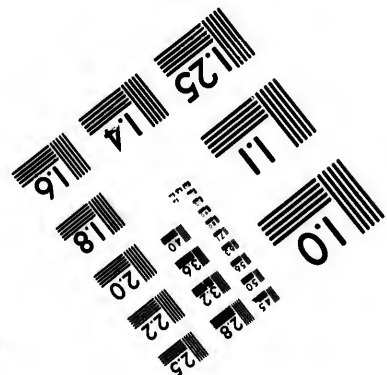
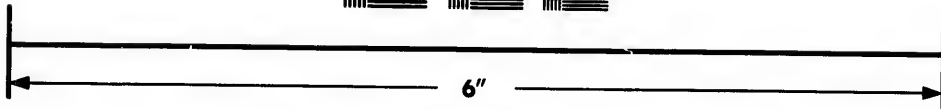
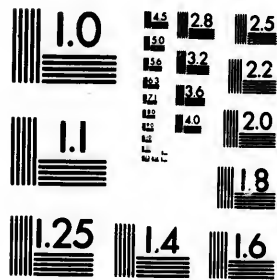


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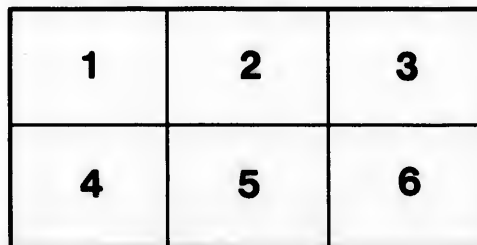
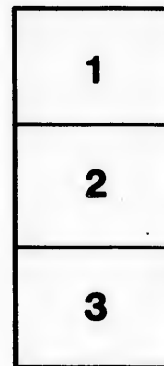
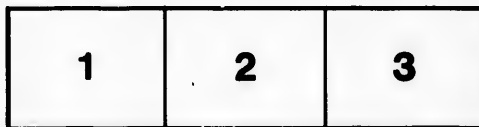
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## RESULTS

OF

## FIVE YEARS GRIT-ROUGE RULE

IN CANADA.

*The Pacific Railway—Grits out of and in Office contrasted—An American Policy.*

The most important work that the Dominion of Canada has on hand, at this moment, is the construction of the Pacific Railway. Whatever differences of opinion may exist now in relation to the importance of that work, we have undoubted evidence that the party represented in the Government of the day were strongly in favor of it before they took office. The *Globe* is in its politics more than a mere newspaper. It is not simply the organ of the administration and of the party whose views it is supposed to represent, it, in fact, furnishes the policy for both. Under these circumstances, having regard to the fact that the *Globe* and the Clear Grits have always thought alike, we do no violence to the latter in holding them responsible for the measures advocated by the former.

**The *Globe* on the Pacific Railway.**

On the 3rd February, 1871, at the time when the Union with British Columbia was about to be consummated, the *Globe* had an article on the subject of the Pacific Railway, than which nothing stronger has ever appeared in any Canadian newspaper. We give a few extracts from this article, and we ask the reader to bear in mind the principles they embody, the conditions they lay down as essential to the future greatness of this Dominion, and to contrast them with the policy which has since been pursued by Mr. Mackenzie's government:

"The success of one Pacific Railway points

to others being constructed, and renders them more than ever a necessity. People could do with none, in fact, better than they will allow themselves to believe they can do with one. Accordingly, a "Northern Pacific" is already in process of construction; another to the south has been projected, and on one through British territory is a necessity, if the Dominion is to have anything like a fair chance of fulfilling its destiny and developing its mighty and varied resources. Many objections have already been urged against the road across British territory, and the promoters of that from Duwitt to Puget Sound are specially kind in arguing that such an undertaking would be a sheer waste of money which could otherwise be far more usefully and remuneratively employed. Why not, it is said, use the one already in course of construction, with branch feeders stretching northward to Fort Garry and other points of the North West, as the necessities of the country require?

