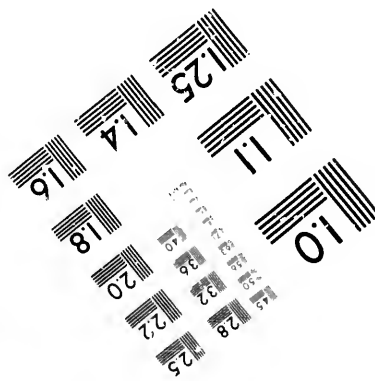
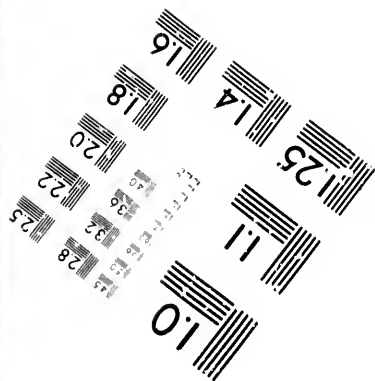
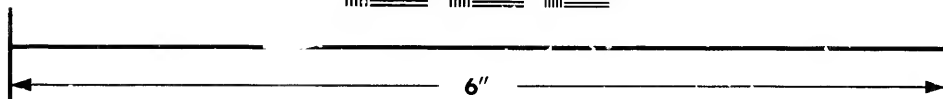
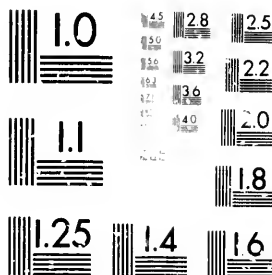


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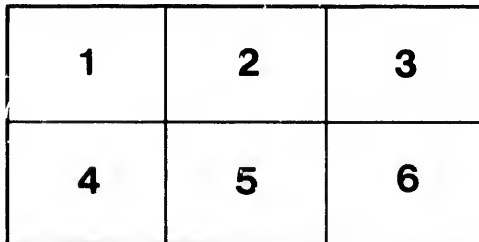
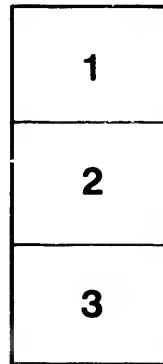
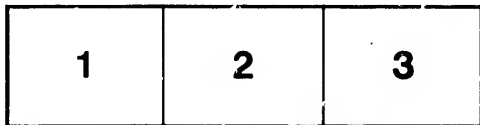
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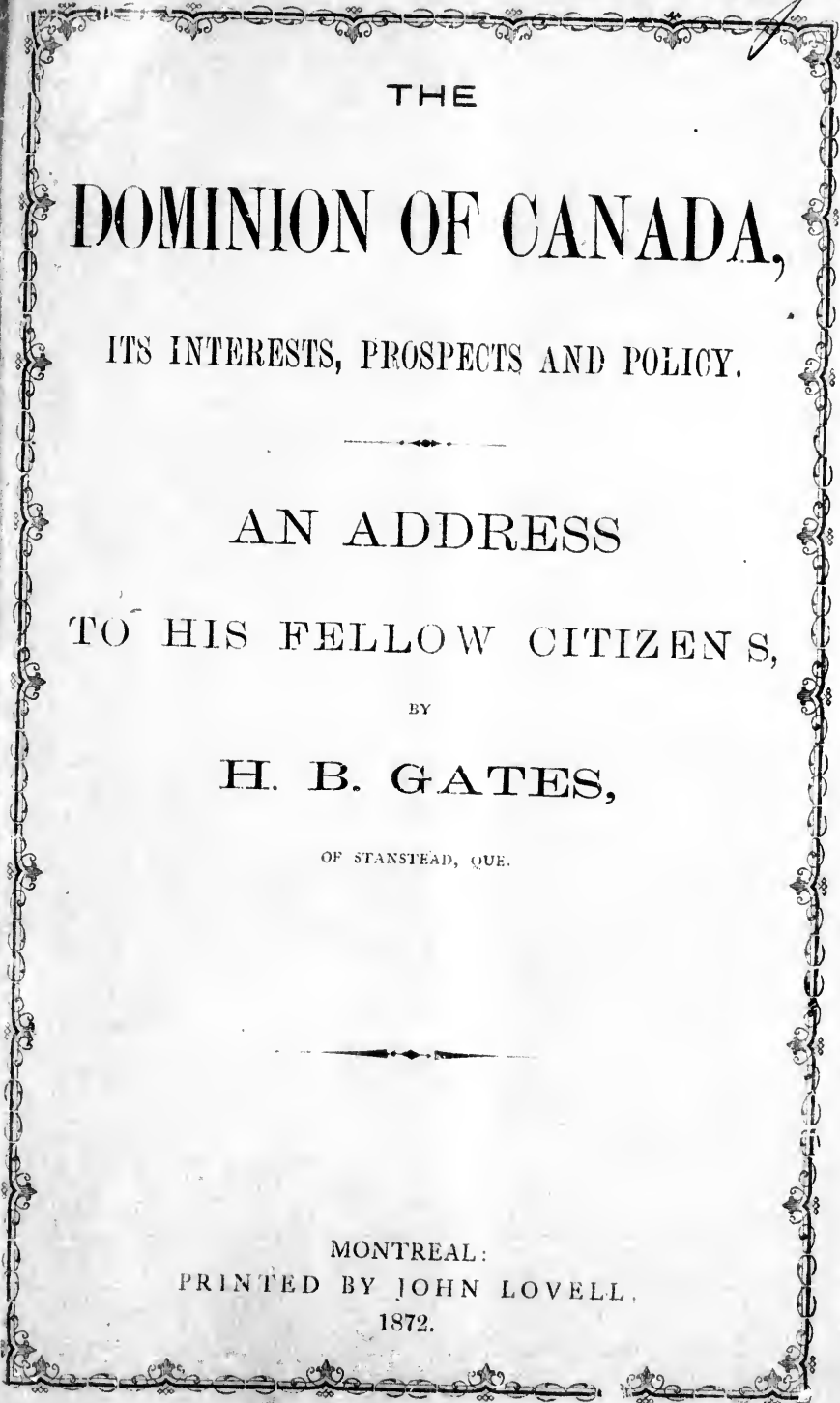
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THE

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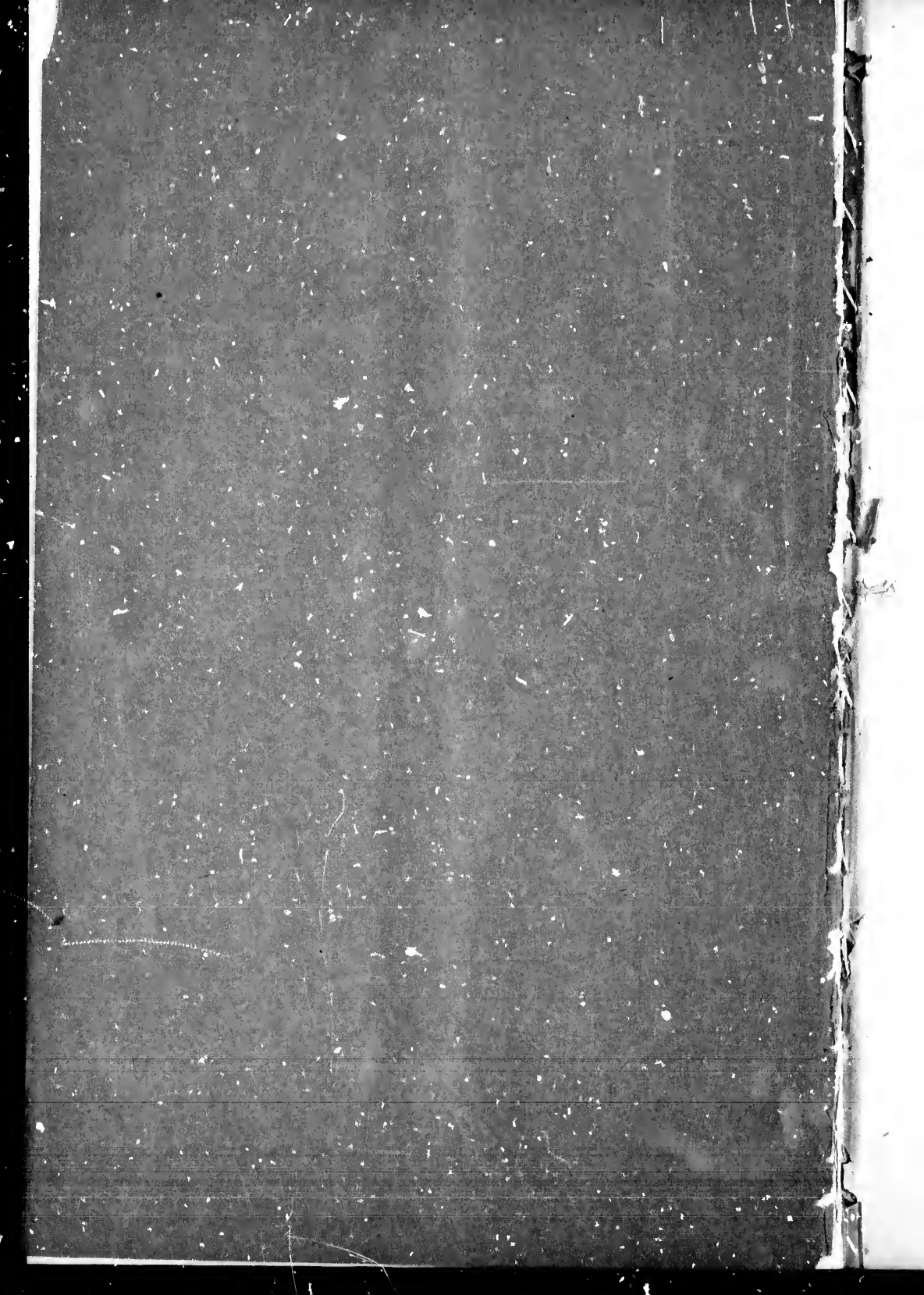
TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS,

