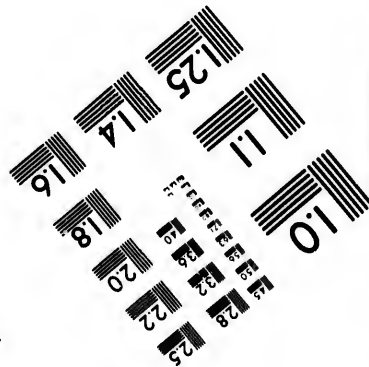
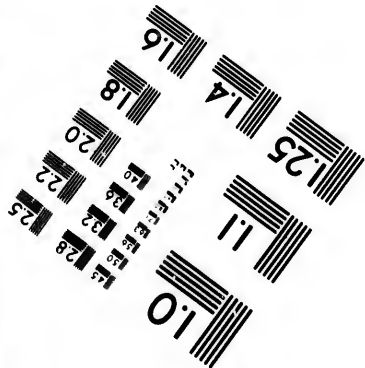
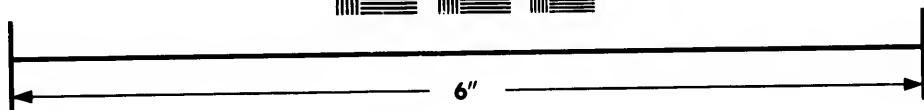
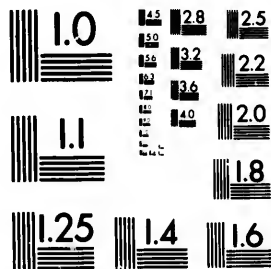


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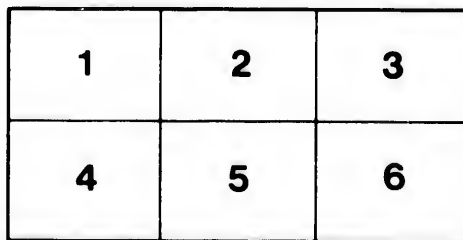
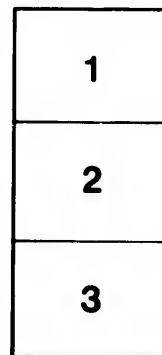
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The Government Gazette Extraordinary.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

VICTORIA, B. C., MARCH, 1870.

Legislative Council.

DEBATE ON THE SUBJECT OF CONFEDERATION WITH CANADA.

WEDNESDAY, 9TH MARCH, 1870.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL CREASE opened the debate on Confederation, as follows:—
Mr. President,—I rise to move that this Council do now resolve itself into Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the terms proposed for the Confederation of the Colony of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada, in His Excellency's Message to this Council.

In doing so, I am deeply impressed with the momentous character of the discussion into which we are about to enter, the grave importance of a decision by which the fate of this our adopted country of British Columbia must be influenced, for better, for worse, for all time to come. And I earnestly hope that our minds and best energies may be bent to a task which will tax all our patriotism, all our forbearance, all our abnegation of self, and selfish aims, to combine all our individual powers into one great, united effort for the common good.

May He who holds the fate of Nations in the hollow of His hand, and crowns with success, or brings to naught, the counsels of men, guide all our deliberations to such an issue as shall promote the peace, honour, and welfare of our Most Gracious Sovereign, and of this and all other portions of Her extended realm.

And now, Mr. President, I must dwell a few moments on the exact practical import of the motion before the House, and the issue which is involved in the "Aye" or "No" which each Honourable Member will be called upon to cast upon the question which you, Mr. President, will put to the House in that familiar Parliamentary phrase "That I do now leave the Chair?"

This issue is, Confederation or no Confederation? The motion assumes that the principle of Confederation has been already fully adopted by this House—and having so assumed, asks you now to go into Committee of the whole to discuss the Terms on which the Colony would be content to be confederated with the Dominion.

Your question, therefore, Mr. President, "That I do now leave the Chair?" means—Will you refuse

Confederation at any price? or Will you have it on favourable terms? That is the issue before us now.

Now, therefore, is the time for those Honourable Members who, notwithstanding the previous Resolutions of this House so frequently affirming the principle, ["No, No," from Dr. Helmcken] still conscientiously object to the principles of Confederation, to come forward and explain to this Honourable body, and to the country at large, their views,—why they still refuse to aid in the consolidation of British interests on the North American Continent, by the Confederation of this Colony with the Dominion, and the creation of one homogeneous nationality from sea to sea.

Some Honourable gentlemen say "No, No" to my statement that the House has affirmed the principle of Confederation. But I appeal to the Journals of this House, in proof of what I state. I well remember, on the 19th March, 1867, when the "British North America Act, 1867," was being framed by the Imperial Parliament, this Council, anxious to be embraced within the purview of its provisions, passed by an unanimous vote the following Resolution:—

Resolved, That this Council is of opinion that at this juncture of affairs in British North America, east of the Rocky Mountains, it is very desirable that His Excellency be respectfully requested to take such steps, without delay, as may be deemed by him best adapted to insure the admission of British Columbia into the Confederation on fair and equitable terms, this Council being confident that in advising this step they are expressing the views of the Colonists generally."

And more than that, this Resolution was followed up by a deputation of individual members to Governor Seymour, who at their instance telegraphed to the Secretary of State the purport of that Resolution; and on the 22nd March, the following Message was sent down to the Council on the subject:—

"The Governor has received the Resolution of the Legislative Council, dated the 19th instant, in favour of the admission of British Columbia with the proposed Confederation of the Eastern British Colonies of North America. He will place himself in communication on the subject with the Secretary of State, with Viscount Monck, Governor General of Canada, and with Sir Edmund Head, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company."

Whatever construction may be put upon this Resolution by Honourable Members who have said "No, No," one thing is certain, it affirmed, in the most distinct manner, by this Council the principle of Confederation, the advisability of our joining at sometime or other the Dominion of Canada. That principle has during every subsequent session, down to the present day, been confirmed, either directly or indirectly, by a specific Resolution of this House ["No, no," from Dr. Helmcken and Mr. Wood]. Thus, on the 25th

April, 1868, a Resolution was passed, confirming the previous Resolution, in the following terms:—

"That this Council, while confirming the vote of last Session in favour of the general principle of the desirability of the Union of this Colony with the Dominion of Canada, to accomplish the consolidation of British interests and institutions in North America, are still without sufficient information and experience of the practical working of Confederation by the North American Provinces, to admit of their adopting the terms on which such an Union would be advantageous to the local interests of British Columbia."

What is that but a confirmation of the principle? Now let us look to the Journals of 1869. There I see that, on the 17th February, 1869, when owing to the position of other political issues then current in the Colony, it would have been easy, had it been so desired, to procure an adverse verdict on the principle of Confederation, the House, though invited to do so, refused to go any further than to request Her Majesty's Government (while the North-West Territory was still out of the Dominion) not to press the present consummation of Union. The word "present" was an express amendment of my Honourable colleague opposite (Mr. Trutch) and myself, so as to preserve the principle, and bide our time. The House, therefore, I take it, has thoroughly and uniformly committed itself to the principle of Confederation, and may very properly be invited now, setting aside all causes of difference, for the common good, calmly, frankly, and cordially to enter upon a discussion of the terms. But if any Honourable Members think the principle has not been decided, now is the time and now the hour to settle that point (as far as this Session and this present Council is concerned) once and forever. They are bound, in support of their views, to lay before the Council the reasons for the faith that is in them, and to explain why we should not consolidate ourselves with the Dominion.

And here, Mr. President, let me say a few words upon the position the Official Members of this Council have occupied throughout the whole of this matter.

Their action has been much misunderstood—I will not say misconstrued—both in England and at Ottawa.

Until the receipt of Earl Granville's Confederation Despatch of 14th August, 1869, they did not feel themselves at liberty to go further in the direction of Confederation than to affirm the general principle of its propriety, carefully abstaining from the expression of opinion on the merits of any particular mode, details, or time of carrying that principle into practical effect.

That, they considered, could most effectually be done by Her Majesty's Government, an Executive peculiarly qualified for the task, this Legislature, and the People of this Colony all acting in concert together, as it is now proposed to do.

I do not at present intend to enter into the details of what particular terms would or would not be most advantageous to this Country in any proposal for Confederation.

That will be a question for the House to settle when, if ever, we get into Committee on the subject; but, inasmuch, as the principle of Confederation means the advisability of consolidating British interests on the North American Continent, it is impossible to lose sight altogether, in a debate upon the principle, of the general advantages to be derived by British Columbia from a participation in that great scheme.

I readily confess that there are drawbacks to material union, such as distance, lack of communication, and, to some extent, want of identity of interest, which can only—but yet which can—be removed either wholly, or in a very great degree, by suitable conditions of Union.

It is for us to determine those conditions in this House, and after negotiation upon them with Canada, to submit them to the decision of the popular vote, the people being the parties principally affected by the change, who will have to pass in the last resort, once and for ever, upon the whole question.

The circumstances, political, geographical, and social, under which we are at present placed, compel us to political movement in one direction or another, and the question is now—in what direction shall we go?

We are sandwiched between United States Territory to the north and south—indeed on all sides but one, and that one opening towards Canada. Our only option is between remaining a petty, isolated community 15,000 miles from home, eking out a miserable existence on the crumbs of prosperity our powerful

and active republican neighbours choose to allow us, or, by taking our place among the county of nations, become the prosperous western outlet on the North Pacific of a young and vigorous people, the eastern boundary of whose possessions is washed by the Atlantic.

This is the only option left to faithful subjects of the British Crown.

Now look at our condition as a Colony, with a climate far finer than any other in the world, with magnificent harbours, rivers, seas, and waters for inland navigation, with unrivalled resources of almost every description you can name—coal, lumber, spars, fish, and furs—mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, and almost every other mineral throughout the land; with a soil and climate admirably adapted to pastoral and agricultural pursuits—with almost every natural advantage which the lavish hand of nature can bestow upon a country—the undoubted fact remains:

We are not prosperous.

Population does not increase.

Trade and Commerce languish; coal mining does not advance; agriculture, though progressive, does not go forward as it might.

The settlement of the country, though increasing, yet falls short of just expectations.

No public works for opening the country are on hand, and a general lack of progress (that is, proportioned to the extraordinary resources of the Colony) is everywhere apparent.

And why is this?

It is not, as some allege, because of the particular form of Government we at present enjoy (if it were, Confederation in that would effect a change).

It is among other things a Public debt altogether disproportioned to our means.

Our close proximity to an active and powerful neighbour whose interests are foreign to our own, ("Fear, Honor," from Dr. Hlchackon). But the chief reason of all is that policy of isolation which has kept us aloof from the assistance and sympathy of a kindred race, and left us in the infant state of one of England's youngest Colonies, to support the burdens and responsibilities of a thickly peopled and long settled land.

Do Hon. Members ask what would Confederation do for us?

It would at once relieve us from the most if not all the present ills from which we suffer, if properly arranged.

For Confederation in some sense means terms. It would assume our Public Debt.

Greatly increase our Public Credit, and thereby aid in the utilization of our varied resources.

It would leave us a good balance in our Exchequer to carry on all local works and open out the country.

It would give us a Railroad across the Continent, and a quick and easy access to Ottawa, New York, and London.

It would cement and strengthen, instead of weaken, our connection with the Mother-land, and ensure the protection of her Fleet and Army.

It would attract population, ever tending in a continuous wave towards the West.

It would promote the settlement of our Public Lands, and the development of Agriculture.

Under it Trade and Commerce would take a fresh start. It would enlarge, not contract our political horizon, and it would infuse new hope and life blood into the whole system of the Colony, and not leave us a mere detached Municipality, as some suppose, any more than Scotland is separate from the rest of Great Britain, or the County of Kent from England.

I leave to others to dilate upon the advantages which Canada would derive from the connection, the possession of a Far West (Canada's great want) into which her rapidly increasing population may pour, instead of going to swell the bulk of the adjoining States.

Those gentlemen will be able to show that the ultimate importance—may possible existence—of the Dominion as a Nation may hereafter, in some measure, depend upon her Union with ourselves.

To them, also, I leave the task of dwelling on the healing of old internal feuds of race and language of which Confederation is the only cure.

If we watch the progress of events, they all point to the same end, to the growth of a new universal sentiment of nationality in British America.

It is clear that events all gravitate in that direction. [Mr. De Cosmos "In the direction of Confederation or Nationality?"]

I say Sir, that the current of events points to Confederation and ultimately to Nationality.

Confederation is evidently our ultimate destiny—Our own interests—Canadian aspirations—and Imperial policy, as enunciated in the Secretary of State's Despatch, all point the same way.

We shall, therefore, best consult the real interests of the Colony, the sooner bring on a new era of progress and prosperity in this favoured land, by not delaying to debate and consider over the advisability of the principle itself, but at once to go into Committee of the Whole, and there combine all our energies upon the best scheme to be submitted in the last resort to the decision of the people, for carrying out the principle of Confederation, under God's blessing, successfully into practical effect.

The motion was seconded by the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, who was excused from speaking at this stage of the debate on the ground of indisposition, under which he was manifestly suffering.

The Hon. Mr. HELMUCKEN said, the subject of Confederation was seconded by His Excellency the Governor in his Speech, in the following terms—

"The community is already acquainted with the Despatch which I have recently received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State on this subject, and the careful consideration of it cannot longer be delayed in this country by Her Majesty's Government, to the advantage of the Colony. I commend it to your earnest thought. For my own part I am convinced that certain terms, which I believe it would not be difficult to arrange, this Colony may derive substantial benefit from such a Union. But the only manner in which it can be ascertained whether Canada will agree to such arrangements as will suit us, is to propose such as we would be ready to accept. With the assistance of my Council, I have prepared a scheme which I shall come to be laid before you. Resolutions framed upon that basis will enable me to communicate with the Government of Canada and ascertain whether they will be willing to accept the proposition."

While the views of Her Majesty's Government have been clearly and fairly expressed upon this question, I am sure there is no desire to urge the Union, except in accordance with its general acceptance by British subjects in the Colony. I do not, therefore, propose that any terms agreed upon by the Government of Canada should be finally accepted, until ratified by the general verdict of the community, so far as that can be ascertained through another Council, of which the Colonial Members shall have been re-elected."

Before proceeding to the consideration of the subject, I will reply in a very few words to the speech of the Hon. Attorney General. The Hon. gentleman laid great stress upon the consolidation of British interests on this Coast, but I say, Sir, that however much we are in favour of consolidating British interests, our own interests must come first, Imperial interests can well afford to wait. We are invited to settle this question now and for ever, but I say that we are not called upon to do so; the matter will come before the people after the proposed terms have been submitted to the Dominion Government, and it will very likely happen that, if these terms are rejected and others of a more mature substituted by the Government of Canada for the consideration of the people of this Colony, other issues may come upon the polls, and amongst them, the question whether there is no other place to which this Colony can go but Canada; whatever may be the result of the present vote, it is impossible to deny the probability of the less being absorbed by the greater; and it cannot be regarded as improbable that ultimately, not only this Colony, but the whole of the Dominion of Canada will be absorbed by the United States. The Hon. Attorney General has not attempted to prove the advantages which will result from Confederation, he has contented himself with vague assertions of advantages.

The question is only brought down by the Governor in consequence of the Despatch of Lord Granville; and we have to do to agree to a series of Resolutions. It is not pretended that it is the voice of the people, or the voice of this Council. It is well understood that it is a Government measure. And we all know what that means—it means that this series of Resolutions is to be passed—And we have it from the Governor that he desires to send these Resolutions to Canada; they will not go, they are not intended to go, as the opinion of the people, but when certain terms have been agreed upon between the Government of this Colony and the Dominion Parliament, they will come back to the people for ratification. It remains then for the people to organise, so as to be ready at the proper time to give their verdict, for the responsibilities will ultimately rest with the people, and it is for them to say whether they will have Confederation or not.

I do think, Sir, that the question ought to have been an open one.

Her Majesty's Government ought not to have inter-

fered, they are not justified in interfering in business which we could very well manage for ourselves.

I feel certain that His Excellency will act uprightly, fairly, honestly, and generously, by and for, the Colony [hear, hear]; and, Sir, I fully believe that if these terms are declined now, in any future negotiations that may take place, if the people support the Governor, no terms will be accepted, or ever proposed, which would lead to this Colony being sacrificed to Canada, and that the people will have every opportunity afforded them to organise for the final vote when the time arrives for the settlement of this question "finally and forever," as the Honourable Gentleman has put it.

I see no reason, Sir, why Her Majesty's Government should interfere with our affairs, there is no reason that the Members of this Council should be coerced.

The desire of Her Majesty's Government is in reality a command to the Executive.

A new Election ought to have been called before this question was brought on; but there is one satisfaction left us, it is that Her Majesty's Government have left the terms to the Colony.

It is for the people to use that power rightly, wisely, and well, to see that Confederation means the welfare and progress of the Colony.

Now, Sir, in the first place, it is necessary for the people to see that Confederation must be for the general good of the Colony.

I am opposed to this question being brought down now.

I believe it to be most inopportune. It is believed by most people that this Colony is on the verge of great changes. That the new gold discoveries will bring a large population to this Colony, and that the slight despondency which now exists will be swept away, and that this Colony will once more enter upon an era of prosperity not inferior to that which belonged to it a few years ago.

I say, Sir, that this is an inopportune period to bring this question up, because when that population which is expected arrives, our position to negotiate for terms will be much better, because with a larger population and greater prosperity, we may demand far better terms than now, and Sir, it is my firm conviction that if prosperity comes shortly the people of this Colony will not desire to change certainty for uncertainty.

Another reason there is that we ought to wait until after 1871; in that year Canada has to take a census of the population, and when that is taken we shall know the amount of the debt per head. I have no doubt it is greater now than when Confederation was first inaugurated. It is increasing, and I believe that instead of 22 cents per head it will now be 25 cents.

I should like, then, to wait until after 1871, because we shall then have a better opportunity of knowing the financial condition of those with whom we would connect ourselves.

It is inopportune, also, for the reason that the present difficulties in the Red River Settlement are sufficient to cause us great anxiety. I will not take up the time of this House by inquiring whether the people of that Territory are right or wrong. I know not, and shall not discuss the question; but this I do know, that if they induce the Indians to join them it will cause a great delay in the settlement of that country; and we do not even yet know that the Red River Settlement will prove so inviting to emigration as is reported. Again, Sir, I may state that Confederation, so far as it has at present gone, is but a mere experiment. It is nothing more or less than an experiment. And I believe that considerable dissatisfaction resulted from it. If we wait a little longer before seeking to enter within its pale ourselves, we shall know better about the faults of its machinery, and perhaps be able to learn what are its drawbacks, and how we can best avoid them. These, Sir, are good and sufficient reasons for delay. It is absurd to attempt to ally ourselves with a people 1000 miles away, without any settlement of the Inter-vening country, with no communication except through the United States, and with no telegraphic communication. Canada is for all practical purposes further removed from us to-day than England, we know less about her. When we asked for a copy of the Canadian Tariff we were told that there was no copy to be had. ["Yes, yes," from Hon. Members.] No official copy then.

This, then, shows forcibly the latinate nature of the relations subsisting between us. When we desire to refer to the Canadian Year book, a most useful work, which during the present discussion ought to

be in the hands of every member, we find but two copies. This, again, shows the extent of our communication with Canada. Her Majesty's Government seem to think that they know best what is for our interest, and it seems much as if they said to us "You are a Crown Colony, and you ought to remain one. You are not fit to govern yourselves; we do not want you; we will hand you over to Canada." I would rather that we were governed from Downing Street. It is not, in my opinion, necessary or desirable that this Colony should be Confederated with Canada. And now, Sir, let us glance at this Colony. I need not dilate upon what is known to all. I maintain, Sir, that this Colony is one of the richest portions of the world's surface; that it has unlimited supplies of lumber and spars; that it possesses coal, gold, and other minerals in abundance; that her waters teem with fish; that it is rich in everything. Take the climate; it is far better than that of England, far more temperate, far more bright and sunny, and, I may fairly add, far more healthy.

We are asked by the honorable the Attorney General why the Country does not get on; and I will now proceed to tell you, Sir, why the Country has not prospered as it ought to have done. It is because the Government has paid too little attention to the acquisition of population. One very great drawback to its progress and the settlement of her land, is its proximity to the United States; that proximity is one of the chief reasons that it has not been peopled as it would have been; when we look at the energy and enterprise there, and at the field which the United States offers for Emigrants and the enterprising of all nations, how can we wonder that that Country is preferred to ours, and that people when they become dissatisfied here, should leave for the United States. The United States men in on every side, it is the Nation by which we exist, it is the Nation which has made this Colony what it is, but, nevertheless, it is one of our greatest drawbacks. We do not enjoy her advantages, nor do we profit much by them; we do not share her prosperity, and we are far too small to be her rival. The effect of a large body and a small body being brought into contact, is, that the larger will attract the smaller, and ultimately absorb it ["yes, yes," and "no, no."] [Hon. Member for Kootenay--How about Switzerland?]

I say more, Sir, I say that the United States will probably ultimately absorb both this Colony and the Dominion of Canada ["no, no, no," from Mr. Frutch, Mr. Crease, and others]. Canada will in all probability find it quite as much to her advantage to join her ultimately, as we do now to join the Dominion. I say, Sir, that one cause of our want of prosperity has been the neglect of acquisition of population, and particularly of agricultural population. The next cause is that we have driven people out of the Colony.

I need only allude to our having deposed the Free Trade system. That deposition took population out of the Colony which has never been replaced, there was a depopulation of the Cities without any attempt having been made to obtain a substitute rural population; we are now asked to undergo another revolution which will ruin our farmers, and do no sort of good to those engaged in commercial pursuits.

I do not intend, Sir, to flow the details of the proposed terms at present, but there seem items which I must notice.

I hold in my hands the published returns of the Custom House receipts for last year, and this document shows plainly, that no less than half a million of dollars are sent out of the Colony every year for the purchase of agricultural productions, wheat, barley, flour, and cattle, all of which, considering the fertility of our soil, its abundance, the magnificent and vigorous, healthy, sunny, and more than temperate climate, we ought to produce ourselves; this Colony probably raises another half million's worth. If we adopt the Canadian Tariff we shall throw away this million of dollars, that is, the half million which we raise, and the half million which can be raised, and for what? For the sake of problematical benefits, which some think likely to arise from Confederation. If Confederation should come and bring with it the Tariff of Canada, and it will do so, the great inducements which we now have to attract population, will be taken away. So far from Confederation benefiting the commercial community, I say it is much rather calculated to do them harm. No doubt if public works are undertaken, as we are told will be the case under Confederation, employment will be given for a

time, but the supplies required will come from the United States, and our public works will actually be of more benefit to the United States, during their construction, than this Colony. What we want, is an enlarged outlet for our resources. We want markets for our coal and lumber, we want our local industries fostered, and all of these can be obtained by a judicious arrangement of our own Tariff. Next, we want agricultural population, and any increase of this kind of population must depend upon the encouragement given. If our agricultural interests are left without encouragement, we shall not get an increased agricultural population; and, therefore, the country will not reap so much benefit from public works, as the supplies will come from the United States.

We shall find it difficult, Sir, to get a Tariff from Canada that will suit us, and I think that I shall be able to show you, Sir, that Confederation will not produce population. Anything that deprives this Colony of the power of protecting the local industries and interests of the Colony, and of regulating and fostering its commerce and trade, cannot be otherwise than dangerous and injurious to the country.

I feel perfectly sure, Sir, that if Confederation should come, bringing with it the Tariff of Canada, not only will the farmers be ruined, but our independence will be taken away; it will deprive our local industries of the protection now afforded them, and will inflict other burdens upon them; it will not free trade and commerce from the shackles which now bind them, and will deprive the Government of the power of regulating and encouraging those interests upon which the prosperity of the Colony depends.

There can be no permanent or lasting union with Canada, unless terms be made in absolute and faster the material and pecuniary interests of this Colony. The only link which binds this Colony to Canada is Imperial. The people must be better off under Confederation than alone, or they will not put up with it. We are told, Sir, that public works are to be undertaken. I answer that they may do good to some, but the supplies both of food and raiment will come from the United States, who will in reality reap the lion's share of the benefit; and, what is more, as soon as the money was expended the people would begin to consider whether they were equally well off under Confederation, as they might be under another Government; and if a change should be desired, it is perfectly plain that Canada cannot use force to keep the people of this Colony within the Dominion, they must be better off under Confederation than alone, or they will not quit as the Confederacy.

Our true course, Sir, judging from the statistics is not to look to Canada, but to seek to extend our markets for our natural productions, and to obtain an agricultural productive population. I say, Sir, that there is no necessity for us to join Canada; we can get on very well by ourselves at present.

The Hon. Attorney General says Canada will take over our debts, but I say, Sir, that our debt in proportion to our population is very little more per head than that of Canada. When I state this, I mean that Indians are very large consumers and producers, and ought to be reckoned with the population. Our expenses will soon be much smaller. What I mean, Sir, is, that at the end of 1871, this Colony will save \$50,000, for one of the loans will have expired, thus saving us \$36,000, and floating loans will be funded, and we shall save ten or twelve thousand by that.

I shall not go into the question of Canada being able to defend this Colony; I do not believe, Sir, that Canada is able to defend itself. Great Britain has taken away her standing army. Canada will very soon be required to pay for the few troops that are left, and in the next place they will be asked to contribute to the expense of keeping up the navy.

Confederation would make the Dominion territorially greater, but would in case of war, be a source of weakness. It is people, not territory, that makes a country strong and powerful. To be strong, the union must be of people, and in my opinion that condition is wanting. I feel certain that Her Majesty's Government has no wish to be put to the expense of defending the country. No wish to be involved in opinion with the United States. No wish to keep Canada depending upon her support, but rather a wish to force her into independence, to get rid of her altogether.

I am opposed to Confederation, because it will not serve to promote the industrial interests of this Colony, but on the contrary, it will serve to ruin many, and thus be detrimental to the interest and progress of the country. I say that Confederation

will be injurious to the Farmers, because protection is necessary to enable them to compete with farmers of the United States. The Tariff and Excise Laws do not supply that. They will be inimical to brewers.

Inimical to the Spar Trade;
Inimical to Fisheries;
Inimical to Whaling Pursuits;
Inimical to Spar and Lumber Business.

Turn to the Canadian Tariff and you will find grain admitted free. I maintain that if the tariff now imposed upon cereals and agricultural produce be taken away, farmers of this Colony will be brought into competition with the farmers of the United States, and will succumb [Mr. DeCosmos—Lower Country Farmers.] Yes, and here the Resolutions are silent where they ought to be loudest.

I shall not attempt to prove that farmers did not prosper under Free Trade; be that as it may, they are now prosperous and becoming rich. There is no better advertisement for population than the fact of the present prosperity of the farmers. Take away that prosperity, and you do away with the chief inducement which you have for agricultural population.