"A very cursory examination of the country to be traversed by the American road from the head waters of Lake Superior will show how fallacious all such arguments are, and how not only the line through British territory may be carried through from strictly commercial considerations, but must be, if British authority is to be maintained on this continent, and our new Dominion made practically, as well as in theory, a great fact. Apart from all other considerations the very fact that the line now under construction is through American territory would be a fatal objection to its being made the great Trunk line for the Canadian Northwest. Those who had the command of it would in a few years command the country. All the intercourse both social and commercial, of the people of our Northwestern region would be directly with and through a foreign people and what might at any time become a hostile country. By the mere stroke of his pen a foreign ruler might lay an embargo upon the whole intercourse of that part of Canada with what lies to the East. The bonding system, as we have lately

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had hinted in connection with a region nearer hand, might be stopped capriciously, and on very short notice; the tide of emigration might be turned away from our borders, to a certain extent at any rate; while everything would conduce to MAKE THE ABSORPTION OF THE WHOLE TERRITORY BY THE STATES A MERE QUESTION OF TIME, AND OF TIME VERY SHORT AT THE LONGEST. THE CONNECTION OF ALL THAT REGION WITH THE MORE EASTERN PARTS OF THE DOMINION WOULD BE MERELY NOMINAL, AND WHERE THE PEAR WAS UNCRUISE, IT WOULD NATURALLY FALL AS FROM THE FIRST HAS BEEN DESIRED, INTO THE LAP OF OUR VERY ASTUTE AND ENTERPRISING COUSINS OVER THE WAY.

“Our neighbours know the value of the prize involved, and are making gigantic efforts to secure it exclusively for themselves. Our rulers will be traitors to their country and to British connection if they lose a single season in making it practicable and convenient for settlers to go to Fort Garry through our own territory, and in putting things in a fairway for the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is a question not merely of convenience, but of national existence. It must be pushed through at whatever expense. We believe it can be pushed through, not only without being a burden peculiarly upon Canada, but with an absolute profit in every point of view. Without such a line a great British North America would turn out an unsubstantial dream; with it, and with ordinary prudence and wisdom on the part of her statesmen, it will be a great, a glorious and inevitable reality.”

That was the view of the Liberal Party on the eve of the union with British Columbia. They held that the Pacific Railway was a manifest and pressing necessity, that “BY IT ALONE COULD THIS COUNTRY HAVE ANY CHANCE FOR A FAIR SHARE IN THE LUCRATIVE TRADE OF THE NORTHWEST, WHICH WILL SHORTLY SPRING UP—A NEW AND VARIED TRAFFIC WITH THE PACIFIC WORLD,—WHICH, TO A GREAT EXTENT, WILL PASS THROUGH CANADIAN TERRITORY, IF ONCE WHAT WILL BE THE SHORTEST AND EASIEST ROUTE FROM OCEAN TO OCEAN IS IN WORKING ORDER.” They, in advance, denounced our rulers, declaring that they would be “traitors to their country and to British connection if they lost a single season in making it practical and convenient for settlers to go to Fort Garry through our own territory, and in putting things in a fair way for the Canadian Pacific railway.” They pronounced the question to be “not merely one of convenience but

“of national existence,” and urged that it must be “pushed through at whatever expense;” and after, apparently, a fair consideration of the subject, they expressed the belief that “IT CAN BE PUSHED THROUGH, NOT ONLY WITHOUT BEING A BURDEN, PECUNILIARLY, UPON CANADA, BUT WITH AN ABSOLUTE PROFIT, IN EVERY POINT OF VIEW.” And then, winding up with a patriotic peroration as to the future of this country, they declared that, without such a “line, a great British North America would turn out as an unsubstantial dream; with it, and with ordinary prudence on the part of British statesmen, it will be a great, a glorious and inevitable reality.” That was the policy urged upon the statesmen of this country by the *Globe* in February, 1871.

