck Arm. We

have purposely generalized and left it for those who undertake the work to determine for themselves. It is not desirable for us to cramp this Resolution by defining the locality for the line or terminus.

The Hon. MR. ROBSON—Sir, I conceive that we have now come to the most vital part of the whole scheme. I quite concur in the opinion that no real union can take place without a Railway. Did I believe that the Overland Railway would not be made, I should hesitate very much about Confederation, because I should be apprehensive that the whole scheme would fall to pieces. I think that great haste must be used to build up an English speaking nation, alongside of an other existing English speaking country. To accomplish this end, I think that the Overland Railway is necessary, and must be pushed through to speedy completion, to be an immediate success. In ten years time, without an Overland Railway, I do not believe that we should have any English Territory here at all. The great work must be undertaken with the assistance of both the Canadian and Imperial Governments and pushed through to a speedy success. It is true that a sort of union might exist without a Railway, such as the union between British Columbia and Great Britain. But we propose to establish a union that will endure, and that will render an Overland Railway just as necessary as the veins in the human body are necessary to circulate the blood and keep up life. I believe that \$1,000,000 is a mere nominal sum, as explained by the Hon. Chief Commissioner, a tangible security that the work will be completed. The expenditure of the first Million will be a guarantee that any Company or Government undertaking it will carry it through. Every reflecting mind will see that if any Company spend \$1,000,000 a year, they must spend more, and that it will be their interest to push it through. To say that because we only name a sum of \$1,000,000, that it will be a matter of 100 years is absurd; my reply to this, I cannot call it an argument, is that capitalists could not be found in the world so silly as to spread the construction over one hundred, or fifty, or twenty, or even ten years. I cannot support the amendment of the Hon. Member for Victoria District, we must carefully avoid committing ourselves to the route or terms of building. I think this may be safely left in the hands of the Dominion Government. It is useless to argue that it is of vital importance to them to have the best route. The Railway must pass through the Colony, and benefit the Colony, no matter where the terminus, it must be in British Columbia, and consequently a benefit to the whole Colony. I cannot see that it would be better to begin in the middle. I look upon it as an absolute necessity that the Railway should commence at the seaboard; moving the material is the great expense that has to be contended against, and the advantage of being able to land the

material and lay it down at once on the road, will be incalculable. If the Railway were to be constructed from a given point ten miles from the seaboard, it would probably pay the contractors to build that piece of the line. Unless Hon. Members can show us that the material can be brought to the line by way of the Rocky Mountains, don't let us stultify ourselves by asking them to begin in the middle. It is right that the work should be commenced simultaneously on the Atlantic and Pacific sides. I fancy that, as a matter of policy and economy, any company undertaking the work would so commence, without its being named in the terms, as it would undoubtedly be more economical to carry on the work by sea from the westward in British Columbia, and by land from the East. As for the amount named in the conditions, as I have said, I look upon it as a tangible assurance to the people that the thing will be done, rather than as the specific statement of a sum with the expenditure of which this Colony will be satisfied. I have some doubts about the clause requiring the Dominion Government to make a Coach Road. The age for Coach Roads has almost passed away. Such a road would not meet the requirements of the present day. I would prefer removing this condition, and require the work to be commenced within two years, or seek compensation in some other way as an equivalent for the supposed advantage of the road. The sooner we do our little part towards convincing the Dominion Government that this is necessary, the better. Not only is the Railway a national necessity for the Dominion, but for every fractional part of British North America.

The Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—I reiterate that Confederation means terms. What feeling now exists in favor of Confederation, has been brought about by the assertion that Canada will do certain things for the Colony, amongst others, that she will build a Railway. If the people are deceived in this matter; if Canada does not accede to this portion of the conditions, she need not ask the people of this Colony to be united. I would ask the people to band themselves together to demand that these terms shall be verified, and I hope they will take that stand. And I will ask that the promises made by the Dominion Government will be strictly performed. ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos and Mr. Wood.] This Colony would be just as much isolated as ever after a paper union, without a Railway as one of the conditions. I acknowledge that we might have such a union as exists with England now, with a Railway. We are a Colony of England, and I don't know that many people object to being a Colony of England; but I say that very many would object to becoming a Colony of Canada. As a Colony of England we have the right to legislate for ourselves, if we become a Colony of Canada, that power is taken away. ["No, no," from Mr. DeCosmos.]

[Hon. Mr. Robson, it will give us more power.] I say that the power of regulating our own commerce is taken away, and the only power left to us is that of raising taxes for Municipal purposes. That is the difference between being a Colony of Canada, and a Colony of England. The distance is so great between this Colony and Ottawa without any Railway and without any Telegraphic communication, that laws might be passed there, which would ruin British Columbia, without our having any notice of them. I do not consider that Canada expects or intends to attempt to make this Railway a paying institution of itself. There are a great many institutions in this Colony, which are not paying institutions. Canada takes the view that the Railway is necessary to complete the British line of communication between England and her Asiatic possessions, in order that the English people may share in the carrying trade to China and the East Indies, with our American neighbours. Canada expects to influence Great Britain to guarantee the loan for the formation of the Railway. Great Britain may guarantee the loan for the purpose of having a check on the American line of Railway, but she would never guarantee it for Canadian purposes only. The people of England would not tolerate it. I consider this an essential condition. Without it Confederation must not take place. This is one of those things which will be a vast benefit to this Colony and to Canada, and therefore I regard it as a necessary condition. Why should this Colony join Canada except for the benefit of both? We should be better off without Canada if we have no Railway. I say that this Colony had better stand alone than risk everything, without a Railway. What benefit can Canada expect from Confederation with British Columbia without a Railway? Is she afraid of British Columbia being handed over to America? If Canada thinks she can hold British Columbia for her own purposes, and use it when she pleases, and take her own time to do what she likes with it, she is mistaken. The Railway has been made a lever for Confederation, by Canada. I ask that Canada be now made to promise faithfully that a Railway shall be made. With regard to the expenditure of \$1,000,000, there should be a forfeit of ten per cent, payable to this Colony, if it is not spent. I am not so much afraid about the Canadian Government not carrying out the terms, as I am of our own people. I believe that there is more danger from our own people than from the Canadian Government. British Columbia may cheat herself, and it is our duty, man for man, to take care that we don't cheat this Colony, that we don't in fact cheat ourselves. I think that the Coach Road may be useful, it will take some time to build a Railroad, and it will be necessary to have communication. The road might be used for Immigration purposes, and for driving cattle, but will be of no use commercially; such an idea would

have suited people who lived some years ago. Speaking of Commerce in which the Dominion is to take part, I do not myself believe that the Asiatic traffic will come this way; but still we must not lose sight of the idea that it may eventually be partially diverted to this route. These Resolutions do not afford practically any immediate benefit. ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos.] If the Colony was united to the Dominion to-morrow, there would be no immediate benefit to result even from the Railway. This is one of the points on which the people may be deceived, if they imagine that with Confederation will come immediate prosperity. I shall be glad if anyone will point out how it is to come. If it were made inland it might be more beneficial to agricultural interests in a short space of time, than if commenced on the sea coast. Public works in this Colony should help to develop the resources, and one thing should be made to work with another, so as to be mutually beneficial, each should be for the benefit of the whole, and the whole for the benefit of each. Suppose a Railway were commenced to-morrow at Fraser River. How much benefit would it be? It might be some, but if these public works were made subservient to the interests of setting up the Colony, they would be more likely to be beneficial.