I go on to brewers, and these interests, though in point of fact small, are in proportion as large with us, as larger than in any other country. The population, however, we, having so small a population cannot afford to risk a change, because we cannot recuperate quickly. Under the Canadian law a brewer must take out a brewer's and malster's license, and has to pay one cent per pound on all malt made, and as there is an average amount of 1,248,000 pounds of malt consumed in the year, the duty would amount to \$12,680 per annum, in addition to which they will have to pay a malster's and brewer's license. The duty upon that amount of malt now is \$3,750. Confederation therefore will increase the malt duty by nearly \$9,000. Brewers would probably buy all their malt from abroad or cease to brew, especially when we take into consideration the annoyances connected with the bonding system. You will see, Sir, that this quantity of malt would take 500 acres of land to raise it, so that in addition to injuring the brewers, the farmers are also injured.

Under the Canadian Law, salmon must not be taken at the mouth of any river when they are going up for the purpose of spawning. We all know that they must be taken. If we are not allowed to catch them as they go up we should never get them at all. They never come down again; they go up to die.

Again, according to Canadian Law, whales must not be taken by means of bombs or firearms; and in all these ways they cannot be taken without firearms in these waters, so that under Confederation whales would be free to great as they pleased.

Under Canadian Law, tobacco cannot be grown without excise duty; it has to be bonded, and its cultivation would be abandoned. Alkaline soils suit the tobacco plant, and I have very little doubt that tobacco could be grown profitably in many parts of British Columbia [Hon. Holbrook—It is grown]; but the excise duty.

When we come to lumber we find that there is an export duty on logs of \$1 per 1000 feet; this will affect the spar business. [Hon. Barnard—No, it will not affect spars; the duty is upon logs only, which is cut into lumber, and is a protection to Canadian Lumber Mills.]

I have now, Sir, given you reasons why the general interests of the Colony will not be promoted. Farmer, Brewers, the Lumber Trade, and the Fisheries will not be benefited; who will? Canada will take no coal nor lumber from us, and will not increase our trade at all; but they will take our money, and much of that money derived from the very fact that we have to pay more for Canadian manufactures than the Eastern Provinces, or rather we are obliged to pay duties upon foreign articles, simply because we cannot obtain Canadian, and yet we are told that Confederation will reduce our taxation. Our Tariff is as low as that of Canada, save upon spirits and tobacco.

It would be absurd for us to sacrifice our interests in order that love may be made for us by a people who know little of our condition and wants, and who in fact must necessarily legislate for the greater number—the people of the Atlantic Provinces. It is dangerous to place ourselves at the disposal of superior numbers.

I believe, Sir, that we are quite capable of making laws for ourselves.

If we are asked, or rather absorbed, everything will centralize in Canada, and the whole country will be tributary to Canada. The number of Representa-

tives sent to Ottawa from other places would overwhelm the number sent from British Columbia. Even in the matter of appropriations, where the scramble always is, this Colony would be overborne; we should be laughed at by the victors for our pretensions. It is the case in all other Colonies, and would be here.

It is absurd to suppose that the same laws, whether civil commercial, or industrial will be found equally advantageous to all parts of this great Continent. It manifestly cannot be so; the conditions are different. We know what is best for ourselves, and are able to legislate to effect that. We have no wish to pay Canada to do our legislation.

No union between this Colony and Canada can prominently exist, unless it be the material and pecuniary advantage of this Colony to remain in the union. The sum of the interests of the inhabitants is the interest of the Colony. The people of this Colony have, generally speaking, no love for Canada; they care, as a rule, little or nothing about the creation of another Empire, Kingdom, or Republic; they have but little sentimentality, and care little about the distinctions between the form of Government of Canada and the United States.

Therefore no union on account of love need be looked for. The only bond of union outside of force is the material force the Dominion has not will be the material advantage of this country and pecuniary benefit of the inhabitants. Love for Canada has to be acquired by the prosperity of the country, and from our children.

I say, Sir, it is absurd for us to ally ourselves with a people with whom we have, and can have, no communication. The Tariff and Excise Laws of Canada will ruin the dominant interests of this Colony, and we are told that these laws must rule according to the conditions of the "British North America Act." A Tariff perhaps excellent to the Eastern Provinces, is ruin to British Columbia. Our Tariff imposes a large duty on spirits, and a duty on agricultural produce. The Canadian Tariff imposes none on agricultural produce, and a small duty on spirits.

If we are Confederated with Canada we become its tributary, and in all that concerns us chiefly Canada has to act for us. In all our chief concerns, commerce, shipping, and mercantile laws, agriculture, trade, navigation, fisheries, currency, banking—Canada rules. She may tax us to any extent, and in any manner she pleases, so that it is quite possible we may have export duties on gold and coal.

All such things as require money for their performance are left for the Colony to provide; those that require intellect are supplied by Canada.

The expense to Canada is constantly decreasing, her revenue constantly increasing. The expense of the Local Government on the other hand, is constantly increasing, and out of proportion to any increase of its revenue.

Is it necessary that we should pay for the intellect of Canada? Is our own not as good? Do we not know what is best for ourselves? Cannot we do all as well as they? Cannot we pay our Colonial intellect to do our business well, instead of theirs to do it badly?

The very means by which we ought to make our roads are taken from us, so that, as time rolls on, we shall have to provide other taxes, and raise loans for the purpose. The other countries have gone into Confederation with roads ready made, and large loans and large debts.

It is not fair to put this country upon a footing of its present population; on its present income; a future income ought to be calculated upon.

I do not think it wise to ruin the present population for the sake of the future.

Remember that to have a population, that population must be able to live. Confederation will ruin the farmer, and destroy at once the greatest inducement to immigration; will ruin the brewer and the fisheries; do no good to commerce; afford no larger market for lumber, coal, or anything else; in fact do a great deal of harm and no good, save that which is problematical and fanciful.

In conclusion, I have to say that I sincerely trust that our deliberations may result in good, and that whatever may be the issue of this debate, it may be for the good of the Colony.

I accord most heartily with the learned Attorney General in the belief that—

"There's a trinity that shapes our ends,
Though high than he, how we may."

The Hon. Mr. DRAKE, Member for Victoria City, rose and said, Sir, I will move an amendment to the Resolution of the Hon. Attorney General—That the consideration of this question be postponed for six months. I need not state, Sir, that I have always been opposed to Confederation, I have consistently opposed Confederation on any terms up to the present time, and I do not see any reason now to change my opinion. I do not say that Confederation must be bad for all time, the time may come when it will be a benefit or a necessity; but at present, I do not believe that Confederation would be a benefit to British Columbia. The time has not yet arrived for it. I was sent to this Council as an opponent of Confederation. I oppose it from conviction, and I shall still continue to oppose it.

The question of Confederation has been advocated by certain parties for some years past, and why?

Because there has been a general feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the Colony, a general feeling of pressure from heavy taxation on a daily diminishing basis. The people have been suffering under a desire for change; that is what is at the bottom of this dissatisfaction.

Confederation has been discussed outside, in the public press, and in other places, and now after years of agitation by secret and unknown partisans, it has cropped up in this Council as a Government measure. I know, Sir, that I have no chance of carrying this amendment. I have not the slightest hope of carrying it, but I move it with the view of bringing the question fairly before the public. I should deeply regret that this Council should be able to bind the Colony for ever. The question is one of the greatest magnitude, greater by far than any other which has ever come before this Legislature. I am glad that it must hereafter be referred to another Council, the majority of whose members will have to come before the people at election. I think, however, that it is waste of time to bring this measure before this Council.

There are some points in Confederation, I admit, which are worthy of consideration, or would be under different circumstances. The idea of consolidating the British Possessions on this Continent, is an idea which is likely to carry people away. The idea of assisting to found a large and wide spreading country might be dazzling to some. But if we are to be turned over to Canada with no change in our form of Government, no alteration in the management of our political affairs, where is the advantage of any change. It will simply be a change from "King Stork" to "King Log." The Officials will be chosen by the Dominion Government instead of the Crown; we should be transferred from the rule of Statesmen at Downing Street to that of Politicians at Ottawa. ["No, no," from Mr. DeCosmos]. All our political rights will be taken away, the whole of the legislation will pass out of our hands into that of the Dominion at Ottawa; those laws upon which we shall be entitled to pass an opinion, will be much of the same nature as those upon which a municipality or vestry may vote; but which are beneath the dignity of a Colony. All power of raising taxes, except as the Hon. Member for the District reminds me, for provincial purposes, we shall be subject to the provisions of the Organic Act, which we have no power to change. Any terms which we can impose, must be subject to the provisions of the "British North America Act." My position, therefore, is correct, when I say that our power will not exceed that of a municipality. We are told that we are not fit for Representative Institutions or Responsible Government. Then we shall go into the Dominion as a Crown Colony—bound hand and foot. The few Members that will represent us at Ottawa, will not have the power to do anything for us. I do not trust the Politicians of Ottawa. I do not desire to give them the power to raise money upon our vast and rich territory, whilst we should get nothing from Canada in return. I would rather remain as we are, with some change and modification in our Government.

I admit that Confederation offers great advantages to those Provinces which are contiguous to Canada; there they have a mutuality of interests; they are able to use the products of the Dominion; they have community of interests; and there is no extent of wild, unsettled country between them and the seat of Government. We are divided by upwards of 4,000 miles from Halifax, 2,000 of which is an unknown wilderness. Some explorers who have travelled by that route say, that the greater part of the country is alkaline and unfit for settlement. There is, no doubt, a large tract of fertile land in the valley of the Sas-

katchewan, but much of the intervening territory is unknown. Ask, Sir, is not our position as a territory of Great Britain, far in advance of what it would be as a Province of the Dominion? Will not the change operate disadvantageously?

We know that our interests can hardly conflict with those of Great Britain; can we say the same as regards the Dominion. Canada is hampered by her vast territory, and the larger that territory becomes, the greater her weakness will be. But what is what, as is this vast territory, unpeopled and uncultivated. Canada wants population and capital, this Colony wants the same. Upon looking at the returns of population, I find that two-thirds of the emigrants go over the border to the United States, and many native-born Canadians go to the United States, because they find there a more genial climate, and more work to do. If Canada teemed with population like England, where people cannot find work for their hands to do, I could conceive it likely that we might acquire population through Canada, but I cannot see how we can gain population unless a Railway were not only commenced, but in such a state of progress as to be a means and inducement for population to come into the country, and this is not likely, in my opinion, to be the case. I have listened to what my Honourable colleague has said about the agricultural interests, and I entirely coincide with him. Our farmers cannot compete with the farmers of the United States, under the Canadian Tariff. In the United States, farmers are who are willing that they want within their own country, while here everything comes from abroad. Until the farmers of this Colony can make everything that they require for their own use, they cannot compete with those of the United States. We can always import American goods, even under a heavy duty, cheaper than Canadian goods, and this, Sir, will put this Province under a different condition as compared with other Provinces.

Let us then suppose this Confederation scheme carried out; we will consider the sacrifice completed, the victim decorated with the conditions which have been graciously accorded by the more powerful contracting party. What will become of our farmers? I refer more particularly to the farmers of the Island and of the Lower Fraser. This class I look upon as the bone and sinew of the country. They, Sir, I say, will be driven out of their own market by the cheaper productions of the States. And, I would ask, what industry it is supposed will take the place of agriculture? Moreover, Sir, I would ask if we be confederated upon these terms, what guarantee has the Colony that the terms will be carried out? We all know that when compacts are made between a large and a small power, the larger can break the treaty with impunity when an emergency arises. Would Canada hesitate, in the event of having to repel a Fenian invasion, to abandon the Railway. We have no guarantee that the Dominion will enter out the terms to which her Statesmen may agree. We may be abandoned at any time. The benefits of the larger Provinces of Canada, will always take precedence of those of British Columbia, whose Representatives will be in a small minority. And I would never consent to Confederation on any terms without an Imperial guarantee that the terms would be observed and kept. History tells us that in a compact between a larger and smaller country, the smaller must go to the wall.

I sum up my objections to Confederation in a few words:

At the present time, I think that any terms will be inimical to this Colony, on account of our distance from Canada; on account of the smallness of our population, for we never can have an equal vote in the Dominion Parliament with other Provinces; on account of the danger of our farming interests being killed and crushed; and on account of the unsettled state of the intervening territory; and even if the North West Territory were confederated, what advantage would it be to us?

Our Confederation would be a source of weakness to Canada, and to ourselves.

We are so far separated from Canada, that she can only communicate with us by telegraph through the United States, and by ships round the southern extremity of the American Continent.

We are told that Confederation is an Imperial necessity. We have nothing to do with this. We must look to our own interests. Confederation is a political idea; it may be part of the Imperial policy, but what of that. We are told that Great Britain desires to get rid of all her Colonies.

These are serious matters for consideration, and this question ought not to be dealt with as a party measure. I offer these remarks in the hope that any legislation which may result from this debate, after it has received popular sanction, may be judicious and of advantage to the Colony.

The Hon. Mr. HING, Member for Nanaimo, said—Mr. resident, I rise to second the amendment of the Hon. Member for Victoria, and in doing so I abstain from voting with the merits of the question. It appears that the Governor wishes to have a popular vote upon the question of Confederation. I say then, let there be an extended suffrage given, so that the voice of the people may be heard in this House. I hope that the people will have the opportunity of expressing their opinion, Aye or No, whether they will have Confederation. The people should not be bound by what occurs in a Council constituted as this is.

I say, Sir, that the material question for decision, is not that of terms. The Government, if this amendment is carried, will have the opportunity of hearing the voice of the people. On behalf of my constituents I say they do not want Confederation, they believe that it is undesirable at present. The proper way to find out the opinion of the country, is for the Governor to give us the colony certain representation promised. Let the question come before the people in a fair way.

I do not desire to go into the general question of terms of Confederation upon this occasion. But I must say, Sir, that these resolutions are not based upon the minds of the people. I protest, Sir, against the people's name being mixed up with those resolutions. I reserve what I have to say on the question of terms, and support the amendment of the Hon. Member for Victoria, in order that the people may have an opportunity of passing their vote upon the question of Confederation.

The Hon. Mr. HUMPHREYS, Member for Lillooet, moved the adjournment of the debate. Withdrawn.

The Hon. Mr. ROBINSON, Member for New Westminster, rose and said—Sir, I had intended to reserve any remarks that I intended to offer until the terms submitted by the Government were under debate in Committee, but I have an objection to the adjournment of the debate at this early hour. I cannot, however, allow the Honourable the senior Member for Victoria City to pass unnoticed. I believe the question for us to consider is,—Shall we have Confederation, and upon what terms?

I believe this House is ready to say Aye to the first question, and to go into Committee of the Whole on the second.

I am surprised to find an Honourable Member of this House, who is a Cabinet Minister, expressing his regret that this measure has come down to this Council as a Government measure. I think that the freedom of his remarks contradicts the idea that it is a Government measure, in the sense that Government Members must vote on it.

I was also surprised to hear the Honourable Member, who is a Cabinet Minister, say that Confederation would not be the only issue at the polls; but that there was another place besides Ottawa to which we could go. I had hoped that all allusion to this matter would have been kept out of this debate, for I say, Sir, that this vague language can have but one meaning, particularly when it is added that the United States will ultimately absorb British Columbia, and Canada as well. The Honourable Member evidently means,—Shall we have Confederation, or accept, as an alternative, Annexation? As every thing that comes from the Honourable Member is entitled to great weight, and especially as he is a Member of the Government, I think we have a right to know whether that is really the issue or not. I had hoped that this debate would have been carried through without the necessity of making use of the word "Annexation," but as the subject has been dragged in for the purpose of alluding to it. I say, Sir, that if the Government really means to ask whether the people desire Confederation or another union, let us know it. ["No, no," from the Attorney General and Mr. Trench.] I am at a loss to understand the position of the Honourable Member for Victoria. I am anxious to have it explained. If he has not represented Cabinet views correctly this House should be set right

Waiving these matters, and assuming that the Honourable Member will be able to explain the apparent paradox, I pass on to the objections raised. I find the Honourable Member distinctly setting himself in opposition to Confederation. I will not follow him for the purpose of rebutting so-called arguments against Confederation.

The Honourable gentleman tells us that Confederation is unnecessary, that this Colony is one of the richest spots on the face of the earth, with a climate inferior to no part of the world,—why should it not go on alone? And he tells us that this view of the question is taken by the majority of the people of the Colony. Why, Sir, the Colony has had all this opportunity for fifteen years; and what is the fact? Ten years ago the Colony had a very much larger population than now, and very much larger commerce. Are we, then, under these circumstances, to ask the people to wait and work out their own salvation? But, Sir, in addition, we are told in a State paper, that we are not to be allowed to hang on to the skirts of Great Britain, like a mendicant's child. I can hardly reconcile the position of nearly independence with the position of hanging on to unwilling Imperial skirts. Rather than that, I would ask for union with the Sandwich Islands, or with Hindostan. British Columbia has tried long enough to get on by herself. After fifteen years hard struggle, she finds herself worse off than she was at the beginning. Her progress has been like that of the crab—backward.

She might make progress, but, unfortunately, her form of Government has rendered progress impossible. I believe that the illiberal form of Government has had much to do with keeping away population,—with driving away population,—and with destroying the spirit of manly enterprise of those who are here. Apart from its being, the policy of the British Government to unite all the British American Colonies in one great Confederation, if we persist in remaining alone we shall be told by the Imperial Government that we are not fit for liberal institutions, and not prepared for self-government. We should get no consolation. Downing Street Officials would say that we are not fit for Responsible Government, and that we ought to confederate.

There is no difficulty in showing that Confederation will be beneficial to British Columbia; that is to say Confederation on proper terms. I do not say that Confederation would be entirely satisfactory on the terms proposed in the Government programme. The terms, although excellent, do not go far enough, but I can hardly understand any man taking the position that under those terms, even as they are, Confederation would not be beneficial. The public works proposed would make the population of the Colony double what it is now. No man can conceive from himself, looking at the question dispassionately, that the construction of the Railway alone would bring a very great increase to our labouring and productive population.

We are told that the tariff of the Dominion would crush our farming and industrial interests. Why, Sir, that tariff is a little more than a third lighter than ours, and would relieve us of that one-third of present taxation; and our Customs duties, it must be borne in mind, are taken by the Dominion Government. Although in its present form, the tariff would be ill-advised to some of our local interests which we desire to protect, it should be remembered that the Canadian tariff is now under revision, as regards the free admission of American productions; and under Confederation we shall in all probability have a treaty of reciprocity; or, if not, certainly a revised tariff which would meet American productions, which now find a free market in the Dominion, with a protective duty. The argument of the Honourable Member with regard to tariff and farming interests is set aside away by that fact. [Dr. Helmcken—"Is it a fact?"]

This subject is one of the greatest importance. All other questions are overshadowed by it. It is the most important one ever debated on the British Pacific. It has been justly said it is a step for life, for better or worse. The question must be approached in a fair spirit, and in dealing with it we ought to be thoroughly honest with ourselves; and in dealing with facts, I hope that allowance will be made for what has been said, for I believe that much of the present opposition arises out of ancient prejudices. Why do we find an Honourable gentleman who has grown grey in the service of his country, and for whom we have respect amounting to veneration, talking in a canting way of every interest under Confederation in Ottawa? Does the union of Washington Territory and Oregon,

with other States of the Great Republic, mean centralization at Washington? Dr. Helmcken, "Yes."

Then, Sir, where would be the advantage of union in that other direction that has been alluded to? Certain persons are fond of talking about the advantages of Annexation; all arguments in its favor can be brought with rebelling force in favor of Confederation. British Columbia as a member of the union would have a Pacific frontage, but only in common with other countries of the Union. As a part of the Dominion she would have more, for she would be the only outlet of the British Confederacy on the Pacific Coast.

Exception has been taken by the Honourable Gentleman to the fishery laws of the Dominion; and it is said that the whales and salmon will cry out for Confederation to protect them. If the Canadian fishery laws were enforced in their present form, it is possible that the salmon might escape, and the whales might sport with impunity; but we have a right to expect that the Dominion Parliament will adapt these laws to this Colony, on the representations of the Members from this Province. It would be absurd to suppose that, if the fishery laws of the Dominion were limited to British Columbia, they would be enforced; the nature of the union will be such as to make the interests of this part of the Dominion identical with other parts. We cannot suppose that the Dominion Parliament would seek to injure this Province. A man would not wantonly injure the smallest member of his body. He could not do so without feeling it. No man can neglect or injure any member of his own body with impunity. If one member, however humble, suffers, all the members will suffer with it. Community of interest is the best guarantee for fair play to every section. The Dominion is made up of Provinces, and the prosperity of the Dominion means the prosperity of the Provinces of which it is composed.

If we could believe that the Government of the Dominion were composed of men of so little wisdom as the opponents of Confederation seem to think, I would say do not let us join them. But I believe, Sir, and the Imperial Government believes, and British Columbia believes, that the Government of the Dominion is composed of statesmen. And I say, Sir, that since these statesmen have grasped the great idea of Confederation, they have proved themselves fit to govern an empire. I am surprised to find any Honourable Member venturing to suggest that Canada either could not, or would not, fulfil her pledges. The Dominion Government is one and the same in this matter with the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government stands at the back of the Dominion Government, and will be equally concerned in the fulfilment of the stipulations in their integrity; and it is time to impugn the honor of Canada when she refuses to keep the terms. With regard to Nova Scotia, a departure was made from the terms of Union. The Imperial Government, and the Canadian Government, considered that certain concessions ought to be made, and they were made, but only to add to the terms in favor of Nova Scotia. British Columbia places herself in a false position before Canada, and before the world, in saying that there is any doubt as to whether the Dominion would fulfil the terms.

With regard again to the tariff. I think that the only arguments against Confederation worthy of consideration, are against the present Canadian Tariff. The Customs Tariff is a federal matter, and I confess that the arguments against the applicability of the present scale to British Columbia, are entitled to notice; but, Sir, as I said before, I think these arguments are to a great extent met by the fact that we shall have an unimpaired tariff, or a reciprocity treaty. But if we could hit upon some scheme that, without infringing the Dominion prerogatives, would meet our requirements, it would be most desirable, and shall have my hearty support.

In conclusion, Sir, the Government measure shall meet with my hearty support, so far as it goes. It affords me unexpected gratification to find that Government has sent down a measure for Confederation which can hardly be cavilled at.

While feeling pleasure in giving a hearty general support to this measure, I shall reserve to myself the right to suggest that other items shall be placed in the list now before the House. I believe there are terms of the greatest importance which ought to be added. But anything that can be added will not meet the wishes of the people of this Colony, unless the fundamental principle of Self Government accompanies them. I believe that the Canadians are a great, a wise, and a coöperative

people; but I conceive we should be doing a great wrong to ourselves, to our children, and to those who are to come after us, if we left out Responsible Government.

Suppose, Sir, the case of three persons forming a partnership; if the third partner, coming in subsequently, should consent to leave the management of his private affairs to the firm, he would not only be giving up his own rights, but he would be throwing into the partnership a great element of discord. I say then that while Canada necessarily and properly asks us to surrender the larger questions, she does not ask us to relinquish our smaller and local rights, and if we give them up we shall be doing a wanton thing and a great wrong.

In promising my support, therefore, I make this reservation. That, if this Colony is to become a Province of Canada, the people of British Columbia shall have the right to manage their own local affairs, as fully as every other Province has. For, while I agree with the Honourable Junior Member for Victoria, that the change from Downing Street to Ottawa would be useless without a change in the system of Government, I say that it would be most injurious to go into Confederation upon terms which might inaugurate a fresh era of political agitation, which would probably continue for a series of years.

Hon. Mr. HELMCKEN.—Sir, I rise for the purpose of explaining.

I deny that I intended any such thing as that the choice would be put to the people by the Government between two issues of Confederation and any other union.

But that if the Canadian Government refuses to agree to terms equivalent to these, but chooses to offer some other terms for consideration, when it comes to the polls the people themselves will raise the issue between Confederation and the only other change which offers itself for consideration.

The Debate was here adjourned until Thursday, at 1 o'clock.

THURSDAY, 10TH MARCH, 1870.

The debate was resumed by the Hon. Mr. TRUTH, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, who said:—Mr. President, in rising to renew the debate on the question which has been brought before the House by the Honourable the Attorney General, I desire to express my regret that I was prevented yesterday, by indisposition, from speaking in support of the motion which I had the honour to second, because I fear that by the delay I may have laid myself open to the charge of waiting to reply to objections that might be urged against this motion, instead of at once supporting it upon positive and substantial grounds, as I hold it to be incumbent on those to do who advocate so important a measure. I must also ask the indulgence of the House if I find it necessary to follow the Hon. the Attorney General over ground already so fully and ably occupied by him, as rather than leave out anything in the history of this question which is pertinent to my argument, I will run the risk of laying myself open to the charge of plagiarism. In the first place, then, I must ask you, Sir, to allow me to trace the history of Confederation in this Council as shewn in the debates which have taken place on the subject. You will find, Sir, that this subject was first introduced into this Council on the 29th of March, 1867, when a Resolution in favour of the abstract principle of the Confederation of the British Provinces in North America, and expressing the desire that this Colony should be allowed the opportunity of entering the Dominion, upon fair and equitable terms, at some future time, was unanimously agreed to. I do not quite take the view of the Honourable the Attorney General with respect to the discussions that have taken place on this question; for, Sir, I think that the question is now for the first time brought before this House and the country in a practical shape, for a full and deliberate expression of opinion. The vote which was taken in 1867, according to my understanding of it at that time, went on further than to express a desire on the part of the Colony to be confederated with Canada, when a favourable occasion should arrive, and the result of that vote was, I believe, the insertion of the clause in the "British North America Act," on which the measure we are now discussing is based. Again, in 1868,

when the Hon. Member for District No. 2, introduced a series of Resolutions setting forth terms on which this Colony should be united with Canada, the sense of the House, as then expressed, was that we were not possessed of sufficient information to enable us to come to any practical resolution on the subject; and, Sir, when the terms and conditions then proposed for the consideration of the House are compared with those now submitted for your adoption, no words are needed to show that the conclusion then arrived at was judicious.

Last year, again, the subject was introduced by the Hon. Dr. Davie, to a reluctant House. We all felt that there were circumstances which rendered its discussion then in this Council inexpedient, although the question of Confederation was even then occupying public attention to an absorbing extent, and had in fact been the test question at the election a short time previously in the Districts in this part of the Colony. But certain remarks of the Hon. Member for Caribou, in reference to the position of Government Members on this question, compelled the expression of the views of the Council on the subject at that time, in a Resolution pointing out the impossibility of the Union of this Colony with Canada, and the North-West Territory was amalgamated with the Dominion.

But now circumstances are entirely changed. The Hudson Bay Company's rights in that region, known as the North-West Territory, are determined by purchase, and that country is practically part of the Dominion of Canada, for the temporary opposition from a certain class of the population of the Red River Settlement, to the assumption of the Government by the Canadian authorities is passing away, and by the present moment virtually at an end; and, creating that exhilaration of feeling resulting from the apprehension of the real intention of the Dominion Government as passed away, I regard it as an established fact that, as stated in Lord Granville's Despatch, our boundaries are now continuous with those of Canada.