BY

H. B. GATES,

OF STANSTEAD, QUE.

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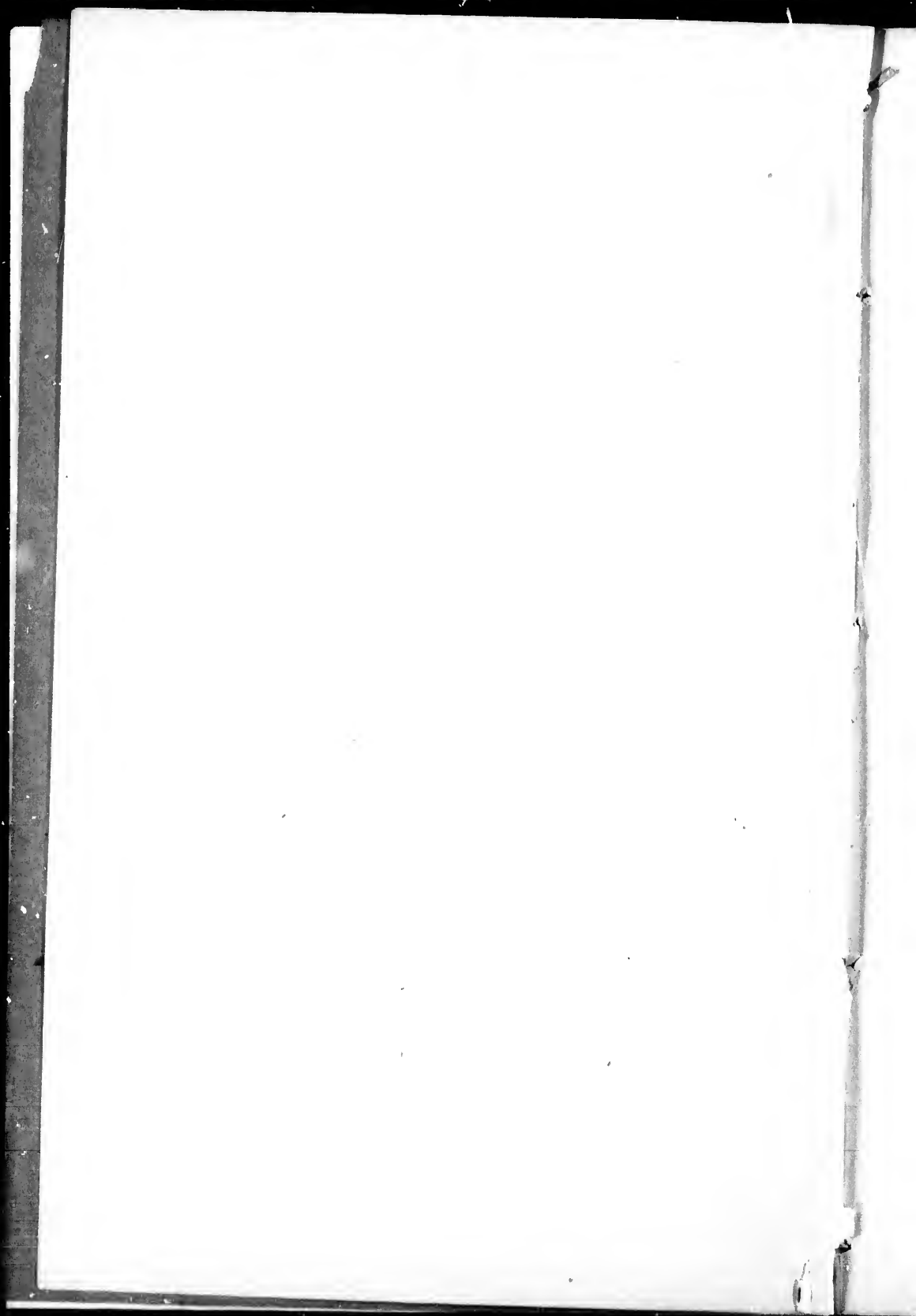
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ADDRESS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA,

GREATLY desiring to call your attention to matters which immediately concern the present and future welfare and prosperity of these British American Provinces, I take occasion, though a comparatively humble and unknown citizen, to speak to you, and particularly to those placed in charge of the Government over you, in relation to the interests and prospects of our common country, politically, commercially, and agriculturally. I know that we have very wise, astute, and far-seeing statesmen amongst us; statesmen who may, perhaps, comprehend the whole situation; yet, nevertheless, it is not impossible but that they may learn something or get a new idea from so humble an individual as myself, while the special object of what I have to say is not to enlighten them, but to rouse up the national feeling of the people at large, and set before them the great opportunities for prosperity, wealth and power, which they possess, and which only require their energetic action to secure. And, with the people once satisfied of the direction in which their interests lay, our statesmen and legislators may confidently take the necessary steps to secure them. If, therefore, I assume to advise and counsel in great and grave matters, it is solely with a desire to contribute to the advancement of my native land and nationality; and because I am deeply impressed with the necessity of not only prompt and efficient action for the attainment of our prosperity, but also that we make no false or uncertain moves, for the sake of expediency, which shall embarrass or compromise our future interests and policy; and that, in the start of our national career, we see to it that this broad Dominion is based upon firm, enduring, and liberal principles.—which shall ensure its harmonious prosperity, without vexing future generations with the necessity of a change that might possibly cause a disruption. It should be our aim to make Canada a most desirable place to immigrate to, instead of, as in the past, a land from which large numbers

yearly emigrate. But a change is coming, when we shall not only retain our native population, but draw largely from the population of Europe, and even regain from our neighbor a population more than sufficient to counterbalance our loss in past years. Croakers may dolefully cry down our country, and ruefully lament over the sad prospect which they see in store for her; the faint-hearted and the restless, discontented spirits may turn their backs upon her, and set their faces to look for a better land,—a land flowing with milk and honey, where coppers may be had for the asking, and dimes grow upon bushes,—where potatoes can be raised without cultivation, and corn and wheat grow spontaneously, and can be gathered and shaken into a bag without manual labor. Canadian producers and dealers may yearn for the return of the palmy days of reciprocity, and look with sad disappointment upon the failure of our International Commissioners to incorporate its re-establishment into the late Treaty of Washington; and yet, notwithstanding, it is with the utmost confidence, and the greatest of pleasure, that I can to-day stand up and assure my fellow-citizens that never in the history of the world has such an opportunity to suddenly rise into opulence and power occurred to a young nation, just emerging into existence, as now presents itself to this Dominion to obtain population, commercial prosperity, wealth, and maritime power, if we only manifest the wisdom and energy equal to the occasion, and put forth the necessary effort to secure possession of the advantages which nature and circumstances have designed for us. Our sister nation at the south of us has been looked upon as a marvel of prosperity and national growth; yet, with the same enterprise on the part of our people, the next score of years will witness a rate of prosperity for this Dominion far surpassing that of our neighbors; and which, within thirty years, will place us in the front rank of Christian nations—with a commercial importance and a maritime power inferior to none. Previous to Federation the British American provinces were mere dependencies of the Mother Country, looking to her for defence, succor, and aid, and referring to her as the sole arbiter in all their troubles; they were colonies with divided and separate interests, whose highest ambition was to guard their own supposed rights with jealous care, and advance their own particular prosperity, without a single patriotic desire to

