Mr. Borden Proposes State Ownership of Transcontinental

The Conservative Leader Moves an Amendment to the Third Reading of the Grand

Trunk Pacific Bill, Declaring That Instead of Carrying Out the Contract Proposed by the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government, It Is More in the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government of the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government of the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government of the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government of the Interest of the People of Canada That the Government of the Interest of Intere ernment Should Continue the Intercolonial From Montreal to the Pacific Coast.

Hon. Messrs. Fielding and Emmerson Replied to Mr. Borden on Behalf of the Government-Hon. John Haggart Supported Mr. Borden's Amendment, Which Was Voted Down by a Majority of 46—Several Other Amendments Were Also Voted Down and the Bill Was Given Its Third Reading.

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The Press Gallery, House of Commons, Ottawa, May 27.—The long debate on the National Transcontinental Railway came to an end this morning. The third reading of the bill was carried at 5.25 a.m. The discussion during the session was marked by the emphatic declaration of Mr. R. L. Borden that the people still have a chance and that at the next election they will e called upon to decide, substantially, s to whether or not the principle of overnment ownership of railways hall be extended to the Pacific from

At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. orden moved the following resolution:

MR. BORDEN'S RESOLUTION. "That the billabe not now read

the third time, but that it be That the bill proposes to ra-

ify and confirm agreements imnous obligations for the conailway,a large portion of which to become the property of the allway corporation to whom the maining portion is to be leased

"That the obligations under-aken by the country under the oposed agreements will provide onstructing the proposed railway, while the obligation assumed by the Grand Trunk Railway Company is compara-

"The House is of opinion that. greements, it would be more in e public interest that the Dom-ion should assume the whole oligation necessary for extendent Government system of railways, thereby completing a ranscontinental railway from he Atlantic to the Pacific entirerol of the people of Canada.'

MR. R. L. BORDEN'S

STATESMANLIKE Mr. R. L. Borden said: That was in effect the lanof Mr. Jamieson, who, at one epresented in this House the city innipeg, and it is the language only very recently by the hon. er for the city and county of St. who told the people of St. John many words that all these matre decided in caucus, and that scussion in the House is absofutile and unnecessary. I do regard the institutions under we are carrying on the Governof the country, and therefore notanding these agreements have discussed at some length, I deto say a few words more con-ng them. I remarked that not members of the Cabinet, perhaps

ix on Wednesvens, who is ll's mill. was ighly appreciate these it jumped and and even those who have during est four or five weeks undertaken cuss the subject, have not always e hands found rtially recoverthemselves thoroughly familiar its provisions. The right hon, man who leads the Government was promptly even this year that the Grand Pacific are liable to pay three nt, on the lease of the Eastern on. As a matter of fact, it is table to pay one cent. The hon. HE PEOPLE. Minister of the Interior, told us the additional stipulations conin the amending agreement do lay 26th, 1904. impose one dollar of additional ty on the country, and his reintend replying in that regard were followed Yet it has been demonstrated going in I wish ere pretty big d a doubt that these amending ons impose a very large burden we also heard from the Min-of the Interior, that the Grand MAY CARR. is bound, under the terms of agreement, to provide working and necessary betterments. As

atter of fact, the Grand Trunk is er no legal obligations under this ement or otherwise to provide any the working capital or necessary Having said so much to show that