Hon. MR. CARRALL—Sir, I have only a few words to say, and have no intention of detaining the House at this late hour, but I must be allowed to express the satisfaction which I feel in observing a change in the sentiments of the Hon. Member for Victoria City, (Mr. Helmcken) a change which does honour to his head and heart. He has begun to show some faith in the Canadian Government at last. He may be called the pattern of the distrustful party, and I augur favourably from his conversion. With regard to the local advantages of a Railway, I would point to the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railway. Property in Halifax has gone up 40 per cent since it was built. I fully admit the desirability and necessity of a Railway, but I cannot admit that Union cannot exist without it; look at the Union which existed for so many years between California and the Eastern States of America without a Railway. I believe that Canada, for Imperial reasons, intends to undertake the construction of this Railway. As for the length of time allowed for the commencement, I think it could not be well less than three years. I believe with the Hon. Chief Commissioner, that the work will be undertaken by a private company, under guarantee, if so, it would be hampering the Government of the Dominion to make them commence earlier. It might compel them to close with parties, not in all respects eligible. It would put them in a false position. If the Colony had charge of her own Crown lands, there should be a power given to Canada to promise Crown lands, in connection with the construction of the Railway.

I regret that this has not been put in the Resolutions, but no doubt the omission can be remedied hereafter.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Drake, the Committee rose, reported the passing of clauses 5, 6, and 7, and obtained leave to sit again at one o'clock, the 17th, instant.

Report adopted, and clauses 5, 6, and 7, passed.

Thursday, 17th March, 1870

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—Mr. Chairman, Judging from the statements made by the Government, this Railway is not likely to be completed in so short a period as I had hoped. The indefinite nature of the clause is unsatisfactory. It contemplates nothing more than the expenditure of \$1,000,000 per annum, which would no doubt be a great boon, and would stimulate various branches of industry, but that is almost all that can be said of it. The way that it has been put to the Colony heretofore, was that the Canadian Government would construct the road. It now turns out from the statements of the Hon. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, that in all probability the Canadian Government will get some private company to carry out the work; and he adds "that we may" get a guarantee with grants of land, in aid of the undertaking. Now, Sir, from the first I have always been careful not to bring forward the question of the Railway in connection with Confederation. The London Conference favoured it only when the financial position of the Dominion admitted it. It must be quite a long time before connection by rail with the Canadian Railway system can take place. I never believed the Canadian Government would contract a debt for this purpose at the present. They are already, in my opinion, too deeply in debt and are taxed too high to allow them to do so. According to my calculation, it will cost \$150,000,000 to complete the Railway from this Colony to Montreal.

Hon. MR. HOLBROOK—You mean to the head of the water communication of Lake Superior?

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—No! that gets frozen up and cannot be utilised for several months in the year. It must go to Montreal, on the north side of Lakes Superior and Huron. It will cost \$100,000,000 to construct it to Lake Superior from Victoria. Now a 4 per cent guarantee on \$100,000,000 will require Canada to impose additional taxation of \$4,000,000 a year. Then you must remember that the wear and tear of the Railway would not be met by the returns. Besides that, there are the running expenses to be provided for. The United States trans-continental Railway only pays from the way stations in the populous districts through which it passes; we should have none, except a few people at the Red River and in British Columbia. A 4 per cent guarantee

would be adding one third to the annual taxation of the Dominion. Then for the portion of Railway they will have to make from the West end of Lake Superior to Montreal, there would be required \$50,000 more at four per cent. To meet these sums, therefore, there would have to be raised an annual sum of \$6,000,000 by Canada, in other words they would have to add nearly fifty per cent. to the present taxation of Canada. Do you think, Sir, they will ever do this? or that any Finance Minister would dare attempt it in the present state of Canadian finances. I call attention to this view of the subject in order to prevent false impressions getting abroad, and the creation of false hopes which only lead to disappointment. With all due deference to his professional knowledge, I deny the correctness of the estimate of the Chief Commissioner that this Railway will cost only two-thirds of the United States Trans-continental line. This is a more difficult line in my opinion, not an easier one, than the line over the Sierra Nevada. Perhaps part of the year we might get communication, partly by steamboat and partly by Railway, but for several months in the winter the water portion of the route would be closed up. In the temper of this House and the temper of the Government, I do not expect this Resolution of mine to go up to the Government. Now, I want to utilise our money, and to utilise our time. I estimate that a Railway from Fraser River to Kamloops would cost \$50,000 a mile. According to the plan of the Chief Commissioner, with the expenditure of only \$1,000,000 a year, at the end of five years, if we started at Burrard Inlet, we should get to Yale only, for which the water communication at present existing would suffice, and consequently that time would be lost. Possibly, it might be opened to the Rocky Mountains in ten years, if begun at New Westminster as this scheme proposes. It is our duty to open up the interior country—Osoyoos, Okanagan, Kamloops, Similkameen, and other districts. Bring the interior into communication with the Seaboard, that would settle up the best portion of the interior, provide an outlet for produce, and keep the money that is now sent abroad, within our own borders. The Government plan will injure, if not delay, the development of the country. I have no hope that my recommendation will pass, but still I shall have the satisfaction of feeling that I have done my duty.

Hon. MR. HOLBROOK—Sir, I rise to support the recommendation of the Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos). I quite agree with that Hon. gentleman that a Railway starting from the head of Steamboat navigation, would be more useful than any other. If we have a Company spending \$1,000,000 a year in building a Railway which will open up the farming districts, we shall be able to raise cereals and compete with our American neighbours, and by commencing at the head of navigation we shall reap the advantage in our lifetime. It will

develop the Mainland. Agricultural land would be turned into profitable use, and the Mining section from Big Bend to Kootenay, which contains I believe, most valuable mines of gold and silver, will be opened up. If the recommendation of the Hon. Member is adopted, we shall find almost immediate benefit from the opening up of the Inland Trade. It will bring us population, and will build up this City and New Westminster, and other towns through the Colony. I do hope it will receive the support of the Executive Council.

Hon. MR. RING—Sir, I thought we were discussing the necessity of a Railway, but I did not come prepared to discuss engineering questions as to route, it is wasting words to discuss the topography. That must be decided by competent surveyors. Our business, as it appears to me, is to insist upon having a through Railway. And it is highly desirable that the construction should be commenced simultaneously at both ends as well as the survey. I shall thoroughly and cordially support the Government upon this clause.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—Sir, I thought that I had made the Government views on this clause sufficiently clear yesterday, in supporting the Hon. the Attorney General's motion; if not, my words could not have thoroughly expressed my meaning. The Government have not inserted the construction of a Railway into these resolutions on the principle of local advantages. The Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos,) seems to argue that we inserted it in order to secure the advantages which would accrue to special localities from way traffic. But I can assure the House that the Executive Council entertained no such idea in adjusting the details of this great scheme; they have endeavoured to secure the utmost advantages to the whole Colony. You will observe, Sir, that the clause is most general in its terms, and it was purposely made so. It does not attempt to define the line the road should take; it may have a terminus, as I distinctly stated before, at any place on the coast most convenient—at Bentinck Arm, Bute Inlet, or Burrard Inlet, or even by crossing the Fiords between Vancouver Island and the Mainland, it may come to Victoria or Esquimalt. These details must be left to the parties constructing the line. The Executive Council have avoided all through all sectional and local considerations. I stated yesterday, and I repeat it again, that I hoped the Railway would follow down the valley of the Fraser River to the seaboard; but the Government have purposely avoided any definition of any particular line, and have made it as general as possible. I also said that I did not think that the Dominion Government would make the line; and I said so because I am well aware that this is not the way in which great works of this character are generally undertaken in these times. I believe that a private company with the assistance of the Dominion Government, and I hope the Imperial Govern-