promote the general interests of sister colonies. But to-day these colonies stand united under one head, forming a grand nationality, with a common interest and a united aim, which henceforth must hew its own way in the world, and be the author of its own greatness, and, being thus the arbiter of its own fortunes, must rely upon its own inherent strength for protection. In relation to the Mother Country, we stand as a government and a people—independent, but, as a domain, we form a portion of the British Empire, which every loyal subject is expected to lend his aid to support. We are, therefore, not to be called upon to take a part in England's quarrels which do not immediately concern us, for she expects to fight her own battles, but we must stand by the integrity of the empire, and give it moral aid and support,—for, should the existence of the British nationality be threatened by a foreign foe, it would become the duty of Canada, and every Canadian citizen, to put forth every possible effort to sustain it; even as, in like manner, England would rush to our rescue were the life of our Dominion threatened. Thus, for our mutual protection, are we bound to the British Empire, though, in other respects, free and independent. And well it is for us that it is so; for, let England's antecedents be what they may, and let her oppressions be what they may have been, yet it must be conceded, by even her most inveterate haters, that she is the great fountain head of Anglo-Saxon liberty, law and justice, and stands to-day as the great bulwark and barrier between the Anglo-Saxon liberties of this continent, and the armed despotisms of Europe, which would sweep down upon us in overwhelming numbers if they but dared to brave her naval power. And if, by any possible chance, they should succeed in breaking England's power, and obtain possession of the British Isles, (and the attempt will ere long be made,) then will our Canadian Dominion be the first point of attack upon this continent, as being the nearest, most accessible, vulnerable, and easily-conquered portion. It behoves, then, every Canadian, the whole Anglo-Saxon race, and every true lover of liberty, to stand by and uphold the British Empire and the supremacy of the British Isles. Even the rankest Fenian might, with a good grace, pray for the maintenance of English rule, when he truly considers the desperately slim chances of Irish liberties being materially advanced under the rule of despotic foreign con-

querors, whose chief end and aim is to gain strength, wealth and power, and to maintain it, by the strong arm of military force over those who fall into their hand, in comparison with the certainty of the ultimate attainment of all essential freedom through the steadily advancing reforms of the English Liberal party, which aims at the elevation of the Irish as well as the English masses.

Let then, every inhabitant of this Dominion, of whatever nationality, race or creed, sink all of their prejudices, and stand united in one common sentiment to build up our great common country, and cultivate a feeling of patriotism and national pride, which shall consolidate all classes, and strengthen us against the hour of danger. Let us be content to remain an independent part of the British Empire, for therein is our tower of strength, and therein can we best fulfill the mission which the Almighty has vouchsafed unto us. The Canadas, previous to the confederation of these provinces under the Dominion Government, were land-bound provinces with no sea coasts and ocean ports through which to expand her commerce, and develop her inland resources; no fertile prairie lands ready for the plough were in waiting to tempt the foreign emigrant to build up a home amongst us. No flourishing business, or extensive commercial traffic existed, sufficient to create a demand for foreign labor and capital; our people were mostly dependent upon a foreign market for the sale of the products of farm and forest, and in great part for our supply of manufactures; our progress was comparatively slow, and we seemingly possessed no ambitious aims or incentives to energy and enterprise, being content to watch the chances, and make the best of our situation. But a new era has dawned upon us, and a day of prosperity is opening for us. Our country has expanded into a broad empire in area, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and as far north as we chose to go. We are possessed of a vast extent of fertile prairie, and timbered lands, capable of sustaining a large population, which will soon be opened up for settlement, and will furnish desirable homes for millions of emigrants who may wish to settle one of the greatest wheat producing countries in the world, and which will tempt the emigrant to locate within the Dominion: more especially when it is generally understood that the climate of our great western territory is rendered salubrious and comfortable by the

warm winds and waters from the Indies, which are wafted across the Pacific ocean upon our western shores, and ameliorates the atmosphere of the whole inland country in the direction of its course. We also are possessed of a large extent of territory abounding in mineral wealth, which will yield vast amounts of gold, silver, copper, iron, coal and other products, greatly enriching the country. We have inexhaustible supplies of wood, timber, lumber and material for ship building and manufacturing purposes. We possess the outlet to, and are bordered by, the greatest inland water way in the world—a way leading direct to the most fertile region of the United States, which is fast filling up with towns and cities, and eventually will become the most populous portion of that republic. And the people of this region are now naturally seeking, through our canals and our St. Lawrence, a channel of communication with the markets of the world more commensurate with their growth, and more direct and cheaper than any that they now have. By a judicious management on the part of our Government, and a proper display of energy and enterprise on the part of our people, we may reap a vast benefit and advantage from the immense commerce which will be thus carried on through our land. And yet this is not all, for, with a railway communication between the port of Halifax on the Atlantic, and the port of Victoria on the Pacific, we possess the shortest, most direct and feasible route between Europe and the East Indies, and the transportation of this boundless traffic we can and must secure. With a due effort upon our part, it must and will naturally fall into this route, if the pathway is efficiently opened up, and will give to us the benefit of the carrying trade and travel. With these advantages, in such a country as ours, what may not a vigorous population of six millions accomplish? We are possessed of the elements of wealth and greatness, and who shall say that Canada has not a prosperous and brilliant future before her—a future which cannot fail to be glorious, except through the apathy and indifference of her people, or the gross mismanagement of her governmental directors. As the twig is bent the tree is inclined, and now in her youth is the time to bend the twig of state, and so form it, that it shall grow into a stalwart and comely tree. Now is the time to shape the policy of the nation, and base it upon principles which will eradi-

cate and prevent evils which in time might become cankering sores, sapping the energies of the people, and damping the prosperity of our country. Canada should have a policy, and that policy should be broad, yet definite; liberal, yet conservative; and rigidly adhered to by her people and rulers. And let us now determine the most advantageous policy for her to pursue, by considering the most important interests which concern her. The first of these is the late Treaty of Washington. How will this treaty effect Canada? Shall we accept it or reject it? These questions to us are all important, and require our careful and dispassionate consideration, for, in their settlement, we must look to our future interests as well as our present, and consider well whether a seemingly bad bargain may not be turned to our ultimate advantage. Like all good, loyal, sound-hearted Canadians upon the first announcement of the terms of the treaty, I gave it my unqualified condemnation as being wholly adverse to the interests of Canada. But, after a calm and candid examination into the actual wants of our country and the material interests necessary to secure to her a permanent prosperity and progress, I have been induced to change my mind, and advocate the acceptance of the conditions of the treaty; with a claim of indemnity for the privilege of sharing our coast fisheries for the stipulated time mentioned in the treaty. And I am constrained to do this, not from any inherent justice in the treaty toward Canada, but because that it necessitates a reliance upon ourselves, and compels the Dominion in self-defence to adopt measures which will not only neutralize the intended effects of the treaty, but greatly advance our material interests and build up the strength and prosperity of the country.

The great desire and expectation of the people of this country was to obtain reciprocity in trade with our sister nation. This was the ambition of our producers; and to gain free access to the markets of the United States was their great hope of prosperity, and to secure this great boon, the Canadian Commissioners at Washington were expressly charged. We had valuable considerations to offer, and were willing to part with them for the privilege of taking our stock, and the products of our fields, forests, and mines, to the southern markets, duty free. The citizens of the eastern seaboard of the United States were anxious to share in the

great wealth of our coast fisheries ; and the people of her great and growing West were clamoring for the free navigation of the River St. Lawrence, and the canals connected therewith, that they might have a water communication direct with the ocean and the markets of Europe, and we felt sure of obtaining our desired object in the treaty. But what did we get ? What we got reminds me of the old and often told anecdote of a white man and an Indian who went out together on a hunting excursion. The hunt was to be a joint one, and they agreed to divide the game fairly. But at the close of the day's hunt they unfortunately found themselves possessors of only one turkey and a crow. The white man had no use for the crow but wanted the turkey, and was determined to have it. So with a pretence of fairness he said to the Indian : " Now, according to agreement we must divide this game ; and, as this turkey is not much of a turkey, you may take the crow and I will take the turkey ; or I will take the turkey and you may take the crow." But the poor Indian was not to be taken in that way, and very innocently ventured the remark, " You no say turkey to me once." And this is precisely the way that the United States Commissioners served Canada in the treaty. They never once said turkey to her, yet, nevertheless, they were determined to get her turkey, and offered as an equivalent in return only a poor miserable crow. They decidedly refused to give us reciprocity, and offered as an equivalent for the use of our fisheries to give us the right to fish along their coasts, except in certain reserved fishing grounds. That is, if we would give them the privilege of fishing exactly where Canadians wanted to fish, why, they in return, would give us the privilege of fishing right where their fishermen did not care to fish, nor no one else in particular.