But not only is Union with Canada now practicable, but, Sir, I regard the present as a most opportune moment for its consummation. I entirely agree with Hon. Members who say that this Colony requires a change. In its present depressed state, the Colony needs assistance and fresh impetus. There are many causes which combine to contribute to the depression now observable in the country. It has been attributed to the present form of Government. Take that as one cause if you please; but, Sir, I believe it has had very little effect, if any, in producing this result, and you will find many other and mightier reasons to account for it. Chiefly, I believe with the Hon. Attorney General, that this depression is attributable to the isolated position of the Colony, and to the cold shade thrown over us by the neighbourhood of the Territories of the United States, from whom we can never hope for aid in advancing the interests of this Colony whilst under the British Flag. The desire for some change is urgent, and if we wait for more prosperous times, and for which to claim better financial terms, we may realize the old proverb of "Horse starving whilst the grass is growing." Besides, Sir, on reference to the terms now proposed for the consideration of this House by the Government, it will be found that they are based not altogether on the present condition of the Colony, but somewhat on an anticipated increase of population and prosperity; and I suppose we might wait many years before such a measure of prosperity would accrue to us, as to entitle us to ask better financial terms than are included in these Resolutions.

I believe the Hon. Member is fortunate, and I think that there is every reason to suppose that the present Government of the Dominion is now desirous and ready to grant us fair and liberal terms. I believe, Sir, the Canadian Government are favourably disposed towards us, and prepared to go to the utmost of their ability in all reasonable matters to enable us to join the Confederation. The policy and wishes of the Imperial Government too in the same direction are clearly enunciated in Earl Granville's despatch; and we are fortunate in having now at the head of the Executive a Governor admirably adapted by his ability and experience to take charge, on our behalf, of negotiations for our union with the Dominion, and to ensure the interests of the community may confidently be entrusted.

And that brings me, Sir, to this point. That in its

first introduction into this Council, this measure must necessarily be a Government measure. The constitution of this House renders it imperative that the initiatory steps should be taken by the Government, although the final acceptance of the terms will properly rest with the people. The policy of the Imperial Government has been clearly stated; it encourages us to amalgamate our interests with Canada, and points out the advantages to be thus obtained, and nothing that I could add would enunciate more clearly than that document the grounds on which Her Majesty's Government, on behalf of this Colony, favour Confederation.

This leads me to remark on the part that has been taken in reference to this question by the Official Members of this House, especially by the Executive Officers. Our position has been misapprehended, or if not misapprehended, it has been misrepresented, and I feel it my duty to allude to the false impressions which have been spread abroad on this subject. It has been stated that the Official Members have been obstructive to Confederation, with regard to their own official positions and interests. But this is not the fact. On a matter so clearly involving a question of Imperial policy, we were not at liberty to anticipate the views of the Home Government, which have now for the first time been distinctly made public. The Hon. Attorney General and myself have consistently affirmed the principle of Confederation, and we have always felt that we could safely combine our personal interests to the care of the Imperial Government, which interests we are. To Her Majesty's Government those interests are entrusted by the Resolutions proposed for your adoption; and, so we are well satisfied that this question as it respects us personally should so depend.

We have been right, Sir, I believe in not anticipating the views of the Imperial Government, for the terms of union now submitted for your adoption prove the wisdom of the course which we have pursued; and in the exercise of caution we have shewn ourselves the truest friends of the Colony, even though we have not appeared to be the most enthusiastic advocates of Confederation.

This, then, is a Government measure, as the Honourable the senior Member for Victoria City has told you, and as I hold it is of necessity a Government measure. This scheme is propounded by the Government, as the guardians of the interests of this infant Colony, and I stand here as a member of the Government to support the Resolutions which are now before you; and I sincerely trust that they will be adopted by this Council. But His Excellency has told us that the ultimate acceptance or rejection of the terms of union with Canada, after they have been submitted to the Dominion Government, shall be left to the popular voice of this Country.

I will now, Sir, come to the consideration of what Confederation is to the abstract, as I understand it. It is the union and consolidation of British interests in British Territory on this Continent, for the security and advancement of each Province individually, and of the whole collectively, under the continued support of the British Flag. A great idea of great minds, which have thus given a practical refutation to that doctrine of "America for the United States" known as the "Munro doctrine," held by leading politicians of the States south of us; and on this account, if on no other grounds, the principle of Confederation deserves the support of every British heart in the Colony.

I have now brought to a subject which I should not have known how to approach, but for the bridge thrown over for me by the Hon. Member for Victoria yesterday. By that Hon. Member the suggestion of a closer union with another country—with the United States in fact—and the possibility that at the next General Election such an union might be presented as an alternative to Confederation with Canada, was introduced in so palpable a manner, that I should feel myself derelict to my duty as a Member of the Executive and as a Member of this Council if I did not refer to it.

Mr. President, I should do violence to my best feelings were I to refrain from availing myself of this opportunity of paying my humble tribute of respect and esteem for the people of that great Republic. "Hear, hear," from all sides. No one can better appreciate than I do the high and eminent qualities which characterize that great Nation, and especially that national feeling—that love of country, so worthy of our imitation—for which they have made such sacrifices. It has been my fortune to pass several years in the United States, and to have formed their

some of the most valued friendships of my life, so that my acquaintance with Americans has led me to form a most appreciative estimate of their social and domestic relations, of which I can not speak in terms of too much praise. But my experience of the political institutions of that Country only led me to prize our own more highly, and made me more than ever an Englishman; and I rejoice at the opportunity now afforded me of raising my voice against any movement tending in the direction of incorporating this Country with the United States.

I must now make passing allusion to a petition gotten up in some mysterious way, looked upon here at first as a mere joke; so insignificant that it would not be worthy of notice but for the use made of it elsewhere. It has been represented in other quarters as expressing the views of a great portion of this community. It has been so represented in very high quarters, and I therefore notice it; and in doing so I feel compelled to state that, so far as I could learn, it was signed by a very small number of people—forty-two I believe in all—many of whom were aliens, and most of whom were foreign-born subjects, who appeared to have been generally actuated by prejudice, based upon a lack of information respecting Canada and the Canadians, and not by any regard for the permanent benefit of the community. But as this petition has been followed up by the publication of letters and by a discussion in the newspapers, which we cannot blink, as to what has been said in other quarters in this Colony to the United States; and as allusion was made to it, by an incognito at all events, in this Council yesterday, I feel bound to express my opinion of what our position would be under any such union as has been hinted at.

If British Columbia were placed in the same position as Washington Territory, we should be absolutely without representation—for that Territory has one representative in Congress it is true, but he has no vote—and all our Officials would come from Washington. Annexation to the United States would also entail on us largely increased taxation, and would most materially affect an interest which the Hon. Member for Victoria told you would suffer most from Confederation. Why, Sir, under the union suggested, our farmers would be brought into direct competition with the farmers of Washington Territory and Oregon, and then our agricultural interests would be indeed annihilated. Again, if this country were American Territory you would have the whole influence of San Francisco brought to bear against the mercantile interests of Victoria; no hope could we have of building up a port here to rival San Francisco; no, Sir, you would never see a foreign vessel in these waters. I see no advantages in the suggestion; I have heard none pointed out, unless it be the questionable expectation that American capital might buy up the real estate in and around Victoria, and so give the present holders the opportunity of realizing their property into money and then leave the country to its fate. But in this hope, Sir, I believe they would be egregiously disappointed. I will not pursue the subject any further; Annexation is entirely out of the question, and I should not have dared to allude to it, but for the introduction of the subject by another Honourable Member yesterday. What do these foreign petitioners propose to transfer? Themselves? Their own property? No; not themselves, nor that which belong to them, but the whole Colony, the soil of this vast domain which belongs to the Crown and the people of England; this I regard as unreasonable. In supporting Confederation I support the flag I serve. I say that loyalty is no exploded idea, call it a sentiment if you will; life is nothing without sentiment; everyone whose soul is not dead must cling to love of Country and attachment to her flag, as one of the most cherished sentiments of the heart, and I regard loyalty as one of the most dear, noble and highly prized treasures of the human breast. ["Hear, hear," from all sides.]

Bear with me, Sir, while I tell now what I think Confederation is not. I don't think it necessarily means Responsible Government, or, as an Honourable Member at the other end of the House has put it, that it means getting rid of Government Officials. If that Honourable Member's desire is to be rid of the present incumbents of office so that others may take their place, I think it probable that his wishes in this respect may be gratified through Confederation; and in that case I could only hope that the change would be beneficial to the Colony. But I doubt much if this measure would receive support from this Council on these grounds; and at all

events the Honourable Gentleman cannot expect much sympathy on that score from this side of the House. Again, Confederation does not, to my mind, mean Responsible Government, as some Honourable Members hold. British Columbia will assuredly get Responsible Government as soon as the proper time arrives, as soon, that is to say, as the community is sufficiently advanced in population, and in other respects, to render such a form of Government practically workable; sooner probably through Confederation, than by any other means, and the sooner the better I say. But I do not think it desirable to fetter or cumber the proposed terms of union with anything about Responsible Government, and specially for the reason that we should find it very difficult to arrive at any conclusion in favor of it. Great difference of opinion exists upon the subject even around this Council Board, and I am by no means sure that the strongest opposition to Responsible Government would come from the Government side of the House. It is easier to change the constitution after Confederation than before. ["No, no."] Under the Organic Act, this Colony could get Responsible Government in fact it is the special prerogative under this Act, of each Province to regulate the constitution of its own Executive Government and Legislature; and hence this desire to act so prematurely now in this respect?

Another Honourable Member has told you that in his opinion Confederation means the terms—means a Railway; but I take it, Sir, to derive that result from Confederation, and that the railway is a means to the end, for we cannot have real Confederation without a Railway. But, Sir, I advocate Confederation on principle; and I believe the terms to be the natural result of Confederation. They flow from it as a natural consequence, as the effect proceeds from the cause. I believe that by Confederation, we are to gain those advantages which are set forth in the terms.

If it could be shown that by acceptance of these terms we should in any way sacrifice our honour—lose any political status that we now enjoy, I would not support Confederation if it brought a dozen Railways. But I believe that each member of this community will be raised by the change. We shall have a distinct and very respectable representation in the House of Commons and Senate. We shall have as representatives there, men whose voice will be heard, men whose duty it will be to speak for us. Far from entertaining the views expressed by the two Honourable Members for Victoria, I am inclined to think with the Honourable Member for New Westminster, that this Colony will have its weight and influence in the Dominion, that its representatives will be heard and listened to in the Canadian Parliament, and that this will be a favored portion of the Confederation, when admitted, on account of its position as the outlet of Canada on the Pacific. I do not, then, advocate Confederation specially on account of the terms. I find in its general merits ample grounds for support, and I consider, as I have said, that the terms follow as a matter of course.

The Honourable Member for Victoria has said that we are bound to prove the benefits. It is difficult to prove any thing to some minds. The benefits of Confederation are among those things which being in futurity we cannot prove. I cannot prove that which has not happened. We can only rely on human judgment and experience, and argue that such and such things will occur, as certain causes will produce certain effects. I, and other Official Members of this Colony, have a considerable interest in this Council; I have to a certain extent identified myself with it and its concerns for some years past, and speaking as an individual Member of this Council, if I did not believe that Confederation would prove advantageous to this Colony, and rebound to the benefit of our local interests, I should not support it by my voice. I might as a Government servant vote for it as a Government measure, but I should not be standing here to speak for it and to advocate it as heartily as I do. It is hardly possible to show where the Colony will be benefited by Confederation, without discussing the terms, which is not my present intention to do, but I promise Honourable Members that if these Resolutions get into Committee, I will fully satisfy them of the local advantages that must accrue to the Colony from union with Canada, on the terms proposed in these Resolutions.

I believe, Sir, that many of the objections which have been raised to Confederation have arisen from prejudiced feelings. I have no reason to be prejudiced

agoists, or partial to Canada. I believe that Canadians as a people are no better than others and no worse. I have no ties in Canada, no particular reason for entertaining any feeling of affection for Canada; and if I did not believe that the advance which we make will be met in a becoming spirit, ["hear, hear,"] then I should be of opinion that Confederation would be nothing more than an union on paper, one not beneficial to this Colony or to Canada. There are Statesmen here, Sir, who know that it would be useless to try to bend us down on terms, for what would be the use of Confederation if it afterwards turned out that this Colony was injured, rather than benefited, by it. The Honourable Junior Member for Victoria asks what guarantee have we that the terms will be carried out. I say at once, Sir, that if the terms are not carried out, if the Canadian Government repudiate their part of the agreement, we shall be equally at liberty to repudiate ours. [Dr. Helmcken.—"How?"] We should, I maintain, be at liberty to change; but I for one do not approach this subject with any such feeling. ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos.] There are always two sides to a bargain, and if the terms which are frankly and honestly proposed, are not fairly and honorably dealt with, we should in my opinion be at perfect liberty to draw back.

There is, however, one real and practical objection which has always suggested itself to my mind, from the first; and that is, that the same measures that apply to the circumstances of Canada, such as tariff, will not apply equally in all respects to this Colony. It will be asked, then, why is there no suggestion as to some alteration or modification of the tariff in the terms. The reason is somewhat similar to the reason for the omission of all mention of Responsible Government. You would find it very difficult to come to any conclusions on this subject in this Council. It is impracticable to define now positively what precise tariff would best suit this Country. Some favour a Free Port. I should be inclined to favour it myself if I believed it practicable. Some, on the other hand, say that we must have protection to agriculture, and that without it we cannot compete with the farmers of Oregon. This point was fully discussed in the Executive Council, but it was decided to omit any conditions for the regulation of Customs dues from the terms; and I do not think that this measure ought to be complicated with the tariff question. I believe that we may safely trust this people with whom we are about to negotiate, to do as much for us in this direction as we could do for ourselves; it will be to their interest to do so. It requires no argument to show that it will be to the interest of Canada, after Confederation, to advance the prosperity of this Country. If it be possible to adopt a special tariff to this part of the Colony, and I see no reason why it should not be adopted, I confidently hope to see such a special tariff arranged under Confederation. ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos.] Rely upon it, Sir, that there are Statesmen in Canada who have a far wider and longer political experience than Members of this House, and who would be able to point out many means of prosperity, for which we are looking with so much anxiety,—powerful minds, before which I feel humbled,—men who I cannot for a moment suppose would fail to see as plainly as we do that Confederation would be of no benefit to Canada unless it rebound to the advantage of British Columbia. This requires no argument, it is perfectly plain common sense.

If we are not to have Confederation, what are we to have? What is the proposition of those who oppose Confederation? For the people of this Colony have been, for a long time past, asking for a change; and it has been the policy of those who ask for change to throw the blame of everything upon the Government. The policy of the Imperial Government on this matter is clearly expressed in Earl Granville's despatch. He does not say you must confederate, whether you will or not; it is left to the people to decide this question for themselves; but he says virtually "You have for years been asking for a change, you complain that your present form of Government does not suit you; we point out for your consideration Confederation, which, if it suits you, we favour; the Government of Canada is ready to step in and assist you to carry out your views for the advancement of your local interests." Now, Sir, I say to this Council,—if you don't want Confederation, what do you want? To remain as you are? This I know you are not satisfied to do. What then? Establish a sort of independent Government of about 6,000 people, connected with nobody, owing allegiance to

nobody? The idea is absurd. There appears, then, to be no alternative to Confederation, but that suggestion which has been shadowed forth during this debate, and which I for one decline to consider as a possibility.

And so we come to Confederation as our manifest destiny.

To sum up my argument in support of the motion of the Hon. the Attorney General. I advocate Confederation because it will secure the continuance of this Colony under the British Flag, and strengthen British interests on this Continent; and because it will benefit this community, by lessening taxation and giving increased Revenue for Local Expenditure; by advancing the political status of the Colony; by securing the practical aid of the Dominion Government who are, I believe, able to—and whose special care it would be to devise and—carry into effect measures tending to develop the natural resources, and to promote the prosperity of this Colony; and by affording, through a Railway, the only means of acquiring a permanent population, which must come from the East of the Rocky Mountains.

The Hon. Mr. HOBBOCK said.—Sir, In rising to continue this debate, after the able speech of the Hon. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, I feel that there is little left for me to say, as when we go into Committee I shall have an opportunity of expressing my opinion upon the terms; and it would be fatiguing to oppose a measure which has to come before the people for their decision. The way, Sir, that I understand the question of Confederation to stand at present, is that it is not a mere abstract question of Confederation with Canada, but a question of certain terms which have to be laid before the people; therefore, I say that any opposition against this being done would be factious. As regards myself, I shall abide by such decision, whatever it may be, as I consider the people themselves are the best judges as to whether they will benefit, or otherwise, by becoming part and parcel of the Dominion of Canada. This matter has evidently been well considered by the Executive Council, most of whom are largely interested in the welfare of the Colony, and several of them have been as much opposed to immediate Confederation, when the question has been before this Council on other occasions, as I have been. But having had an opportunity of seeing the documents which have come from the Imperial Government on the subject, the Executive have arrived at the decision that it is best for this question to go to the country, upon the assumption that the people will ask for Confederation to be carried out on certain terms; therefore, I say, Sir, let it go to the people and settlers of the Colony, and by their verdict let be decided. Earl Greyville has sent out a despatch which states, in pretty plain terms, that we were not able to govern ourselves; and there was, perhaps, more truth than poetry in this; for we have had the greatest liberty granted to us, and yet we have not been content. Our Gold Mining Laws have been made by the Mining Board; we have had the most liberal Land Laws; and if we have had a want that the law could satisfy, it has been immediately granted.

Our Officials are an honour to the country. As an Englishman, I am proud of them. Justice has been properly administered in the country; there has been absolute security to life and property; so much so that a man can travel in perfect safety from Cariboo to Victoria, and capital can be safely invested in any part of the Colony.

We have excellent roads, and one of the richest spots on the whole earth, for our Colony, whether as regards mining wealth, or agricultural resources; and yet a petition has emanated from a small body of foreign residents in the City of Victoria, asking to be annexed to the great Republic adjoining. I am well aware, Sir, that, as has been well said by the Hon. Chief Commissioner, the petition was noisy and unworthy of notice, and that those who signed it were insignificant; and I may be allowed to say that we of the Mainland had no feelings in common with them. If it were within reason to contemplate the possibility of the occurrence of such an alternative, it might be worth while to point out its disadvantages, and to show that under it we should not even have representation, as without a certain population, which we have not, we could not elect a member, and we should fall back to what Washington Territory and Oregon were in the days before this City of Victoria was brought forward by the Fleet, to the encouragement and development of the neighbouring

States, equally, or perhaps in excess of the interests of our own Colony. We may say that liberty had run wild, people have actually become dissatisfied because they have had too much of it. I remember a similar discontent with excess of liberty in Paris, after the Revolution of 1815; the people revelled in excess of freedom, and from so much liberty they fell into another Revolution. It is only in a country with such free institutions as England, that such a petition could have been signed with impunity, for if means anything at all, it did raise a shout of treason. In most other countries the signers would have forfeited their liberty; in some that I have lived in, the penalty would have been death. Speaking for the Mainland, Sir, and coming from the Royal Town of New Westminster, I have a right to speak in the name of its loyal inhabitants. I say that, although Confederation with Canada meets with favour in some quarters, the feelings of the inhabitants are, and ever will be, thoroughly loyal to the glorious flag of Great Britain, and feel proud of belonging to that flag which represents honour, power, justice, and wealth, and which is stainless and untarnished, whether unfurled in the face of an enemy and defended by its sons, or floating in peace over this Colony as this. We have had our complaints on the Mainland, and we considered the removal of the Capital and centralization of business at Victoria, an injustice to the rest of the Colony, for the reason principally, that Victoria, from its proximity to the United States, draws its supplies thence, instead of from the Mainland, to the gain of the neighbouring States, and consequent loss to the agricultural districts of the Mainland of some \$10,000 annually, in the article of beef alone; and for the reason that, by the Fleet being placed at Esquimaux, west of the Mainland were not only left without protection, but that the agricultural interests of Washington Territory and Oregon were being built up with the money expended by the Fleet in the purchase of supplies, which if spent in the valley of the Fraser would, by this time, have given us there a population of some thousands. The people of my part of the Colony have favoured Confederation, in the belief that the resources of the Colony would receive some consideration from the Dominion Government.

We all acknowledge that population is required, and I think there is no reason to doubt that it will come. I do not attribute the depression, as some Hon. Members have done, to bad Government. We merely followed the course of other gold countries in over trading, and placed all our dependence upon a single mining district, and when we did not find another Williams Creek, so rapidly as we expected, we became disheartened.

But, Sir, I mean to state, and I do so without fear of contradiction, that our natural resources are more prosperous to day than they have ever been before, and I need only point to the 8,000 acres of land taken up last year as an example of real and solid prosperity. We shall acquire population from Canada by means of the railroad, and the large amount of money required for its construction will tend to our prosperity.

Our merchants also want something fixed, that they may not be threatened with constant change, which renders commerce fluctuating and uncertain.

I consider, Sir, that the time is opportune for Confederation for many reasons, amongst others, that there is a favourable opportunity for us, with the aid of Canada, to make arrangements for the reception of some of the emigrant poor, who are now being assisted by the Societies in England to go out to the Colonies. Work could be found for them on the Railway, and by this means much of our valuable agricultural land might be settled up.

I shall reserve to myself the right of opposing some of the terms when they come under discussion, and of asking that others may be inserted. I should be glad to see inserted in the terms a clause empowering our local Government to make her own tariff, so as to protect our farming interests, in a similar manner, under the Imperial Government, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands have rights reserved; but I am of opinion that the full tariff of the Dominion should in all cases be charged, and that the local Government of British Columbia should have the exclusive benefit of any extra tariff.

The Indians, also, should be secured the same protection that they have under our own Government. They are now content with us, and with the way in which the laws are administered, and it is quite possible that they may hereafter be a source of great trouble, if they are not considered as well as white men.

I shall hail with pleasure the adoption of a law of Canada, spoken of by one Honourable Member, which will prevent the placing of salmon traps at the mouth of the Fraser, stopping thereby the fish from ascending the river, and by that means cutting off the food of the Indians, and taking from them the means of support; but I should much regret to see any laws brought into operation which would grant monopolies, such for instance as in the case of criniberrie, which are at present a source of living to many hundreds of Indians.

As regards our defences, we should have the right to have our own forces, as every one would have to serve in the Militia; but so long as English troops are stationed in Canada, we ought, when we become an integral part of the Dominion, to have our share of them. And as to every distant future, I trust that the great scheme of Confederation may be carried out, and that the Dominion may have a Royal Prince at its head, and then may the views of the great Anglo Saxon race as regards commerce and trade become enlightened so that English goods may come into the Dominion duty free.

As we shall from our position on the Pacific Coast, be the key-stone of Confederation, I hope we may become the most glorious in the whole structure, and tend to our own and England's future greatness.

I shall support the motion of the Honourable the Attorney General.

The Hon. Mr. WOOD said—Sir, I rise to support the amendment of the Honourable member who moved for Victoria, to postpone the consideration of these Resolutions for six months. I desire, Sir, to express my unqualified opposition to what is termed the Confederation of this Colony with the Dominion of Canada on the basis of the Organic Act; and in dealing with the subject, I shall address myself to three several heads of objection.

Firstly, to the principle of the Organic Act of 1867, as applied to the British North American Provinces; secondly, to the special application of the principle to this Colony;

Thirdly, to the mode in which the consent of its adoption is now attempted to be obtained.

Referring for a moment to my own personal position in this Council, I should wish to say that I feel bound as a non-representative and non-official member to present my own views. My mouth is not closed by official reticence, nor do I represent any constituency. I am here, bound by my duty as a Member of this Council, to express my own conscientious views in respect of the measure in explicit terms, in the interests no less of this Colony than of Great Britain, which in this, as in every Colonial question, I cannot but hold to be identical.

With respect to the general principle of Confederation of the British North American Provinces, it will be remembered that, in 1867, I was one of those Members who voted that Confederation, on fair and equitable terms, was desirable. I am of that opinion still; but my objection is that no terms based on the Organic Act of 1867 can be fair or equitable.

It cannot be denied that the idea of a confederation and general alliance between the British Colonies in North America is a very captivating idea. The existence of a homogeneous union tending to act as a counterpoise to the great Republic to the south of us, is a grand political idea, but it is an idea most dangerous and difficult to carry out. When I voted in 1867, for Confederation on fair and equitable terms, I had in my mind Confederation in the general acceptance of the word as understood by all political writers, and by the world in general—a union of free and self-governed States, united by a federal compact for purposes of offence and defence, of peace and war; and for the purposes of maintaining and preserving uniformity in laws and institutions which affect the social and commercial relation of life; such laws and institutions as criminal law and practice, the general administration of justice, and the laws regulating commerce and navigation. Such a confederation I then believed to be possible. I am foolish enough to believe it to be possible still; but Confederation as understood by Canadian and Imperial statesmen—Confederation as collected by the Organic Act of 1867—is not Confederation at all. It would, indeed, throw the world Confederation to the winds, since by Confederation is obviously meant union, incorporation, and absorption. The Organic Act of 1867, provides for the entire transfer of all effective legislative power and control to Ottawa, as the seat of the Dominion Government, where, owing to the much

greater wealth and population of Canada, the influence and authority of Canada bear all before it. It is a principle too obvious for proof or dissertation that Confederation in its proper sense can only thrive where the States bound together by the federal compact are not only free, but where they are nearly equal. Excess of power in any one State is fatal to the interests of the rest. No, Sir, the word Confederation has no application to the intended movement. Lord Granville, in his despatch, no longer calls it by such a term. Union and Incorporation are spoken of, not Confederation, and the movement really is one of incorporation, absorption, and annihilation.

Now, Sir, the objections that I raise are objections to the provisions of the Organic Act, and I find it necessary, for the purposes of my argument, to turn to those provisions. I do not mean to detain the Council at unnecessary length, but as the question before us is one which concerns the future of this Colony for all time, I trust that I shall be excused if I dwell for a few moments upon these points.

If we come into Confederation, we come in, as I understand it, under this Organic Act; and it is on account of the overwhelming influence of Canada in the joint Legislature of the Dominion as given by that Act, that I object to the general principle of the confederation of the North American Provinces of Great Britain. I am told I am in error, that profound Statesmen in Great Britain and in Canada have determined otherwise, and that Confederation, on the basis of the Organic Act of 1867, is the policy of Great Britain.