In accordance with the views thus enunciated the late Government, on their union with British Columbia, stipulated for the construction of the railway within ten years, declaring, at the same time, with the entire concurrence of the delegates from British Columbia, THAT IT SHOULD BE BUILT BY A COMPANY ONLY, AND IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO ADD TO THE ANNUAL BURDEN OF TAXATION OF THE DOMINION.

The *Globe* newspaper, which had urged it as of paramount necessity that this road should be built at once, immediately commenced a series of attacks on the Government for adopting the *Globe's* own views. When the measures were introduced in 1872, by which the Government took power to organize a company for the building of this railway, they were met with the most determined opposition. It is worth while, now that the Liberals have had five years in which to develop their own policy, to contrast, for a moment, the policy of the two parties in relation to this great national enterprise.

#### Policy of the late Government.

The policy of the late Government was to build the railway by means of a company, granting to that company a subsidy of thirty millions of dollars in money and fifty millions of acres of land, reserving, as a means of recouping the country for the money subsidy, fifty millions acres of land in alternate blocks.

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which, enhancing in value by the rail-  
way itself, would become a source of pro-  
fit to the Dominion. The policy in fact  
was one by which the railway was to be  
built at the cost of that portion of the  
country through which it passed, and  
which was to be specially benefitted by it.  
By securing the co-operation of Sir  
Hugh Allan, the Government did much  
more than secure the assistance of a man  
of great wealth and of great energy. Sir  
Hugh Allan is a large ship-owner, one of  
the largest in the world. In connection  
with his business he employs some twelve  
hundred agents in Great Britain and Eu-  
rope, as passenger brokers—men who  
hold from the Imperial Commissioners  
of Emigration certificates entitling them  
to act as emigration agents. The policy,  
therefore, in its entirety, included in ad-  
dition to the construction of the railway  
by an independent company, a thorough  
and complete organization for inducing  
emigrants to go into the North-  
west. Nothing could have tended  
so much to open up that country  
as the success of such a scheme. The  
whole emigration work of the Govern-  
ment would, in fact, have been performed  
by the company, and thus the system  
which has peopled the great West of the  
United States, and has given to it that  
marvellous development which is the  
wonder and admiration of the whole  
world, would have been at work to per-  
form similar service for the Canadian  
Northwest. We should have had the  
railway built and worked by an inde-  
pendent company; we should have  
had one of the largest steamship in-  
terests in the world, directly interested  
in peopling the country to be  
traversed by the railway; and we should  
have had in the reserved blocks, a means  
of recouping the country for the money  
grant, thus realizing the *Globe's* predic-  
tion of securing the construction of this  
road, "not only without being a burden,  
"peculiarly, upon Canada, but with an  
"absolute profit, in every point of view."  
How was this policy met?

#### Obstructions of the Grits.

Every effort was put forth to prevent  
the success of the scheme. The  
very newspaper which had de-  
clared that the public men of Canada  
would be "traitors to the country

" and to British connection, if they lost a  
" single season in making it practicable  
" and convenient for settlers to go to  
" Fort Garry through our own territory,  
" and in putting things in a fair way for  
" the Canadian Pacific Railway," devoted  
all its energy to destroying confidence in  
the scheme, to belittling its prospect of  
success to those invited to invest money  
in it, and to creating in England, where  
its articles were extensively copied by  
those opposed to the enterprise, an im-  
pression that every dollar invested in it  
would be a dollar thrown away. On the  
19th April, 1873, when the delegation  
from the railway company was in Eng-  
land, endeavoring to secure money for  
its construction, the *Globe* said: "We do  
" not believe that proposals founded on  
" so absurd a scheme will meet with any  
" favor from the shrewd capitalists of the  
" London Stock Exchange." On the  
20th February, 1873, when the company  
had issued an advertisement asking for  
Canadian subscriptions to the road, the  
*Globe* thus denounced the project:—