ment also, will construct the line. But this is merely surmise. I know no more of my own actual knowledge than other Members round this board. But I come to this conclusion because I know that it is not considered feasible for Governments to undertake such works. It has been found to be a great mistake. Then why discuss the suggestions of the Hon. Member for constructing a Railway from Yale to Kamloops, or try to fix details which the spirit of the whole resolution avoids, when we don't even say the line shall pass Yale or Kamloops at all? It is a vast undertaking, and if undertaken at all, it will not be with a view to profit, but with a view to the future, and as part of the great responsibility of the Canadian Government in contracting alliance with this Country. The strenuous desire of the Canadian Government is to make such a line. I think they are able to do it, and we know for certain that they will do it if they can. I do not agree with the Hon. Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmcken,) that Confederation means a Railway; the Government do not say that there shall be no Confederation without a Railway.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—No that is my opinion, and I do not put it forward as the opinion of the Government.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—I am glad to have that set right. The Government believe that the Railway will be made, but they do not make it a *sine qua non*, but if on a calm view of the whole subject in negotiating with Canada, it is found impracticable for Canada to commence to make the Railway at once, then I see alternative terms, which will not only suit Canada but the people of this Colony, who you must remember will have to pass upon them when they come back from Canada. It has been stated the public mind is impressed with the idea that the insertion of so paltry a sum as \$1,000,000, will lead to the postponement of the completion of the Railway for fifty years. I can assure them it is a fallacy. Why, Sir, as well put by the Hon. Member for New Westminster yesterday, common sense shows that it would be against the interest of the parties making the line to prolong the work over a number of years. It can only be carried on quickly to secure any real profit. I again repeat what the Government Members stated yesterday, so distinctly, that the One Million a year is not nearly the sum which will have to be spent; the amount stated is only intended to serve as a guarantee or an earnest that the work will be done. If we had said make it in so many years time, they could not have acceded to it. Certainly in three years time the Dominion Government will be in a position to determine the line. The suggestion of the Hon. Member is, in my opinion, wholly inapplicable to this scheme. If admitted it would entirely remodel the Government clause, which is general. The suggestion is, that the first section should be made at some place on Fraser River. As I said before, we cannot tell whether the Railway will come down the valley of the

Fraser River at all. Those who spend the money have a right to choose their line. As far as my own opinion goes, I should say that the Canadian Government will determine the basis of the scheme on engineering considerations of the port best suited for pouring in supplies, and for the cheapest construction of the road. Do not let us hamper so great a scheme by such minute details; let us leave it for those who have to construct the line to select their own route.

Hon. MR. ROBSON—The Hon. the Chief Commissioner has left very little for me to say upon this clause, but there is one point to which I would direct attention. The Hon. Member for Victoria District has not sufficiently considered, it seems to me, how the material for the construction of the Railway would be most easily moved to the line from the sea coast. If the road is to be commenced at Yale, all the vast material and rolling stock would have to be shipped from the port in small steamers up the Fraser River, to a point at which the line, according to the Hon. Member's scheme, would start. The extra expense would be ruinous, and besides it must be remembered that during a considerable portion of the year the navigation of the river is closed to steamers, and not only is this the case, but these boats cannot take up the engines and cars, but can only carry on the ordinary traffic when the population increases. No, the real, the only proper course will be to commence to lay the track from the ships to where the material will have to be laid. That alone puts out of the question the commencement of any initial section at Yale, or anywhere else than on the seaboard.

Hon. MR. DRAKE—Mr. Chairman, I am glad to hear from Hon. Members that this clause is the pivot of the whole scheme. I hope it will now be well understood that the Railway is the condition in Hon. Members' minds upon which Confederation or no Confederation hangs. I hope that this will be remembered hereafter. This Railway is a gigantic undertaking. I look upon it as nearly impracticable. I believe this Railway will cost more than the whole debt of Canada. ["Hear, hear," from Hons. DeCosmos and Robson.] The Government tells us that this Railway is to be a *sine qua non*. ["No," Dr. Helmcken.] Why my colleague, the Hon. Member for Victoria, who is a Privy Councillor, says no.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—The Government does not say so. I say so.

Hon. MR. DRAKE—Well certain Hon. Members say so. Now this is what will happen: Canada will agree to a Railway to get Confederation, and Confederation takes place, Canadian officials rule here and Canadian laws prevail. Three years elapse and Canada may find it inconvenient or impossible to carry out the Railway. I say that we require a guarantee for the making of the Railway. On Confederation how can we enforce this condition. This difficulty underlies the whole scheme. I ask how we are to

get out of it, guard against it, or surmount it? Leave the Confederation? That means rebellion, which is not to be thought of by any law-loving persons. We can't float ourselves out when once in, then we are bound hand and foot from now to eternity. There should be a penalty of \$50,000 for every year in which Canada fails to expend the One Million.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL—How do you propose to secure the \$50,000?

HON. MR. DRAKE—By Imperial guarantee.

An Hon. Member—How would the guarantee of the President of the United States do? [Laughter.]

HON. MR. DRAKE—I shall be quite satisfied if the President of the United States indorses the Bill [laughter.] I consider the Railway the primary and essential condition of Confederation and I think that Canada is too poor to guarantee such a work as this. She had to go to the Imperial Government to guarantee the payment of the £300,000 to buy out Canadian interests in the Red River Settlements, and I maintain that we are on the right course to ask for an Imperial guarantee now. When we get into Confederation we cannot help ourselves. If Canada is unable or unwilling to pay the \$1,000,000 a year, as soon as it appears necessary to her to throw over the conditions, over they will be thrown. One Hon. Member tells us that Canadian statesmen are "men of unbounded ambition." Now men of unbounded ambition will not scruple at anything to gain their ends; that is all they look to. Until a guarantee is obtained I shall oppose this Resolution. I don't care whether it is the guarantee of the President of the United States or any other that will do.

HON. MR. ROBSON—I have listened with profound astonishment to the remarks of the Hon. Member who has just sat down, upon Canada and Canadian statesmen. I shall not condescend to reply to the aspersions. Canada can support herself against all this kind of thing. She is great enough to do so. Such attacks can only come from those who know nothing about those whom they malign. I am a Canadian, and am proud of being one, but in this matter of making terms of union, I shall be as exacting as any reasonable Member of this Council can be. I would have all the conditions well understood, and would have them put in black and white, but I would ask no endorsement from any other source. When this agreement is completed between British Columbia and Canada we shall have the best possible of guarantees. We shall have the guarantee of the Imperial Government, and of Her Majesty the Queen, from first to last. We shall have the endorsement of the Queen's Proclamation, which lies at the root of these conditions. Can we have or desire better security? [Hear, hear, from Mr. Trutch.] Hon. Members say we cannot get out, and that Canada may repudiate. I say nothing of the kind. Canada would never be allowed by the Imperial Government to coerce this