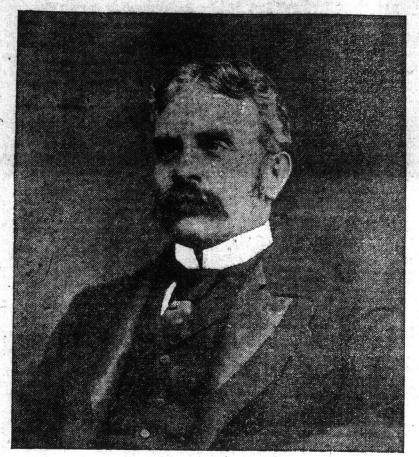
even by those members of the Govern ment who have given particular attention to the measure, its provisions are not always thoroughly understood and appreciated, let me come to analyse the proposition and see whether or not it is designed to carry out the object laid down by the First Minis-ter; when he introduced the measure last year. He proposed to establish from ocean to ocean on Canadian soil. and to do that for a certain reason, that reason being the danger, of which he appeared then to be convinced, but of which we have not heard him say much lately, of the abrogation by the Americans of the bonding privilege. low does the Government propose to attain the object which the right honourable gentleman has in view? Let us consider for a moment what the proposal really embodies. It is intended to accomplish this result by the following means: In the first place we are to build the difficult portion of the line, about 1,900 miles, from Winnipeg to Moncton, at a cost of not less than \$76,000,000. Then we are to give this portion free to the G. T. P. for years without interest or rental We are then to lease it for forty years additional to the G. T. P. at a rental of three per cent., which will probably be less than the interest the cost of construction. And although we have asked the Government to amend this provision so as to provide that the country shall receive in the shape of rental at least as much as it pays in nterest, that amendment has been voted down. They next propose to grant running powers to the G. T. P. or fifty years additional over the eastern division, or in the alternative to give a lease for fifty years additional after the period of the first fifty years has expired. In other words, the G.T.P. is to have a lease of running powers for at least one cen-tury over the eastern division. In tury over the eastern the next place the Government permits the G. T. P. to control all terminals on the eastern division, so that the Government must eventually concede any terms which the G. T. P. to eastern of the concede any terms which the G. T. P. to build branch lines then G. T. P. to build branch lines from the eastern division to important strategic points and to retain such of strategic points and to retain such of the cast that policy are not sincere. Well, if anything is to be said about sincer-then the reproach stating and not so very long gone by, and not stating Government ownership and staking almost their political lives upon that the G. T. P. to control all terminals on the eastern division, so that the G. T. P. to build branch lines them on this side of the House is to suggest forsooth, that those who advocated by hon. gent the point which is the proposition that railway corporations and in the future of that wellow their belief in that policy, are now strangely silent in this House, and the only answer they make when a policy of that kind is advocated by hon. gent the country. The Hon. Minister of Findance had no faith in the future of that country. The Hon. Minister of Findance had no faith in the future of that country. The Hon. Minister of Findance had no faith in the future of that country. The Hon. Premier (Sir William) afford them the most revenue. They will use that route which is the future of that country. The Hon. Minister of Findance had no faith in the future of that country. The from the eastern division to important strategic points and to retain such of these lines as are profitable and force the Government to buy such as shall be found unprofitable. Following this, it has been agreed apparently 'if we may judge by the language of Sir Charles Rivers-Wilson and Mr. Hays at the meeting of the G. T. R. shareholders' to subsidize lines from the eastern division to Port Arthur and North Bay. although the Prime Min-

In the next place, the Government has left it open to the Grand Trunk Rallway Company to carry through Canadian traffic either via North Bay or via lake ports or via Chicago to its terminals in the United States. That is beyond doubt. It cannot be controverted. We have the declaration, or I should say we have the admission the Ministers of the Crown to that effect. In the next place, it has permitted the Grand Trunk Railway Company to expedite the surveys of this line from North Bay to Winnipeg with a view to the early construction of that

The freight which comes from west of the Great Lakes to North Bay can be carried to the national ports of Canada on the St. Lawrence, Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, if you extend the Intercolonial Railway westward to the Georgian Bay. (Applause.) In that way you attain, and in that way alone, I believe, can you secure the carriage of the traffic to the national ports of Canada on the Provinces.

St. Lawrence and in the Maritime Provinces.

But, if the right hon, gentleman thinks that traffic carried to North Bay will assuredly go to Portland how is it that, in the first place, he is authorizing the Grand Trunk Railway to build a line to North Bay, and how is it, in the second place, that he has allowed to stand without contradiction for two months the state-ment of the president of the Grand Trunk Railway Company that that line is to be subsidized by this Gov-ernment as well as by the Provincial Government of Ontario? If that line is so to effect the traffic of this coun-



The Conservative Leader, who proposes that the people of Canada should build and own the trans-continental li ne.