But that makes the cool impudence of the  
invitation to subscribe all the greater. Sup-  
pose, as they evidently know or will tell  
nothing, we give the information they are  
withholding. In the first place, they ask Can-  
adians to put their money into an enterprise  
that has no existence except on paper; of  
which no one knows the beginning, cost, or  
ending; of which no one can tell the ultimate  
chances of profit, or calculate the possible ex-  
tent of loss—all that has been conceived in  
political intrigue, and the charter for which  
has been extorted from a beaten and falling  
minister—whose place is not worth a mo-  
ment's purchase—by American speculators or  
their tools or agents, acting in the interests of  
a railway line which the President of the  
Canadian Pacific is known specially to favor,  
and which he has declared will take all the  
traffic of the west and north-west. Is not this  
a very hopeful and encouraging picture to  
present to prudent and saving people?

These arguments were clearly appli-  
cable, and were intended to be so, to peo-  
ple in England who were asked to sub-  
scribe; and coming, as they did, from a  
newspaper regarded as the leading paper  
of Canada, and going among people who  
did not understand nor care to inquire  
into the motives that prompted them,  
they had their effect and prevented the  
success of the project. A patriot

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course would have undoubtedly led to different results.

If the *Globe* and its party had acted up to their own convictions, as expressed in 1871, of the importance of this enterprise, and had withheld the violent opposition which they made to it, sinking, for the moment, their mere party difference in the good of the country, there is no doubt but that the scheme would have been floated, and these last five years of great depression would have been much relieved by the energetic prosecution of the building of this railway, in the hands of a private company.

**Policy of the present Government.**

The present Government came into office in November, 1873. Mr. Mackenzie had thus thrown upon him the responsibility of opening up the Northwest, and of carrying out the policy in relation to the Pacific Railway, which he had urged so strongly while in office. How has he succeeded? The policy of the Government is embodied in the Act providing for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which they introduced. It is a remarkable fact that after for two years denouncing the Government for having irrevocably bound Canada to complete the railway within ten years, and after declaring that the resolution passed at the time of the Union with British Columbia, and with the assent of the delegates from British Columbia, to the effect that the railway should be constructed and worked by private enterprise and not by the Dominion Government, and that the public aid should not increase the then existing rate of taxation, was of no value or effect, they embodied the resolution in the Act of Parliament, as part of the terms of union, and have actually proceeded since upon it. In this Act they divided the railway into four sections:—

1st. From a point near to the south of Lake Nipissing to the western end of Lake Superior.

2nd. From Lake Superior to the Red River, in the Province of Manitoba.

3rd. From Red River to a point between Fort Edmonton and the foot of the Rocky Mountains.

4th. From that point to some point in British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean.

They provided, further, that there

should be two branches: the first commonly known as the Georgian Bay Branch, and the next from Fort Garry to Pembina. By the Act provision was made for letting the construction of different sections, or for subdividing them and letting them in sub-sections to companies who would construct them for a money subsidy from the Government, the companies to own and run the road after it was built. It was also provided that, in case the Governor-in-Council found it more advantageous to do so, the railway might be built as a public work, to be owned and worked by the Dominion. In his speeches, both before the meeting of Parliament, and when introducing the policy embodied in the Act, Mr. Mackenzie declared himself in favor of a system of utilizing the water stretches between Lake Superior and the Red River, in the Province of Manitoba. His first contracts were let on that basis. The first section, about forty miles from Lake Superior to Lake Shebandoan, was intended to be the eastern link of the water and rail route, to connect Fort Garry with the waters of Lake Superior. In that connection, and as a part of an amphibious route, the celebrated Fort Frances Lock was commenced. In undertaking this work Mr. Mackenzie showed, at once, his contempt for Parliament and his contempt for the law. There was no money obtained for these locks, except as part of the Pacific Railway. If, therefore, it was intended to build the locks as a part of the railway, they should have been let by public contract to the lowest bidder. Here is the clause of the statute which bears upon that subject:

"In case it shall be found by the Governor in Council more advantageous to construct the said railway or any portion thereof, as a public work of the Dominion of Canada, THE CONSTRUCTION THEREOF SHALL BE LET OUT BY CONTRACT OFFERED TO PUBLIC COMPETITION, and the Governor in Council may establish from time to time the mode and regulations under which the contract shall be given, and the railway or such portion thereof shall be constructed and worked, after it has been completed, including the rates to be charged for freight and passengers; such regulations not being contrary to any of the provisions of the Acts regulating the Department of Public Works or any other Act or law in force in the Dominion."

It is not necessary here to dwell upon this feature of the railway policy, beyond saying that, in consequence of the com-



mencement of these works, a quarter of a million dollars have been utterly wasted by the Government. The work was let out at day's work, a superintendent was appointed, and by that means an enormous amount of patronage was secured to the Government; while, as regards practical utility, even the Government engineers declared that the work will be useless. Before the first section of the railway was completed, Mr. Mackenzie altered his plan. He abandoned his intention of utilizing the "magnificent water stretches," and in consequence was compelled to change the contract which had been let, stopping short of Shebandan, some 15 miles, and running the railway northward so as to pass by the waters. Contracts have been let from Selkirk, about 30 miles north of Fort Garry, running eastward; and, although five years have elapsed since Mr. Mackenzie took office and four years since the first contract was let, there is still a link of about 130 miles which has not been let, which is not intended this year to be let, and yet without which, the portions being built, even if completed, would be practically useless. About the same time that the line from Lake Superior to Shebandan was put under contract, the Pembina branch was let to Mr. Whitehead. It has been graded now for nearly three years, and yet only within the last two or three months has any contract been let for the ties, ballasting, and laying rails. During all that time the famous steel rails have been rusting beside the track, and no attempt has been made to lessen, by at least that distance, the journey into Manitoba. Those five years have passed without a single mile of the railway being completed, so as to be fit to be used for public purposes, while the expenditure during that time has amounted to considerably over one-third the entire subsidy proposed to be paid by the late Government to the Canada Pacific Railway Company. That is the result up to this time.

**The Government policy an American one.**

There is unfortunately, however, a more serious phase to the question. The whole policy of the Government in connection with the great Northwest has

been to divert trade into American channels. That the Pembina branch has not been completed, that the other line from Selkirk to Lake Superior has not been pressed forward, has been largely due to the strong interest which the North Western Transportation Company was able to bring to bear upon the Government. Nothing was done in the way of completing the Pembina branch until the gentlemen connected with that Company had secured the "Dutch bonds," and, by that means, obtained control of the St. Paul & Pacific Railway. That having been done, an arrangement was at once made, through the influence of Mr. Donald A. Smith, with Mr. Mackenzie, to complete the Pembina branch, and to lease it to the St. Paul & Pacific Company for ten years. That lease was, in fact, nothing more nor less than a perpetuation of the monopoly from which the people settled in our own northwest have so grievously suffered. Last session, a bill was introduced, to enable the Government to make this lease. After discussion, it passed the House of Commons, (as any measure introduced by the Government was certain to do) and then went to the Senate. In that House the bill was also passed, but a clause was added requiring that the lease, when made, should be referred to the Senate as well as to the House of Commons, and should not be binding until it received the assent of both Houses. Mr. Mackenzie, rather than consent to this, abandoned the bill, and immediately an attempt was made to create a prejudice against the Conservative party in Manitoba, upon the ground that the action of the Conservative majority in the Senate had prevented their getting an outlet by rail this year. Meanwhile, however, the Northern Pacific Railway commenced moving in the direction of the completion of the connection between their line and Pembina. With that connection completed, there could be no possible doubt as to the interest of Canada to give the Northern Pacific the preference, if the Pembina branch was to be leased to any one. By that line, the produce of the great West would be brought to Duluth, and, at that point, Canadian and American vessels could compete on equal