Colony to remain in Confederation for the fulfilment of one side of a contract of partnership, the terms of which Canada herself has trodden underfoot. To entertain such a supposition is, if I may be allowed the expression, an outrage on common sense too absurd to be for a moment seriously entertained. Would the Imperial Government stand by and let Canada send a force of soldiers to compel British Columbia to remain in Confederation under such circumstances. The Canadian Government never broke faith yet, and the Imperial Government never broke faith yet, and both are pledged to the fulfilment of this condition. Canada has hitherto gone in advance of her word. The distrustful views of the Hon. junior Member for Victoria (Mr. Drake) are so manifestly unjust that, as it is impossible that they can arise from ignorance, I may be pardoned for attributing them to wilfulness, to the rabid sense of opposition, and a chronic feeling of distrust. To ask the President of the United States to endorse a scheme which emanates from the Imperial Government I look upon as a monstrous ill-timed joke, against which reason and argument are powerless. I cannot—we cannot—discuss it. Now, to go to the ways and means. Why, Sir, it is well known that Canada is rich. Does the Hon. Member know that Ontario and Quebec have \$4,000,000 lying idle at this moment, carrying low interest. There is plenty of capital in Canada at this moment to build the Pacific Railway. The reason why Canada uses the Imperial guarantee for the £300,000 is this. She can borrow cheaper through the Imperial Government with their guarantee, than without it. Canada frequently borrows money for public works. It pays her to do so. It is simply a beneficial financial operation.

HON. MR. DRAKE—I rise for the purpose of explaining that I make no reflections upon Canadian statesmen, but I treat this solely as a matter of business, and as in other ordinary business I prefer having an endorsed note to a simple obligation. In the 145th section of the "British North America Act," an Imperial guarantee for a loan of three millions sterling for a Railway is specified. I think we are justified in making a similar request. Mine is a business condition. I am willing to trust Canada, but I say we are entitled to ask for an endorser. The Hon. Member's remarks have not disturbed my position.

HON. MR. WOOD—I am obliged, Sir, in the few remarks that I intend to offer to treat of all the amendments and suggestions together. To my mind this condition which requires the construction of the Overland Railway is one of the most important of all the terms. A great deal has been said about the incorruptibility of Canadian statesmen. No doubt Canadian statesmen are very like all others. Canada acts through her ministers. Those now in power are, so far as we know, favourable to this scheme. But, without imputing motives, it must be admitted that it is very possible that a Canadian Ministry some three

or four years hence, possibly of the anti-Confederate party, or cold upon the subject of Confederation, when pressed by circumstances, may be disinclined to carry out the terms, and with perfect consistency of political conduct, desire to obtain relief from carrying them out, and their first effort would be to get a vote of the Provincial Legislature to relieve them from the burthen. In the event of Confederation, I should consider this country a Colony of Canada. [Hon. Mr. DeCosmos—"No, an integral part of it."] I say a Canadian Colony, because, as I believe, neither Responsible Government nor full Representative Institutions are to be granted under Confederation; at all events they are not included in these terms. And under such a constitution as we have now, the Canadian Government could easily get a vote of this Legislature to cancel the terms. I repudiate chronic opposition, but I consider it to be my duty to oppose the course that is being taken by some Hon. Members here. I believe there are some Hon. Members of this House who desire Confederation on any or without any terms. ["Name, name," from Hons. Carrall and Robson; "No, no," from Mr. DeCosmos.] The very gentlemen who speak, if I may judge from their votes. [No, no.] If I was in favour of Confederation at all, if I did not think that reaction would follow, if I thought that Lord Granville's argument was sound, I should say "Let us be confederated at once." This brings me to a difference of opinion that exists. Some of us consider the Railway a necessary point in the terms. Many of us, including Lord Granville, consider it essential. The Hon. Chief Commissioner says it is not essential.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—I never said the Railway was not essential.

Hon. MR. WOOD—I understood the Hon. Member to say that Government did not consider it essential. I fear that it is delusive to hope that the Imperial Government would give a guarantee for this Railway. They could only do so on Military grounds; but I am convinced they would never guarantee three thousand miles of an exposed line of Railway within a few miles of the territorial boundary, a thing which courts assault and would be so perilous to maintain. Seeing that it could be cut in two in a hundred places by hostile forces from the United States, it requires little reflection to see that Colonial undertakings are seldom guaranteed now. Canada's interest in the Railway, on the other hand, is purely commercial. For such a Railway to pay, it must pass through populous districts—places like Omaha and the United States' towns. It is monstrous to suppose that England would supply the capital for such a scheme. No capitalists in the world would advance their money for such an undertaking. The matter has been talked threadbare in the public prints. It is out of the question to suppose that there would be any material trade in bulky goods in this way. [Hear, hear, hear.] Canada, finding the thing difficult,

will refuse the terms. ["No, no," from Dr. Carrall.] I say the money will not be spent. I back my knowledge of the world and experience of men and things against the "No, no" of the Hon. Member, and I believe the result will be that the Canadian Government will refuse this item, and in refusing will say "We do the best we can; it is our interest to do the thing, but it is impossible to get the guarantee through Parliament." I believe the Canadian statesmen who have the conduct of this matter will say to our Delegates, or to His Excellency "Don't you think you can do without this Railway; you must take our desire to do it for the deed itself. Bye and bye, perhaps, it can be accomplished, and by no means so effectually as by becoming a part of our Dominion." And so a quiet go by will be given to the Railway, and the terms will come back again shorn of this item. If, as the Hon. Chief Commissioner says, these terms are to come before the people—mind I say the people alone,—I believe there is a feeling that Confederation is a movement which promises something, and this feeling will lead to these terms being passed. So weak are commercial and agricultural interests in this Colony at the present time, so small is the population, and the mass of the people are doing so badly, and are so dissatisfied that, in my opinion, they will vote for anything that will give change and a chance of bettering themselves. I intend, Sir, to move an amendment, with the view of making this Railway a test question:—"That without a substantial guarantee for an Overland Railway, Confederation should be rejected by the Delegates from this Colony." It is obvious that this motion will be defeated, but I am desirous to test the opinions of the representative members of this Council on so material a point as this. The Hon. Chief Commissioner says: that these terms are to be decided, eventually, by the representative members alone, of course without the official vote. And where I may ask, are the official members, in the event of its ultimate discussion, to retire from the Council, and leave the question to the Representative members alone? If we are fit for Representative Institutions, why not give them to us now? Having promised the Colony terms, I think the Executive are bound to present terms which are good, in the sense of being productive of permanent good and quiet enjoyment. I cannot forbear to say that in place of terms simply providing for pecuniary benefit, I should have preferred to have seen inserted Constitutional powers, and power of self-government. ["Hear, hear," from Hons. DeCosmos, Robson, and Humphreys.] I should have desired to embody these in the conditions; and, in particular, I should have desired to retain full power over the Tariff.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—The Tariff is left an open question.

Hon. MR. WOOD—Give us reasonable powers of self-government, and I will accept Confederation to-morrow. If we cannot settle our local matters, there will be trouble.

If the Tariff is left an open question, it is at least one step in the right direction.

Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—It is an open question on agricultural matters.