1 am corroborated in my view to a very great extent by certain utterances in the past—not in the very recent past—by my hon, friend the member for Hants (Mr. Russell). For, although Hants (Mr. Russell). For, although that hon, gentleman's voice has not been raised in this House very strongly in favour of Government ownership during the present session, yet the time was, and not so many years ago, when he thought that the salvation of our national ports in the Maritime Provinces was to be found in the extension of the I.C.R. to Georgian Bay.

And let me say that a great many of these contlements in the say that a great many of these contlements in these contlements. these gentlemen who in days gone by eastern division to Port Arthur and North Bay, although the Prime Minister has admitted that the freight which goes to North Bay must necessarily go thence to Portland. In the next place, the Government refuses to impose on the G. T. R. stipulations which would prevent that company from carrying western freight.

> Mr. Borden then read a number of extracts from the letters and speeches of Mr. Russell, of Hants, showing how strongly that gentleman at one time favoured Government ownership.

ALL G. T. R. TRAFFIC WILL GO TO PORTLAND.

may be the policy of the right honourable gentleman and it may be his sincere desire, but will he or any honourable gentleman on the other side of the House point out to me how it is established to the detriment of the that you are to have the traffic at pre-Eastern division and to the detriment of the country, and especially to the sent gathered up by the G. T. R. Company carried to Portland and the new traffic which they will gather in the west carried to our Atlantic ports. That is a proposition which I for one detriment of the Maritime ports of am unable to comprehend, am absolutely unable to understand. Let me point out that not one syllable or sure restions. gestion of that kind is to be found in the language of the magnates of the Rivers-Wilson and Mr. Hays distinctly point to the convening of traffic across the Great Lakes and to the eign ports. Grand Trunk using that traffic and carrying it and handling it in exactly the same way in which they handle the traffic at the present time. There is not a syllable or suggestion of any abandonment of their former policy The traffic which they get from the west at the present time is carried to Portland. They bring it across the great lakes and the railway takes it at certain ports on the east side of the lakes and carries it to Portland as their winter traffic. How are you to dis-tinguish what they gather up in the west at the present, from what they will gather in the future, and how are you for one moment to say that any Government of Ontario? If that line is so to effect the traffic of this country to the detriment of our national ports, how is it that it is the policy of the Government not only to permit the building of that line, but to encourage and aid the building of it by the granting of a subsidy?

Government of Ontario? If that line is that it is the policy that additional traffic which they get in the west shall be taken to any other terminals, than that to which they get in the west shall be taken to any other terminals, than that to which they get in the west shall be taken to any other terminals, than that to which they get in the west shall be taken to any other terminals, than that to which they get in the west shall be taken to any other terminals, than that to which through these two Ministers of the Crown must inevitably continue to send our traffic to Portland in the future as it has been sent to Portland in the past.

Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Crown must inevitably continue to send our traffic to Portland in the future as it has been sent to Portland in the past.

Let us remember that the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Crown must inevitable.

The suggestion of the staken to trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after through these two Ministers of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, an portion of that additional traffic which

I am corroborated in my view to a them from the west and they will carry to Portland in the future the trade which they gather in the west by means of the G. T. P. I challenge my son why that traffic, which the honourable member for Hants (Mr. Russell) says will come across the lakes to North Bay, should be carried to the Maritime ports of Canada, and why traffic which is carried at the present time is not delivered to the Inte al under an agreement of which we have heard a great deal in days gone by and carried to the maritime ports of Canada. There cannot be much doubt other commodity along that route which crying the country and now, when from a revenue paving standpoint. There cannot be any doubt about that.
It is admitted and conceded by all of

THE MINISTERS.