I regret, Sir, that I cannot be silenced by the weight of such authority. No statesmanship, no conclusion, is of any value except for the reasoning on which it is founded; and I am ready to rest the whole matter on simple argument and reason. All States large enough and populous enough to warrant such privileges, eagerly and passionately desire the power of self-government. It is the common passion of our race. Formerly, even now, in other places, it is British policy to give these powers; and as New South Wales has thrown off Victoria and Queensland, so would it appear to be reasonable to extend the principle to the British Provinces in North America, rather than to adopt a different policy, for the simple reason that it is in accordance with the instincts of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the just rights of man.

We want self-government, which means the protection of our own interests, and the establishment of our own welfare in our own way; the passing of our own Estimates in our own way; the selection of those who rule, and the subsequent meeting of our rulers, face to face, in open Council, that they may show us the results of their ruling. It means the imposition and collection of our own taxes, fostering our own industries, and the power of the purse. These are the elements of self-government, and they are reserved to the Dominion Government, and taken from the Provinces; hence my objections to the Organic Act. For these reasons I say that Confederation—or rather union—with Canada cannot be fair and equal, on account of the overwhelming influence of Canada in the Dominion Parliament, now and in the future, for it always must be so. Canada can extend, and will extend, and even of herself would be able to sway the destinies of the Dominion. And are we to accept this position because we are told that British statesmanship wills it. Stat smanship, Sir, is nothing more than very sound common sense put into practice—sound common sense, backed by a knowledge of mankind and of the subject matter to which that statesmanship is applied. And, although it is not for me to depreciate the renown of my countrymen, it cannot be disguised that they have not unfrequently gone astray, and been forced to submit to the control of national interests and national will. It is not difficult to find instances of error in British statesmanship as applied to Colonial affairs. The errors of British Statesmen, with a majority of the House of Commons and the British Nation to back them, cost Great Britain the thirteen United States. The errors of British Statesmen, with a majority of the House of Commons and the British Nation to back them, have inflicted wrongs upon Ireland, which are only now in process of removal. The errors of British Statesmen, with the British Nation to back it, has created a difference which has gone far to alienate the affections of the Colonists of New Zealand.

In this question of Confederation it is impossible not to see the self-interest of Great Britain underlying the whole matter. England is alarmed at the extent of her Colonial Possessions, and her obligations to protect them by sea and land. Of all her possessions,

the Dominion of Canada is the most assailable; and, doubtless, Great Britain stands alarmed at the responsibility and cost of protecting so enormous a frontier. The question of Confederation is the question of every tax-paying Englishman, and whatever may be the reasoning put forth, the motive is economy and security to the tax-paying public of Great Britain. Confederation is, doubtless, of value to Great Britain, as establishing a counterpoise to the United States of America, and probably inducing the assistance of Canada to ask for and obtain independence, and so relieve the Mother Country from the cost and duty of defending it. This is, I believe, the entire Statesmanship of the measure—a Statesmanship meritorious in English eyes—but, as I believe, fraught with extreme danger to British interests in this quarter of the globe.

Turning now to what may be called the argument in favor of Confederation, we have Lord Granville's despatch. Lord Granville, it must be admitted, has ably, gracefully, and placably put before us the supposed advantages of Confederation—"Her Majesty's Government believe that a Legislature selected from an extended area, and representing a diversity of interests, was more likely to deal more comprehensively with large questions, and more impartially with small questions, and more conclusively with both, than is possible when controversies are carried on and decided upon in the comparatively narrow circle in which they arise. Questions of purely local interest would be more carefully and dispassionately considered when disengaged from the larger politics of the Country, and at the same time would be more sagaciously considered by persons who have had this larger political education."

Finally, they anticipate that the interests of every Province of British North America would be more advanced by enabling the wealth, credit and intelligence of the whole to be brought to bear on every part, than by encouraging each in the contracted policy of taking care of itself, possibly at the expense of its neighbour." This I understand to be the argument of the Colonial Office in favour of Confederation; and although I fully admit that it is well put, I believe that no argument is more fallacious. It is delicate ground for me to touch when I presume to differ from what comes from so able a man. On this point I wish to make myself distinctly understood. I do not profess to be a statesman or a politician, but as a lawyer of mature age, pretending to a fair share of common sense and a knowledge of human nature, I will venture to say, that if there is one passion more powerful in the minds of Colonists of Anglo-Saxon origin than another, it is the passion for self-government; in all English communities there is an ardent passion for self-government. Colonists here, as everywhere else, are animated by an intense desire to govern themselves in the way they think best, and to delegate that power to others is destructive of every feeling of self respect and of social and political liberty.

It is not necessary for me to prove that this is the case, it is too notorious for comment; and as long as the spirit of liberty exists in the British Nation we shall find that no one Province will submit to legislation at the hands of a Legislature in which its interests and welfare are overwhelmed and overborne. To secure submission to a Legislature such as that of the Dominion of Canada, where the majority of the Canadian Members make the law, uniformity of interest and feeling is necessary; and not only will the feeling of any separate Province be obscured by the consciousness that self-government is withheld from it, but on finding that its interests, or its feelings, are overwhelmed and subjected to the interests and feelings of a dominant portion, the sense of discontent and dissatisfaction will become universal and national, hence will ensue a condition of things most perilous to British interests generally.

The bond of union between Canada and the other Provinces bears no resemblance to the union between England and her Colonial Possessions. There is no natural love and original feeling of loyalty. The feeling of loyalty towards England is a feeling blind, unreflective, strong, born with us, and impossible to be shaken off; and I believe it is impossible to transfer a feeling of loyalty and fealty at will. The connection between the Mother Country and a Colony, even a Crown Colony, is well understood in principle and in practice. The Mother Country guarantees the Colony from enemies abroad, and the entire work of inter-colonial management is, except in matters of prerogative, left to the Colonists themselves. The

Crown pretends to no dictation, nor has it any interest at variance with the interests of the Colonists. Although in a Crown Colony the Official element is supreme, it is well understood that it is to govern and public opinion to force it to govern—according to the well understood and well established wishes of the Colony at large. The Government can not and dare not interfere except to prevent crude, irrational, or vicious legislation. There is no direct conflict between the Mother Country and a Colony in these days; but it cannot be supposed that any British Province will submit passively to injustice at the hands of a Canadian Ministry or a Canadian House of Commons. If any scheme has been devised more likely than another to raise and keep alive local irritation it is, in my judgment, the scheme of Confederation on the basis of the Organic Act of 1867.

What is said by Lord Granville is true in theory, but practically it is opposed to human nature; and in endeavouring to carry out elaborate and elevated views Great Britain stands a fair chance of losing the whole of British North America.

Thus far I have treated of the general policy of the Organic Act.

With respect to the applicability of the scheme of Confederation to this Colony I have more special and particular grounds of objection. I consider such an union inexpedient on several grounds.

First, the remoteness of the Colony from Canada; Secondly, the comparative insignificance of British Columbia;

And, thirdly, the diversity of its interests from those of Canada.

That these objections specially apply to the extension of the principle to this Colony no one can doubt. Lord Granville admits that the distance is an objection, but thinks that a Railway will annihilate time and space. He thinks that the Government can be carried on at a distance of 3,000 miles without difficulty. This Railway is to bridge over the vast desert that intervenes between this Colony and Ottawa. The notion that we can with any effect represent the interests of this Colony in the Parliament at Ottawa at a distance of 3,000 miles is to me absurd. With a population such as ours, even if we have the representation suggested by the terms, with eight Members of Parliament against one hundred and eighty-two, and four senators against seven and two, how can it be supposed to be possible that our voices could be heard? When Lord Granville spoke of "comprehensiveness" and "impartiality" in a Legislature, surely he must have lost sight of the constituent elements of a House of Commons. For let us consider, without any reflection upon the House of Commons at Ottawa, what is the nature of the House of Commons of England, or of any other assembly of the same nature. Every House of Commons is but an assemblage of the Members of Parliament pledged to support the material interests of their constituents, whenever those interests are affected. I never can anticipate anything but the representation of the views and the material interests of constituents in any House of Commons. I believe that members would always vote according to the interests of men whose votes they would have again to solicit, and of whose interests public opinion holds them to be the acknowledged advocates.

How can we find eight men in a place like this, where at all events the most valuable members of society are professional and business men, without selecting them from a class who are politicians by profession? Most men here are workers of some sort, and actively employed in their several professions and businesses, and we should have extreme difficulty in finding eight good men who would spare the time and expense to go to Ottawa. If that we should want would be such men as are now at Ottawa, the principal business men, bankers, merchants, and professional men; but time and space will prevent this most valuable class of men from leaving British Columbia and representing our interests at Ottawa, and we shall be compelled either to retain the services of Canadian gentlemen, who still in Canada, would be British Columbian representatives only in name, or we should have to take eight representatives who will be content to make politics a profession, and we shall have to pay them for their services. To the insignificance of British Columbia as a Province of the Dominion the same remarks apply.

Difference of interests is a still more material point. Upon this point direct conflict is sure to arise. Canada belongs to the Atlantic, and looks to the Old World for her markets. We are a new country, our

staples are totally different. Questions cannot but arise between British Columbia and Canada—between the East and the West—in which Canadian interests will prevail over those of British Columbia; and aggravated by the feeling of wounded pride and forced insignificance, the Colonists of British Columbia will feel naturally aggrieved.

The Colonial feeling is well known—pride and attachment to the Mother Country and intense sensitiveness and tenacity where injustice or wrong is done. Once let this feeling be roused amongst us and it will not be long before British Columbia is clamorous for repeal; and not obtaining it, the Country will be ripe for any other change, however violent.

Now, Sir, with respect to the third head of my objections. With respect to the mode in which the consent of this Colony is attempted to be obtained, I am sorry to notice what I cannot but call a spirit of diplomacy, and a spirit of management, characterizing the whole movement in favour of Confederation on the part of the Imperial Government. It is obvious throughout that the Imperial Government desires to obtain their end and aim of Confederation in a mercantile spirit of bargain and sale, which jars upon my feelings of right and justice.

If this Colony is properly the Legislature of British Columbia; I reflect the intelligence, the substance, and the interests of the Colony, we ought to have originated these Resolutions ourselves. The matter should have arisen spontaneously amongst us, without any attempt at leading or forcing. What may be His Excellency's own views upon the subject of Confederation we cannot say. I think Lord Granville's despatch as a diplomatic order, couched in polite language, but nevertheless a requirement to the Governor to carry out the will of the Colonial Office, without reference to his own convictions. All that we are told by His Excellency upon this subject is that the Colony will derive "material benefit" from Confederation, and the Colony has been offered by the Executive certain material benefits in the shape of a Railway, a Dock, cash in hand, and freedom from debt, in return for the transfer of all legislation to the Dominion of Canada. These "material benefits" being paraded before the eyes of the Colonists, the bargain is afterwards to be accepted or refused by a Council composed mainly of Representative Members. This mode of operation, no less than the bargain itself, is equally objectionable in my eyes. The material benefits—the Dock, the Railway, the money payments—are in effect nothing more than bribes to the present generation to forego the rights of self-government.

I have no doubt that the Colony will accept the bargain. The Colony is a small one, the population not exceeding 6,500 adult white men, and of these many are gentlemen of Canadian proclivities, Canadians by birth, who are naturally, and I may say patriotically, in favour of a union with their native Country.

There are many, also, who in the present adverse condition of things in this Colony, are desirous of change of any kind, and eager for any opportunity of benefiting by operations which promise to throw population, capital, and enterprise into the Colony. We have suffered much from pecuniary depression, and when we have an offer from a great Country to come and spend money among us, can you doubt that any one will fail to feel these advantages; while many more hope for political power and influence in a system which they expect will carry with it Representative Institutions, if not Responsible Government. Can we doubt that the vote will be in favour of Confederation? The people of this Country will sell themselves for the consideration of the present, and posterity will hereafter ask indignantly, "What right had we to shackle them, and to deprive them of rights which cannot be sold."

We shall reap the benefit, and those that come after us will reap the disadvantage and humiliation. It is not in the power of the present generation to dispose of the birthright of its descendants. Liberty and self-government are inalienable rights. The original vice of the matter still remains, and when once the material benefits are enjoyed or forgotten, and the consciousness of disadvantage is apparent, reaction will set in; a party of reprobators and repealers will arise, who with great show of justice will clamorously demand the reversal of an organic change, founded on political error and wrong. Although our masters at Ottawa may be ever so amiable and ever so pure, the moment we feel the yoke we shall repent; it is not in the nature

of Englishmen to submit to tyranny of any description, and dissent such as our posterity will express, will be on only too sound grounds. I say, Sir, that this matter ought not to be brought forward now, when the country is in a state of depression, ready to catch at anything. Recourse should not be now had to Representative Institutions for the first time, when the obvious effect is the acceptance by this Colony of a confederation which comes with it direct, immediate, pecuniary gain. Few have the self-denial to reject a bait so invitingly dangled before their eyes. If the Colonists are to be trusted with Representative Institutions, for the purpose of effecting so important and radical a constitutional change, why are they not to be trusted with Representative Institutions altogether? It is notorious that the Colony is, probably with justice, considered by the Imperial Authorities unfit for full Representative Institutions, and that a Council, with a predominant official element within it, is the only fit body to deal with important questions. Yet this Council is to be differently constituted, and the ultimate terms to be accepted by the people alone, for the sole purpose of effecting the scheme of Confederation. The whole scheme for effecting Confederation is but a scheme of temptation very difficult to forgo, though it must be admitted recourse is not had to actual or practical force and obligation.

I have delivered my honest opinion on this matter, *liberæ animæ meæ*. I fear at great length. But I have spoken out for my country, my fellow Colonists, and a spirit, of the truest loyalty. I am desirous to promote the interests of the British Nation; and I believe the present movement puts them in great peril. I have given you the best proof of my sincerity. I have spoken against my own interests. I have material interests in this Colony which will greatly benefit by the movement, and I am a friend of the building of a Railroad and a Dock. The interests of friends and connections who are dear to me will be much benefited; and those who know the world tell me that it would have been better for me if I had bent before the storm which I cannot avoid; that the honours and rewards of my profession are not likely to be bestowed upon one so friendly to a popular, an Imperial, and a Canadian movement; that I cannot act against political conviction. I am here to give honest counsel, and I have done it, come what may.

The question has always appeared to me to be this:—Confederation with England which we have; Confederation in its truest sense; Confederation with all the securities of protection, and all the privileges of government, now or hereafter to be, when the Colony shall have population and wealth sufficient; or Confederation—or as it should be termed "Incorporation"—with Canada. Incorporation with a country to which we are bound by no natural tie of affection or duty, and remote in geographical position, and opposed to us in material interests. Incorporation with all the humiliation of dependence, and in my mind the certainty of reaction, agitation, and discontent. Canada can never become the assignee, the official assignee, the *Dowling Street official assignee* of the affection and loyalty which exists between this dependency and the Mother Country. I am opposed to the political extinction of this Colony, and its subservience to the will of a majority of the House of Commons at Ottawa, and the administration of its affairs by the political adherents of Canadian Statesmen. And all this for what? For "material benefits," for a money consideration, in which the ring of the dollar only faintly conceals the click of the fetter. I am grieved to think in which the change is sought to be effected, and view the bargain and sale of political independence for ourselves and our descendants for a few dollars in hand, and a few dollars in the future, as equally shameful and void.

Railway—or no Railway—consent or no consent—the transfer of Legislative power to Ottawa, to a place so remote in distance, in interest, in industry, and a political extravagance which time will most surely establish.

The Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS, Member for Victoria District, then rose and said:—Mr. President, I congratulate you, Sir, and this House upon the noble work on which we are engaged. We are engaged, I believe, in Nation-making. For my part I have been engaged in Nation-making for the last twelve years—ever since I have been engaged in politics in the Colony. [Hon. Registrar General.—"You have not made a Nation yet."] The Hon. Registrar General says that I have not made a Nation yet. I need only, in reply, quote for his enlightenment the old

adage "Rome was not built in a day." [Laughter.] In the humble part that I have taken in politics, I have ever had one end in view. I have seen three Colonies united on the Pacific Coast. [Hon. Mr. Helmecken.—"Three?"] Yes, three: Stekin, British Columbia, and Vancouver Island; and if I had had my way, instead of the United States owning Alaska, it would have been British to-day. I have advocated the union of those three Colonies, and in the union of two of them particularly, I have taken a prominent part. For many years I have regarded the union of the British Pacific Territories, and of their consolidation under one Government, as one of the steps preliminary to the grand consolidation of the British Empire in North America. I still look upon it in this light with the pride and feeling of a native-born British American. From the time when I first mastered the institutes of physical and political geography I could see Vancouver Island on the Pacific, from my home on the Atlantic; and I could see a time when the British Possessions, from the United States boundary to the Arctic Ocean, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would be consolidated into one great Nation.

Sir, my political course has been unlike that of most others in this Colony. Allow me to illustrate my meaning by the use of another old adage. My course has been that of "beating the bush whilst others caught the bird." My allegiance has been to my country, and the only reward I have ever sought has been to see sound political principles in operation. Therefore, Sir, I say again that I congratulate you and this Honourable House on the noble work on which we are all engaged.

We are here, Sir, laying the corner stone of a great Nation on the Pacific Coast. When we look at our history, we find some Nations that state their origin in the age of fable; some have been produced by violence, and extended their empire by conquest. But we are engaged in building up a great Nation in the noon-day light of the nineteenth century, not by violence, not by wrong, but I hope, Sir, by the exercise of that common sense which the Honourable gentleman who preceded me called statesmanship.

It was not my intention, yesterday, to have called your attention to this House with any remarks until we were in Committee of the Whole, although I have taken, for historical purposes, ample notes of the debate. Allusions have, however, been made during the course of this debate, amongst others to myself. I am, therefore, compelled to crave the indulgence of the House for a time to set myself right before the Council and the Country, and to add my humble opinion to those around me in favour of the consideration of this question in Committee of the Whole. I shall support the general principle of Confederation, [Hear, hear.] as I have always done, if we get to the discussion of the terms proposed.

First, Sir, let me allude to some of the statements of the Honourables the Attorney General (Mr. Cressé) and the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (Mr. Trutch) and to the Honourable Executive Member for Victoria City (Mr. Helmecken.) Sir, I know something about the history of Confederation. Up to the opening of this Session, Confederation has been a subject of agitation. It may properly be divided into several heads: firstly, agitation; secondly, negotiation; thirdly, inauguration; and fourthly, I hope, successful operation. Now, Sir, it is apparent that every act of mine in reference to Confederation, up to the time it was announced in Earl Grenville's despatch, up to the time His Excellency the Governor sent down his message, every act of mine was in the line of agitation. It was with the view to bring about the consideration of terms with the Dominion Government; to hear what they would do; to bring the question before the people, and to canvass its defects and advantages that I for one have agitated the question. In doing so I have come in for blows from opposition, and from some false political friends. Sir, the era of agitation has now passed, and we advance to the era of negotiation.

When I heard the Hon. Attorney General, yesterday, invoking High Heaven; and when I heard him explaining the position of Official Members upon this question; when I heard him state that he was always in favour of Confederation, there flashed across my mind one of the proverbs of Solomon, which I cannot refrain from repeating: "Such is the way of an adulterous woman; she catcheth and wipeth her mouth and saith I have done no wickedness." [Laughter.] Sir, I respect any Hon. Member who will, if he sees reason to change his opinion, come down and frankly tell the honest truth; but when an Hon. Member tries

to make political capital out of other men's labour, I confess I do not respect him. On the contrary, such men as the latter, when Officers of a Government, remind me of the remark of a celebrated French philosopher, who said: "That of all the mysterious ways of Providence there is nothing so inscrutable as his purpose in committing the destiny of nations to such creatures as these." [Laughter].

There are men in this Colony entitled to some honour; some men who are entitled to praise for having brought Confederation to its present stage; but they are not the Honourable Gentleman, the Minister of Justice, nor the Honourable the Chief Commissioner. [Hear, hear.]

Is Earl Granville entitled to the credit of bringing this matter forward? Is Governor Muirgrave, or his Cabinet, or the Officials? No, Sir, I should be doing wrong if I permitted it to be supposed that the credit was due to any one of them. I have assisted to make history, and this is a page of it. Let it go forth to the world, that the people of this country have made Confederation the important question that it is to-day.

The Hon. Chief Commissioner, whom we have heard with so much pleasure to-day, made an allusion to me. He said that when I brought this matter before the Council in 1868, that the Executive Council opposed Confederation, and that they had prevented their wisdom in delaying the question at that time. On that occasion my object was only agitation to open negotiations. But, Sir, what did I hear at that time? "You pension the officials and we will all vote for Confederation," and I think I could mention another Executive Councillor who said: "Do you think we are going to vote for Confederation without being provided for?" That was the kind of wisdom in vogue in 1868. Sir, I again object to Hon. Members taking credit where no credit is due. [Hear, hear.]

Let us turn now to the Honourable Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmecken), once a warm and generous friend to Confederation, and what has been the result of his opposition? Impotence. He was impotent to retard the question. He was impotent to advance it. He was impotent, I mean powerless. He was impotent to stem the course of events. He hung out the banner of Anti-Confederation in Victoria, and won his seat by crying "down with Confederation." Before he contested the seat with me, I told him that the Canadian Government would not negotiate until the North-West Territory question was settled. Yet the Hon. Member for Victoria City charged me with backing down from Confederation.

The Hon. Member for New Westminster, also, denounced me in his elegant English in the *Columbian* as giving up the cause of Confederation. But, Sir, why did I say that the Canadian Government would not enter into negotiations with us? It was because I had in my pocket, at the time, a despatch from a Canadian Cabinet Minister, which said that the Dominion Government would not negotiate until the questions then pending with respect to the North-West Territory were settled. The Hon. Member for Victoria City, held up, however, his puny arm against Confederation. But has he stopped it? No! Not a day, nor an hour; for as soon as the North-West Territory question was settled, then came a despatch to the Governor to push on Confederation. I think I have said enough, Sir, to show that it was the people who took this matter in hand, and it is the people who will carry it through. [Hear, hear.]

Although I have risen unprepared to make a set speech, there are still some points raised in debate which, in my opinion, require attention.

The Hon. Attorney General, after opening his budget upon Confederation, has referred to the three courses which these terms will take—First, they are to be arranged by this House; next, to go to the Canadian Government; and, thirdly, to be ratified by the people of this Colony.

I hope, Sir, that this House will deal with these terms in the interests of British Columbia. I stand here not as a Canadian, but as a British Columbian; my allegiance is due first to British Columbia, and I sincerely hope that these terms will be dealt with from a British Columbian point of view. [Hear, hear, hear.] And first as to the money value of Confederation. [Hear, hear, from Dr. Helmecken.] It may grate on the ear of the once Solicitor General (Mr. Wood) to mention money; but, Sir, I believe in the old adage that: "Money makes the mare to go." I do not intend to allude to the terms in the Resolutions at present, any further than to say, that I do not believe in going into Confederation without good terms. I believe that it would be traitorous to

British Columbia to consent to Confederation without good terms; and that we would not do our duty if we did not insist upon getting them.

The Hon. Attorney General asks why we are not prosperous? In my opinion, Sir, the cause of our want of prosperity are various. They first arose under the administration of Sir James Douglas in 1858, and have been perpetuated down to the present day. The people were then almost driven away, and down to the present time the Government have done nothing comparatively to induce population to settle in the Colony. Another reason is, that the country is somewhat rugged, and not so attractive for settlement as some others. The Hon. Member for Victoria City, says, that it is our proximity to the United States. I most respectfully deny it. Population would have come if greater efforts had been made to get it. The Hon. Attorney General is consistent in one thing. He said in 1867, and he says in his speech now, that British Columbia is of vital importance to Canada. I cannot see it. I cannot see why the Canadian Railway, if this was a foreign country and our boundary terms with that of Canada, might not have run through to connect with our railway system, as the French railways connect with those of Belgium.

When sitting in the Vancouver Island House of Assembly, in the place now occupied by the Hon. Chief Commissioner, I defined British Colonists to be politically, nothing but subordinate Englishmen; and I contend, Sir, that Confederation will give us equal political rights with the people of Great Britain. In labouring for this cause, Sir, my idea has been and is to assist in creating a nationality—a sovereign and independent nationality.

Now, I come to the Hon. Member for Victoria City again. I really confess, Mr. President, that I expected more sterling opposition from that Hon. gentleman. I thought we had here the modern Charles Martel, the celebrated armed warrior who had gone out to drive the Saracens—the Canadians—back across the Rocky Mountains. I thought that he would have protested like Paul the Protestant. [Dr. Helmecken. What became of St. Paul?] Paul was converted, and I hope the Hon. Member may share the same fate. [Laughter.] I expected the Hon. Member to have delivered a philippic, that would have done honour to Demosthenes when declaiming against Philip of Macedon. But, I really don't see how what he has been set up as a target by the Government—a man of straw—to draw the shot of all the Confederate party. I don't know why he was taken into the Executive Council. I thought that this Council was an united and impenetrable phalanx, but it seems that it is otherwise. What a happy family that Executive Council must be! The Member for Cariboo and the Member for the City differ in their views, and both differ in this House from the Honourable Executive Councillors at the other end of the table. It is like Barnum's happy family. But the Honourable gentleman has told us some things which are good, and besides that he is going to raise other issues.

[Dr. Helmecken—"I?"]

Yes, the Honourable Gentleman said that the issue would be raised at the next election, between going to Canada and going somewhere else.

[Dr. Helmecken—"I said that I thought it very probable if mean terms were proposed by Canada, the people would raise other issues?"]

O! "the people," those much abused words. I believe in the people when they are right. But the Honourable gentleman *did* threaten to raise the issue of going somewhere else. Now, Sir, where else except to Canada could we go? The Honourable Member talks of agricultural interests, why, Sir, by going somewhere else these interests, from Comox to Sooke, and from Sooke Creek and Kamloops to the Lower Fraser, would be destroyed; the country would be flooded by produce from the United States. From Comox to Sooke, from the delta of the Fraser to Cariboo, the farming interests would be destroyed by going somewhere else. If that question came up, Sir, the farmers would quickly put it down. The Honourable Member for Victoria City says that the question comes here by desire of Her Majesty's Government. Sir, I say again that it comes here by desire of the people, a large proportion of whom have asked Her Majesty's Government, and the Government at Ottawa, to bring it here. I am thankful that the question of Confederation is here. The Honourable gentleman says it is a Government measure, and that the terms must be passed. I say again that I hope terms will be passed of such a character as will contribute to the prosperity and happiness of this Colony. The Honourable Executive Councillor says,

that this is a Government measure, and that it ought to be an open question. Why does he not retire from his seat then? I would not be a candidate for his place. [Dr. Helmcken—"There are no candidates. The Executive Council are appointed."]