Hon. MR. CARRALL—I shall not attempt to answer the discursive remarks of the Hon. Mr. Wood, it would require an *ignis fatuus* to do so, for he is here, there, and everywhere in no time, but I cannot suffer some of his remarks to pass unnoticed. I have sat in this Council for two Sessions, and have endeavoured to conduct myself with propriety, but I find certain Hon. gentlemen in this Council who, by innuendo and implication, directly and indirectly, have endeavoured to cast slurs upon Canada, and to slander and belittle the Statesmen of that country, which I am proud to call my own. I have, hitherto, refrained from answering, because I thought my country occupied too high a place in the roll of England's Colonies to be affected by such conduct. The position of Canada is so great, beyond cavil and dispute, as not to require any defender in this Council. Such remarks only recoil upon those who make them; the versatility of spleen displayed by the Hon. gentleman who has just sat down, only shows the bitterness of the mind that conceived the remarks. The question now before us is as to Clause 8, and upon the discussion of this clause another question has arisen, or rather has been dragged in, namely, that of the ability of Canada to fulfil the conditions of this particular clause, and it is said that this is to be made a test question. With regard to the idea of any future Canadian Ministry repudiating this condition, I wish, Mr. Chairman, to refer you to English history, and to ask whether you have ever known an instance of an incoming Ministry, whether Whig, Radical, or Tory, repudiating the pledged troth of their predecessors in office. Such a thing is never done to my knowledge, and so far as my experience of history goes, never has been done. ["Hear, hear, from Hon. Attorney General."] I have yet to learn an instance where a loan guaranteed, or anything else undertaken by any Government, has been repudiated by an incoming Ministry. We might just as well suppose that the guarantee for the loan for the Intercolonial Railway might be withdrawn by Gladstone, because it was given by the late Ministry, as that any future party in Canada might entertain the idea of going back from the promises of the present Government. History forbids such an idea. The Hon. and learned Member for Victoria (Mr. Drake) says he wants a guarantee. Well let him want it. I am perfectly willing that he should want it. For my part, I look upon the Queen's proclamation as the guarantee which will make the whole thing inviolable. I point to the fact, that every compact entered into with the Maritime Provinces is being fulfilled. Can anyone point to any act of repudiation? No, Sir, Canada has gone beyond her promises. I repudiate, on behalf of myself and others, the assertion that any member of the confederate party has stated

that he would accept Confederation without conditions. I never heard the Hon. Member for Victoria District, or the Hon. Member for New Westminster, who have taken a prominent part in this great question, make any such statement. I have the honour of being one of the Executive Council who framed these Resolutions, and I believe the terms will be acceptable to a large majority of the people. Those who say that there can be no Union without a Railway, speak a fallacy. Railways follow. Look at San Francisco and the Eastern States of America. Look at Scotland and England. I am well aware that British Columbia wants a Railway, and I know that Canada wants it. I am sanguine enough to believe that it will be made. I am assured that the money is ready, if the desired guarantees can be obtained. The Hon. Mr. Wood, in his discursive remarks, flew around like a hummingbird buzzing round a rose, and amongst other things touched on the assailability of the Railroad. I say that the American people have Railways of their own, and we do not intend to have from henceforth daily warfare. With regard to the course of the Railway, the Hon. Chief Commissioner has told you that the advantages of the line are greater than those of the existing Pacific line. It is well known that the American Pacific Railway, after passing Omaha, passes through a wild and most difficult country, through miles of wilds and sage brush. ["No, no," from Mr. DeCosmos.] The North-West Territory is more fertile than any portion of the route of the American Pacific Railway. The Hon. Mr. Wood says he will make this a test question. I say the whole terms are a test question, and no one part of them more than another. The Canadian Government are to be asked what they will do, and the final test will be for the decision of British subjects of this Colony. No one thing is a test more than another. The people have the sole right to say whether they are willing to take the terms as finally offered, or not. I have already spoken twice with regard to Representative Institutions, which the Hon. Mr. Wood regrets are not made a condition. Either I must fail to put my ideas clearly, or Hon. Members misunderstand me. I have said over and over again, that the people must decide this question. His Excellency says that if the newly constituted Council asks for Responsible Government, under the Organic Act, they will get it. What need is there to drag in the question into these Resolutions? The Hon. Mr. Wood cannot, dare not, say that the majority of the British subjects in British Columbia are in favour of Responsible Government. I may be found in the minority upon this question when it comes before the people, but I speak from conviction; and, moreover, I say that when once we are in the Dominion, if the people desire Responsible Government, no power on earth can prevent them from having it.

Hon. MR. ROBSON—I heartily concur with the Hon. Mr. Wood, in his views of Responsible Government.

Hon. MR. WOOD—I never said I was in favour of Responsible Government. I say that the Governor asks for the ratification of the people, and at the same time denies that we are fit for self-government. I have never pledged myself to Responsible Government. [Oh! oh! oh!]

Hon. MR. ROBSON—I must oppose the amendment of the Hon. and learned member; first, because it raises invidious distinctions, and might lead to the inference that we were indifferent to the other portion of the terms; secondly, because it asks this House to do what it cannot, and even if it had the power, ought not to do. This Council is not the proper body to dictate final terms. This Council is only a quasi-representative body, and does not fairly represent the people. With a House, constituted as this is, containing some Members who professedly only represent their own individual opinions, it would, in my opinion, be an insult to the people to make any condition a test of union, in the sense proposed. Suppose Canada sends back the terms without the Railway, it is for the people to accept or reject them; that is a right belonging to the people who have not yet been consulted. The Hon. Mr. Wood has said that there are Hon. Members in this House who would go in for Confederation on any terms. I, for one, have never done so; nothing is more foreign to my desires. [Hear, hear, from the Attorney General.] Though I am a Canadian, and am proud of my country, I am also a British Columbian, and upon this question, my first and last thought has been, is, and will be for British Columbia. ["Hear, hear," from the Attorney General.]

Hon. MR. ALSTON—As a test question, I must say I cannot vote for this amendment. If I am in this Council when the final votes upon Confederation are to be taken, I shall be prepared to vote against Confederation, unless a Railway is included in the terms, unless, that is to say, my sentiments undergo some change which I do not foresee. I do not see how, if this were made a test question, the Government could carry out their instructions, first to submit the resolutions to Canada, and then to submit the Canadian terms to the people. This is not the time to submit a test question, neither can we arrogate to ourselves the power to do so, it must be left to the popular vote; therefore, although I fully concur in the sentiment that we must have a Railway some time or other, I must vote against this amendment.

Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—Mr. Chairman, the sooner we get back to business the better. The discussion has become too wide. Some Hon. Members seem to think that Canada can't do it, that too much money is required. What is the fact? We merely ask the Canadian Government to spend one Million a year. What is the interest on that sum, at 4 per cent? \$40,000, and the next year \$80,000. I don't know how long it will take to get to the Rocky Mountains. We want the Railway for our own purposes. ["Hear, hear, hear," from Hons. DeCosmos, Hol-

brook, and others.] We shall derive benefit from the expenditure of a million dollars a year in the Colony, and be getting a Railway at the same time. Every one seems to think that the Railway will unite the country, so it will; but it is not simply a Railway or a Telegraph that will unite Canada and British Columbia. The only true basis of Union, is that people should have the same interests, the same feelings, and the same desire to make this a prosperous country. If Canada gives us terms sufficiently good to show that it is her intention to do all she can to develop our resources and advance our interests, then she will gain the affections of the people of this Colony, and then there will be an Union, which no Railway can give, a material Union which nothing can disturb, and we shall find hereafter that Kingdoms and Nations will spring out of this Union. We are told by the Hon. Mr. Wood, that the Officials must vote for these terms, as they have been settled by the Governor. This is not so, for before any terms can be concluded, some one must go to Canada from here, or come from Canada to this place, to arrange conditions. I believe in what His Excellency has said. I place more reliance on him than on any one else. I believe he will act fairly and justly in this matter, nor do I think there is so much to fear from Canada as there is from the danger of the people of this Colony cheating themselves; you can make the people believe anything. I do not agree that the country is in such a depressed condition; I know that Victoria, the chief city, is in rather a depressed condition, and perhaps New Westminster, also, but outside it is otherwise.