riotism of the Canadian shipper, so that three years ago. in the end the country is spending, or, at least, increasing, obligations to the extent of \$150,000,000, or \$170,000,000 to obtain an equal rate to Portland, and After this Mr. Borden proceeded: It is relying on the patriotism of the canadian shipper. Well, one would think that when you are dealing with a great railway corporation like the G.T.R. Co., which has its own interest to consult, that you would, under circumstances of that kind, be inclined not to rely altogether upon the patriotism of the Canadian shipper, who is thinking more, I suppose, of the econo-

terminals in a foreign country the language of the magnates of the company at their meetings. Sir Charles ism of the Canadian shipper by compelling the G.T.R. Co. not to attempt any diversion of traffic to its own for-THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION. We first have the Hon. Minister of Finance admitting that the traffic can be carried more profitably by the G.T.R. Co. to Portland, and then we

have the Hon. Minister of the Interior saying that if this traffic cannot be carried more economically by way of Maritime Province ports he does not hope for very much from this contract. Put these two things together, and where do you find the Government? You find the Govern-ment in this position that they are putting forward and advocating a measure, which, according to the conclusions stated by the Government

is supposed to pay rental on the East-ern division, I venture to think that the capital invested on these terminals importance to it than the rental on the Eastern division. I do not know what it means, but it is significant that when the president of the Grand Trunk Railway Company was expounding this scheme to his shareholders and when he was stating the annual obligations e Grand Trunk Railway Company under the proposed scheme which were not to take effect for, I think, he said eighteen years, and which were to amount to about £118,000 a year, he said not one single word about the payment of rental on the Eastern division beyond a casual reference to it in the first part of his speech. We find him referring to everything else, but we do not find him making any reference to the rental of the Eastern divi-sion. The Grand Trunk can, by the apportionment of rates, give an arbitrary value to its Portland terminals and make this Eastern division absolutely unprofitable. Let us remember what might result in that case. Paragraph 19 of the original agreement says that the rates may be apportioned ac-cording to the "usual practice." The usual practice between railway com-panies, as I am informed by those who qualified to speak, would permit the Grand Trunk Railway Company and with some show of reason to fix and with some snow or reason to the an arbitrary value upon its Portland terminals, and in that way to make the Eastern division absolutely unprofitable, and then the Grand Trunk Railway Company or the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company, as you may term it for the time being, could come this Government and by the same influence which has procured these concessions could obtain from the Gov-ernment either relief from the payment of this rental or a new agreement in regard to the terms upon which it shall Continue to operate that railway.

Let us now look for a moment at the contract proposed by the Government in so far as it affects the Western division. Comparisons have been ment in so far as it allows have been ern division. Comparisons have been made by those who, I suppose, have no better argument, between the proposal which is now submitted to the country and the agreement which was made with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company some twenty-three years

We are told of the land grant, are told of the cash subsidy, but I do not recollect that any of those hon, gentlemen on the other side of the House who have discussed the subject ever remember that their own political friends, the administration of the late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, would be willing to build the Canadian Pacific Railway than the offer which eventually was accepted. Let us remember that as a starting point, and let us remember that the conditions in the North-West Territories of Canada were absolutely different at that advanced by the very policy that they denounced they ventured to make a comparison between the terms which we then conceded to the C. P.

Railway Company and the terms which are now offered to the G. T. Railway Company. Do not these hon. The contrasts, which have been in its amended form, submitted to Parison for ratification during the pretime of the present of ratification during the pretime of the present of the p gentlemen who make that argument Now, I had a little discussion on this point with my hon. friends the Minister of Instinct and Instinct and

> WHAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES FOR THE G. T. P.

What does the Government propose to do for the Grand Trunk Rallway Company? In the first place, let us always and constantly bear in mind that there has been an exhibition of shrewdness and skill in the framing of this scheme on the part of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, which has never been surpassed before. The Grand Trunk Railway Company did not go into this scheme itself under its own name. It took good care to organize, as its president has stated, a subsidiary company, and the advantage of that is this, that the subsidiary company, in which no capital at all will be invested apparently, will make all the contracts and incur all the responsibilities, which it can very easily and very lightly evade, while the Grand Trunk Railway Company will obtain all the advantages and all the profits by means of controlling the Grand Trunk Pacific Company and by means of the possession of its common stock, which it will receive at a nominal value, and which it will dispose of no doubt at a very considerable profit.