I do not consider it the part of statesmen appointed to adjust the differences between nations, and to form a treaty of international communication, to descend to the misrepresentation, wariness and assumption of sharpers in common trade, that they may secure more than equity would allow them, however much it may be the practice. You would not consider it honorable in me to maintain that your horse was lame when I knew him to be sound, that I might buy him for half his value ; and neither would I consider it honorable in you to assert that your fish-pond was as good as mine, in

order to secure a mutual right to fish in either, when you know that yours has nothing of value in it, and you were eternally dropping your hook into my pond to get my fish.

Yet in the Treaty of Washington we have the example of two great Christian nations, both of kin, speaking the same language, whose commercial interests are inseparably connected, and whose united influence might direct the world, whose ablest statesmen met together avowedly and ostensibly for the purpose of amicably settling all differences between the two powers, and to establish mutual, friendly, and commercial relations; but, in reality, the meeting was to wage a contest between opposing forces, to gain an advantage. The sword was laid aside, and, instead of muscle against muscle, brain was pitted against brain in a diplomatic struggle to see which should drive the sharpest bargain, and gain the most advantage over the other. Candid justice and open-handed fair dealing was no consideration in this contest, but each side was only intent upon wringing from the other admissions and concessions which would benefit their respective nations; and Canada, being only a dumb tender upon the parties, was ceremoniously pushed in between the combatants, and received bruises in front and rear, irrespectively from both sides. It is often said that there is no friendship in trade, and Canada sees and feels it now. And here is our point that, treaty-makers, and persons appointed to settle international differences, should assume the high and impartial position of jurists, rather than that of special pleaders or unscrupulous traders who strive to make their side of the case good and damage, all they possibly can, the other side. Yet I condemn not the Commissioners for acting in accordance with precedent, and making the best possible bargain in behalf of their respective nations, but I do condemn the principle upon which they acted, and upon which such bargains are usually conducted, as subversive of the interests of peace, international comity, confidence, and good feeling. And, under all of the circumstances, Canada has fared as well as could reasonably be expected. The English Commissioners were undoubtedly anxious to make the best possible terms for the interests of Canada they consistently could, but they very naturally considered the interests and safety of the Mother Country as paramount to all other considerations, and were ready to sacrifice

the interests of Canada, if must needs be, to that end. I can reasonably attach no blame to them, nor yet to the Dominion Commissioner, for not securing better terms in the Treaty for Canada, for the fault was not in the Commissioners, but in the organization of the Joint High Commission itself, in not giving to these united provinces an independent voice in the matters of the treaty concerning their own interests.

The mistake of the Dominion Government was in consenting to become a party to the treaty subservient to purely British interests, and the mixing up of English liabilities with Canadian claims. There is no use in our endeavoring to cling to the skirts of the Mother Country and look to her for support and guidance, in the face of the self-evident fact that Canada is thrown entirely upon her own resources, and must independently look after her own interests, if she would get her just dues and advance her prosperity. The treaty is manifestly a disappointment to the people of Canada, and, being thus disappointed they naturally feel like venting their spleen, and casting blame somewhere. The course pursued by the United States has laid them open to the charge of injustice, and unfriendliness toward the Dominion, with whose people it should seemingly be her policy to cultivate the most amicable relations.

She approached Canada and asked for privileges—the privilege of sharing with us the best fishing ground in the world, and the inestimable privilege to their Western States of an outlet to the ocean through our canals, and our St. Lawrence, upon equal terms with us, while at the same time refusing to grant us any adequate equivalent for their use. She utterly refused to consider the Canadian claims for indemnity for the great loss and damage sustained from the several attacks by armed bands of her citizens, calling themselves Fenians; and this, too, in the face of her demands for compensation for the depredations of the rebel cruisers fitted out in British ports. But where, we would ask, is the difference between these two claims? we can see no possible difference in principle, between British-built cruisers raiding upon the sea and destroying American commerce, and armed United States citizens, raiding upon Canadian soil, and destroying life and property, in the vain attempt to overturn our Government. Both Governments were equally culpable, in permitting the outrages, which they well knew

were in progress of consummation, and in neglecting to properly punish the guilty parties when caught; and both are equally liable for indemnity. Does this look like *justice*? Or does justice wear a different aspect when it is her bull that gores the Canadian ox? Does the United States sincerely desire to establish peaceful and friendly relations with the British Empire, when the arrogance of her demands excites the indignation of both England and Canada. Seemingly she would have us purchase peace at an exorbitant price. But if the United States desires to make England settle a heavy score for her shortcomings during her war with the Confederate States, why should Canada share her hate and be made to suffer, when she preserved her neutrality intact through the war. It has been charged that, notwithstanding our neutrality, we sympathized with the rebels. 'Tis true, we admit, that a certain class of Canadian citizens did warmly favor the rebel cause, but then, they were by no means a majority, and the same thing may be said of every free State in the Union. But as an offset to our offence in this respect, we refer to the practical sympathy of the forty thousand Canadians which the returns of the war department show to have served in the Union armies during the war. It may be said that it was the extra pay that induced them to go, yet personally I know that many of them enlisted during the first year of the war when little or no bounty was paid, while it must be remembered that they received no more pay than was considered necessary to induce their own citizens to volunteer, and it was a boon to the Union cause to get them to jeopardize their lives for the safety of the nation at any price. Verily, there is no reason for any but the most cordial relations between the United States and Canada, and war would be foolishness when it is for their mutual interest to live in concord and amity. And, whether we get justice or not, let us have peace.

And now, fellow-citizens, what shall we do? My counsel is, let us do nothing rash. Let us act circumspectly and wisely. We want peace, and all of our energies to build us up, to develop our resources, and improve our land. We want to maintain the most intimate relations with the United States for our commercial benefit. And, as discretion is the better part of valor, we may honorably gain by acquiescence far more than they have denied us. A little

tact, energy and enterprise, with a far-reaching practical use of our natural advantages, will serve us far better than any display of wounded dignity that we may make, and will place us, just where we want to be, on the high road to prosperity.

Therefore, let us accept the apparently disadvantageous terms which our neighbor has offered to us, and, by a judicious management of our affairs, turn them to our own advantage.

By rejecting the treaty we shall gain nothing, but lose much. It will not bring us reciprocity, for our neighbors are determined that we shall not have the use of their markets without paying to their Government an enormous tax. For one-fifth part of our produce, or twenty per cent. of the value that goes to their markets, they require to come out of Canadian pockets.

Their motto is protection; and their plea is, the necessity of using every available resource for the liquidation of their national debt. We can have therefore no reasonable hope, nor any expectation, of any material modification of the treaty in our favor: and our only remedy is in following their example. The policy for us is a good one; and so let us adopt it; and protect ourselves too. Let us protect every industry which may be profitably carried on within the Dominion. Let us open up the water communication between the East and the West to the fullest extent, and by legislation and ship-building enterprise secure to ourselves all of the profits of the immense carrying trade which must thus pass through our land. Let us facilitate to the utmost extent the passage of emigrants to our new territories, that our grain producing lands may be filled up, and our extensive mining region developed,—affording thereby a market for Canadian manufactures.

The ship-building interest is an important one, and should receive the fostering care and protection of the Government. We have an abundance of ship-building material, and by a proper husbanding of this resource, by prohibiting its exportation, and the judicious encouragement of this branch of industry, there is no reason why we should not become ship builders for the world, and more particularly for our neighbours at the South and West of us, who, being deficient in timber, will naturally if not necessarily be compelled to look to us for the building of their ships, or give to us the carrying trade, of which the latter will, for various reasons, gen-

erally be the case, thus giving to our people the profits of freighting as well as of the building of the carrying vessels. Our forests should also be protected from wanton destruction, and the country from its ruin—our denudation. In order to supply the constantly increasing demands for lumber from the United States, a light export duty should be levied upon wood, timber, lumber and bark, not as a hindrance to commerce, but simply to create a fund for the replacement of our forests.