Then I am sorry for the choice that has been made. Why, Sir, the programme settled by Government would leave it virtually an open question by referring the terms to a popular vote. I may have something to say upon that hereafter. How patriotic will the Honourable gentleman be when he goes outside, and says that this nominative Council, presided over by a paid Colonial Secretary, have done this! How very easy it is for an Honourable gentleman to talk about the autonomy of Government, when it suits him to do so. Look at his conduct in voting supplies. When my Honourable friend on my left (the member for Lillooet) tried to bring in a Bill to repeal the Crown Salaries Acts, was he not choked off by the Honourable member for Victoria City objecting first? But I am only delaying the House. [Hear, hear.] The Honourable Magisterial member for Victoria City says, "hear, hear." Now, Sir, as far as I am concerned the Honourable member has my full permission to withdraw. [Laughter.] I have always been ready to take a British subject vote on this question; but the Honourable member for Victoria has always dissented from that proposal.

The Honourable member for Victoria City has a remarkable way of putting things. But a few days ago he stated in the House that the people will only support the Government in getting the terms proposed, all will be right. I quote from the Colonist newspaper of 20th February, 1870, in which the Honourable gentleman is made to say, "I hope the people will support the Government in trying to get terms." He now comes down and opposes them. [Dr. Helmcken—"I don't oppose the terms, I oppose Confederation."] A distinction without a difference. The Honourable Executive Councillor says the time is inopportune. I say, Sir, that now is the time. If the new gold discoveries, which have been mentioned in the course of this debate, really exist, now is the time to confederate, and to take means to attract and retain population. Sir, have spent five years of my life in the mining districts of California, and have helped to build up towns after towns; but how are they now? Many of those towns which had their 5,000 inhabitants have almost none now. I will be the same with our gold-mining towns. I fear the Honourable gentleman will always say the time is inopportune, not only before the population arrives, but when it is here and gone. If we can make a good bargain with Canada, by all means let us make it, and make it now. I like the word bargain, it sounds like business. What did the Honourable member for Victoria say at the last election? "Don't let us have Confederation, for we shall have a surplus revenue of \$100,000 in 1869, and we will do better without Confederation." Confederation was inopportune then. There was a large deficit or falling off in the revenue for 1869, and yet he says it is inopportune now. He said, yesterday, we shall have a reduction of the public debt in 1873, of about \$36,000, and by funding the floating debt make another saving of \$15,000 per year. So that for a paltry saving of \$50,000 three years hence, the confederation question is now inopportune. I am surprised at the Honourable gentleman. First, it is inopportune, because of the present depression; second, inopportune at the last election, because things looked so bright; thirdly, inopportune now, because we can save \$50,000. Your predecessor as Minister of Finance, Mr. President, promised great things, but the Government's Message with the Estimates shows how they have turned out. I do not deal in prophesy, but in facts. Let any one look at Caribou. Look at Victoria. If we wait for the time to be opportune, we may wait until it is too late. Suppose any unforeseen accident were to happen to our gold mines. If the golden spring is dried up, the golden stream that flows from Caribou to Victoria will be dried up also. We are asked by the Honourable member for Victoria to wait for the census of 1871. What has the census of Canada to do with the question? The basis of population as set forth in these terms is all fiction. It does not come up to my idea of million-making. Why not deal with facts? Why set up some legal fiction of John Doe and Richard Roe? I want facts not fiction. Let us base our financial calculations upon facts, and the rest will work itself out satisfactorily. Much has been said, during the debate, about the Red River Territory and its settlement. For my part I don't care if the

Red River difficulty is never settled, so far as it bears on the question before the Council. I believe that the Red River country, and the valley of the two Saskatchewan are not so favorable for settlement as some amongst us are accustomed to assert. But whether the North-west Territory is confederated or not, I go in for Confederation, because I believe we can make terms, and good terms, with Canada. The Honourable member for Victoria City talks of the drawbacks to Confederation arising out of the vast extent of the country, and our great distance from the seat of the Federal Government. That will hardly scare anybody, with the example of the United States before us. Next he says that the Dominion is only an experiment, and that it may break up. How often have I heard people predict that the United States, as a nation, must break up, and was only an experiment. Why, Sir, they forget that the States had existed as separate Governments for one hundred and fifty years before their union. So with the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, they existed as separate Governments for the last hundred to two hundred years, and Confederation is but the application of long tried principles to a larger territory. Why did not the Honourable member for Victoria City, when he pointed out the defects in the confederation machine, tell us what the great defects in the machine were? He has merely raised up a scarecrow. Then he says it is absurd to ally ourselves to people who were 3,000 miles away; but nothing in his argument showed me that the absurdity was proven. I remember, Sir, that the communication between California and the States was by Panama and Nicaragua; was California then less to the United States than now? We now can hold communication with Ottawa, by San Francisco and the Pacific Railroad, and will be as near to our central Government as Washington Territory. The Honourable member speaks of people 3,000 miles away, being unable to do as well for us as we could do for ourselves. I believe they could do just as well so far as some general principles are concerned, if we only settled the conditions properly. With regard to the States of the neighbouring Republic getting on better than the Provinces or ourselves, I would ask where is the progress of Washington Territory as compared with our own country? [Dr. Helmcken—"It contains a much larger population."] The population is only five thousand voters!

The Honourable gentleman is pursuing the same detouring course as he did in past years, when he opposed reform, when our Government might have been beneficial to the Colony, had it been based on the popular will. He says that the deposition of the Free Port drove people out of the Colony. I take this occasion to state that, in my belief, the deposition of the Free Port was the commencement of the permanent prosperity of this City; and brought in its train the dawning of prosperity throughout the whole district, from Comox to Sooke, which includes the district which I have the honour to represent, and which now numbers six hundred voters, all of whom are prosperous. There, Sir, lies the key-stone of Confederation! If the terms between British Columbia and Canada do not protect the farming interests, the largest and the only permanent interest in this Colony, Confederation will do no good. If it does not protect the farming interest, I vote against Confederation, first, last, and all the time.

It would be most unwise to join Canada without protection. We must have a control over certain imports in the terms, for a protective tariff is the only inducement to farmers to remain upon the soil. We depend upon them to build up a permanent interest in the country that will last for ever. We must certainly do want extension of commerce, but the true mode to obtain extension is to add to its volume internally. First, I believe in developing internal trade and industry; next, I believe in external trade. Allow these terms as brought down by the Government to pass, and in a few years you will reduce the position of a mere smuggling village. Protection is a necessity. So long as there are nations and national interests, so long will it be necessary to have laws to protect those interests. Allow me, Sir, on this point to say that there is a great revolution in the value of realty, capital, and labour commencing on the Pacific Coast. The equalisation of the value of realty, capital, and labour has commenced. The whole tendency of events in the countries to the south of us, is to equalize the value of labour, of real estate, of capital, of manufactures, and of produce on this Coast with their value on the Atlantic side. No such revolution in values has ever occurred on the Pacific

Coast, except that produced by the discovery of gold, as has been proved since the opening of the Pacific railroad. Take the protection then afforded our farmers, and they are reduced to the condition of the agriculturists to the south of us, who will be reduced to the condition of those in the east. No doubt the prices of our farmers will be reduced by the revolution that is going on, but give them protection against foreign competition, and there will still be inducement for them to remain. The Hon. Chief Commissioner referred to this in a very proper spirit; and the Hon. Member for New Westminster says that it is one of the most important questions. I hope, therefore, that the subject will have due weight with them.

The Government of Canada, according to the proposed terms, would give as a surplus revenue of \$200,000. [Dr. Helmcken, No.] The Hon. Member says no. He may be right. But upon the calculation that we shall have \$200,000 surplus revenue, I say that this subsidy will be equivalent to four hundred farmers, who earn in the Colony \$500 each, annually. By taking off protection from our farmers, to get the \$200,000, we would injure the country instead of benefiting it. But get the surplus of \$200,000, and at the same time protection for our farmers, and we will do a prosperous business under Confederation. This is what we have to arrange. What we have to get into the terms. [Dr. Helmcken, "All right! I will help you."] I would say that "extremes meet," for I now meet my Hon. friend (I mean political enemy) ["No, no,"] to secure protection. I will give the Hon. Member for Victoria City, that we can get all we want without Confederation by a judicious arrangement of our own tariff. I can show, that what we want most in this Colony, is population, and that population employed in a remunerative manner. Isolation will not secure population. Confederation on proper terms will give us population; will give us means to employ labour remuneratively; will enlarge our commerce, and build up our industry. If it gives us public works,—if it give us a railroad from a point on the Fraser, below Yale, to Savon's Ferry on Lake Kamloops,—and if we connect Lake Okanagan with the Spel-mah-chen River, by railway, which is only about thirteen miles,—not only will we be getting a country from Osoyoos lake, on the boundary, behind the Cascades, be opened up and connected with our chief commercial city, with a cheap and speedy means of transportation; but all this tract of country traversed by the railways and lake communication will be utilized in producing wheat and wool, and other articles for exportation. Victoria, then, will be built up, and will be the chief commercial city of British Columbia, with all other parts of the Colony tributary to her. This is what Confederation on proper terms will do for us. The Hon. Member for Victoria said, that no lasting union could be maintained, unless the interests of British Columbia are preserved. If I look (for argument sake) at these things from a Canadian point of view, I find that by serving the interests of British Columbia, the interests of Canada will be served. Canada, as well as British Columbia, will benefit by a protective duty here. Canada will get the revenue under protection, and British Columbia will have its industry protected from foreign competition. And, there is no reason that we should not have our interests protected. [Dr. Helmcken—"The Organic Act says no."] The Organic Act says no such thing. Confederation is diversity in unity; really and essentially a general unity, and an application of law to diverse interests. First, we find that New Brunswick, under the Organic Act, gets a temporary subsidy of \$63,000 per annum. None of the other Provinces receive any temporary subsidy under that Act. New Brunswick is allowed to collect export dues on lumber. All the other Provinces are prohibited from levying dues on lumber. Now, if New Brunswick gets an additional subsidy, and levies a lumber tax prohibited to the other Provinces, why cannot British Columbia get exemption from uniformity in her favour? Nova Scotia gets two subsidies, equal to \$100,000, which are not in the Organic Act. The Crown lawyers say that the grant is not unconstitutional. This is a noted exception, made to satisfy the Nova Scotia repeal party. Another exception is found in the compulsory provision, that appointments to the Judiciary shall be made from the Bar of the Provinces for which the appointment is made, (till the laws shall practice are assimilated, if the Organic Act is wrong, I say change the Act. But I believe, that I have successfully shown that exceptions have been and can be made under the Organic Act.

Now, let us see what this horrible Canadian tariff is. It is too high on cattle for us; not high enough on bacon, butter, cheese, and lard by a few cents; and imposes nothing on hay, hops, and grain of all kinds. I explained the whole to my constituents, at eleven meetings, and they said, get these few alterations made to suit us, and we will support Confederation. So we must have an alteration. Why, Sir, under the English Constitution different tariffs can be imposed. Look at the difference in the Excise spirit duties that were levied formerly in Scotland and England, for instance. As a lawyer, not as a judge, I give my opinion that we can have one tariff in British Columbia, and another in the Atlantic Provinces, under the Organic Act; and if the Act does not allow it, then we must alter it.

I have already given notice of motion respecting protection for our farmers and manufacturers. I desire to add a resolution to the proposed terms, keeping the power in the hands of the Local Legislature to impose a tax on certain imports, in case the tariff be too low. With respect to brewers, the tariff can easily be arranged so as to protect them; and the Hon. Member for New Brunswick has suggested the objection to the Dominion fishery laws. As far as commerce, that common sense that the Hon. Mr. Wood calls statesmanship, will settle that; for if Confederation would injure the commercial interests of British Columbia, it would also injure the interests of the Dominion.

The Hon. Member for Victoria City has said a great deal about centralization. But I say, Sir, that there must be a centre somewhere. We cannot have it in British Columbia, and a centre would be no worse in Ottawa than in Washington. The Pacific Coast, so far as the United States are concerned, is represented at Washington, which is not so large a city as New York.

Representation is one of the most important elements in free Governments; and as it has been urged by the Hon. Mr. Wood and others, that British Columbia would not be heard in the Canadian Senate or Commons, and that our small delegation would be crushed and out-voted, I will briefly examine the subject. Now, Sir, the whole of the Pacific States of the United States has only twelve Representatives in Congress—6 in the Senate and 6 in the House of Representatives. California has two Senators and three Representatives; Oregon, two Senators and one Representative; Washington Territory, one Delegate; and Nevada, two Senators and one Representative. Now, it is proposed in the Resolutions to grant to British Columbia twelve Members—four in the Senate and eight in the Commons—a number equal to the whole representation of the Pacific States, with 1,000,000 people, in the United States Congress. Again, there are only five States that have more than twelve Members in Congress. They are New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. Take another glance at the representation of the States most remote from Washington. Texas has five Members; Florida, three; Maine, seven; and California, five. Remoteness and small numbers have never caused any of these States to be treated unfairly. Under the popular system of government there, the small States do not go to the wall. Has little Delaware gone to the wall? Has Rhode Island gone to the wall? No; neither would British Columbia go to the wall in the Parliament of Canada. The Government of Canada is based on the popular will; and that is the highest of guarantee that we shall be treated fairly by the Dominion.

I have never heard of Scotland being injured because she had a smaller representation in Parliament than England.

[Hon. Mr. Wood—"Yes, yes. Two revolutions followed immediately upon union."]

Yes; but that do not affect my proposition. A little blood-letting, however, does no harm occasionally. I would not object to a little revolution now and again in British Columbia after Confederation, if we were to be treated unfairly; but I am not one of those who believe that political hatreds attest the vitality of a State. [Clear, hear.]

The Honourable and learned Member for Victoria says that all power will be taken away by Confederation. Why, Sir, the Hon. gentleman cannot have read the Organic Act. For he will find the exclusive powers of the Dominion are in the Provinces clearly set forth in it. Then, Sir, on the question of the power for the fulfilment of the conditions by Canada, there appears to be some misapprehension in the Hon. gentleman's mind. In point of fact we have a guar-

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antee from the Imperial Government. If the Dominion refuse to keep the terms and repudiate their part of the bargain, we can appeal to the Imperial Government to release us.

[Hon. Mr. Wood.—"Let us have it in black and white."]

Why, let the Act be repealed and down go the terms. The sovereign power is in the Parliament of England. It made the Act, and if it is violated without redress, it can repeat it, and the power of Canada ceases.

The Honourable and learned Member for Victoria City has referred to the possibility of a Fenian invasion, and said what will become of the Railway in such an event. I believe, Sir, on such an extraordinary occasion, such as invasion, each one in the Colony would be patriotic enough to do without a few miles of Railway, until the invasion may be put down.

It has been asked what is the gain under Confederation.

At present we have no surplus revenue. But with Confederation on equitable terms, there will be a clear gain of \$245,000 annually from subsidies and reduction of tariff; therefore, as \$284,000 is to nothing, so is Confederation to Isolation. There are a great many points to which I could allude were I disposed to trespass longer on the time of the Council; but I reserve them until we go into Committee.

There are, however, some few things to which I will passingly allude. It is important to British Columbia to know what will be the qualification of Members to the Dominion Parliament [Hear, hear, from Dr. Helmcken] and the qualification of electors. And with reference to the Local Constitution, it may be necessary for us to know whether our Governors cannot be elected as in the United States, instead of being appointed on the English principle; and whether we may not accept the right to pass local laws over the veto of the Governor, by a two-third vote of the Legislature. The usury laws, imprisonment for debt, and many other matters will require careful consideration and attention.

With respect to the main principle, I am in favour of Confederation, provided the financial terms are right in amount, and if the other terms will contribute to the advancement and protection of our industry. If we cannot get favourable terms, which I believe we can, it will then be for the people of this Country to say whether we shall remain in isolation or seek some other more favourable union.

The Debate was here adjourned until Friday, at 1 o'clock.

FRIDAY, 11TH MARCH, 1870.

The Debate was resumed by the Hon. Mr. BING, who on his rising was greeted with cries of "Spoke, spoke."

Hon. Mr. Bing said:—Sir, I have only spoken to the amendment, and have a right to speak to the original motion.

Doubts were expressed as to the Hon. gentleman's right to speak a second time, but the Presiding Member was not called upon to decide, and Mr. Bing proceeded.

Sir, The Hon. Member for Victoria District commenced by congratulating the Council on having the grand question of Confederation now before them. He congratulated them on the great advantage of being able to grapple with a great question like this. I cannot compliment him on the way in which he introduced his subject. I admire his perseverance, and confess that on many subjects he enlightens Members on both sides of the House.

I meant to find that having alluded to the opening speech of the Attorney General, he thought fit to cast unwarrantable imputations upon that gentleman and the members of the Government. He suddenly turned aside and quoted a text, which he applied to the Official Members of this Council. He likened one of them to a woman who forgets her modesty and shame, and goes after lovers for bread; to her who has a harlot's forehead, and refuses to be ashamed. Sir, I deprecate such allusions; they throw no light upon the subject. I think that an Honourable and grave body like this, on hearing such charges, should have at once risen to express their indignation rather than have concluded it by their silence. Nothing is more easy than to take any one act of a man,

for of a body of men, and apply it to a sinister motive, when it is capable of an honourable one. Sir, I was very glad that the Hon. Attorney General had the courage to follow the example of the English House of Commons. He, flinging to Chaplain to this House, supplied the defect by invoking the blessing of God, which was met by a sneer. I say I admire his courage in fronting a godless age, by the invocation of the blessing of Him in whom we live and move and have our being. He was not ashamed to acknowledge the controlling power of Heaven over the destinies of this fallen Colony.

Now, Sir, the Attorney General decaunted at great length on the advantages of Union. He put that as the basis of the Government proposition. There is nothing like Union he says; this is a noble sentiment which all must join in. Everyone would welcome that comprehensive brotherhood which embraces all civilized Nations. I am sure that when the Hon. Member for Victoria alluded to the possibility of a prospective union with other Powers, he did not do so in the idea of this Colony abandoning its allegiance to the Crown; because he expressed a wish to see the desire of general union spreading, is no reason why he should desire to shake his connection with the Mother Country. Had it been otherwise, I should have deplored the Hon. gentleman's loss of loyalty. Some surprise has existed at the Hon. Member for Victoria offering suggestions as to the possibility of any other union. Why so? The Hon. Attorney General himself gracefully introduced it. Why should not the English-speaking race live together and form one Nation? The people of the United States spring from one common stock with ourselves. I long to see the time when all national sectarianism shall be swept away.

My position as Member for Nanaimo has been assailed in a cowardly way by what is called the Press. I have been accused of shrinking from my duty to my constituents at Nanaimo, because I echoed their sentiments against Confederation. I ask the indulgence of the House whilst I allude to what occurred at Nanaimo at the last election. At that time the question of Confederation was rife throughout the Colony; peoples' minds were agitated; the people of Nanaimo were almost unanimous against it. In fact, I said to them during the progress of the election, and also on the hustings, I told them that I agreed with their views against Confederation, but that when it came before the Council I should give it my best attention. It was not made a test question at my election. The people of Nanaimo are still of their original opinion; and, therefore, I express their opinion now, against this measure; and say that their convictions are against Confederation, notwithstanding the "No, noes" of certain Hon. Members. There may be some amongst them, Canadians by birth and principle, who desire Confederation, who, though they are here, can say with the poet:—

"I have one I love, who never reaches home,
My heart outwatches kindly mine to do so."

Thus much for Nanaimo.

Now, I say, Sir, that the question of Confederation ought to be fully and amply discussed in this House, and to do this there should be a full House. I deny that it is the desire of the people to have Confederation, but I say let the people have an opportunity of expressing their opinions in this House. Let the disfranchised districts have first restored to them the rights of which they have been defrauded. The Governor has been betrayed into supposing that the people want Confederation, and assuming this to be true, he says I shall now give the people an opportunity to discuss the terms.

But let the Franchise be restored, then let the general question of Confederation come before an enlarged representation; and I say that Confederation should be put alone, eye or no. Shall we have Confederation? and not upon what terms shall we have it. The proper course is to dissolve the House, issue new writs, and let the people say whether they want Confederation; and after they have said yes, then descend into the particulars of it. A Government measure is now proposed, we are bound hand and foot, and handed over to Ottawa. I say, Sir, that being so handed over, we ought to let our masters settle the terms for us.

I therefore, venture again Mr. President, to repeat that if it is to go ahead that the people desire Confederation, then the House should be dissolved, and a fair vote taken.

The Hon. Member for Victoria District puts it as if the voice of the people had been heard. I ask how?

Through newspapers? Conventions? Speeches? I say this is not the proper way. Let the people speak in this House, through a full body of Representatives of their own choosing.

The question has been amply ventilated in this Council. The Hon. Member for Victoria City has gone fully into what he considers the difficulties. It has been met on the other side in a manly and able reply by the Hon. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, who has been again met by the Hon. Mr. Wood.

It is not for me to go into the question of terms now; but I deny emphatically that Confederation is desired by the people. My own constituents are against it; many other constituencies are, as I believe, against it also.

I ask, then, why should the Government attempt to force these Resolutions upon me, by means of its Official Members, who are only supreme in numbers?

The people have had no opportunity to express their wish. Difficulties have been presented by an Hon. Member, arising from the space between British Columbia and Canada—difficulties arising from the means of transit, and from the means of communication being cut off—difficulties arising from what is at present called the rebellion in the North-West Provinces, that strife, as I am informed, gathering strength day by day. ["No, no," from Mr. DeCosmos.] Hon. Members say "No, no." I am so informed. I hope it is not so, but if it be, then under the name of union we are called upon to take a part in this interminable war.

I long for union as much as any man. In union of good there is strength and victory, but in union of evil there is defeat and disaster. I shall not occupy the time of this Council in diverting to matters which have been amply discussed; in expressing my conscientious opinion I do my duty. The Hon. Mr. Wood has told us that difficulties arising from professional honours are sought. I say nothing of prior claims to professional honour, which I have lost, from, at all times, conscientiously supporting what I conceived to be right. His Excellency says that we are not fit for Responsible Government. I want to know on what local data he says so? Who has tried the people? On the scope of whose mind is it said they are not fit? Who has examined them?

The Hon. Member for Victoria District has properly said, if Hon. Members were paid for their attendance in the House, you would soon see whether men were capable or not to enter upon and fulfil the duties of Responsible Government. Then we should see whether the gentleness disguised in mean apparel—Graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, and other Universities—who have cast their lot in this Colony, but are unable to defray their travelling expenses from remote places to the Capital. We should see, I say, whether they were capable, or not, of enlightening and controlling by their wisdom the feeble powers of Governmental diplomacy. Sir, by enlarged representation we shall discover such men. We had one foot forward in the direction of freedom, it has been forced back. The franchise has been taken away. Sir, I have very feebly endeavoured to touch upon these subjects. In fine, I affirm that the matter has not been discussed fairly. There must be an enlarged representation, that the people may tell the Government what they want.

Hon. Members who have supported Confederation, have failed in showing that this is the time for it. They are afraid to ask the people. They have refused to do so.

Much has been said; more will be said. I have listened, and have heard high sounding words, and inflated tautology, of this man that Hon. Member, which remind me of soap-bubbles, which, though beautiful by the reflection of the sun's prismatic colours, are equally remarkable for their rotundity and their emptiness.

The Hon. Mr. BARNARD said—Sir, in rising to support the motion of the Hon. and learned Attorney General, I can but express my feelings of pleasure in being permitted to take a part in the great work in hand—that of heaving off the rough corners of the block which has come to us from the hands of the Executive, and which, after receiving the finishing touch at the hands of the people, will become the keystone of the great Confederation arch which will, ere twelve months, extend from ocean to ocean. The terms set down by His Excellency are, I consider, a fair subject of congratulation. The manner in which they have been received by this House and the people

is another subject of congratulation; and the paucity and/or lideness of the arguments used by the opposition, represented in this House as it is by the talent of the opposing party in the country, are also subjects of congratulation to His Excellency, this House, and the country. It is wrong, Mr. President, to charge the desire for Confederation on the part of its promoters to a desire for change. So far as my constituency and the adjoining ones on the Mainland are concerned, I may say safely that such was not the case—we accepted the Organic Act constituting this Council, and agreed to work it out to its legitimate end; and we have not countenanced nor have we been subjected to the many changes which other parts of this Colony have. I desire, before going further, to allude to a charge commonly made against my countrymen—often offensively put—but yesterday put by the Hon. Mr. Wood, in his usual gentlemanly way. It is that of "Canadian proclivity." As a native-born Canadian, in common with others, I love the land of my birth. We admire her institutions and revere her laws; but we never forget the land of our adoption, and we would no more consent to see her wronged by Canada than would the tens of thousands of Englishmen who have made Canada their home, permit a wrong to be done her by England.

It is also wrong and contrary to fact that, "so anxious are we for Confederation that we would accede to any terms proposed." During the past three years, I have been one of the foremost in advocating the cause of Confederation; and, in doing, throughout the interior of the Colony, I am free to confess I never uttered such a sentiment; and in justice to my fellow-countrymen in particular, and the advocates of this cause in general, I will say that I never heard any one express a desire that this Colony should be confederated, except on such terms as might on investigation be found to be just and beneficial.

We desire Confederation with Canada, because we believe that it will be to the interest of this Colony to unite with the progressive Colonies to the east. That they are progressive I assert, and as proof I point to the fact that, previous to Confederation, Canada proper had expended \$184,000,000 on public works, principally in building canals. Up to the 31st of 1860 had been expended in railways. She pays to-day \$300,000 yearly for her ocean steam mail service alone, and her enterprise is followed by her people. Her manufactures are increasing yearly, and even now she is exporting cloths to England, and competing there with cheap labour. One firm alone composed of men who landed in Canada penniless, now has \$9,000,000 invested in ocean steamers, employing 4,500 men, and thus sustaining 22,000 persons. Among the objections urged by Hon. Members against Confederation is our proximity to the United States. This, I hold, is no objection. Canadians are not taught to fear competition with the United States. The general feeling there is that we can hold our own (except in point of numbers) with her in any direction whatever. It is rather we look for a great portion of our trade, and the advantages of such trade are mutual.

The question is often asked: "What are the immediate advantages to be derived by us from Confederation?" My reply is that, in addition to the amount paid us by way of subsidies, we will save by a reduction in the tariff and by importing Canadian manufactures, a very considerable sum, thus reducing our taxation. Next, the terms propose that \$1,000,000 be spent on a wagon-road to be commenced immediately and completed in three years, thus causing over \$200,000 a year to be spent.

Hon. gentlemen will recollect that in 1861, 1862, and 1863, immigration poured in on us, enabled by the report of rich discoveries in California, and by a knowledge on the part of those coming that the Government was spending large sums on public works, and that those who failed in the mines might fall back on the roads to replenish their purses; and many who are now permanent settlers in the interior acknowledge that they made their farms suckle there. How much more is this likely to be the case if the larger works contemplated in the terms are carried out.