terms for the transportation to the seaboard. By connecting with the St. Paul & Pacific, the whole trade of the Northwest will be sent round by St. Paul and Chicago, and must inevitably become lost to Canada, in so far as any practical advantage arising from transportation is concerned. Mr. Donald A. Smith and his friends of the Northwestern Transportation Company resolved to block that game, and, within the last month, Mr. Mackenzie has, notwithstanding his withdrawal of the bill which he introduced last session, and, therefore, without any parliamentary sanction, signed a lease of the Pembina branch to the St. Paul & Pacific Railway Coy., or, in other words, to Messrs. Smith, Kittson, Hill & Co. By this means, the monopoly of this company has been further fastened upon the people of the Northwest. The chance of Canadian competition for the trade of that country, which a connection with the Northern Pacific would afford, has been given up, and the money of this country has gone to build up a powerful corporation belonging to, and to promote the interests of the trade of, a foreign country.

**Great testimony to the danger of the Government policy.**

We do no injustice to Mr. Mackenzie in making these statements. When the late Government was in power, and when Sir Hugh Allan was negotiating for the construction of the Pacific Railway, he made a speech in the town of Peterboro', which enabled the *Globe* and other Liberal organs in Ontario to denounce the scheme which he foreshadowed as one in the interests of Americans. His proposal, at that time, was to extend the line from the Canada Central, North of Georgian Bay, to Sault Ste. Marie, crossing there and skirting the Southern shores of Lake Superior, to connect with the Northern Pacific, and thence with the Pembina branch into Fort Garry. How much such a scheme as that was to be preferred to one carrying the whole trade of the Northwest to St. Paul and Chicago, surely requires no argument to prove. And yet the *Globe* denounced any scheme by which a single mile of American railway had to be traversed in reaching the Northwest. It demanded the immediate completion of the road from Fort Garry to Lake Superior, so that

trade and emigration might be directed exclusively through British territory. Referring to the connection with the Northern Pacific, which, as we have shown, is much less dangerous than one with the St. Paul & Pacific, it exclaimed:—"How this might be used to hinder Canadian development, stop emigration to our vast western plains so long as the company's lands in Minnesota and elsewhere were unfilled and in every possible way cripple our resources need not be repeated." That was in the month of March, 1873. In the February previous it had said:—"It is curious to observe how the stream of traffic, once turned in a certain direction, will continue to flow in it, in spite of competition;" and then went on to denounce Sir Hugh Allan's policy in these terms:—

"Why, the very first piece of road that is to be finished, if the terms of the charter are complied with, IS TO BE A FEEDER OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC. \* \* \* And this is to be completed, according to the contract, by the end of next year (December 31, 1874.) WHILE THE LAKE SUPERIOR ROUTE TO FORT GARRY—AFTER YEARS HAVE BEEN FRITTERED AWAY IN WHICH EVERY EFFORT SHOULD HAVE BEEN EXTENDED TO OPEN COMMUNICATION THROUGH BRITISH TERRITORY—IS NOT TO BE COMPLETED TILL THE END OF 1876."

Surely, in the light of what Mr. Mackenzie has done, that sentence is a very strong condemnation of him. Much more appropriately might it be charged against him, as the *Globe* charged it against Sir John A. Macdonald, "that he has handed over this vast enterprise to fill the pockets of foreigners, and to deplete the resources of Canada in order to support a rival undertaking." Indeed, so extraordinary did it appear to the *Globe* that the Pembina branch should be built before the connection with Lake Superior was secured, that the Government were openly charged with having sold themselves to American interests. Here is the statement from the *Globe* of the 19th February, 1873:—

"We cannot close our ears to the statements, reaching us from all sides, that American gold and influence are at the bottom of the whole movement. It is openly boasted in New York, and echoed with some substantiality of detail elsewhere, that the corruption

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fund which furnished Sir John A. Macdonald with the means of war in July and August last was, to a very large extent, supplied by a ring of American capitalists, that are now, for their own purposes, backing up the ostensible promoters of the Canada Pacific; and it is broadly asserted that the threat of turning upon the Minister who had thus placed himself at their mercy enabled the sharp Yankees to carry their point at the last moment and bag the game."