And our Government should provide for the re-planting of our forest trees upon bare and worthless lands, and along the highways, byways and railways, that, when the old trees shall be thinned out to a scarcity, the country may not be wholly denuded and destitute of wood and timber. Protection is our true policy, and we must not only protect the present but the future. Free trade may be a good policy for an old, wealthy and populous country, but not for a poor and sparsely settled country. Therefore, if Canada desires a permanent prosperity, she must plant herself squarely upon the principle of protection. But the great hope and right arm of our prosperity is in our natural advantage, for becoming the great highway of trade and travel between the great West of the United States and Western Europe, and between Europe and Eastern Asia, the Indies, and islands of the Pacific. Of the extent of this business, and the full scope of its influence upon the Dominion, it is not easy for the mind at the first view to conceive, but some idea may be formed, if we candidly consider the fact that, when vessels of medium tonnage can take freight and passengers from all of the lake ports, and by way of the St. Lawrence land them in any foreign port of the world, or may tranship at Montreal or Quebec to large ocean steamers, and thus find conveyance to European ports, and vice versa back to the lakes, then all the people of the United States bordering the lakes, and all westward of the Ohio and from as low down as the City of St. Louis westward to the Pacific, are going to follow the promptings of self-interest and will take passage and transportation by the cheapest, safest and most available route to the East, through the lakes and the Canadas, and will prefer this, their natural channel, to the great markets of the world, rather than the circuitous and dangerous route by way of the Mississippi, and the Gulf of Mexico, or the more expensive and

now over crowded routes through New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. And when we contemplate the rapidly increasing business which must follow the filling up of this vast tract of country, with their imports and exports all passing through our land and the thousands of emigrants seeking homes in this favored section of the Union, who will favor this route for its cheapness, expedition and facilities of transportation; and then, the vast business transactions between the Indies, the Islands of the Pacific, and Europe which, seeking the most expeditious route, will strike the head of our great water course at Chicago, Duluth and a port on the northern shore of Lake Superior where the Canadian Pacific Railway shall intersect, and thence take ship, or continue by rail to the ports of Montreal, Quebec or Halifax, thus swelling the tide of traffic through our midst,—then I say, when we consider these advantages, probabilities and possibilities, then may we approximate to an idea of the future business prosperity which Canada has within her reach.

The effect of all this immense transportation upon the general business of the country will be to give an impetus to trade, which shall enliven every industry, and create a prosperity which shall be felt in every nook and corner of the Dominion. Numberless ships would have to be built, giving employment to many men. Railroads would be built in every part of the country, and canals constructed to meet the business wants, employing thousands of men. And then there will be the vast army engaged continuously in the work of transportation, all consumers, every one requiring for their support the industries of other people. The hosts of emigrants seeking homes in the West, and the countless travellers passing to and fro upon pleasure or business, will necessarily and incidentally scatter more or less money along the route, which in the aggregate will vastly swell the wealth of the country. Manufacturing towns and cities will spring up to meet the demands of business, and to supply the wants of travellers passing through our land, and those taking up their abode amongst us. Montreal, Quebec and Halifax will become great and important cities, teeming with busy populations. And then too, the eastern portion of the Dominion—with its unsurpassed privileges of water power, will become manufacturers for the grain producing and mining provinces of the west,

thus greatly increasing the consuming population amongst us, and thereby creating a market at home for those products of the farm which we are best able to produce, and which is of far greater value to us than any advantage that we might derive from reciprocity. The privilege of taking our productions to the United States markets free of duty would be an immediate advantage to us, 'tis true, but it never could be what a permanent market in our own country would be, saving to us a vast amount in freight and commission every year, besides creating business opportunities which would serve to keep our young men and young women at home, and make all classes patriotic and contented to remain in their own land, instead of emigrating to another country, in search of a better. Therefore, fellow citizens, let us not be lured away from our true interests, by a longing, lingering look after that sweet morsel at which we once had a nibble, and which, could we again possess, I fear would lull us into indifference as to our real national advancement and true source of prosperity. But rather let us by our own independent energy more than supply its place, and build up our country by laying hold of the natural advantages which we possess to make it the great thoroughfare of nations, drawing emigration and capital and business into it, by an adequate protection of those industries and interests required to build it up and to make it prosperous and happy. Aye, my country men, let us *strike* for the commerce of the world, and do the carrying between the East and the West, between Europe and the Indies, the Atlantic and Pacific, and let us become the greatest of maritime nations. We have the shortest and most feasible route, and it requires but an effort upon our part to make our country the great pathway of commerce. And if we are wise, we shall not haggle about the *expense* of diverting all of this traffic and travel through our own land, nor shrink from the outlay. A hundred million of dollars judiciously expended in building canals upon this route, and a hundred millions well laid out in the construction of a railway from the St. Lawrence to the Pacific, would within the next decade increase the wealth of our country three hundred fold, and would correspondingly increase the revenues of the Dominion. And even the expenditure of the third hundred million upon the means of transit would not more than meet the demands of business twenty years hence.

But all of this great business will not come to us if we idly wait for it; for none are coming to make our canals and railroads for us, and if we would gain it we must make an outlay; and, in making an outlay, we should consult, not the present, but the future, and make it adequate to meet the utmost demands which the commerce of the world may require. It never pays to do things by halves, and, in enlarging the St. Lawrence canals, we should do so with regard to the wants of the hundred million of population which is eventually to inhabit the West whose road to the East is naturally by way of the lakes and the St. Lawrence. And, that the connection of lake and river navigation may be complete, we should construct a capacious ship canal around Niagara Falls; and no difficulty should stand in the way of the accomplishment of this object, for it is of the utmost importance to Canada, both financially and nationally, that vessels may pass uninterruptedly from Montreal to the head of Lake Superior. Another highly important water connection, which should receive the earnest attention of our Government, is the construction of a ship canal to connect the waters of the St. Lawrence with Lake Champlain, that the facilities of water communication between New England, New York City, and the West, may be as complete as possible by this route.

But, while looking to the making of a great highway of commerce through our country, we should not overlook other interests of essential importance; and, as one of the present great needs of Canada is to fill up her broad land with industrious and energetic citizens, our Government and people should use every legitimate means to draw immigrants to our shores, and to induce them, when here, to remain amongst us, or to settle the wheat-fields of our great North-west. And to this end, the immigrants arriving in our several ports should receive a welcome reception, be protected from imposition, assisted to find employment or land for settlement, and furnished with every information concerning the various parts of our country, its laws, people, and Government. I am aware that foreigners generally are impressed with the idea that republicanism is the essence of liberty, and that, therefore, the United States can confer a greater degree of liberty upon her citizens than can possibly be given to subjects of a British Dominion; and

this is the conceit of a majority of the people of the neighboring Union, who vainly imagine that the greater part of the people of Canada are tired of British rule, and would willingly exchange their Government for a Republic, and that, in case of a war with England, Canada would fall an easy prey to the United States. And then we have also a few amongst us—and they are but a few—who really believe that it would be for the advantage of Canada to be annexed to the United States. But I venture to say, and the proofs will bear me out in it, that Canada is to-day a better governed country than the United States; that its laws are better and more faithfully executed, and that, in consequence, we have proportionately a less amount of crime, fraud, and corruption, and that, under our system of responsible Government, while we are individually guaranteed all of the personal liberties and essential privileges of self-government attainable under a republican constitution, we are possessed of a Government more stable and less liable to corruption, venality, and oppression. Like the United States, the Government of Canada is composed of two parliamentary bodies, termed the House of Commons and the Senate, and an executive head, who is called the Governor-General.

The Parliament is the law-making power of the Dominion, and acts independent of all dictation or influence on the part of the British Crown and Government; while the Governor-General is the administrative head appointed by the Crown, who forms the connecting link between Canada and the mother country, and is directly responsible for the good and wise government of the country over which he is placed in charge; and he can govern well only through the aid of the people, to whom he invariably appeals in all cases of serious difficulty with the legislators of the country. By this appointment of our executive head we are saved the periodical excitement, turmoil, and party feuds and strife consequent upon an election to fill this important office; and, being thus independent of all party organizations and partizan influence, he has no incentive to corrupt the country by the dispensation of Government patronage to secure himself in his position or promote the interests of party. And still another advantage of our system of Government is that our official appointees, as a rule, hold their office during good behavior, thus securing greater efficiency and

faithfulness than where the incumbent's term of office expires with the Administration which appointed him. It is both the policy and interest of England to select only men of known ability, sound statesmanship, and probity of character, to fill so important a position as Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada; for her prosperity is England's strength and safeguard in her hour of danger. She has no motive or desire to dictate or control our internal affairs, in any form whatever, but rather to cause us to stand up in our own strength, that our latent energies may be brought forth and the depth of our resources developed. And to this end she has confederated her North American Provinces into one grand Dominion, and withdrawn her naval and military support, retaining over them only the semblance of empire by the appointment of their executive head, the Governor-General, that she may have one friendly ally to fall back upon in the hour of need.