Hon. MR. WOOD—Is the gold mining interest prosperous?

Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—The Hon. Member asks if the gold mining interest is prosperous. I say that this Colony has no business to depend upon its gold mining interests.

Hon. MR. WOOD—What else has she got?

Hon. MR. HELMCKEN—She has agricultural interests, coal, lumber, and fisheries. What do you send away half a Million of dollars for each year? We want a more industrious population, a productive population. But to return to the Railway, the sooner we get through this Railway the better, it opens up so many avenues for discussion. I think it is the most essential part of this document. It is essential to Canada; through it she hopes to make a country of this Colony, and it is essential to us, as bringing us prosperity. I believe the Canadian Government will make the Railway in the interior. We are told that they have Four Millions lying idle; they cannot have a better investment for it than to build a Railroad from Fraser River to Kamloops.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—I remark, Mr. Chairman, that there is a considerable contrast between the views of two Hon. Members of the Executive Council. I mean the

Hon. Chief Commissioner (Mr. Trutch.) and the Hon. Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmcken.) The former says that it is not proposed to construct a Railway with reference to local interests. He says to advocate our own local interests is simply inapposite. I think differently. I think that we should deal with it locally as well as nationally. I presume it is put in the terms because it is expected that it will benefit the Colony. We don't care so much for its benefiting the people of Montreal as for benefiting ourselves; we look at it from a British Columbian point of view. I say with the Hon. Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmcken,) that we should deal with it with reference to British Columbian interests. After the discussion of yesterday, I confess my surprise. I thought from the tenor of the Resolutions that the Canadian Government would construct the line. Now, we are informed by the Hon. Chief Commissioner that it will be undertaken by a private company. Then, he says if we cannot get a Railway we must have an equivalent. If this clause is not a fixed principle in the terms, then I ask what do the Government propose as an equivalent? With regard to Railway communication through British Columbia, we ought, in my opinion, to connect Kamloops and the adjacent country with the Seaboard. That is commencing at navigable water on Fraser River and ending at Savona's Ferry, Kamloops Lake. This line, at the utmost, is only 150 miles long. The expense of its construction, at \$50,000 per mile, would be \$7,500,000. We might safely approach the Canadian Government upon this, irrespective of the terms of union, but under the constitutional provision authorizing the Dominion Government to construct public works of this character.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—I say again that the scheme of this Railway, on which this clause is based, hangs on the construction of the line from the Seaboard. I never said, and never intended to say, that we had no right to take into consideration whether or not local interests would be benefited. I say that I would not dare to stand up here and advocate a special link of a special line. I should think if I did so that I was doing what the Canadian Government could not listen to. But in a great scheme which contemplates a line of Railway from the Seaboard of British Columbia to Canada, I consider that the Dominion Government may take a broad view and strain a point to get it. This clause has been drawn without pretending to define the route. I did not say that it was proposed that the line should be built by a private company. I said that it suggested itself to my mind that the line would be built by a private company, not that it was so proposed. I do not disregard local interests. I look upon this Railway as a necessity of the position—a means to the end. I do not advocate it on its merits as to local interests, but as a grand scheme of Transcontinental Railway. Why, Sir, some say that the terminus should be brought to

Esquimalt or Nanaimo. A Railway is wanted in the interests of the Confederacy, but the locality has been generalized as much as possible by the Government. This brings me to another point: though I look upon the Railway as a necessity of the position, in view of the approach of Confederation, I would not pledge myself to bind the Dominion Government to the special terms of this clause. I think it is possible that terms may be suggested, instead of this condition, which may be found to be acceptable to the people of this Colony, to whom, as you know, His Excellency says the matter must be referred. I do not look upon the Railway as unessential. I say it is essential, for without unity of interests Confederation cannot endure. If I did not think that under Confederation we should be governed satisfactorily and to our advantage, I would oppose Confederation, and I would advise its abandonment. I do not say, and I am not going to bind myself, that unless that clause is granted by Canada, I shall not vote for Confederation, although I think it essential to the position.

Hon. MR. WALKEM—Mr. Chairman, having been unfortunately absent during the early part of this debate, I have not been able, hitherto, to take part in it. I adopt the principle laid down by the Hon. Chief Commissioner with regard to this clause, but I think the clause is not general enough. It is true, that it is sufficiently general as to a part, but not as to the whole. Enough has been said about the spending of \$1,000,000, to show what it means. I would leave out the one million. It would be enough, in my opinion, to say that it shall be constructed within a reasonable time. This would mean not an indefinite, but a reasonable time; it would be so interpreted by the Law Courts. I would leave out the definition of time, and I would leave out the one million. I think it will do us injury with Canadian Statesmen; they will say that this is the measure of our desire to be confederated. There is another point to which I would call attention. The language of the clause does not, in my opinion, imply that one million must necessarily be expended within the Colony. I conclude, after hearing the explanations of Hon. Members, that it is intended that the one million shall be spent here, but in my opinion it might, under these words, be expended on any part of the line. I thought that was the intention; it was so thought in San Francisco. There were newspaper articles upon it, and the idea of a million a year being spent upon the Railway for a hundred years was laughed at on all sides. I would suggest an alteration in the words. I am ready to leave the construction of the English to any Schoolmaster. I say that they do not mean "in the Colony." With regard to the remarks of the Hon. Member for Victoria District, I would remark that this is not really a final contract; and I agree with the Hon. Chief Commissioner that the clause ought to be general. The Canadian statesmen, with whom we are about to deal, are

not mere tyros; and I say that the mention of this one million leaves it open to Canada to keep the time open. If they expend that sum upon any portion of the line, they will be able to prolong any building of the road as long as they please. And, although it may be said that Canada will take care of us, I say we ought to take care of ourselves. Let us get as good terms as possible, not trusting to the Canadians, but looking after our own interests. We should, in my opinion, abstain from all mention of one million dollars, or any other sum, otherwise the Canadian Government may say that on payment or expenditure of that sum they will have completed their bargain.

HON ATTORNEY GENERAL—I rise, Sir, to defend my English. This clause was settled after much consideration, in the first place emanating from the Hon. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. I conceive that the words "and that a sum of not less than \$1,000,000 shall be expended in every year, from and after three years from the date of Union, in actually constructing the initial sections of such Railway from the Seaboard of British Columbia, to connect with the Railway system of Canada" fully convey the meaning that it was intended they should. The language means that the expenditure should be within this Colony, and it can mean nothing else. The Schoolmaster cannot have been where the Hon. Member has just visited, or he would not have so misconstrued this clause. I may confirm what the Hon. Chief Commissioner says, that if in communication with the Canadian Government it is found that they will not consent to the Railway, it is thought that we may obtain some equivalent. I must vote against the amendment of the Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos) as it proposes to enter into details affecting particular localities. I regret that the Hon. Member, who usually takes such large and extended views, should in this instance have taken so small and sectional a view of so large a scheme. The whole country will be just as much benefited by the Railway as any one part of it. The Hon. and learned Member for Victoria City proposes a guarantee and a penalty, but he has not shown how we could enforce the penalty if we cannot compel the fulfilment of the terms. I think that the self-interests of Canada will be so identified with those of British Columbia that we shall require no further guarantee. If more is required, as the Hon. Member for New Westminster says, we have the assurance of the Imperial Government—the Queen's proclamation. I cannot say that I think that the Canadian interests are purely commercial. I have lived in Canada for several years, and while there did not regret to see the country divided against itself. Now, there is a national feeling growing up in that promising young country; her inhabitants are becoming more British in their feeling. I believe that Canada will, as she has heretofore done, carry out the terms that she makes in honour and good faith. It will

be to her interest to do so; it will be to her interest to satisfy the interests of British Columbia.