We know that the statement made here was untrue. We know that, so far from Sir John A. Macdonald having yielded to the threats of the Americans, when Mr. McMullen came to him with his batch of letters, he simply showed him the door, and took such means in the organization of the Company as would prevent Americans having anything to do with it. But how great the American interest was, in the estimation of the *Globe*, in having this Pembina branch built first and the trade of the Province diverted into American channels, is evident by the fact that it considered the trade to be worth large sums of money to American operators. The evil which must result to the interests, both of Canada and the North-west, and to that identity of interest between the different parts of the Dominion which is essential to its well being, was stated as follows, on March 13th, 1873, by the *Globe*. It is remarkable reading in the light of the policy which the present Government have adopted:—

"We hold, and have always held, that OUR FIRST DUTY IS TO HAVE A CONVENIENT AND READY WAY OF ACCESS TO OUR GREAT NORTH-WEST, THROUGH OUR OWN TERRITORY, without being dependent, during the summer, upon our neighbours at all. Experience has shown the need of this, and every year will make it more manifest. Hindrances and vexations manifold have been thrown in the way of our emigrants to Manitoba passing through the States, and it is not difficult to see that these, instead of diminishing, are likely to be increased so long as present arrangements continue. THE EMIGRANTS TO THE BRITISH NORTH-WEST, WHETHER BY DULUTH OR DETROIT, ARE AND WILL BE MET BY PARTIES ANXIOUS TO OBTAIN ON THE FUR ROUTE, AND INDUCE THEM TO SETTLE EITHER IN MINNESOTA OR SOME OTHER OF THE WESTERN STATES. All who, when they come into contact are in one way or other interested in having their own country filled up and the Canadian portion of the continent neglected. THE RAILWAYS HAVE LARGE TRACTS OF LAND WHICH CAN ONLY IN THIS WAY BE RENDERED VALUABLE; and yet, as if to work into the hands of all these American schemers, the British and others in Montreal and elsewhere would allow the present state of things to continue—may, intensify the evil by increasing the likelihood of large numbers

being stopped *in transitu* to the North-west by forcing them to travel through a wide extent of country, where the inhabitants are all anxious they should remain, and especially anxious to prejudice them against the British territory. ALL THIS DANGER WOULD BE OBVIATED BY A RAILWAY FROM THUNDER BAY TO FORT GARRY."

And in answer to the suggestion that this railway would pass over, practically, a barren waste, the argument was presented as follows:

"There are but few settlers between Lake Superior and Lake Manitoba, but SPEEDY AND DIRECT RAILWAY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TWO GREAT SYSTEMS OF INLAND NAVIGATION OF BRITISH AMERICA IS A MATTER OF ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE, and all will agree that its construction ought to be undertaken at once and carried rapidly forward to completion. It is a necessity for the settlement of the whole north-west country. It is a means of ingress for settlers is wanted, and also for the egress of whatever supplies the new population can raise."

We ask the public to look at the present policy of Mr. Mackenzie in the light of these undoubtedly correct views of the *Globe*. By his policy he has spent a very large sum of money in commencing the construction of a road from Fort Garry to Thunder Bay, but, by leaving the centre link untouched, that money has practically been thrown away. He has not simply connected Fort Garry by means of the Pembina branch with the Northern Pacific, which would at least, carry the trade to Duluth, but he has handed that branch over to a body of monopolists who, having for years swindled the people of the north-west by exorbitant charges on the Red River, now intend to continue their game through the St. Paul & Pacific, of which they have obtained control. If there was ground for suspicion that the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald had been influenced by the Americans, in arranging for the completion of the Pembina branch a year before that between Lake Superior and Fort Garry, surely there is ten-fold more ground for suspicion in the policy which is now being pursued. The public know that the American operators wanted the railway to be built in such a way as to become a feeder to the Northern Pacific. The public know that as a consequence of the refusal of the late Government to lend themselves to such a scheme, the American manipulators threw all their influence with the