Thus the British Government has made the Dominion mistress of her own fortunes; and, with a Governor who has every motive and inducement to govern to the satisfaction of the people, there is no reason why Canadians should not be the best governed people in the world; and if they are not it is their own fault in not choosing suitable men to legislate for them. We have our liberties, and social welfare in our own hands; we have a climate and country fitted for the development of a vigorous, and prolific race of animals; and no people are more healthful and hardy; no more serviceable, and valuable horses; no finer cattle, sheep, and swine, than are produced within our Dominion. In short, we have nothing wanting to make this the most desirable country to emigrate to, but the development of its resources, and the display of that energy and enterprise on the part of its people which shall create and call business into it and through it, and make it the most thriving country upon the earth.

The Dutch for many years monopolised the trade with the East Indies, supplying Europe with its luxuries, and thereby laid the foundations of their great wealth; but, some 200 years ago, the English wrested the traffic from them, and have since carried it on, heaping up immense wealth from its avails; and, as a consequence, building up a commercial and naval marine which has made them

masters of the sea. The first Napoleon Bonaparte sought to make France the medium of this trade by attempting to establish her power in Egypt, Arabia and Palestine; aiming eventually to get possession of British India, and carry on the trade by that route. And, latterly, Napoleon the Third thought to divert this trade by constructing a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez. But, although the canal was successfully completed, yet the route appears not to be a favorite one, most probably owing to the political uncertainties of that region, and the treacherous character of the inhabitants around about; and the canal will eventually be rendered an entire nullity by the shifting sands of the Red Sea, which are reported as already filling up the channel.

The hopes of the commercial world that a short cut to the Pacific Ocean might be obtained by a canal across the Isthmus of Darien, has also met with disappointment, as the route has been examined by practical engineers, and pronounced impracticable; the land ridge being too high to be cut, and too extensive in breadth to be tunneled, with no water of sufficient height to overcome the difficulty by means of locks and cuts; and, for similar reasons, the route by way of Nicaragua will be found to be no better. Thus the commerce between Europe and Asia, and between the Northern Atlantic and the Pacific, tired of the long, tedious, and dangerous routes around the Capes, would seek out a cheaper, safer and more expeditious route; but none available and satisfactory presents itself, and there is no other resource but to follow the old routes, unless there is a cheaper transit obtained across the American Continent than any now in operation. Now, if we take a globular map of the earth, and measure the different routes, we shall find that the nearest available route from England to Japan, China, Australia, India lies directly through the Dominion of Canada to Fort Vancouver, and thence across the Pacific Ocean, exactly in the course of vessels from more southern ports. This route is some hundreds of miles shorter than by way of New-York and San Francisco; and with a through line of railway from the port of Halifax to the port of Victoria, under the control and direction of the Canadian Government, the transit of freight across the continent can be profitably made at a much lower rate than by any other line of road, and with the open navigation, for six or

seven months of the year, of the water communication from the Atlantic to the head of Lake Superior, and eventually by canal to the foot hills of the Rocky Mountains, by way of the lakes of Manitoba, and the Saskatchewan river, we can freight from China to England cheaper than by any other route.

The superiority of this route above all others is apparent, and no one can doubt but what this is the great natural channel of trade, commerce and communication through a habitable and civilized country, in the temperate climate between the eastern and the western parts of the old world, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and between the civilized nations of Western Europe and the semi-civilized nations of Eastern Asia, whose vast numbers and boundless wealth presents a field for commercial trade and traffic, which has been only partially opened up as yet, and will be doubly increased when China and Japan shall have opened wide their doors to the civilized world.

Now what are Canadians going to do? Will they put forth an immediate and giant effort, and dig the canals, and build the roads which shall divert this vast trade through their own land to their infinite advantage? Or will they stand aghast at the magnitude of the work, and quietly wait for foreign capital to come and make these essential improvements to our prosperity for us?

Wait, until this commerce finds avenues of transit through the country of our more enterprising neighbors? Wait, and let our country drag its slow length along at the snail's pace, and let the greater portion of our young men leave us year after year to cast their lot in a land of enterprise, and let the foreign emigrant pass through our land as through a dry pasture to more verdant fields beyond? No! A thousand times no! And the very hills echo, *No!*

There is reason to believe that the people of this Dominion are not quite so dead to their own interests as to let slip this golden opportunity to rise into prosperity and power, and to build up a great and mighty nation, a branch of the British Empire based upon the most liberal principles of self government. For already I see them awaking to their own interests, and constructing and inaugurating lines of canal and railway which are to become important links and accessories to the great through lines of transporta-

tion between the East and the West. Yet there are, I fear, but few of the people of this Dominion who fully comprehend the great interests at stake, and the importance of moving promptly and vigorously in this matter, to the early completion of the great through lines of travel not only for the sake of the outside trade and travel into our land, but also to facilitate communication, travel, and trade with our western Provinces, their settlement, and development of the wealth of their resources. And it is my object at this time, to more fully rouse up the public mind, and bring the people to more clearly see the great interest which they have in this matter, and accordingly to take action, for the work is of *national importance*, and the sooner the people as a nation take hold of the matter and carry it forward to swift completion, the sooner will they reap the benefit of it. The Dominion stands pledged to the Province of British Columbia to complete a line of railway from its capital city, Ottawa, to the Pacific coast within ten years.

But if we can build such a road as we want in half that time, it will be a gain of five years, and in these days that space of time works great changes, both politically and commercially; and five years of the world's traffic, five years advance in the opening up of our great western territory, with its rich mineral regions, will be invaluable to us in our present business needs, and would add more to our ultimate prosperity than ten succeeding years. Then let us hasten the work; and yet, while we hasten, let us build permanently and securely; let our railway bridges be of stone and of iron, and so constructed as to endure for ages, and let every precaution be taken in the building and management of the road as to insure the utmost safety to life and property. It is too commonly the case that railways are built in the cheapest possible manner, and are run with a view to the utmost immediate gains, and too often with a reckless disregard of life and property. The consequence is, the frequency of accidents, collisions, exposed and unprotected portions of road-beds washed away, roads damaged and broken because of the insufficiency of culverts in case of high flood, bridges burned because not of stone or iron, and in the long run causing a far greater loss than in the outset would have secured permanence and safety. In our school days we were

taught a maxim, that "whatever is worth doing, is worth doing well." And in proof of this, it will be found that the difference in the running and incidental expenses between a cheaply constructed and a thorough built railway, will be greatly in favor of the latter, and in a score of years would more than repay the increased cost in building.

I am in favor of progress, improvement, and an advancing civilization; yet would have a conservative progress, a progress which would be sure, safe, and enduring. I would have Canada a model of liberality, based upon a foundation which shall stand the shock of ages and outwear the wheels of time.

And in order to accomplish so desirable an object, we must inaugurate and sustain a school system which shall guarantee to every child of competent mind within the domain a common education, which shall fit them to understand the ordinary business transactions of life and the evident principles of popular government. And, secondly, we should provide that every child, before arriving at legal age, shall be instructed and trained to some trade, business, or employment, which shall be adequate to afford an honest living when pursued with ordinary diligence and care. For our country cannot afford to permit her future citizens to be brought up to an idle, thriftless, vagabond life, as she needs the hands of every one industriously put forth and directed by an intelligent mind. Here lies the secret, the groundwork of true national greatness, prosperity and prowess. An intelligent industry, secured by a thorough system of practical training, is the one great assurance of the strength, safety and permanence of a people. It is the conservative part of liberalism, without which the national body becomes distracted and falls to pieces.

As the youth are educated and trained up, so will be the political and moral standing of a people; for, if left in ignorance, they will inevitably become the dupes of demagogues, or of artful, designing men, who will lead them to anarchy and ruin, or keep them in poverty by making their labor subservient to their own individual wealth and luxury.

If brought up in indolence, or educated to despise labor, effeminacy and decay are the consequent result. But give a people knowledge and rear them to habits of industry, and you have the

elements of strength and prosperity. Like a hive of bees, each one will daily add something to the general wealth. Yet, like the bees, we must take some measures to get rid of the drones — who produce nothing, but live upon the labors of others — before we can think of laying up a store of honey.

Look at Prussia. She is to-day the strongest military power in existence, simply because she gives to her people a systematic, practical and mental training, which develops both mind and body, and imparts a moral force of character, which, when properly directed, is invincible. And poor France, upon the other hand, is to-day humbled before her conqueror only because of the ignorance, pride, and effeminacy of her people, caused by a lack of that practical, intellectual and moral training which gives weight and strength to citizenship, and consequently insures national power.

Therefore let us take a lesson from these two examples, and secure to ourselves national strength, permanency and prosperity, by establishing a judicious and impartial system of mental, moral and physical culture, which shall be of practical use to each individual citizen and subject, while it elevates us in the scale of nations.