HON MR. HUMPHREYS—The question of the Railway should be put in a practical form. The people want a Railway from the head of navigation into the interior. Unless we get immediate benefit, I hold we had better have no Railway at all [laughter]. The Resolution of my Hon. colleague (Mr. DeCosmos) will give us immediate prosperity. Unless we get immediate advantage it very little use at all.

HON. MR. DECOSMOS—There is one word in the Hon. Attorney General's speech that I desire to reply to. He said that my recommendation goes too much into matters of detail. I find as much detail in the Organic Act with reference to Railway communication to Halifax.

HON. MR. ROBSON—I have a recommendation to move bearing on the Coach Road, as follows:—

That a respectful address be presented to His Excellency recommending that clause 8 may be so altered as to include the section of the main trunk road of the Colony lying between Yale and New Westminster in the Coach Road which the Dominion Government is to be asked to construct within three years from the date of union.

I think, Sir, that it is obvious that if Canada is to be asked to construct a grand trunk road it is equally important that she should add a connecting link which is wanting.

HON. MR. HOLBROOK—If we can get the Dominion Government to make this communicating link it will be a benefit to the whole Mainland.

HON DR. CARRALL—I shall support the recommendation of the Hon. Member for New Westminster.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL—This recommendation is open to the same objections as the proposal of the Hon. Member for Victoria District. I must oppose it on principle.

HON CHIEF COMMISSIONER—It was intended to add the words "and maintain" after "construct and open for traffic." The words have inadvertently been omitted. I propose to remedy the mistake, and I therefore move a respectful address to His Excellency suggesting that the words "and maintain" be added between the words "such" and "traffic," in the fourth line.

The Chairman put the recommendations of the Hon. Mr. Robson, which was carried; then the recommendation of the Hon. Chief Commissioner, which was carried.

The recommendations of the Hon. Mr. Wood and of the Hon. Mr. DeCosmos, were put and lost.

Clause 8 was then passed as read.

Clause 9 was next read by the Chairman:—

9. The Dominion shall erect and maintain, at Victoria, a Marine

Hospital, and a Lunatic Asylum, either attached to the Hospital, or separate, as may be considered most convenient.

The Dominion shall also erect and maintain a Penitentiary, or other principal Prison, at such place in the Colony as she may consider most suitable for that purpose.

The Hon. Attorney General moved the adoption of this clause.

The Hon. MR. ROBSON said:—Sir, upon this clause I have to move a recommendation that the Penitentiary shall be at New Westminster. I think that it will be admitted, on all hands, that the Penitentiary ought to be at New Westminster. Victoria and Esquimalt are named as sites for particular things, and why not New Westminster?

Hon. MR. HOLBROOK—I second the recommendation of the Hon. Member for New Westminster. I think the Mainland ought to be considered; it is, of course, a matter of some consequence.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS—As a member from the Mainland, I shall oppose the recommendation. I am in favour of centralizing buildings.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—Hon. Members seems to lose sight of the words: "or principal Prison." This does not mean exactly a Penitentiary, or other principal Prison for reforming criminals, the existing Prisons are too small for the purpose, and this really means a Prison for the detention of prisoners.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—The Dominion Government are bound, under the Organic Act, to provide a Penitentiary. This, I suppose, means more than the Organic Act contemplates, it means a Prison.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—Yes, that is the meaning, it means more than the Organic Act contemplates.

Hon. MR. WOOD—I think the Penitentiary ought to be in the best and most central place, wherever the Prison can be best maintained. I would leave it to the Dominion Government to decide the place.

Hon. MR. HOLBROOK—Why should not Victoria be struck out of this clause altogether?

Hon. MR. ROBSON—I did not suggest New Westminster in any local or sectional spirit. I rather did it to divest the clause of local and sectional spirit, though, at present, population and other things point to Victoria as the proper place for a Marine Hospital and Lunatic Asylum; but we must look to the future, the population must ultimately be largest on the Mainland. [Hon. Mr. Ring—"No, no."] Surely the Hon. Member for Nanaimo will not assert that the population of the Island will, in time to come, exceed that of the Mainland. I have no desire to give any sectional complexion to the Resolutions.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—Sir, I desire to say that, in my opinion, the Penitentiary will ultimately be on the Mainland, perhaps at New Westminster or Burrard Inlet, where it is probable the Railway will come. I can easily believe that the Hon. Member for New Westminster does not advocate New Westminster from local motives, but I must defend the Resolution as it stands. I think it better to leave it to the people who find the money to select the place. The position is not the same as regards the Marine Hospital. It should be at Victoria or Esquimalt, or at some intermediate place, on account of this being the head quarters of the Navy, just as I think Esquimalt is the proper place for the Dock. I believe that New Westminster will be the place, but I cannot, on principle, vote for the recommendation.

The Chairman put the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Robson to the Committee.—Lost.

Clause 9 was then passed as read.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I move the adoption of Clause 10, which reads thus:—

10. Efficient Coast Mail Steam Service, in connection with the Post Office, shall be established and maintained by the Government of the Dominion, between Victoria and New Westminster, Nanaimo, and such other places as may require such Services.

Until we have roads within the Colony, these services must be carried on for some time to come by water. I consider it to be a very proper item.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—I suggest the addition of Puget Sound.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I object to such an addition, because Puget Sound does not come within Coast Mail Service.

Hon. MR. HOLBROOK—Then are we to suppose there are to be no other Ports of Entry, other than Victoria? ["No, no, no," from all sides.]

The Chairman put the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. DeCosmos, which was lost.

Clause 10 was then passed as read.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I move the adoption of Clause 11, which is a general proposition, which will, I hope, meet with the approbation of the House, it is as follows:—

11. Whatever encouragement, advantages, and protection are afforded by the Dominion Government to the Fisheries of any of its Provinces, shall be extended in similar proportion to British Columbia, according to its requirements for the time being.

Clause 11 was passed as read.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I move the adoption of Clause 12, which reads thus:—

12. British Columbia shall participate, in fair proportion, in any measures which may be adopted

and Funds which may be appropriated by the Dominion for the encouragement of Immigration.

Passed as read.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I now move the adoption of clause 13. The working of this clause is familiar to this council from the debate which has already taken place. The basis is the population of 120,000 up to the date which is left blank. The clause is this:—

13. British Columbia shall be entitled to be represented in the Senate by Four Members, and by Eight Members in the House of Commons, until the Year 18 , and thereafter the Representation in the Senate and the House of Commons shall be increased, subject to the provisions of "The British North America Act, 1867."

HON. MR. DRAKE—Mr. Chairman, there seems to be a difficulty. The Organic Act, Section 51, provides for the readjustment of the representation after the census of 1871; and that the representation shall be based on the proportion of 65—the number that Quebec now has—to the population of Quebec. It ought to exist at this number until 1881, or 1891.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I would remark that in my opinion Clause 51 does not apply; we come in under Clause 146. The Hon. Members now representing Victoria City and District (Messrs. Helmcken and DeCosmos) when they proposed to telegraph were a little late. However if we now fix the date, for which a blank is purposely left, that will settle the matter beyond any doubt.