Therefore the G. T. R. Company. under this scheme, occupies the sibilities or disadvantages.

antee three-fourths of the cost, no mat-ter what it may be, on the mountain section. In the next place, they propose to pay interest for seven years on the bonds which the Government guarantee in respect of the mountain section. In the next place, they propose to permit the interest for three additional years on bonds guaranteed in respect of the mountain section to be capitalized and added to principal. Then on these sums which must be so advanced by the Government during a period of seven years, the Government exact no interest from the Grand Trunk Railway Company at all, but during a period of from forty to fifty years that interest runs on until eventually the bonds are paid. Further than that, the Government agree to implement the bond issue on the whole western division in case the bonds shall be sold be low par, and in that way under the amended agreement they materially increase the country's liability. But that is not all, although one would suppose that in all conscience that was enough. They agree further to take four and a half years' interest on the bonds guaranteed by the Government over the whole western division, and to make that advance without interest for a period of about forty-five years. So that summing all these up together, you see that the Grand Trunk Railway Com-pany has certainly a very good proposition in respect of the western division. This four and a half years' interest is permitted because that will logically and naturally follow from the terms of the agreement. There is no foreclosure, and entry into possession by the Government cannot take place until the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company is in default for five years, and one can easily see that the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company will allow its interest to be in default for four and a half is not in default. Thus the Governmen will have made an advance of four and a half years' interest, upon which i will receive no return whatever until the fifty years' period has expired.

GOVERNMENT MORTGAGE

What next? Formerly we have the security of a mortgage. Now we have no mortgage. We have simply what was formerly a mortgage re-

duced to the security of an ordinary charge. We formerly had a first mortgage and the G. T. R. Company had a second mortgage. Now the G. T. R. Company had a second mortgage. Now the G. T. R. Company is placed on an absolute equality for the country, because when the Government enters into possession and when the interest on bonds must be paid out of the earnings of the road, the G. T. R. Company's bonds participate proportionately with the bonds secured by the mortgage of this country, and it must be borne in mind that I am putting this aspect on the question perhaps not fairly to the country, because, as a matter of fact, the G. T. R. Company's bonds would be in a better position than those guaranteed by this country. For this reason there is no restriction in foreclosure proand further than that the G. Company, by the control which it exercises over the G. T. P. Railway

Company, can always see that the earnings of the G. T. P. Company are applied in payment of interest on the bonds guaranteed by the G. T. R. Company, and not for interest on the bonds guaranteed by this country. So that, as a matter of fact, although ostensibly the Londs are placed on an equal footing, nevert less in reality and in the practical working out of the matter, the G. T. R. Company will be in a better country with respect to the payment

The Government has no right to foreclosure now. In place of foreclosure and title consequent on foreclos-ure, which could be secured formerly,

per.

Mr. Fielding—At an equal rate.

Mr. R. L. Borden—At an equal rate.

Mr. R. L. Borden—At an equal rate,
The Hon. Minister relies upon the pative of the Congdian chipper so that G. T. R. Company in return for what it calls its support, that support consisting of the deposit of \$5,000,000 which the president of the G. T. R. Company said will not cost his company one cent, and the guarantee of one fourth of the bonds on the western division, which are secured by the mortgage of the road, and which are

placed, on an absolute equality with the bonds of the Government.

NO CONTROL OF BATES. Government in return for all this secures no greater control of rates than that which created by the general law of

So, that, as I have said before, there is absolutely no compensating advantage which can be at all called adequate in view of the enormous aid which this country is giving towards the construction of this railway.

WHY HAVE CONCES-SIONS BEEN MADE?

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is an interestenviable position of having all the advantages and all the profits and incurring none of the responpeople of this country, but to the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and after

these concessions have been made. One thing is absolutely certain, and that is, that the Government did not make them voluntarily. They have told us that themselves. The Minister of Finance, the Minister of Customs, the Minister of the Interior have each de-clared that the Government would have preferred the terms of the contract as it was approved last year, but they could not adhere to the terms of that contract, although it was a fair contract, and although it was thoroughly under-stood by the Grand Trunk Railway Company at the time they entered into it. They could not adhere to it be-cause the Grand Trunk Railway Company would not permit them to do so. The Government take a somewhat supplicatory attitude with regard to this modified contract. They say, do not blame us. We did not want to make these concessions.