In the matter of railroads, we would have every line in the Dominion run under the supervision of a government officer, who shall direct the movements of every train by telegraphic orders over a wire provided for that purpose, who shall be responsible to the Government for the safe conduct of trains, and whose orders shall be strictly obeyed by the employés of the road under him. This officer to run the several trains in accordance with the time-table furnished him by the directors of the road, and no extra trains are to be run without his leave, and none taken off without due notice given to him; his pay to be fixed by act of Parliament, and paid from the funds of the road or roads of which he may be placed in charge. This provision for the safety of passengers and freight by rail we consider to be essentially due to the travelling public, whose lives and property should be protected, as far as possible by the Government. I am not in favor of the Dominion Government furnishing means, money, or patronage for the construction of local railways, built to conserve local interests; but in the trunk lines, which form the grand thoroughfares of travel

and transportation through the country from East to West, we would have the Dominion directly interested, and the roads under its control, that stockholders and the traveling and commercial public may be secured from the frauds, impositions, extortions, and grand swindling schemes of ambitious men, who aspire to gain the control of such roads that they may use them not only for their own emolument and vicious purposes, but as a source of power for the wielding of oppression and political influence.

Now we are to have a Pacific railway, for the interests of commerce call for it, our wide-spread domain requires it, Columbia demands it, the Dominion has pledged itself for it, and the question is, how shall we build it? In accordance with my views already expressed, I will now offer a few remarks and suggest a plan for the construction and management of this road, which will place it in the hands of the people, and forever beyond the reach of monopolists or ambitious, designing men, and make it a permanent, safe, and profitable investment. A Government never should leave to private enterprise and interest what concerns the interests of the general public.

If our Government can better subserve the public by posting letters and papers over the country than private carriers and companies, why not connect therewith the telegraph, to the infinite advantage of both the people and Government, as this method of transmitting intelligence has become a necessity to the business interests of the country at large, besides being a great public convenience which should certainly be extended and the rates cheapened. Likewise, a great railway extending through a country which is demanded by its commercial and political interests, and which is to become a great national thoroughfare, can best conserve the public in the hands of the Government. Such a work should not be given into the hands of speculators upon any contingency, for such persons can only be induced to undertake such enterprises upon the assurance of vast gains; and with these vast gains, and the road in the hands of the Government, far cheaper freight and passage could be attained than in the hands of a private company, which is one great desideratum required by the people, and should receive the consideration of the Government. Then, look you, if the Dominion has lands which would be greatly enhanced in

value, and brought into market by the building of a railway through them, is it wise financial policy or good national policy to create a vast land monopoly to get this road built, when the Government can fully as cheaply build the road and own it, and save her lands, enhanced in value, for the benefit of the actual settler, who might thus be induced to locate where he otherwise would not? Again, is it a wise policy for Canada to give to a private company the control and management of a road which is a great political necessity, required not only for the binding of the several Provinces together, but which must be greatly used for Government transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts? We think not, and can see no good reason why this should not be made a national road, when every interest of the Dominion demands it. Therefore, firmly believing it to be the true policy and duty of our Government to construct the railway from Ottawa to the Pacific under its own direction and supervision, and, having constructed, to retain its control and management, I present the following scheme for its construction, which is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the Dominion Parliament and the citizens of Canada, hoping to see its principles embodied in a Bill before the Commons. I do not propose to have the Dominion furnish only a third part of the estimated cost of this road, provision being made to induce the investment of foreign capital to the amount of the other two-thirds, by guaranteeing a profitable rate of interest thereon annually, with a proportionate share in the net profits of the road when there shall be any over and above the amount of the interest paid. All of the power to control the affairs of this road, its construction, management, &c., is intended to be vested in the House of Commons, the representatives of the people; though they are allowed the appointment of only a third of the board of directors in whose hands the management is placed.

I do not intend to present a formal bill, as law-making is not exactly my business, but in my scheme, as I call it, Article 1st provides for the survey and location of the Dominion Pacific railway with the right of way of the same for Government purposes and it is herein advised that the road be located from Ottawa westward, so as to touch the northern shore of Lake Superior at a point the most favorable for a port, and of feasible connection

with the Northern Pacific road of the United States—from thence, to take the most direct and favorable route through the Province of Manitoba to the valley of the Saskatchewan. This may not be the most direct route, yet it is the route above all others to pursue; being the most practicable, profitable and best suited to our present wants. First, it is essential that we furnish a direct outlet by rail eastward to all the region bordering the lakes north of Chicago and all of the vast territory beyond, whose business will naturally fall into the line of the Northern Pacific Railway, whose line it is important for us to tap in order to secure its eastern transportation, and prevent it from taking a more southern route. Secondly, it is of the first importance that our grain-growing provinces shall have a railway communication with lake navigation as speedily as possible. Thirdly, in order to successfully compete with the Northern Pacific in the transportation of such overland freight from the Pacific coast as intends to take shipping on the lakes, it would be necessary for our own Pacific road to strike the head of lake navigation in its course. And, fourthly, by commencing at an accessible point on lake Superior, and pushing the work in both directions, eastward and westward we should be able to open up railway communication with Manitoba and complete the whole road to the Pacific in half the time that we otherwise could by driving at only two ends. And if, at some future time, it should be considered desirable to construct a more direct line from the valley of the Ottawa to the valley of the Saskatchewan we can do so, but at present I do not think that it would be profitable, advantageous, or serve our present business needs.

Article 2nd indicates the character of the road to be built and its estimated cost, according to actual survey, and provides for the issuing of stock bonds of various denominations, from fifty dollars to one thousand, to the amount of two-thirds of the said estimated cost; the Dominion guaranteeing thereon four and one half per cent. annual interest; and the said bonds shall be sold at par and placed to government account on behalf of the construction of the said Pacific Railway.

Article 3d. The Dominion guarantees to construct and fully complete the said railway, and place the same in good running order, equipped with rolling stock and all of the necessary appliances

for the transaction of business, and shall furnish the balance of the funds necessary for the same, let it be more or less; and shall own one-third part of the road forever. And the holders of the Dominion Pacific stock bonds shall own a two-thirds interest in the said road for ever, and shall share a corresponding dividend of the net profits of the road when there shall be any over and above the amount of interest stipulated, not exceeding ten per cent. in all.

Article 4th creates a board of directors, twenty-four in number, who shall personally superintend the construction of the Pacific railway, and shall have sole charge and direction of the same, and shall be held accountable only to the House of Commons for the honest and faithful discharge of their duties as herein-after mentioned. This board shall be appointed by the three branches of government as follows: The House of Commons shall appoint eight members, the Senate shall appoint eight, and the Governor General eight.

Article 5th defines the rules for the organization and government of the board. In thirty days after the appointments shall all have been filled, the members of the board shall meet in the city of Ottawa, and there proceed to choose from their own number a President, a Secretary, and four Vice-Presidents, who shall have charge of the movements and working of the board, in accordance with the following plan of carrying on the work. The board having organized and consulted upon the matters concerning the details of the work, shall be under the general direction of the President who shall assign them to the several points at which work is to be commenced in the following order: The first Vice-president shall prosecute the work, assisted by four Directors, who shall be under his immediate direction, from the city of Ottawa westward. The second and third Vice-Presidents, with four Directors each, shall commence at the designated point upon Lake Superior where the road shall touch its north-western shore, and from thence shall severally prosecute the work eastward and westward. The fourth Vice-president with four Directors shall be assigned to the western terminus of the road, and prosecute the work eastward. The President and Secretary shall have their headquarters in the city of Ottawa, and shall retain the two remaining Directors to act as business agents and assistants in connection with the building of the road.

It shall be the duty of the President to superintend the business transactions of the board, to keep himself informed of the progress of the work, to furnish the several parts of the board with all necessary help, machinery, supplies, &c., needed for a vigorous prosecution of the work, and to keep a just and true account of the same, with all of the expenditures incurred by the board, which he shall cause to be recorded in a book kept in charge of the Secretary ; and shall make a quarterly report of the same, which shall be placed upon file in the office of the Minister of Finance. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a just and true account of the transactions of the board, to post their accounts and hold their books and papers in safe charge, allowing no one to tamper with them in any form. It shall be the duty of the several Vice-Presidents to keep a correct account of their proceedings and transactions in the several parts of the work to which they were assigned, of the supplies furnished by the President, the number of men employed and the amount of labor performed by each man, and other additional expense ; all of which, item by item, shall be clearly recorded in a book kept for that purpose, a true report of which, attested by the four Directors associated with him, he shall forward quarterly to the President and Secretary of the board.