HON. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—In my opinion, Sir, we are better off than if we were included. The only thing we have to do is to fix a date. If we put the date back to a remote period, we might be doing ourselves an injustice; for we might be entitled to more. I would put it off for 20 years, filling up the date by inserting 1891.

HON. MR. HOLBROOK—I think ten years quite enough, we shall have more than 120,000 in that time, and be entitled to increased representation.

HON. MR. DECOSMOS—Mr. Chairman, during the previous debate, an Hon. Member referred to 120,000 as the basis of representation, as well as the basis of population. We find this echoed by others, last but not least by the Hon. the Attorney General himself. I am surprised to find the Hon. and learned gentleman setting this up as a basis. For the basis of representation under the Organic Act, was the basis of representation allowed to Quebec, that is, one member for every 20,000. It is proposed that we shall have eight members, then the population ought to be 160,000, but it is only set up as 120,000, which number would only entitle us to six members. Now, Sir, I have no objection to getting eight members for the House of Commons, and four for the Senate; but I do object to Hon. Members and News-

papers spreading abroad statements which have no foundation in fact. I think our population has been over estimated. It is going abroad that 120,000 is the proper foundation for representation, I say it is not so. The honest straightforward and manly course is for our Government to say to the Dominion Government, that it is necessary for us to have a larger representation on territorial grounds. The whole thing resolves itself into expediency; beyond expediency I say that no one can find a fulcrum for the assertion. I would cheerfully support twelve and six so far as it goes. But I do denounce that want of principle and want of truth that surrounds this basis. There is another question about the representation to which due attention does not seem to have been given, it is this; the electoral qualification in Canada is too high, and it will be most objectionable to have the same qualification thrust upon us. The qualification of members may safely be left to the Dominion Government. But that of electors is too high, and will be a source of irritation, which the Government should endeavour to remove now. I should have moved a recommendation as to this, but from the treatment which my amendments have received in this House, I am inclined to let it pass; and I shall move my amendments before my constituencies.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Dewdney, the Committee rose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

Several Members having left the House, on motion of the Hon. Mr. Robson, the Committee sat again.

HON. DR. HELMCKEN—Mr. Chairman, I find the average of representation in the Dominion Parliament is one member to 15,000. That on the basis of 120,000 gives eight members. Nova Scotia has 19 members for 39,000, New Brunswick has 12, Newfoundland has 8 members. All we have to do is take care that we are not included in the census of 1871. Our number cannot be diminished, so we may put it at 81 safely. As for fictitious numbers it is useless to talk about it.

HON. DR. CARRALL—I move that the date "1881" be inserted.

HON. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—I do not see that of necessity the number cannot be decreased. I would name a more distant date.

HON. MR. ROBSON—I would not take a more distant date, because I think we shall have a larger population in 1881.

HON. MR. DRAKE—From Section 61 of the Organic Act, I think our number might be reduced. I think it improbable we shall have a population of 120,000 in 1881. And if we have not that number then, I think it possible that we may be reduced. I shall therefore vote for 1891.

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I shall support the date 1891.

HON. MR. WOOD—I move a recommendation to insert the words "not less than," before "4 and 8," and after the word "eighteen," to insert "91."

Hon ATTORNEY GENERAL—I cannot see the use or necessity for the words “no less.”

Hon. MR. ROBSON—I think the words are important. We might in 1881 be entitled to more or less.

Hon. MR. DRAKE—I hold to 91, because I think it likely we might be reduced if we fix the date at 81.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—I think we ought to fix a minimum number and keep to it, and a date, because I think that when the distrust wears away, British Columbia may be content with three in the Senate, and six in the House of Commons.

The Chairman put the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Drake, to fill up the blank with the figures “91.” Carried.

The Chairman put the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Wood, “That the number of members to the Commons should never be less than 8, and to the Senate never less than 4.” Carried.

Clause 13 was then passed as read.

The Committee rose, and reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Friday at 1 o'clock.

Friday, March 18th, 1870.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—I rise to move the adoption of clause 14. These terms, or rather the terms which come back from Canada, will of necessity come before the new electoral body, whose existence His Excellency has shadowed forth, and the particulars as to the division into districts must be left for the decision of that House. It is impossible at present to specify the time.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—Cannot an approximate time be named; besides there are other things upon which the country will want information. Such for instance, as whether the voting for members will be by ballot, and what is to be the qualification of voters. I think it ought to be fixed. The Dominion law is more illiberal than that to which the people of this country have been accustomed. I believe in the ballot, but it will be better to leave it to the constituencies.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—This clause has been left general, that it may be settled by the newly constituted Council.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—If there is a qualification for the House of Commons it must be general for the whole Dominion. At present I believe the qualification is that existing in the Provinces before Union, ultimately there must be qualification for the whole Dominion.

Hon. DR. CARRALL—There is no general law for qualification.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS—The clause is indefinite and dangerous. The Dominion qualification will virtually disfranchise half the British settlers in British Columbia. We are legislating in the interests of the people, this ought to be determined at once.

Hon. MR. DECOSMOS—I believe in British subjects, having a fixed residence, and of a certain age, voting in British Columbia. It should be a residential manhood suffrage.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—We cannot deal with the subject now. It is impossible to divide the colony into districts until we know how many senators we are to have.

Hon. MR. HOLBROOK—Mr. Chairman, I move a recommendation to strike out the words “if any.”

Hon. MR. WOOD—I think the words ought to stand. The Organic Act says that senators shall be elected for districts, but it may be desirable that senators should be appointed for the whole colony, they are nominated, and nominated because they are the best men that the Governor can obtain. [No, no, no—Hon. De Cosmos.] I believe the Executive are in the best position to know whether the principle of appointing senators is best or whether they should go for the whole colony.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS—As this stands it throws the whole power into the hands of the Canadians. The Lieut.-Governor will be a Canadian and will name Canadians. We ought to know by whom these appointments are to be made.

Hon. MR. ROBSON—It is a great pity that these sectional differences should be allowed to prevail. We ought to consider ourselves British Columbians. The Governor General, with the consent of his Council, appoints the Lieut.-Governor, and the Lieut.-Governor, with the advice of his Cabinet, recommends the Senators. [No, no, Hon. Dr. Helmcken.] Yes, it is so; he recommends to the Governor General who appoints. It is a great pity to raise these disputes about Englishmen and Canadians.

Hon. MR. HUMPHREYS—It is all very well to talk that way. I maintain that the Englishmen sitting at this table have said less as to nationality than the Canadians. We want to be governed by British Columbians.

Hon. DR. HELMCKEN—We had better drop these nationalities.

Hon. MR. WOOD—The hon. member for New Westminster should not be angry because we want to provide against the possibility of ill feeling by timely precaution. ‘Safe bind, safe find.’ When the Governor General appoints Senators, if I understand it right, he appoints the political friends of his Cabinet. If we are to have responsible government there will always be some check, if not we may be in the position of having members selected by the Lieut.-Governor without the assistance of any responsible Cabinet. [Hear, hear, Hon. DeCosmos.] A Canadian Lieut.-Governor will act with the same sort of feeling that the English Government will. Senators will be selected by favoritism, and supporters of Confederation will doubtless be selected in this colony unless we have responsible government and representative institutions in full vigor.