Then, Sir, look at the construction of a Railway. You may judge of the magnitude of the work by the following figures. There were employed on the Central Pacific at one time 25,000 men and 6,000 teams; 600 tons of material were forwarded daily to the point of construction; 20 vessels in harbour at one time, loaded with material; the wharves at

San Francisco and Sacramento loaded with railway iron; 70 locomotives landed, and 700 cars built to carry on the work on construction account; no less than 30 sawmills in operation at one point at one time. The enterprise that set this enormous trade in motion is not one of greater magnitude than will be the work undertaken on this side, and if our farmers and population generally do not revolt, and that immediately, by the carrying on of such enterprises as these, let them succumb, for I know of no state of prosperity that can help them. I contend the benefits of Confederation, in these respects at least, will be immediate. But Hon. Members have said "the United States will derive the benefit." If that argument holds good, why not tell the merchants of Water Street to close their doors because foreign manufacturers reap a part of the benefit of their trade. Better, a great deal, for the opponents of this cause to advise the farmers to cultivate every inch of their farms and garner up their crops, for the day assuredly will come when they will have ample market for all they can raise.

It has been urged here, that Canada cannot retain her population, much less the immigration that comes to her shores. In this, Sir, there is considerable truth, although the Hon. and learned Member for Victoria has not put the matter fairly before this House. In giving the number of passengers going from Canada to the United States, he has omitted to give you the number of those passing from the States into Canada. One reason why Canada has not retained the whole number of emigrants landed on her shores, is that they find greater attractions in the treeless prairies of the Western States, than in the heavily timbered lands of Canada. This, Sir, has ever been a serious drawback to her. But now the case is different. Having acquired the vast territories of the great North-West, she will open them to settlement, and then she will have inducements to offer such as cannot be boasted of by any other country in the world. Open those millions of acres to the settler, and you will see such a rush of immigration—not only from the older countries of Europe—but from the United States, as will astonish the world, and stand unparalleled in the history of immigration. Canada's hardy sons who have left their homes for the Western States—allured by the advantages of prairie over wooded lands—will join in swelling the numbers, and once more plant their feet on British soil.

The difficulties of defence have been spoken of as a formidable obstacle. Sir, she never regarded them in any such light. Canada has no fears in that direction. She relies on the thorough good understanding that has existed between herself and the United States for so long a period, as a guarantee for the future. Their interests are so identical that they cannot afford to quarrel. The troubles between them heretofore, have been on England's account, and not Canada's, as witness the Trent affair, and the more recent Fenian invasion, which was rather a stab at England than an attack on Canada. During the recent fratricidal war in the United States, Canada had a difficult part to play in maintaining strict neutrality, yet she came out unscathed. It must be remembered, also, that Canada possesses in her canal system, a powerful lever—a guarantee for peace—vastly more potent than fortifications. The great bulk of the produce of the Western States finds its way to the ocean through Canadian channels, which could be closed at any moment.

As to that "other issue" (I will not use the word that has been so freely used outside) I have no fears for Canada or this Colony either. It used to be fashionable here, in early days, to associate the name of Canada with education. It was the result of prejudice and ignorance, and was a great mistake.

I recently read, Sir, an account of a meeting held in one of our principal Canadian cities, on the occasion of a Sabbath school convention. An American gentleman was engaged in addressing the house, filled to its utmost capacity. In the course of his remarks, having alluded to the rights of Great Britain to Her Majesty the Queen, he added—"American though I am, I can with all my heart say, 'God bless the Queen.'" Immediately, Sir, without any preconcerted action, the entire audience of men, women, and children rose to their feet and sang the National Anthem. That gentleman said, that such a spontaneous, hearty, and unanimous outburst of loyalty was probably never heard before.

Such, Sir, is the kind of loyalty we were taught in Canada, such is the kind that is being taught to the rising generation of the new Dominion to-day; and I

leave it to you as to whether there is room for that "other issue" or not.

Before concluding, Sir, I would wish to remark with reference to the charge made by the Hon. Member for Victoria District against the Hon. Attorney General, that his conversion to Confederation was late. I know that it is impossible to make some Honourable Members believe anything good of Officials, either in respect of Confederation or anything else. But I simply desire to relate this fact.

I had occasion to go into the Hon. Attorney General's office in 1867, and he then showed me a letter, written by himself, in favour of Confederation; and after perusing that letter I felt convinced that when, in his estimation, the proper time arrived, the cause would have a warm and sincere advocate in the Attorney General. I mention this in order to show that the Hon. Member for Victoria District has no right to arrogate to himself that he was the only man who was far-seeing enough to recognize the advantages of Confederation three years ago, and as a proof to him for failing far with the position taken up by Hon. Official Members on this question now.

To sum up, Sir, I say that amongst the Statesmen of Canada, we may safely look for men fully competent to control the affairs of a young nation. They are men of as much ambition and grasp of thought as are the rulers in the adjoining States; and, depend on it, nothing will be left undone to advance the prosperity and well-being of every portion of their vast Dominion. We may safely repose full confidence in them. England has done so, or she would never have committed the well-being of four millions of her subjects to their care.

They can steer the good ship "Dominion," and hold her on her way, she will receive many a shock, "but 'twill be of the waves, and not the rock."

The Hon. Mr. HUMPHREYS, Member for Lillooet, said—Mr. President, It is not my attention to occupy the attention of the House at any great length. I shall pass in review rapidly the arguments for and against Confederation, as they have been used by Hon. Members who have spoken during the progress of this debate.

It seems to me, Sir, that the people and their interests have been entirely ignored throughout the discussion of this question, and perhaps intentionally. I refer to the subject of Responsible Government ("Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos), which has up to this stage been all but lost sight of. I, Sir, am one of those men who believe in the people.

I remember that in opening this debate, the Hon. Attorney General invoked the Divine blessing upon the work upon which we were then entering. This was high-sounding, and a very nice picture to look at, but it does not wear well without that strict attention to the divine rights of the people, which is inalienable from true political economy.

I have a distinct recollection of most Hon. Members now occupying an official position at this Council Board, and of the positions which they occupied when first they came to this Colony. I have often asked myself what entitles these Hon. Members to govern this Colony; but I have never been able to answer myself satisfactorily. I am perfectly ready to admit the ability of Executive Members as individuals. The learned eloquence of the Hon. Attorney General has always, since I have had the honour to sit at this Council Board, impressed me with a deep sense of the advantage of thorough forensic training; and the power and force of the reply of the Hon. the Chief Commissioner has ever and again made me feel with especial force the utter helplessness of combating stern official reticence with even the most brilliant powers of oratory. Yet, Sir, whatever our admiration for individual excellence, however great our estimation of personal worth, the question has still remained unanswered, and, in my opinion, unanswerable. What is there in the collective wisdom of these Honourable Official Members that entitles them to arrogate to themselves the right to rule? Are they, I ask, the dominant race, and are the people serfs?

We have heard a great deal about absorption, and the danger of the larger body swallowing up the smaller. I think about as much of that danger as I do of the other evil "threatened" in such earnest and thrilling language by the Hon. Member for Victoria, namely, that our salmon would under Confederation, and the protection from salmon acts that would be extended to them, increase and multiply to such an extent that they would absorb all the smaller fish.

I, however, to speak seriously, doubt very much if the Hon. Member can cite a single example in history of the larger absorbing the lesser, unless the larger possessed better qualifications as in the case of the absorption by British Columbia of Vancouver Island. Sir, we must give up all personal prejudices, and we must hold our minds to the establishment of a great British Empire upon the Pacific Coast.

Lord Macaulay says that "Governments are made for the people, and not the people for the Governments." Yet, Sir, how different seems to be the course of reasoning in this Colony. Here we have a strange compound of sickly representation and unpopular officialdom. The want of responsibility of the official element in this Council, and the presence in the Legislative body of officials who are paid by the people, and yet are not responsible to them, is the real cause of the alienation of the hearts of the people from the Government. The votes of these Hon. gentlemen must always oscillate between their own interests and the want of their consciences dictate to them as for the good of the country. It is our duty, Sir, to bring back the hearts of the people. We must have a Government by and for the people. This is what I believe the people really require, and this and more, if necessary, the Government must be prepared to give them. The people of this Colony will consent to no arrangement which has not for its foundation—Responsible Government. We must be prepared to pull down and demolish the old structure, in order to rear up one that shall endure—as a Government secure in the affections of the people only can endure. I warn Hon. gentlemen that they must endeavour to recover the wills of the people; then, and not till then, will return that prosperity which we all desire to see.

I hope, Sir, that the Executive will not attempt to make any arrangement with the Dominion Government which does not include popular self-government. The people will never accept Confederation without Responsible Government.

We must first get the free—Responsible Government—and we may afterwards, with some reason, hope to get the fruit. I say, Sir, that it is a gross libel upon the intelligence of the people of this Colony, to say that we are not fitted for self-government. In no country can you find men better capable of governing themselves, and of managing their own affairs, than in this Colony. I hold, Sir, that the greatest enemies of the people are those who always endeavour to blazon forth their learning. I am proud to say that I am of the people. My education, if not of so high a culture as that of some Hon. Members of this House, has at least enabled me, up to this time, to make my own way in the world, unaided by official pay and without the assistance of official favour or influence. And when I hear Hon. Members speaking of the people as a class unfit for self-government, I find it difficult to believe that such a set of men are the same as have been speaking before, in this House, and outside on Confederation.

In conclusion, Sir, I say fearlessly that Responsible Government is a *sine qua non* in the terms of Confederation. Place what conditions you will before the people, without the condition of Responsible Government, and Confederation is killed.

Confederation means to the Hon. Members a pension, to the people it means self-government, and I say, Sir, that above all things, we must keep in view the absolute necessity of keeping control of our own local affairs, otherwise Confederation would be useless to the country, and I warn Hon. Members at the other side of the House, that to exclude Responsible Government from the terms, is to ensure defeat for the whole Confederation scheme when it comes before the people at the polls.

The Hon. Mr. CARRALL, Member for Carleton, said.—Mr. President, I did not intend to open my lips during this debate; indeed I am left with very little to say by the Honourable gentlemen who have preceded me. I have taken notes with a view, if those assertions which were put forth were not answered, of replying to them.

For three days I have sat at this Board and heard discussions *pro* and *con*. I have heard nearly every word; certainly every argument which Honourable

Members on both sides have adduced; especially have I listened in every argument of those who are in opposition, and I believe that nothing remains unanswered—in fact but a few crumbs are left for me. Another reason why I did not desire to make a speech is that my principles are pretty thoroughly known, and I deem it almost a work of supererogation to reiterate my sentiments.

But as this debate as to whether we should go into Committee or not has taken such a serious turn, I think it right and proper to say a few words. Whoever knows me through this Colony, or through British North America, knows that my principles have never changed on this great Confederation question. I have always maintained that the fragments of empire lying loose, so to speak, in British North America, east and west of the Rocky Mountains, should be united and consolidated under one Government. The question of the confederation of the whole Columbian Empire of Great Britain is one that has always appeared to me to be replete with the greatest interest, and I trust that I may be spared to see this confederation consummated.

With regard to the advantages that Confederation will bring to British Columbia, it is almost forbidden ground, for the advantages are in reality part of the Resolutions. If I allude to them I should not be in position to prove anything which is in futurity, I had perhaps better abstain from touching upon the subject. However, this much I will say, that, after sentiment and loyalty are disposed of, it becomes a question of advantage.

The terms sent down to this House, in my opinion, warrant our acceptance of them in their entirety; but if the House think otherwise, I may, I am sure, go so far as to say that the Executive are open to receive suggestions, and that there will be no objection to adopt any suggestions which will not be likely to jeopardize the success of the whole scheme. In this connection, I do not propose to go over the ground that has already been taken. But I must allude to what I cannot help calling a feeling of over-caution which has been displayed throughout this debate.

I believe, Mr. President, that you are an Englishman, and as a nation I think you express too much caution, fear, and anxiety with respect to the scheme which Canada might pursue. I do not speak personally, but such appears to me to be the characteristic quality of Englishmen, and it has especially cropped out during this debate. I say that I believe we are treating with a far-seeing, fair-dealing set of men who would never forsake their word, Statesmen who would be incapable of offering a mean condition, even if we of British Columbia would accept them. They will give us terms to make us happy and contented. Another reason for our feeling confidence in the future is that we shall have under these terms, as the Hon. Member for Victoria District says, an enormous proportion of Representatives at Ottawa, and I presume that each of these Representatives will have a voice and the gift of speech.

It is fair to argue that the Dominion Statesmen will give us what will make us contented and prosperous. In touching upon this point, I should like to make an historical allusion, and for example I would refer to the present condition of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. "Hear, hear," from Dr. Helmecken.] When Hon. gentlemen say "Hear, hear," they may think I have given an unapt illustration. We, however, know that the number of Ireland's representatives, amounting to something over one hundred, have enabled the Irish members of the British House of Commons to hold the balance of power and the bulk of patronage between the great contending political parties, and by swaying between the Gladstones and Disraelis, or other leaders of the day, they have frequently been able to turn the scale so as to obtain what they desired, and to secure a liberal share of the patronage to office. I maintain, Sir, in this connection, that if British Columbia found that by reason of her small representation, large in comparison with the representation of the different States in the Congress of America, I say, that if British Columbian Members found that there was any disposition to tyrannise in the Dominion House of Commons, why I do not for one moment fear, they could not, as common cause with other small maritime Provinces against Canada proper. To quote the words of the Hon. Chief Commissioner, I believe that British Columbia will be a pet Province of the Confederacy. I try, Sir, to avoid speech-making, the time for that will be in Committee.

I do not hope to sway a single vote by any remarks that I make. I believe that every Member of the Council, previously prepared, to vote one way or the other, and I do not think any eloquent orators, and much less any feeble words of mine, will cause one of them to change his opinion. But I make a speech in order that a record may be taken of it, and my constituents may be able to see that I was not dumb. Follows, I say, the Hon. Members cast down with their opinions formed, as to whether the amendment of the Hon. and learned Member for Victoria, or the proposition of the Hon. and learned Attorney General, which was so ably put before us, should be carried. I sincerely hope, however, that Hon. Members will join me in voting down the amendment, and in supporting the motion of the Hon. Attorney General. This is, emphatically, the question of the day, and the policy of the Government should meet with a liberal and warm support from every Member of this Council, in order that the question may be fairly brought before the people for final decision.

And here, Sir, with the permission of the House, I will say one word upon the course pursued by the Government. The Executive Council have been actuated by motives of duty only, they have brought down these Resolutions, based on a broad view of the whole subject, and they ask you to make suggestions and additions. [Dr. Helmcken—“No they don't.”] Yes, Sir, I maintain that the Executive do so, and I will maintain it with my last breath. The Executive are prepared to consider, and if possible give effect to, every amendment or suggestion of this Council, provided it does not jeopardize the success of the scheme with the Canadian Government. The final verdict must come from the people, and I can safely maintain that nothing could be fairer.

Among things brought up in the course of this debate, the questions of Tariff and Responsible Government occupy prominent positions. I think the Hon. Member for Victoria District has taken right ground, when he said this, it was competent for the Dominion Government to alter and amend the tariff so as to protect every vested interest in this Colony. I am no lawyer, but I believe the Canadian Statesmen are sufficiently far-seeing to take care that not an interest in this Colony shall suffer by the Resolutions which we are about passing. With regard to the Dominion Tariff, people thought that the abrogation of the Reciprocity treaty was the death-knell of the independence of Canada. I have lived, however, to see her more prosperous by that abrogation. It has taught her to develop her own resources, and to become self-reliant. After she was prevented from going to the United States, by that abrogation, she turned her attention to her own resources, and I believe she is now going to be one of the most progressive nations upon the earth. Undoubtedly, she is determined to progress westward, until she reaches British Columbia and the Pacific; and with all her progressive tendency she will not abate one jot of the loyalty for which, now as ever, she is distinguished.

Now, with regard to Responsible Government. [“Hear, hear,” from Mr. DeCosmos.] I desire to touch lightly upon this subject in passing, because I have been told that my popularity has suffered some remarks to which I gave utterance in this House upon a previous occasion. Much as I value popularity, I must on this question express my honest and conscientious opinion as an individual. I believe that I was the first to break ground on the question of Responsible Government, in connection with Confederation. I did it, not hastily or thoughtlessly, but on conviction; and I maintain that so long as I do it honestly, I am free to say what I please, as an individual, upon this matter. I do not believe, Sir, that with our present population, with our people scattered over a vast extent of thinly populated country, and having regard to the various conflicting interests consequent on remoteness from the centre, the principle of Responsible Government cannot be satisfactorily applied to this community at present. I believe entirely in the ability and fitness of the Anglo-Saxon race to govern themselves, but I say that the time has not yet arrived under which that particular form of government, generally known as Responsible, can be satisfactorily worked in this Colony. I believe that the scheme first proposed by the Governor for Responsible Government will be the best that, under present circumstances, the Colony can have. The popular members under that system will have a clear majority, and, consequently, the people will have the control of the purse-strings. I do not speak these words as a member of the Executive Council, but as the expression of my own deliberate opinion. Sir, I

was not sent here pledged to any particular platform. My constituents had confidence in me, and were content that I should act on my own judgment. Speaking officially, I say that Responsible Government is not a question of Union. The Act of Union gives us the exclusive right to alter our own laws with respect to everything connected with the internal and local Government of the Province, so long as the Federal Government, if I may so call it, is not so flagrant. If the majority of the people want Responsible Government after Confederation, neither Governor Musgrave nor any other power on earth can prevent their having it. It is unfounded, unfair, and unjust, on the part of those who are opposed to the Government on the question of Confederation, to endeavour to put any other complexion upon the matter.

With respect, Mr. President, to the remarks about Cabinet Ministers and Executive Councillors, which have fallen from certain Hon. Members, I will only refer to the work that the Executive have laid before this House. From the general approbation which has been tendered, both in this House and on the outside, to the terms of Confederation which have been sent down by the Executive, I think that I am fairly entitled to assume that our labour has not been in vain, and that it has given satisfaction. I thank this Council for the words of encouragement and approbation with which they have accepted these conditions, especially those who have opposed them. So one, not even the Hon. Member for Victoria City, can say that it is not the wish of the people that this question should be discussed, and ultimately dealt with by the people.

A change has been preferred by the Hon. Member for Victoria District, against the Hon. Attorney General and the Hon. Chief Commissioner, to the effect that they had turned their coats and changed sides they had given votes upon Confederation in this House upon a former occasion. If they have changed, I maintain that upon conviction they are not to be blamed for doing so. It was well known that the Hon. gentleman had stated, or at all events I have always so understood it, had a telegram, or some other information from head quarters, more than a year ago, to the effect that the Dominion Government were not prepared to negotiate terms of Confederation with this Colony, until after the settlement of the Red River question, which was then pending with the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hon. Attorney General, and the Hon. Chief Commissioner took this same ground last year. They were of opinion that nothing could be done to further Confederation satisfactorily, until the sovereignty of the Dominion was established in the North-West Territory. Both assured me privately that they were in favour of Confederation, and I say that they entered into the consideration of the scheme without mention of pensions being secured to them. Who, I ask, are Confederates? The people most unquestionably; and could we, the people of this Colony, ever have made Confederation a successful issue, unless it had been taken up by Government. His Excellency Governor Musgrave has done nothing but what Prime Ministers do every day, in making this a Government question. On the part of the Government, I cordially invite the assistance, co-operation, and earnest deliberation of all Members of the Council to the scheme—a good one—and after we have done our best with it, we must leave it to the people.

Before I close my remarks, Sir, I must allude to what fell from the Hon. Member for Victoria City, whose opinion and lightest remarks are always received and listened to by this House with the greatest deference and respect, and every wrinkle of whose brow is a notch in the calculator of a well-spent life, for whose character as an individual I have the highest reverence and esteem. I cannot but say, however, that in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of this House, what the Hon. gentleman did say about another possible issue, was ill-timed, inappropriate, and unparliamentary. And, Sir, I deem it my duty as a Member of the Executive Council to say, that if he did intend to foreshadow the idea that the other union, to which he made ill-timed allusion, could ever be an issue in this Colony, he entirely misrepresented the views of the Executive Council. In this connection I desire to say that, in common with the Chief Commissioner, I feel a great respect for our neighbours of the Great Republic; I honour the country and its institutions; particularly I esteem the people of America in the exercise of national and domestic relations; they are true Anglo-Saxons; they are at this moment lavishing an amount of hospitality on Prince Arthur, which would do honour to

any nation. But, whilst professing great respect for the people and for the Government of the United States, I confess that I do not like their political institutions. I have many friends in America, and I have spent some time there myself; in their military service, but I left America a greater Canadian than ever. And I say, Sir, that I deem the action taken by certain foreigners here, in getting up a petition, which has perhaps been brought into more prominent notice than it was entitled to, exceedingly unhappy, and I know that I speak the sentiments of my constituents when I say so. These foreigners have received every hospitality, and have been treated with respect and liberality in this Colony; they enjoyed all the rights and privileges to which they would have been entitled in their own country, and perhaps more; they have acted foolishly towards the flag that sheltered them, and have abused the hospitality which has been extended to them in getting up this petition. If any British subjects signed it, I consider them unworthy of the name; they would be better in the chain-gang.

I must refer once again to the Hon. Member for Victoria City. He said that patriotism was dead in this Colony; that interest and self-interest was paramount, and that the dollar was supreme, and that the only patriotisms. [Dr. Helmecke—“What? what? I said nothing of the kind.”] I maintain that the words were used, and I say that the Hon. Member misunderstood or misrepresented the feelings of the people of this Colony in saying so. It is, perhaps, unbecoming in me, who have not the stake in the Court as those who have not the stake in domestic, monetary, or political, of most other gentlemen round this Council Board, and who have, comparatively speaking, but lately come to the Colony, to express an opinion; but nevertheless I do say that patriotism is not dead in this Colony, and that the people are as patriotic, noble, and generous-hearted as any other people in the world.

Hon. Mr. Helmecke—Sir, I rise to a question of privilege. I cannot allow the Hon. Member to make a speech about something I did not say without correcting him. I said that this Colony had no love for Canada; the bargain for love could not be; it can only be the advancement of material interests which will lead to union.

Hon. Mr. Carrall—I maintain, Sir, that I have not in any way exaggerated what the Hon. gentleman did say; and I conclude by saying that the people of British Columbia are loyal, honourable, and true, and when they give their adhesion to the Dominion they will uphold the British flag, as they always have upheld—

“The flag that has braved a thousand years
The battle and the breeze.”

The Hon. Mr. ALSTON, Registrar General, said—Sir, I should not have risen to attempt to make a speech at this late hour, had it not been from the peculiar position which I occupy in this Council, and I feel that I ought to apologise for detaining the House, even for a few minutes, after the very exhaustive arguments on both sides have been heard with such patient attention.

As I am neither one of the Executive, nor a Representative Member of this House, I have to satisfy my own conscience, and as it is probable I may not have another opportunity of expressing my opinion on the principle of Confederation with Canada, I must beg leave to say a few words.

It will be unnecessary to follow up the subject at any length, as I believe that the principle of Confederation has been virtually conceded. I give the Hon. Member for Victoria District all the credit that may be due for the consistent way in which he has agitated this question for years past, and probably the reason why the matter was not earlier brought to a successful issue through that agitation, was that either he did the right thing in the wrong way, or that he lived before his time. From 1867 to the present time, the question has been discussed in successive sessions of the Council, and it has been declared in effect that, at some future time, Confederation would be of advantage to this Colony. The Imperial Government have now spoken out distinctly on this matter, and have decided that Confederation shall take place. It seems that those who have the power to shape the destinies of this Colony have decided that it is to take a part in the great scheme of Confederation of the British North American Colonies, and have not hesitated to throw the whole weight of their enormous influence in the scale to effect this object; the Canadian Parliament manifestly urge this matter as a necessary

part of their scheme; and last, though not least, a large portion of the people of this Colony cry aloud for it, as a panacea for all their ills. Downing Street has hesitated to guide and control the opinions of Her Majesty's Servants in this Colony. Whether this be wise or prudent on the part of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in view of the present constitution of this Colony, it is not for me to say, but it is of no use blinding our eyes to the fact that they who have the power will—and for aught I know should—exercise it.

It was fitting, then, that the Executive of this Colony should take the initiative and undertake the responsibility of placing the matter before the country in a tangible shape. I rejoice that they have done so, and that the working out of the basis of arrangements has fallen into so able hands, for what other party have the power to do so? If they had not pre-occupied the ground, who is there? What party is there in this small community commanding sufficient general respect, that could have undertaken this important duty, with any chance of success?

Now, Sir, the Resolutions before us form no final measure, no unrevocable and perfected conditions. I look upon them simply as the basis of arrangement—the initial step in the negotiation. If they had been otherwise—if these were proposed as final conditions upon which the people of the Colony would be allowed to pass no vote, over which they would exercise no control. If the Government had said to this Council, you shall have these terms or none, I would have voted against them, or retired from this assembly. But the Government say that they shall be submitted to a popular vote, and ratified by a really representative and reconstructed Council.

That being so, I can give them my conscientious support, not only because I deem it to be my duty to support every well-considered Government measure, but because I believe them to be, as far as they go, reasonable, fair, and advantageous. Before now, a Government measure has claimed a support, but a reluctant one; in this case it is not so. I trust I may be allowed to render my small tribute of thanks to the Hon. Member for Victoria City, who with great self-denial has undertaken an unenviable position, one which, of necessity, would lay himself open to attack and misrepresentation, for one who has done and can do great service to his country. I think I can see, in the Resolutions before me, evidences of this service; traces of his handiwork; and although he cannot give the measure his support, I feel sure, though I desire not to penetrate the secrets of that mysterious chamber, that he has done all in his power to render them as beneficial, or rather, as the Hon. Member himself would say, as little hurtful as he could to the best interests of the Colony.

When this subject came up for discussion, in the last Session of this Council, I joined those who were supposed to form the Confederate party, and moved the following Resolution—

“That, however, desirable Confederation with Canada may hereafter become, this Council believes that until the great Territory intervening between this Colony and the Dominion is transferred to the Crown, and contains a larger and more settled population, it would be premature to express any definite opinion on the subject.”

It is unnecessary for me to say anything in favour of the principle of Confederation. It is admitted in the Resolution which I have just read. I take it, Sir, that the obstacle there referred to will be speedily removed; that the small band of disaffected spirits will soon disperse, and that the machinery of Government will shortly be put in motion; and though I do not take pleasure, like the Hon. Member on my left, in revolution, political hatred, agitation, and blood and thunder generally, I am not disposed to regret the occurrence of the difficulty in the Red River, for it will teach the Canadian Government, and the Imperial Government, and all Governments, that though you may buy and sell territories, you cannot transfer the human beings therein, like so many serfs and chattels, to a fresh allegiance with impunity; that the consent of the people must be first obtained; and that though the soil may be sold, the soil is free. This measure was, to a certain extent, forced upon the Government by the people of this Colony. It is said that the people clamoured for change in the Government. Why, Sir, we have had changes enough during the time I have been in the Colony, to ruin any country; changes generally for the worse. [“No, no,” from Mr. DeCosmos.] But whether Confederation comes or not, there is one change more which I hope to see before this year expires, and that is a change in the Constitution of this Council. I desire to see all the Members, save the Executive Officers,

ected by the people; and this change is promised by the Governor.