Article 6th provides that the board shall commence, carry on and complete the Dominion Pacific Railway in accordance with the specifications furnished them by the Dominion Government ; and shall deliver the same to whomsoever the Parliament of Canada may appoint to receive it, in good running order, furnished and equipped with the necessary depots, buildings, sheds, side tracks, rolling stock, machinery and appliances required for the transportation of freight and passengers over a first-class road.

Article 7th. The Parliament shall yearly appropriate a sum of money sufficient to meet the estimated indebtedness incurred by the board, and provide for the quarterly payment of the debts contracted by the board when the same shall have been inspected and audited ; no payment being made by proxy.

Article 8th. The House of Commons shall fix the pay of the Board of Directors, and shall have sole power to remove any of its members at will, yet shall fill only the vacancy of their own appointees, the Senate and Governor respectively filling any vacancy

among their appointees. The President of the board shall also have power to suspend any obnoxious or refractory member, whose presence is useless or a hindrance to the work, and present him to the Commons.

Article 9th. No intoxicating beverages shall be kept, sold or given away along the line of the road, and any person furnishing the same to its employees shall receive thirty lashes upon his bare back well laid on.

Article 10th. No gambling of any description shall be allowed along the line of the road ; and any person guilty of selling lottery tickets, or dealing or tending any game of chance at which money is staked, or of taking any bet or money for which no equivalent is given, shall be treated as a common thief and robber, and shall receive thirty lashes upon the bare back well laid on ; and shall take himself off, and not be caught again within 40 miles of the line of works, under the penalty of a double dose.

The foregoing articles indicate our plan for the construction of the Pacific Railway : and, with a board of directors selected for their practical energy, ability and business intelligence, it is, we think, the most feasible, practical and economical method that the Government can adopt. And in connection here, we would recommend the policy of offering a land premium to all able bodied men who shall faithfully work upon the Dominion Pacific Railway for three and five years, over and above the regular rate of wages, provided that they shall occupy and improve the same. A large number of emigrants would be thus induced to settle in Canada who have neither money to buy lands, nor to stock a farm if they had it, but after working for a few years upon our railway, they would be secured of both, and Canada would be benefited as well as the emigrant and the railway. A land premium of 100 acres for three years' service and 160 acres for five, given to laborers upon our Pacific Railway, upon condition of settlement, would prove to be a far more profitable disposition of our lands than giving them to a railroad corporation.

And any act of our Government which tends to alienate the public lands from the cheap and easy acquisition of settlers is not only a very unwise measure, but an actual curse to the country, and a serious damage to its advancement ; as witness the Seignioria

tenures of Lower Canada, and the Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada. But the people have a voice in these matters, and can regulate them in accordance with the interests of the Dominion, if they would only speak out their sentiments in tones which shall ring in the ears of their representatives, and sink into the hearts of those who would ask their votes at the ensuing elections. And here let me urge upon the people to interest themselves in the affairs of the Dominion, and coolly watch the doings of their representative legislators, that they may impartially judge for themselves as to their merits, and whether they fitly represent the interests of their country and constituents. The prosperity of a country depends upon the wisdom and patriotic integrity of its representative legislators, and the character of these depends upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people who elect them. If they are indifferent to the interests of the country, they need not be surprised if their representatives should prove indifferent also.

Prejudice, partizanship and monied influence too often exercise an undue bearing upon popular elections, and the citizen who basely prostitutes the sacredness of the franchise to his sordid passions is unworthy of the name of freeman, for he virtually consents to sacrifice liberty and the interests of his country to his own selfish feelings. But show me a man unbiased by either fear nor favoritism, who can not be bought nor sold, but holds his vote subject to an intelligent judgment, and I will show you a true patriot and a man upon whom his country may rely in her hour of danger. Let the freemen of Canada stand by their integrity, and assert their independence at elections, vote for only honest, clear-headed, sensible men who have the good of their country at heart, and their prosperity shall be glorious, and the land peaceful and happy. But, if talented rascality or gilded stupidity is elevated to power, they may expect the reverse of this, and that their interests will be bartered and sold for gain.

The late disturbance in the peaceable settlement, by arbitration, of the difficulties between England and the United States, roused the apprehensions of Canadians generally that war might be the result, and that Canada would be the fighting ground; and this leads me directly to the consideration of the position which the

Dominion occupies in relation to both the British government and the United States, for there seems to be a general misunderstanding in regard to it. As I have already asserted, we form an independent portion of the British Empire, and what this signifies is, that we are independent of all action or authority of the British Parliament and Parliamentary Government, having been made so by their own free act ; and henceforth Canada is responsible only to the British Crown for her loyalty to the empire ; and this Sovereign cannot dictate to her, but only recommend to the Dominion Parliament, through the Governor General, such measures and acts as he may deem proper, and then must abide their action, the same as in the case of the British Parliament. This is precisely our position to day, and it only remains for us to assume it. When the British American Provinces were consolidated into a Federal Union, and Great Britain had withdrawn her forces and left us to our own defences, then the Dominion Parliament became the peer of the English Parliament, and the latter has no more right to return her troops to our shores without our consent than she has to land them in France ; and, in case of a war with the United States, Canada need not be dragged into the broil, unless she chooses to set herself up for a target in a quarrel which does not immediately concern her ; but by standing neutral, she will compel the fight to take place across the sea, between the parties direct, and this would be of no disadvantage to England, as her strong right arm lies in her naval power, while she has no spare troop sufficient to wage an offensive war against the United States, and would prove far stronger without Canada, than with her to defend. With Canada neutral we need have no fears of the United States undertaking its conquest, as she has no cause for war with us, and she is not so unreasonable as to attack an independent power, simply because we were once a colonial possession of Great Britain ; and if, by any possible chance, she should make war upon us, we have a powerful ally in England, whose naval fleet, at our request, would be sent to our assistance,—and with this force to fright and lay waste the American seaboard. I contend that Canada is sufficient for her own defence ; for six millions of resolute determined people, in such a country as ours, are not to be easily conquered, as the experience of our neighbor with her Confederate States will attest ; and, with the whole British

Empire at our back we might hold out indefinitely, and prove far stronger in the end than at the beginning.

But I consider it idle to entertain any probabilities in the matter, for I have too much faith in the practical good sense of the American people to believe that they will go to war with either England or Canada, with her present national debt upon her shoulders to weigh her down. Should the present differences between England and the United States fail to be amicably settled it would be the true policy of Canada to ratify her portion of the treaty and maintain amicable relations with the American Government; and, in case war should eventually ensue, she could, without detriment to the mother country, declare her neutrality and hold peaceful commerce with her neighbor.

This must be our position, if we have any position in the world, and this must be our policy, if we are to have a policy.

Loyalty to the Dominion and its representative head is all that England can consistently ask or expect of us. Having virtually declared us independent by her acts, she can have no jurisdiction over Canadian soil nor Canadian waters, accordingly, the British Commissioners exceeded their powers in the treaty of Washington. When they gave to the United States the privilege of navigating Canadian rivers for ever, without any reference to the consent of Canada. For, if we have jurisdiction over the waters of the ocean for three marine miles from the shore, it follows as a matter of course that we have equal control over the navigable waters extending inland, which no power has a right to deprive us of; and the giving away to a neighboring nation the free use of our waters for an unlimited period of time, without the consent of Canada, is an act of injustice to us by the High Commissioners, which seems unaccountable in men who certainly ought to understand the first principles of both local and international rights, and to have the judgment to respect them. The assumption is one which Canada cannot admit, with honor to herself; and we can see no good reason why the privilege of navigating our waters should be extended to the citizens of the United States longer than the continuance of the treaty, as stipulated in Article 33. Article 26 is evidently an infringement of the local right of Canada to say who shall have the right to use her water ways and who shall not, and for how long,

and should be resisted with proper dignity ; for, while remaining loyal to the British Crown and Empire, we must cut the leading strings which bound us as a colony to acquiesce in all the doings of British authority, and assume the position that the Dominion Parliament and the Governor General are sufficient for the internal control of the affairs of Canada.

It is manifestly for the interest of the Dominion to cultivate the most intimate and friendly relations with both the Mother Country and the United States, and, while judiciously protecting our own industries and interest, to create no unnecessary bar to trade and traffic with the respective countries, nor let the protection of one industry militate against another.

Canada has a mission to perform, and that mission is to act as an intermediate between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations—the nation of the Old World, and of the New ; and, in order to accomplish this it is essential that she take a bold and uncompromising stand, which shall command the respect of the world, and win the favor of her own people ; and let her adopt no uncertain shuffling policy, but be consistent in all of her acts, and above board, and the great God of Heaven shall pour out his blessings upon her. Fellow Citizens, I here finish my remarks, hoping that they may meet your approbation and benefit both you and your country.

H. B. GATES.

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