We preferred the contract as it was contract as it was. It was a fair contract, but the Grand Trunk Company has compelled us to make these concessions, and, therefore, we are obliged to make them. Well, it is a some-what peculiar condition of affairs to have a contract which was fair to this corporation, amended by further enormous concessions to that same corporation, and to be told in the free Parliament of a free people that these were forced upon the Government by this corporation. It is a strange condition of affairs, but it is a condition of af-fairs which is declared by no less than three responsible ministers of the Crown, and in Parliament, at least, we are obliged to take their word for it. Therefore, we must assume that there is some influence which has apparently not been disclosed to the people of this country and which compels the Gov-ernment to yield everything that the Grand Trunk Railway Company demands. (Hear, hear.) REVIEW OF

AMENDMENTS OFFERED

BY CONSERVATIVES.

Mr. Speaker, I have run over thus very briefly the provisions of this contract. I want now to say a word or two about the amendments which we tion or two as to the reasons for which we offered them, and on the arguments which have been evoked from the Government on voting them down. self moved during the present session a resolution setting out our preference for a policy of Government construction in place of the policy which the

Government are now advancing. My hon, friend from West Toronto (Mr. Clarke) moved another amendment demanding that the people of this country should be consulted before this enormous liability should be entered into upon terms so onerous

country. That amendment was voted down, it true, by a small majority, a majority of only 19, but still a majority sufficient for the purpose of carrying through this measure. Our other principal amendments may be briefly enu-

First we moved an amendment to oblige the Grand Trunk Railway Company to pay par for the common stock which it acquires in the Pa-

cific Company. We moved that so as to prevent the rates payable by the people of this country in the future from being affected by watered stock, as they have been affected in the past, not only in this country, but in the United States. I have been reading some works on the history of rates and the management of railways in the United States. have not time to-day to go fully into

ers has influenced rates and has been taken into consideration by those who have the control of rates in that country. We do not want any watered stock, and, therefore, we asked the Government to oblige the Grand Trunk Railway Company to pay par for any common stock which it might acquire in the Pacific Company, but the Government called up its obedient majority and voted that amendment down.

that subject, but there is not the slight-

est doubt that in the United States the

In the next place we moved an amendment to provide that the Grand Trunk Railway Company, as it controls the Pacific Company, as it will control it, ought to agree that company.

Again our amendment was voted down, although there seemed to be good reasons for it, inasmuch as the Grand Trunk Railway Company obtained all the advantages under this contract, it ought surely to be loaded with the engagements which the Grand Trunk Pacific Company is assuming.

In the third place, we moved a resolution providing that the rates for carriage between Canadian inland ports should not be greater than the rates charged between the same points by any route not wholly Can-We asked that, in order that traffic

might not be diverted to lines south of Winnipeg and again our amendment was disregarded by the Government and again voted down.

We asked, also, that rates upon this line should not exceed the lowest rates between corresponding points by the Canadian Northern Railway. That was a fairly reasonable proposition, because, apart from that, we have not any control of rates except that afforded by the general law of the land, and the arrangement which the Canadian Northern Railway had enter-

ed into with the Government of Mani-toba seemed to afford some guarantee at least that the rates on that would be fairly low. In the next place we moved a reself should not in any matter with-In its power, directly or indirectly, permit, advise or encourage transportation of traffic by routes or at

agreement provided. Again the Government called up its bedient majority and that most important amendment was voted down. That amendment should not have been voted down if the Government had at heart the interests of the national ports of Canada. The danger is not from the G.T.P. Railway Company, it has no terminals in the United States. The danger is from the G.T.R. Company, which has its enormous interests in Portland and Chicago (Conservative applause.) But when asked that that company should bound by the stipulations contained in this contract as to the diversion of the traffic, every honourable gentleman on the other side of the House, even those

who shouted most loudly for the in-terests of our Canadian ports, stood up manfully and voted that down. We moved an amendment that the Government should have power to enforce a fair apportionment of rates between the G. T. System and the amendment, but the Government call-