I hope, also, that the Colony will so prosper, and the population so increase, that before many years another change will come, that is to say Responsible Government. At present, I believe we are not fitted for it; it is practically impossible, and the Governor has had the courage to declare it. I would gladly believe that the cry for this panacea for all evil does not come from those who would fain jump into vacant places, and enjoy what they are pleased to term bloated idleness. Such pharasaic patriotism was well exposed by my much abused friend at the bottom of the table (Dr. Heimeken), that I will not further allude to it. But I say, Sir, that if they can find public servants who will perform their duties better and more perfectly, let them in God's name come on. I am content, for one, to give place to better men. Now is the opportunity offered. But, Sir, I am rejoiced that this measure has come down from the Executive; it will, when accomplished, give us rest I hope from this exhilarating change. The farmer, the merchant, the artisan, the cultivator, and the labourer will know what to expect, and will make their plans accordingly. Years ago, the farmer naturally expected that the Free Port system was settled and approved of. Agitation commenced, the farmer and the merchant could not carry on their pursuits without anxiety, and the Colony suffered. The Free Port was abolished—that grand project of the Union was abandoned. Columbia was effected, and a heavy tariff imposed, and business calculations were confounded again. But this Colony and the people have such elastic force, that they are again beginning to settle themselves down to the new order of things. Business went on, it is true, but, nevertheless, it suffered; and for the last two years, and the long ago has been successful work. The farmer is alarmed; he is superstitious at present, but he dreads (unnecessarily I think) what will be virtually to him the Free Port system again; and so alarm, and change, and inquietness are for ever distracting this small and struggling Colony, which, unless it had immense vital energy, and enormous latent strength, would long ago have succumbed. I see, however, in the prospect before us, a sign of better things—a more hopeful future—a state which when consummated will, I believe, secure a more settled life to the Colony.

I do not fear for the agricultural interest, for I believe the only protection which the farmer requires, is the protection of good roads, good laws, and an easy communication with the markets where he can best dispose of his produce. Self-interest, if no other reason, will induce the Canadian Government so to modify the Tariff as to endanger as little as possible the various interests, agricultural and otherwise, of the Colony. I firmly believe that Canada will deal justly with us at any rate. It is our duty to deal frankly and in a friendly spirit with the Canadians, until we see signs of a contrary spirit animating them. I am ready to shake hands across the Rocky Mountains with our Canadian brethren; let us not open negotiations with stretched lists.

As regards the paucity of representation allowed to us in the Dominion Parliament, after what has been shown so plainly to us by the Hon. Member for Victoria District of the analogous right of representation enjoyed by the Pacific States of the American Union, I think we cannot rightly expect more.

My Hon. friend on my right (Mr. Wood), who certainly has placed before the objections and arguments against Confederation forcibly before the House, says that Confederation means an union of equal States self-governed, and is equivalent to absorption. I doubt whether this is historically correct. But, Sir, whether that be so or not is beside the question, for the Resolutions which are before us are in fact Resolutions for the Union of this Colony with Canada. Union is the term used in the Organic Act, and the term Confederation never occurs. It is Union we are seeking not Confederation. The American States are States of the Union, not of the Confederation, and it has been conclusively shown that in that Country the separate States are not absorbed, although united.

And again, Sir, we were told that we are selling our independence, and transferring our loyalty. Not a bit of it. If the people of this Colony put the measure, surely their virtue is not one of slavery; unless they be slaves themselves, and yet they are free to act. This measure will not pass unless the people of this Colony are willing that it should, and declare unmistakably that it is for their benefit.

Whatever I may individually think, I shall bow to the free popular decision, and be prepared to believe that the *vox populi* is the *vox dei*. In so great a measure, I trust the people may be guided to a right conclusion.

As to loyalty, I need add no more than has already been said so forcibly by the Hon. Attorney General and the Hon. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. I would fain to the north and south by every owning different allegiance to our own; forced back to the sea to west, the only direction in which loyal hearts can turn is to the rising people of the east, who ask us to unite in a friendly spirit with them, to form a great Nation. May that union prove a source of strength to us and them.

I shall give to the Government measure a hearty support, reserving, however, to myself the right of suggesting any amendments or improvements, or of supporting any recommendations which may appear to me to be necessary or desirable.

From the position which I hold in this Council as an Officer of the Government, I have deemed it right to make this statement of the course which I propose to follow in this great and momentous subject, and I maintain it to be perfectly conscientious and perfectly consistent with my previous conduct.

The Hon. Mr. DEWDNEY, Member for Kootenay, rose and said—Mr. President, I have purposely not said 'ad' at this late stage of the debate in order to avail myself of the opportunity of listening to the arguments that have been adduced both for and against the scheme of Confederation as sent down for our consideration by His Excellency the Governor, and particularly for the reason that I have not been in a position (from my long absence in the County) of making myself acquainted with the subject as I should like to have done.

As the debate progressed, I felt more and more that I had been right in so doing, as I have now the benefit of the well considered opinions and arguments of so many Honourable Members; and upon these able arguments I have in a great measure been guided in coming to the conclusion which I propose to explain.

And now, Mr. President, I think it is incumbent on me to state the course I intend to take with regard to the subject.

I feel I have a most responsible duty to perform, not only to my constituents, but to myself and the country generally.

With regard to my constituents, I feel that I am placed in a rather peculiar position, and I regret that I have had no opportunity of communicating with them since Confederation has assumed the phase it now does.

You are aware, I presume, Mr. President, that I was selected, unsolicited on my part, to represent the Kootenay District in this Council. At that election Confederation was made the test question, and I can assure you that at that time the feeling of the majority of my constituents was opposed to Confederation with the Dominion of Canada.

At a subsequent period—only a few months ago—a petition, connected in this city, was dispatched to Kootenay for the purpose of obtaining signatures in favour of Confederation. It was, however, unfavourably received, the party circulating it was roughly handled, and the petition returned a blank. I mention this to show you that up to a late period my constituents held the same views with regard to Confederation that they did some eighteen months ago.

Shortly after this petition had been dispatched to Kootenay, as just mentioned, I wrote to my constituents, requesting them to advise me fully with regard to their wants and wishes; and, in reply, I received a communication setting forth what they specially desired that I should assist in obtaining for them, but not one word on the subject of Confederation.

I have now before me the terms submitted by His Excellency the Governor at the meeting of the Council, as well as the paragraph in His Excellency's Speech, referring to those terms; and I must say that I had resisted as near my constituents as the Honourable Members for Victoria and Nanaimo Cities do to theirs, I should most certainly have sought an opportunity of meeting them and obtaining some expression of their opinions on the now altered position of this question. But as the remoteness of my District has rendered such a course impossible, it is only left for me to exercise my own judgment.

I wish to cast no reflections on the Hon. Members referred to, and with regard to the Hon. senior Mem-

ber for Victoria, I consider the action he has taken on this question fully forces stronger and stronger on my mind, and I believe on the minds of the people, that any matter entrusted to his care will always be dealt with conscientiously, and with due regard to the feelings which he believes his constituents entertain.

Had I had an opportunity of submitting to my constituents the question of Confederation in the light of what I believe to be their opinions, would be in unison with that of the country generally, in favour of Confederation on the terms now proposed, and being of that impression I intend to support the motion of the Hon. Attorney General. I feel assured that the vote which I am about to give will meet with the approval of my constituents.

I should feel some hesitation in supporting the motion of the Hon. Attorney General, were it not for the assurance given in His Excellency's Speech, that the action we may now take will not be final until ratified by the general verdict of the people.

I trust I have now stated openly and fairly the position in which I stand, and the course I intend to pursue. I propose, Mr. President, to support Confederation with terms, and I believe that is the stand that will be taken by all the Hon. Members who support Confederation at all.

With regard to the terms proposed for our consideration it will be open for me to discuss them more particularly in Committee; but I may heretofore generally, that I consider they are only what the country is fairly entitled to demand, and I shall support them probably as they stand; and, at the same time, shall be ready to give my vote to any address that may be forwarded to His Excellency, recommending the insertion of other terms that I believe may be advantageous to the Colony.

Mr. President, I must now thank you for the kind attention you have shown me in listening to the few remarks I have felt bound to make; and I have now only to say, that as soon as the terms are decided upon by this Honourable Council, and placed in the hands of His Excellency, I, for one, shall feel perfectly confident that future negotiations will be brought to a successful issue.

I have acted conscientiously in this matter, and I am sure I shall not regret the action I have taken as long as I live.

The Hon. Mr. BELMCKEN, Member for Victoria, in reply, said:—Mr. President, every word that I have said is true, and I am willing to abide by it, but I have no wish to be misrepresented. I never said that patriotism was dead in this Colony; and I have not yet advocated that closer Union with another country, to which allusion has been made, as the other issue to come before the people; but a strong feeling does exist in favour of that other Union, and it is just as well that the Dominion Government should know that there are very many people in this Colony who think that Annexation would be far more advantageous than Confederation, and who have no love for Canada. I maintain that the people of this Colony do not desire Confederation; they desire these glittering terms: take away or reduce the terms, and the people don't want Confederation—will not have it. I have never seen any programme proposed by the Confederation party, and it is certainly to the credit of the Government that it has sent one down [Hear, hear,] which has taken even the Confederationists by surprise. I once saw a scheme brought before this House, which included no Halfway, no Dry Dock, a small Subsidy, and the Dominion Tariff, objectionable as it is, acknowledged now to be, it was defeated. The new scheme asks more, and so the country has gained by the delay.

But, Sir, the Hon. Members of this Council have been arguing as though these terms had been obtained—meral castle building. I say they are only propositions. I have not heard any Member say those terms must be had, or no Confederation.

[Hon. Mr. DeCosmos,] stated yesterday, that if certain terms were not granted I should oppose Confederation.]

I expect to see you an opponent of Confederation before long; probably we shall change sides [Laughter]; but until these terms, or terms that will be satisfactory to the country are arranged, I shall not increase my opposition to Confederation. I think it necessary to say a few words in explanation of my position. I do stand here a Member of the Executive Council, whether I gave in my resignation or not, is not for the Hon. Member for Victoria District to

know; I shall not gratify his curiosity; he should recollect, however, that party Government does not exist here.

I have opposed the Government on Confederation. I think it probable that when the terms come back from Canada they will bear but little resemblance to themselves; so until the Country is satisfied I will oppose Confederation. It is sufficient that the ultimate issue now rests with the people themselves, and I hope they will band themselves together to demand these or better terms.

Thus far the question is lost to me in this Council. I am beaten by the Imperial Government, by the Canadian Government, by Lord Grayville's despatch, but more than all by the alluring terms and a Government majority,—by no one else. In this Council, the Executive Council has repented itself.

I intend now to offer no factious opposition to the conditions, but it will be my duty to point out what I consider faults, and though I will support the terms as they are, or nearly so, others must go in. I will not attempt to introduce anything which Canada cannot concede; so that on the one hand, Canada may have no excuse to refuse to accept the terms, and on the other, if Confederation does come it may come accompanied with conditions that will be beneficial to the material interests of the Colony. I now bide my time; when the terms as agreed to by Canada return, the people may find them changed, and not so attractive and enticing as they now appear.

In going into the Executive Council, I did so at a loss to myself. [Hear, hear, from the Hon. Attorney General and Chief Commissioner.]

After all, the Supreme Power hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and hath determined beforehand the bounds of their habitations. We are but instruments in carrying out this design, whatever it may be.

In the position which I now occupy, I have sacrificed no principle, forfeited no pledge, maintained my own honour, have done my duty, and I hope some good, to this Colony.

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL said:—Sir, in rising to reply, I have to acknowledge and thank the members of this House for the care and attention which they have bestowed upon this great and momentous question, which I have had the honor to introduce to their notice.

With regard to the very decent, flattering, and personal remarks towards myself, which these Hon. Members for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos) has been in the habit of indulging for several years past, the House is so familiar with that gentleman's habit towards all his political opponents in that respect that it has learnt to estimate them at their proper value. I will not, therefore, waste the time of the House by any further comment on them. I will not condescend to notice them [Hear, hear, hear,] but proceed to subjects of more general interest.

I maintain, Sir, that liberal Representative Institutions for this Colony are not dependent on the success of the scheme of Confederation; they are in no way connected with it. Confederation is, however, the easiest and quietest way of getting Responsible Government, should that be found after deliberation to be really desired so ardently by the whole community as some Hon. Members aver. To those who conscientiously believe in Responsible Government, and that the real desire of the Country is for it, or as the Hon. Member for Victoria District says in a "unit" for it, I say thing in your voice with us; these Responsible Government must speedily assure that result you desire. If the people, after careful deliberation and full information on the subject, whether we be confederated with Canada or not, really desire Responsible Government, they will have it. Their voice will be heard on this particular question, as on all others connected with Confederation. But it is the hollowest pretence to assert that Confederation should be stopped till the Governor can send down a scheme for Responsible Government. If we do not get Confederation we shall still have our own Representative Institutions, and once possessed of Representative Institutions under the Imperial Statute of Victoria, the Colony will, if it be such a unit as described, be enabled at once to get Responsible or Party Government.

Now, I earnestly deprecate, on the part of the Government, the unfair allegation, which one Hon. Member has so improperly insinuated that the Government or Government Officials considered the people of British Columbia unfit for self-government.

Why, Sir, neither the Governor nor any member of the Government, or any other Official, ever said or thought that the people of this Colony were individually or collectively unfit for Responsible Government. The utmost that has ever been said on this side of the House has been that, under the present circumstances of the Colony, it would be unwise, excessively costly—nay impracticable. As I have said before, and again repeat, the Governor has no power of himself to alter the Constitution. He can only refer it where it has already gone, to the decision of the Queen in Council, which we ought in common justice to await before bringing forward any Resolution for Responsible Government. Now, how would the Country, if a unit on this point, get Responsible Government after Confederation? After Confederation the people can have Responsible Government, if they desire it, under clause 92 of the "British North America Act, 1867," by which power is given for the Provinces to change their own Constitution.

The Hon. Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmcken), has alluded to the Hon. Member for Victoria District having prepared a scheme for Confederation, now on the Journals of this House, which did not contain any reference to Responsible Government, or the Overland Railway, possibly in view of this very section 92 of the Organic Act. The Hon. Member for Victoria District may have considered that Confederation would, as a natural consequence after Union, bring Responsible Government. If so, I trust he will vote with us now, [Hear, hear, hear.] and leave a matter of such importance to be settled, not by a

House constituted as this is, but by a House containing a majority of Representative Members elected by the country, after the question of party Government has been specially submitted to the polls.

I ask the House to deal with this subject on its merits, apart from all side issues, such as the special form of the Government which is to subsist at the time of Union, which is really not now before us. I ask them to place a generous trust in Canada. I acknowledge the encouraging manner in which the Council has dealt with this question, and sincerely trust that all parties and sections in the House, setting aside all prejudices and sectional issues, will unite cordially, frankly, and unanimously in giving a generous support to the Government, and thus strengthen their hands for the country's good in all future negotiations. [Hear, hear, hear.]

The Hon. Mr. Drake, Junior Member for Victoria, asked permission to withdraw his amendment.

Leave having been granted, the amendment was withdrawn.

The motion of the Hon. Attorney General to go into Committee was then put, and carried unanimously.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the Confederation Resolutions, and immediately rose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

Leave was granted to sit again on Monday, at one o'clock.

Reported for the Government of British Columbia, by

W. S. SEBRIGHT GRWEN.

March, 1870.

VICTORIA, B. C.:

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The Government Gazette Extraordinary.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

VICTORIA, B. C., MAY, 1870.

Legislative Council.

DEBATE IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE ON THE CONFEDERATION TERMS.

MONDAY, 14TH MARCH, 1870.

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

On the motion of the Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL, the Chairman read the Resolutions through.

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

try; and the proposition now sent down, which is based upon the "British North America Act, 1867," contains, I submit, the best terms that can be devised, and will give the Local Government as large an annual balance of cash for local purposes as we can venture to ask. There is one danger against which I think it my duty to warn Hon. Members, and I do particularly caution those who favour the idea of Confederation against attempting to weight the conditions by additional suggestions and recommendations so as to overload them, and against suggesting alterations in the terms which could not be granted by Canada. I believe we are all equally anxious to gain good terms, and we should be careful not to take away from the interest of the proposition before us by suggesting any other conditions that are not of material importance. I have observed a report in a newspaper of the previous proceedings of the Council, if I may be allowed to notice it without producing the paper, in which an Hon. Member is stated to have said, that any amendments of the Resolution would be accepted. I think it right to say, on behalf of the Government, that, while the Government can not consent to imperil the unity of their scheme by amendments, they will still be happy to receive, and fully consider, all suggestions of a practical and reasonable character; and I invite Hon. Members to bring forward such suggestions, particularly such as will be calculated to remove any of the disadvantages of the scheme, and so to improve its working and insure its more general acceptance. As the majority of the Council seem to be in favour of dividing the Resolution into parts, and discussing it paragraph by paragraph, I will follow the suggestion. I, therefore, now propose the adoption of the first paragraph:—

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

These debts and liabilities, I would explain, include all the actual debts of the Colony now matured and due, as well as the liabilities for debts to mature at a future day. I will quote from the Returns sent down this day by the Government, which give the full details of these liabilities, showing that our funded debt, on the 10th of March instant, consisted of the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Loans secured by Act, amounting in all to \$1,194,000, against which \$316,829 has been paid and invested as a Sinking Fund in reduction of Loans, leaving a balance of \$877,180 still to be invested, and a floating debt of all kinds of \$319,000, including over

\$40,000 Savings Bank deposits. This floating debt it is in contemplation to consolidate by a Statutory Loan, at a lower rate of interest, and to procure the money from Canada, which, as Hon. Members are aware, is now rich, or elsewhere. For this purpose the Governor proposes to submit an Ordinance for the approval of this House, conferring the necessary powers. Owing to the mode in which the Sinking Fund is invested, there is reason to believe that it will be paid off at least a year before the time stated. Regarded as a whole, our public debt is by no means extravagant, as compared with that of other countries; but in our isolated position as a young self-dependent Colony it is felt as a very heavy burden; of this burden, Confederation will relieve us; a benefit so apparent needs not a single word. Hon. Members are aware that this debt is a heavy tax upon the country, and prevents the undertaking of public works. The assumption of this debt by Canada, on fair terms, will not only relieve us of this burden, but will save us a large balance of cash, which will be available for public works to open up the country. I will now proceed to the next item.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hon. Attorney General—Financial liabilities.

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

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

Hon. Attorney General—Yes.

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

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

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

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

Clause 1. was passed as read.

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

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

"2. The population of British Columbia shall for the purpose of financial arrangements be estimated at 120,000. British Columbia not having incurred

debts equal to those of other Provinces now constituting the Dominion, shall be entitled to receive,

by half-yearly payments in advance from the General Government, interest at the rate of 5 per centum

per annum on the difference between the actual amount of its indebtedness at the date of Union

and the proportion of the Public Debt of Canada for 120,000 of the population of Canada at the time

of Union."

"3. The following sums shall be annually paid by Canada to British Columbia, for the support of the

Local Government and Legislature, to wit:—

"An Annual Grant of \$35,000, and a further sum

equal to 30 cents a head per annum of the popula-

tion; both payable half-yearly in advance, the population of British Columbia being estimated as ascertained at 120,000. Such grants, equal to 30 cents a head, to be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, when such may be shown, until the population amounts to 400,000, at which date such grant shall thereafter remain."

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL, in moving the adoption of these clauses said:—I would observe that this estimated population of 120,000 is nominal, and has been arrived at by comparison of the revenue and population, because in the absence of actual census, and to facilitate financial arrangements, it has been deemed best to calculate according to the revenue producing powers of British Columbia compared with Canada. Thus we have it officially from Canada, that her Customs and Excise produced \$2 75 per head of her population; at the same rate, \$2 75 per head, our Customs represent the same present revenue as a population of 120,000 Canadians produce. This estimate of 120,000, therefore, though nominal, is really just and fair, hence 120,000 population has been adopted as the basis of our financial calculations. The \$35,000 in Paragraph 3, allowance for the general support of the Government, is an arbitrary sum adopted by Canada in negotiating with Newfoundland and New Brunswick. The allowance of five per cent. interest on the difference between our public debt and that of Canada, is arrived at in this way: we have it officially from Canada that her debt on February 9th, say 1st March if you like, amounted to \$22 per head of her population. This would entitle us with 120,000 people, to come in with a much larger debt than our own, which at the time of Union would be, say, \$1,000,000. The interest at five per cent. on these amounts would give us the annual allowance of \$22,000 named in the papers before the House. The 30 cents a head on our population of 120,000, is the usual allowance prescribed by the Organic Act of Confederation. This constitutes the Financial Scheme, and although it is open to argument, it is about what we are entitled to receive, and what we must receive to place us in a fair position under Union.

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

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

Hon. Mr. DECOSMOS—Yes; some surplus of that kind would be about the proper amount, if we expect the Colony to be any better off than it is at present, and if we expect our Local Government to do anything towards developing the resources of the country. Now, Sir, how shall we get that surplus? By the 2 proposition before us, for which the Hon. Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmcken) gets the credit as the originator? No, Sir. But I will not anticipate the answer to these questions. Let us first examine the Government financial position, of which the Hon. Member for Victoria is the financier. The first proposition made by the Government is that we shall assume for financial purposes that our population is 120,000. Now, Sir, I am one of that number

ERRATUM

To be read after the word "Confederation," Page 2, Column 2, Line 40:—

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—Mr. Chairman, I think that on these two causes depends the whole stability of our scheme; and as I believe them to be of very vital importance ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeGosmos] I trust I shall be excused if I offer a few remarks upon them, although it is possible I may travel over the same ground as the Hon. Attorney General has taken up in introducing these clauses. I say, Sir, that 120,000 may appear extravagant at first sight. The basis of the population of 1861 is taken as the basis on which other schemes rest; but that would not do for this Colony. It would not give us an equal advantage with other Provinces. It has, therefore, been found necessary to take some other basis. And here, Sir, I desire to say that I am permitted to inform this House that the Executive are very much indebted to the Hon. Member for Victoria City, who is also a member of the Executive Council (Dr. Helmcken), for his able assistance and suggestions in preparing this scheme. I trust that this Council will find that the Hon. Member has been most practical and ardent in his endeavours to obtain good terms, if he has not been an enthusiastic advocate of Confederation. With regard to the reasons for adopting the number of 120,000 as the basis of population, we ask something for undeveloped resources. The expenses of living in this Colony are much higher than on the Atlantic Coast; there is more per head paid for taxes here than in any other part of the Dominion; one dollar here is in reality worth no more, that is to say it goes no further, than one shilling in the Eastern Provinces; and one man here pays as much to the Revenue as four on the other side. The basis is in fact the basis of Customs paid by each individual in this Colony compared with the Customs Revenue paid per individual in Canada. Taking the estimate of the present year, the Canadian Customs and Excise yield \$2 75 per head, on the present population; and our Customs being \$330,000, is equal to \$2 75 per head on a population of 120,000, upon comparison with Canada. Practically and equitably, I believe this to be a fair basis. It may be open to some logical objection, but I believe it is equitable. The estate which we propose to hand over yields at that rate, as we now farm it. We turn it over into the hands of those who are to manage it. It is not for us to consider how. If they reduce the Customs, it is nothing to us; we must have a basis as favourable as this. ["Perhaps more so,"—Hon. Mr. Helmcken.] Perhaps more so, as the Hon. Member says. The debt of Canada amounts to \$22 per head on the population, and this on a population of 120,000 gives a debt of \$2,640,000. We may claim to have our debt taken over on the same basis as other Colonies, as before Union can be commuted, we may expect our debt to be reduced to \$1,000,000, leaving a balance of \$1,640,000, on which we will have a right to claim interest at 5 per cent., that is to say: \$82,000, as stated in the printed particulars now before the Committee. The subsidy of \$35,000, is equal to that given to Newfoundland. Referring again to the printed figures, you will find that the amount of Revenue retained by British Columbia is \$151,950, add this to the subsidies, including the interest on the difference of the debt, amounting to \$213,000, and we have a total Revenue of \$364,950. As we shall be relieved of all expenses but \$212,009 75, we shall have left a clear balance of \$152,940 25 to be spent in local works.