Clear Grits to defeat that Government. At the very moment that the *Globe* and others were denouncing Sir John A. Macdonald for having sold the charter for American money, these Americans themselves were in the confidence of the leaders of that party, were furnishing them with information in order to punish Sir John for refusing to be a party to their unpatriotic projects. **THE LATE GOVERNMENT WAS DEFEATED BY THE AID OF THOSE AMERICANS, AND TO-DAY WE FIND THE WHOLE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE PACIFIC RAILWAY, AFTER FIVE YEARS' EXPERIENCE, DICTATED BY THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES, OF AMERICAN RAILWAYS, INSTEAD OF BY THOSE OF CANADA AND OF CANADIAN RAILWAYS.** Looked at from a Canadian standpoint, nothing has occurred within the last five years that calls more loudly for the condemnation of the Government than the manner in which they have conducted this railway policy. It is worth while to give, in a *resume*, the points, so that they may be easily understood:—

1. The contract for the Georgian Bay branch, without surveys, without the slightest knowledge of the country, and its abandonment at the end of twelve months, upon the ground that it was impracticable, at a cost to the country of forty odd thousand dollars.

2. A contract with the Canada Central which resulted in \$68,000 being paid for iron rails, so bad that we venture to say no railway engineer would risk the lives of passengers by placing them on a railway to-day.

3. The purchase of 50,000 tons of steel rails in a falling market and at a loss of nearly two million dollars to the Dominion.

4. The construction of the Fort Frances Lock, as part of a system by which the water stretches were to be utilized, at a cost of a quarter million dollars which might as well, for all practical purposes, have been thrown into the sea.

5th. The abandonment of that scheme after large expenditures and the building of bits of railway from Lake Superior and Belknap, respectively, into the wilderness,

while the contract for the connecting link of 130 miles is held over.

6th. The letting of the contract for the grading of the Pembina branch, and then the abandonment of the work for nearly three years until the Northwestern Transportation Company, having obtained control of the St. Paul & Pacific, found it their interest to connect with that road, and thus perpetuate the monopoly which had proved so cruel and unjust to the people of the Northwest.

7th. The leasing of the Pembina branch without parliamentary authority, to the St. Paul & Pacific Railway Company, at a moment when the Northern Pacific were about building a railway to that point, which would have afforded a far better road for the traffic of Canada with its own Northwest.

8th. The diverting of the whole trade of the northwest into American channels, and the bringing about, by that means, all those evils which were so strongly depicted by the *Globe* in the extracts which we have given.

9th. The expenditure of the following sums of money, without a single mile of railway fit to be used, after five years' possession of power:—

Total expenditure on Pacific Railway, as per public accounts, to 30th June, 1877.....	\$7,975,578
Estimates voted for the financial year ending on 30th June, 1878.....	1,814,000
Supplementary estimates voted for the financial year ending on 30th June, 1878.....	823,900

Total expenditure to 30th June, 1878, may be assumed at.....	\$10,613,478
Estimates voted for this work for the year 1878-79.....	2,919,700

Total amount voted by Parliament..... \$13,533,178

The electors of Canada can hardly imagine a more unpatriotic policy, judged by the *Globe's* own statements of what its results must be. And the electors, with the opportunity now offered them, there is little doubt, will take means to prevent the continuance of a policy by which all that was hoped for from our connection with the magnificent Northwest territory, will be destroyed, and all the expenditures made in that territory prove to have been in the interest of a foreign country.