NOTE.—By an error of the Reporter in transcribing his notes, the last four lines of the speech of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works upon the Financial scheme were added to the speech of the Attorney General, and the speech of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works was left out in its proper place, and the words "the difference of" were omitted in the speech of the Attorney General, between the words "five per cent. on" and "these," in line 35 of the second column of page 2.—RETRACT.

who do not believe in finance,—one of those who to found financial means for in no department of be maintained a stricter than in the department of resorts to fiction, no man nor how patriotic, may be as the Hon. Chief Com assumption of a populati cal and untrue, yet the Sir, I do not think that do I see the necessity for population of 120,000 ins it to be, as it is recogniz The magnitude of the su the terms, the dignity of nobleness of the work of respect, ought to lift us assumption and fiction, g rate and genuine politic inspire us with such pur ments as would stamp th indelible marks of truth and for ever shut out associating our public micians, instead of rankin able statesmen. At the not exceed 40,000, includ ren,—Whites, Chinese, an and 30,000 semi-civilized estimate an Indian to be consumer; but when we population the males in females, and that in this consumers, it would not there is no unfairness in tion—Whites and Indian sioners in the Dominion. population of 40,000, we facts, and not on fictio assumption of a populati Mr. Chairman, proceed proposition of the Hon. g which is the Government poses to get \$152,000 sur after the Union. The pr produce this surplus, are annual subsidy of 80 cen tion, which is assumed to basis of population would subsidy of \$35,000 per an of 5 per cent per annum the actual amount of the date of Union, and the pr of Canada for 120,000 of the time of Union, which annum; and, 4. the balan (not including the Custom go to the Dominion) estim Now, Sir, I have already population does not exce the population of the Dom 1871, at 4,300,000, and th the rate per head would be for our 40,000 people wou of \$800,000; and as our Sinking Fund, would be the Colony would enter th about \$250,000. So no r the third source of reveer population. Again, if th to enter with the same de entered the Dominioa, the lation of 40,000 would o \$1,000,000, leaving us s admission. No revenue passing glance at the New The debt per head allowe admission was, we are t Newfoundland, by those and that was \$27 77 per \$27 77 per head, would e sion in 1871, to a public \$1,048,044, our public det \$62,156, on which, on th of revenue, we would be 5 per cent. That differer would yield only \$3,107 \$82,000 per annum, the es So it is neither on the N basis of fact, that the Ho has framed the Govern

who do not believe in assumptions in matters of finance,—one of those who deem it to be dangerous to found financial measures on fiction instead of fact; for in no department of Government ought there to be maintained a stricter regard for truth and fact than in the department of finance. The financier who resorts to fiction, no matter how well-intentioned, nor how patriotic, may justly be doubted. It may be as the Hon. Chief Commissioner has said: that the assumption of a population of 120,000 may be illegal and untrue, yet the result may be equitable. But, Sir, I do not think that we ought to assume, neither do I see the necessity for assuming, that we have a population of 120,000 instead of 40,000, as I believe it to be, as it is recognized to be, and as it is in fact. The magnitude of the subject, the historical aspect of the terms, the dignity of the contracting parties, the nobleness of the work of nation-making, our own self-respect, ought to lift us above the atmosphere of assumption and fiction, ought to guide us by an accurate and genuine political standard, and ought to inspire us with such pure and lofty political sentiments as would stamp the financial terms with the indelible marks of truth, fact, and statesmanship, and for ever shut out the possibility of posterity associating our public men with mere parish politicians, instead of ranking them with enlightened and able statesmen. At the utmost, our population does not exceed 40,000, including men, women, and children,—Whites, Chinese, and Indians,—10,000 civilized and 30,000 semi-civilized. It would be a mistake to estimate an Indian to be equal to a white man as a consumer; but when we consider that in our white population the males are largely in excess of the females, and that in this country they are very large consumers, it would not be incorrect to conclude that there is no unfairness in making our whole population—Whites and Indians—as equal to 40,000 consumers in the Dominion. Starting, therefore, with a population of 40,000, we base our calculations on facts, and not on fiction, as in the governmental assumption of a population of 120,000. I will now, Mr. Chairman, proceed to deal with the financial proposition of the Hon. gentleman for Victoria City—which is the Government scheme—by which he proposes to get \$132,000 surplus revenue for the Colony after the Union. The proposed sources of revenue to produce this surplus, are four in number, viz: 1. an annual subsidy of 80 cents per head of our population, which is assumed to be 120,000, and on that basis of population would yield \$96,000; 2. a fixed subsidy of \$35,000 per annum; 3. interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum on the difference between the actual amount of the debt of the Colony at the date of Union, and the proportion of the public debt of Canada for 120,000 of the population of Canada at that time of Union, which is estimated at \$83,000 per annum; and 4. the balance of our present revenue (not including the Customs, Excise, Postage, &c., that go to the Dominion) estimated at \$151,050 per annum. Now, Sir, I have already shown that our maximum population does not exceed 40,000. If we estimate the population of the Dominion on our admission in 1871, at 4,300,000, and the public debt at \$86,000,000, the rate per head would be \$20. Now, \$20 per head for our 40,000 people would entitle us to a public debt of \$800,000; and as our public debt, after deducting Sinking Fund, would be in 1871, about \$1,050,000, the Colony would enter the Dominion with a debt of about \$250,000. So no revenue can be acquired from the third source of revenue on the basis of 40,000 population. Again, if the proposed terms allowed us to enter with the same debt per head, as old Canada entered the Dominion, that is \$25 per head, our population of 40,000 would only entitle us to a debt of \$1,000,000, leaving us still in debt \$50,000 on our admission. No revenue still. Let us now take a passing glance at the Newfoundland terms of Union. The debt per head allowed to New Brunswick on her admission was, we are told, accepted on behalf of Newfoundland, by those who negotiated the terms, and that was \$27 77 per head. Now 40,000 people at \$27 77 per head, would entitle the Colony, on admission in 1871, to a public debt of \$1,110,800. Instead of \$1,048,644, our public debt then leaving a difference of \$62,156, on which, on the basis of the third source of revenue, we would be entitled to draw interest at 5 per cent. That difference, \$62,156 at 5 per cent, would yield only \$3,107, a sum very far below \$82,000 per annum, the estimate in the terms proposed. So it is neither on the Newfoundland basis, nor on a basis of fact, that the Hon. Member for Victoria City has framed the Government scheme of Union.

I will now come, Sir, to the real point at issue. I will try with all fairness to discover whether there is or is not any ground on which to base the assumption of a population of 120,000. We have been told by the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works and by the Hon. and learned Attorney General that the financial calculations are based on the proportion between the receipts of Customs and Excise in this Colony, and the receipts from Customs and Excise in the Dominion of Canada. Now, Sir, from statistics in my possession, I find that the Customs of Canada yield \$3,610,000. That amount, with a population of 4,300,000 would be equal to \$2 per head per annum. Let us now see what the Customs Revenue yields per head in British Columbia. In 1869, the Customs were \$312,126. The difference between the average percentage of Customs duty imposed in British Columbia and in Canada is 7 per cent. less under the Canadian than under our tariff. Now, as we imported in 1869 \$1,775,000, 7 per cent. on that amount would be equal to \$124,250. If we deduct \$124,250 from \$312,126, our Customs receipts in 1869, we shall have \$217,876, the total revenue Canada would have received from British Columbia in case we had been in the Dominion. If we divide this \$217,876 by our population, 40,000, we shall have 5 and nine-twentieths per head; in round numbers \$5. We can now easily discern the reason why the basis of population has been fixed at 120,000 for financial purposes in the Government scheme of union. It is apparent that the Government estimate of population has been founded on the conclusion that in British Columbia the Customs would be about \$6 per head, and in Canada \$2 per head, or three times higher here than there, and therefore our population of 40,000 ought for financial purposes to be 120,000, or three times greater than it really is. If there were not reasons for the opinion that under Confederation the Customs and Excise of the Dominion as applied to this Colony would not perceptibly exceed the rate per head in the Dominion East, I would cheerfully assent, for financial purposes, to the assumption of 120,000 as our basis of population. I cannot, however, conscientiously do so, for with the extension of the Dominion to the Pacific, I hold, will come the equalization of political rights, and the equalization of taxation. The equalization of political rights will be established with the extension of the Dominion; but equalization of taxation, though it may not come in the first year after union, yet it is bound to come within two or three years after union shall have been proclaimed. In proof of this assertion, I could direct the attention of the Council to what I deem facts. 1. That as soon as union shall have been proclaimed, Canadian manufacturers will enter our ports duty free, and that the reduction of Customs receipts from this source will, on the basis of our imports for 1869, be \$58,400 per annum; 2. The reduction of Customs receipts after union, for Canadian produce entered duty free, and by the increase of agricultural produce in the Colony, will be, on the imports of 1869, \$66,100. Now these two reductions are equal to \$124,500, and if we deduct \$124,500 from \$217,876, the amount that has been assumed by Government that Canada would draw from this Colony in Customs receipts, we shall have only \$93,376; and thus \$93,376 will be only a fraction more than \$2 per head for our 40,000 population, very nearly the same rate per head of Customs taxation on the Pacific as on the Atlantic. I might enter into explanations at greater length to show the correctness of this conclusion, but I deem it undesirable. The certainty of the equalization of taxation all over the Dominion renders the assumption of a population of 120,000 for financial purposes a pure fallacy, and nothing more nor nothing less. It is simply taking a temporary, a transitory state of things; a state of things that will pass away in a year or two, as the basis for permanent conditions. Besides there is a serious disadvantage in assuming that we will pay \$6 per head per annum in Customs duty to the Dominion after union; and it is this:—Nearly every one would like to see all kinds of foreign merchandise, except such as would enter into competition with home-grown produce and home-made manufactures, entered duty free in Victoria, in order to foster and extend commerce. Now, if the Dominion Government made such an exemption from Customs for our benefit, it is but natural that we should make good to Canada in some other way what her revenue would lose by such an exemption. If Vancouver Island were exempted from Customs, and its population were taken to be 20,000, the Local Government would be expected to pay to the Dominion

ion, \$6 per head, or \$120,000 per annum for the exemption. But if instead of the temporary rate of \$6 per head, the permanent rate of \$2 per head were taken, the 29,000 people of Vancouver Island would only have to provide \$58,000 per annum for the loss of \$120,000 a saving of \$62,000. The advantage of adhering strictly to facts instead of fallacious assumptions, are consequently perceptible to every one. By following facts we can have a scheme of union with a true correlation of parts, a thing impossible if we follow the proposed assumptions. I have stated that \$53,370 is all the Revenue that Canada is likely to receive in Customs from British Columbia on the basis of Population and Imports of 1869. Now if a wide margin be allowed, and these figures be raised to \$120,000 per annum, it would only, at \$2 per head, entitle us to a population of 60,000. That population would entitle the Colony to a debt of \$1,200,000, or only \$150,000 in 1871 over our present debt, and on which the interest would be but \$7,500 per annum. It is useless for me to follow the matter further to show that the financial terms are not based on correct premises. But before I conclude this section of the subject, I would remark that I have not taken into account the amount of Internal Revenue, such as Excise, Postage, Stamps, Salt Tax &c. that the Colony is likely to contribute to the Dominion Treasury; so far as I can estimate the rate it will not exceed \$1, or \$1 25 per head, and offers little or no grounds on which to base financial terms. The only difference, it appears to me, between the Customs and Internal Revenue Laws of Canada, as applied for Revenue purposes to this Colony is, that the Internal Revenue Taxes are likely to be levied on our manufactures at the same rate per head here as in other parts of the Dominion; whereas the Customs will be higher here per head for a few years than there. Turning now, Sir, to that portion of the financial terms that proposes to get \$151,050 from sources of revenue to be reserved after union to the Colony, I cannot help thinking that there has been a mistake all through the governmental scheme, and that the amount of revenue proposed to be obtained from these sources is another instance of governmental blundering. As I sum up these sources of revenue from the Estimates of 1870, they are as follows:—Road Tolls \$50,000, Land Sales \$6,000, Land Revenue \$1,000, Licenses \$1,500, Miners' Certificates \$11,000, Mining Receipts \$12,000, Spirit Licenses \$25,000, Trading Licenses \$15,000, Fees of Court \$4,200, Fees of Office \$6,050, and Vancouver Island Road Tax \$6,000, making a total of \$141,250, instead of \$151,050, as in the governmental estimate submitted with the proposed terms of union. The way in which I make the difference is by not taking into account as permanent sources of revenue such items as arrears of Vancouver Island Real Estate Tax \$8,000, Over-payments recoverable \$500, Sale of unserviceable Stores \$1,500. There can be no grounds for including such accidental sources of revenue under the head of permanent sources of revenue. Hence we must reduce the \$151,000 of local revenue to \$141,000. But the latter amount must also be reduced by deducting the Vancouver Island Road Tax \$6,000 therefrom, thus leaving only \$135,000 as permanent sources of revenue; for if the Vancouver Island Road Tax be included in our estimate of permanent revenue, we ought also to include the annual revenue of the cities of Victoria and New Westminster, which is simply absurd. The Vancouver Island Road Tax is a purely municipal matter, and so the Government has blundered in mixing up municipal with provincial revenue. The Yale-Cariboo Road Tolls are estimated as a permanent source of revenue at 50,000 dollars. This is another mistake, for the Road Tolls are falling off every year. In 1869, they were 47,325 dollars; in 1869, 46,500 dollars; and in all probability will be much less in 1870; and as mining diminishes in the upper country, year by year, so will the Tolls. If ever the proposed Railway be built, away go the Tolls altogether. Besides that, the present Road Tolls are oppressively high. On the receipts of last year, they are equal to 150 dollars per wagon load of 4,000 lbs., or 21 cents per lb.—an enormous tax, that no one in his senses would ever think of regarding as permanent. If any toll at all were levied permanently, it could not be fixed at a higher rate than one-sixth of a cent per pound, or 10 dollars per load of 6,000 lbs., from Yale to Cariboo. At that rate the Road Tolls instead of yielding 50,000 dollars per year, would only produce 3,212 dollars, which for all practical purposes might as well be abolished, for the cost of collection would exceed the receipts. For

another and all important reason, I think a great mistake has been made in entering the Road Tolls as permanent revenue after union. It is this: the entire people of the upper country have determined to abolish the Road Tolls as soon as possible. No compromise will be accepted. So under this head our future revenue cannot be estimated higher than 3,212 dollars, or nothing. The revenue from Land Sales is also put higher than we are justified in fixing it. In 1869, the receipts under the head of Land Sales were only 1,200 dollars; in 1869, 5,361 dollars; and as permanent revenue, for all time to come, under union, at 4,000 dollars. Now, as it is alike our policy and our interest not to make Land Sales a source of revenue, I do not think that we would act judiciously in considering the terms of union if we estimate a higher amount of permanent revenue from this source than the receipts of 1869, 1200 dollars. Neither the Land Revenue nor Receipts appear to be as uncertain as their returns as Land Sales, so I will pass on to the items of Miners' Certificates, 11,000 dollars, and Mining Receipts, 12,500 dollars. Here again it appears to me another mistake has been made. Such gold mines as are worked in British Columbia will be worked out. Such diggings are sure to be deserted in a very short time, unless the able miners will retire, and the Chinese will take their place. When the Chinaman leaves, the mines are worked out. I can, therefore, see but little hope of permanent revenue from the gold mines. Already the mining revenue has begun to fall off. In 1867, Miners' Certificates yielded 33,645 dollars; in 1868, 11,535 dollars; in 1869, 10,500 dollars; and likely to be less in 1870, although the estimate is 11,000 dollars. In 1867, Mining Receipts were 22,208 dollars; in 1868, 15,756 dollars; in 1869, 11,500 dollars, and yet for 1870 the estimate is 12,500 dollars. At the utmost, from all departments of mining, we cannot, in my opinion, estimate higher than 10,000 dollars as permanent revenue, and but little of that amount will ultimately be drawn from gold-mining. Now, Sir, with respect to Spirit Licenses, which have been estimated by the Government at 25,000 dollars as permanent revenue; there could be no greater blunder made. The Hon. gentleman who framed these terms seems to have had no notion whatever of the systems of taxation that obtain in the Dominion, and has consequently committed his mistake of mixing Municipal Taxation with Provincial. There are three forms of Government viz: Municipal, Provincial, and Dominion, and each has its own system of taxation. Here we have but Provincial and Municipal Governments, with their respective systems of taxation. Now it appears that consideration has only been given to Dominion terms, to taxation under the Customs and Internal Revenue Laws of the Dominion. But Provincial Taxation ought also to have been considered, and the starting point should have been the equalization of our Provincial Taxes, with the Provincial Taxes of the Eastern Provinces. This is made very apparent with respect to Spirit Licenses. Here the Provincial Government levies 200 dollars per annum on retailers in towns, and in the country 50 dollars per annum. In Ontario the retail spirit license is 29 dollars per annum in cities, 17 dollars in towns, and 10 dollars in the country. In estimating our future Revenue from this source, we are not justified in placing it higher than the rate of Ontario, and that would reduce the receipts from Spirit Licenses from 25,000 dollars, to about 6,250 dollars per annum. The excess above the latter amount, if levied, ought to be levied for Municipal purposes. The Trade License here is also estimated too high. Now, after careful study of these sources of Provincial Revenue which it is proposed that the Colony, after Union, shall exclusively possess, I cannot but say that the permanent receipts higher than 50,000 dollars per annum. The difference therefore between my estimate of Provincial Taxation, and that of the framers of these terms, is 101,050 dollars, or as 151,050 dollars is to 50,000 dollars. If a larger amount than the latter be levied by our Provincial Government after admission, our taxes will be out of proportion to those of the Eastern Provinces for Provincial purposes. Before propounding what I consider ought to be the financial terms of Union, I will conclude this part of the subject by stating that the terms submitted in the Resolutions, and illustrated by the printed Estimate, instead of giving the Colony a permanent total revenue of \$361,050 per annum to be produced by 248,567 dollars, unless higher provincial taxation be levied here than in other parts of the Dominion. The

way in which I make up these results is as follows:—By the terms submitted by the Government, there is 1st. Fixed subsidy 35,000 dollars; 2nd. Interest on difference of Public Debt, 82,000 dollars; 3rd. 80cts per head on 129,000 population, 96,000 dollars; 4th. Reserved revenue, 151,000 dollars; Total 304,000 dollars. By my interpretation of the proposed terms, there is: 1. Fixed subsidy, 35,000 dollars; 2. 80cts. per head on 129,000 people, 96,000 dollars; 3. Interest on difference of debt, taking 20 dollars per head as the debt of Canada 67,567 dollars; 4. Reserved Revenue, 50,000; Total 248,567 dollars. Now, if we deduct from the latter amount, the Government estimate of current expenditure, viz: \$211,000, there would only remain a surplus revenue of 36,568 dollars, instead of 151,000 dollars, as anticipated. I therefore sincerely think that the Government scheme is wrong, and ought to be revised. Mr. Chairman, I therefore propose to bring under the notice of the Council, what I consider ought to be the financial terms, taking for granted always, that Canada will become liable for our public debt at the time of admission. When the Provincial Delegates met in Quebec and London, to decide on the terms of Confederation, they divided the Provinces into three groups, viz: Upper Canada, Lower Canada, and the Maritime Provinces. Lower Canada was taken as the initial point. Now, Sir, in deciding finally as to the terms, I consider that British Columbia ought to be treated as the fourth group, whilst the North-west Territory may be regarded as the fifth. The first thing that strikes me, on looking at the Eastern Provinces, is their territory. Ontario has 1,200,000 acres; Quebec has 210,000; and all the Maritime Provinces, 88,000. Territorially then, we are their equal, and greater than either of them. The natural capacity of our territory to support population, is as great as Lower Canada. We have a finer climate, and more varied natural resources. Quebec sustains a population of about 1,250,000 or more. Ontario has 2,000,000. It is true that they are two centuries ahead of us, and we are in our infancy, with a handful of people. But that is no reason why, in framing terms, that we should not look forward to the rapid development of the Colony, and to the possession of a large settled population. Considering our geographical position, our natural resources, our wide spread population, and our future, I think that we are entitled to as large a fixed subsidy as Ontario, that is \$80,000. The proposed terms, submitted by the Government, ask only \$35,000 per annum. Now, this is placing British Columbia, with its 220,000 square miles, its great natural resources, and the best climate in the world, on a par with Newfoundland, with its 40,000 square miles, its sterile soil and inhospitable climate.—a country that has never yet developed any capacity for anything but catching and selling codfish. Prince Edward's Island is also offered a fixed subsidy of \$35,000 per annum.—a little insular community with a territory of 2,100 square miles, a hundred times less in area than our own country, and with a climate far inferior to ours. It is simply absurd to propose such a thing as ranking this Colony in subsidies with either of the Provinces except Ontario. I want neither more nor less than what the latter Province gets as a fixed annual subsidy. Every Hon. gentleman present who gives the matter a moment's consideration must agree with me that \$35,000 is entirely out of the question, and that the least we can accept is a fixed subsidy of \$80,000 per annum. [Hear, hear.] In the next place, I propose that our population be taken at 40,000, and at no time shall it be considered less; and that we shall be entitled to receive 80 cts per population annually, unless our population shall have reached 1,000,000. By this proposition we have truth and fact on our side. Our population will be subsidized at its actual number and not increased by a fiction—an unnecessary assumption—as in the terms proposed. Under this head we would get on entering the Dominion \$32,000 per year. Besides that, as our population annually increases, this *per capita* subsidy would increase annually in amount, till it reached the maximum number of inhabitants of 1,000,000, and then it would stop. Now, the terms sent down to us by the Government assume, as I have shown before, the existence of a population of 129,000, and propose that we shall receive 80 cents on that number at once. As our population increases, we receive no increase till our population shall have actually reached and passed that number; so it may be twenty years or longer before our actual population shall be equal to the assumed population, 129,000; and in the interim the *per capita* subsidy will remain

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

Hon. Da. HELMCKEN.—For how long?

Hon. Mr. DELOSMOS.—I ask for a temporary subsidy of \$150,000 per annum, to be diminished annually in amount, in proportion as our population shall exceed 40,000. New Brunswick has a temporary subsidy of \$83,000 for ten years. Nova Scotia a temporary subsidy of \$82,000 for ten years. The grounds on which I ask a temporary subsidy for British Columbia are: firstly, that the cost of living here is greater than in the Eastern Provinces, and, consequently, public officers must be paid higher salaries, and necessary services cost more in this country than there; secondly, our country is very large, and our population is small and widely scattered, and, consequently, requiring a larger staff of officials than a more compact and more populous community might require elsewhere; lastly, we require the additional temporary subsidy on the highest of all grounds,—expediency, that has governed politics in all times and countries. Without an surplus of at least \$150,000 per annum, the Local Government will be able to do nothing to advance the interests and settlement of the country. Confederation would soon prove itself a source of disappointment, if there were no money spent annually for public works, immigration, education, &c. A change, without financial improvement, would destroy all hope of any such thing as the loyal and cordial co-operation of our people with the Government of the Dominion. Expediency, therefore, demands the subsidy, and expediency justifies the demand. In concluding my remarks, Sir, on this subject, I will briefly contrast the terms proposed by the Government and the terms suggested by myself. The Government scheme, as I have shown, calls for only \$248,567, instead of \$364,050 as alleged. Of the former sum it can draw in subsidies \$198,567, in lieu of \$243,000 as intimated. Now, by the terms which I have proposed, the three subsidies, viz: fixed subsidy, \$80,000 per annum, *per capita* subsidy, \$32,000, temporary subsidy, \$150,000, would yield \$262,000 per annum, and adding thereto the reserved revenue (the details of which have been explained) \$50,000, the Colony on and after Union would have a Revenue amounting to \$312,000 per annum. If we deduct \$162,000, the sum required by the Estimates of 1870, to keep up and pay for our Provincial offices and services, and make the necessary repairs to certain roads and buildings, we will have a clear surplus of \$150,000 per annum to be devoted to Education, Charity, Public Works, and Immigration. Besides which the equalization of taxation for Provincial purposes would reduce the sum required to \$100,000 more. If we deduct the current expenditure of the Government, viz: \$162,000 from \$248,567, the actual total amount of Revenue to be received under the terms submitted by Government to the Council, the surplus Revenue will be \$86,567, as against

\$150,000 in that which I have proposed, making a difference between them, of \$63,433. ["Hear, hear."] I shall hereafter move a Resolution suggesting the adoption of the terms that I have explained, and as an amendment to the Resolutions now under discussion. ["Hear, hear."]

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

Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS—My proposition would give \$50,000 more than the Government scheme and set free Internal Revenue for local or Municipal purposes.

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

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

Hon. Mr. HELMECKEN—The long and the short of the story is, that the two propositions amount to much the same thing. We go to Canada and say we want \$250,000. According to this scheme, Canada will only be out of pocket \$128,000. I say that Canada's expenses will diminish in two years from this time by \$60,000, so that Canada will only be paying \$68,000 a year. This is a very low rate of payment, far too low in my opinion. I say, Sir, that if one thousand miners go to Peace River this year, our revenue will be increased by \$100,000, and if Peace River succeeds, "pans out well" as the saying is, I am quite certain that \$250,000 a year will not purchase this Colony. If Peace River is a failure, Canada may get it.

The Hon. Mr. HOLBROOK said—Sir, I rise to support the motion of the Hon. Attorney General for the adoption of the terms of the scheme now put forward by the Government to that suggested by the Hon. Member for Victoria District; it is more statesmanlike, and deals with the subject in a larger manner. I agree with the Hon. Member who has just sat down (Mr. Helmecken) that there is a great probability of our having a large increase of revenue from the Peace River mines. It is impossible at present to form any opinion, beyond mere conjecture, on this head; but still I think we ought to be prepared for the contingency. I believe, Sir, that in a short time, the Dominion Government will be drawing a large amount of revenue from this Colony, probably a million, or a million and a half of dollars, and I am

of opinion that provision ought to be made, by which the Province will derive some material advantage from that large increase. The United States Overland Railroad is producing such an effect as to turn California's attention to the Pacific Coast. I should be glad to see a scheme proposed, by which we should get back a part of any such increase of revenue, and if any Hon. Member will bring in an amendment, to secure to us some local advantage out of any such prospective increase of revenue, I will support it; falling such amendment, I am prepared to support the clause as it stands.

The Hon. Mr. HEMPHEYS, Member for Lillooet, said, Sir, I rise to support the amendment of my Hon. colleague (Mr. DeCosmos). In my opinion, Sir, the magnificent, bold, and statesmanlike scheme propounded by the Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos) has entirely demolished that of the Government. Hon. gentlemen have said much about Peace River mines, so much, that they would almost lead us to suppose that if Peace River was to fail in fulfilling the expectations that seem to have been formed respecting it, the Government measure was also a failure. I say, Sir, that nothing is known about Peace River, which will justify any such expectations. It is folly to talk about the amount to be derived from the Peace River mines; the amount of prospecting in that district has been too trifling to afford any data upon which to base even an argument or suggestion, so far as the terms, financially speaking, are concerned. I think that the proposition laid down by the Hon. Member for Victoria District, (Mr. DeCosmos) is worthy of the serious attention and consideration of this House. I should like, Sir, to see a scheme carefully laid out, which would involve no subsequent reflections and troubles, such as we have seen in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; it is better to go through all the squabbling and discussion that we have to do in this House now, than leave it to involve us in serious trouble hereafter.

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

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. HELMCKEN.—In Canadian calculations the Indians are reckoned as white men, therefore we have the population of the Colony as has been stated, for the Indians alone exceed 40,000.

Hon. Mr. ROBSON, Member for New Westminster, said:—Mr. Chairman, I have listened with interest to what has been said upon these clauses, and have endeavoured to follow the Hon. Member for Victoria District through his figures, and after hearing all, I am not prepared to give my opinion on the proposed scheme, for the remarks which have fallen from the Hon. Member, the scheme proposed by him as an amendment to the financial clauses of the Government indicate a vast amount of research, calculation, and thought. I congratulate the Hon. Member for Victoria District on the vast advance which he has made in the last three years. He has only asked for \$142,000, inclusive of subsidy and head money. I think, Sir, that the Government has hit upon the soundest, best, and most feasible scheme. I consider it a real stroke of statesmanship, and am glad to find that the Un-Official Members of the Executive Council have added so much to its value. With regard to the number at which it is proposed to estimate the population, it is all very well for Hon. Members to say that this is a fiction, but there is nothing dishonest in the assumption. If we were going to impose upon the Canadian Government it would be dishonest, but we cannot impose upon the Government at Ottawa any more than we can upon ourselves. There is a real honest intent. The explanation of the Chief Commissioner is fair and satisfactory upon this point. The policy of the scheme proposed by the Government is less intricate than that of the Hon. Member for Victoria District; it is more business like. It is important also as a basis of representation. If we adopt 40,000 as a basis of population, we shall only be entitled to a much smaller representation. By fixing the basis at 120,000, we give the Country a better status abroad, and with the Dominion Government, than it could have if the basis were fixed at 40,000. This is where the fiction comes in if at all. Besides, we are upon the brink of great changes, which will enormously increase our population. We have every reason to expect our population to be doubled in a very short time. The public works which would commence immediately after Confederation will increase it at once, and it is fair to put our population up to meet the increase. There is, in my opinion, a great deal of reason in the arguments of those who say that as the population of this Colony increases the portion of the Dominion will tend to free trade. ["No, no," from Mr. DeGosmos], and the Canadian Government will look forward to the time, and that very shortly, when Internal Revenue or Excise will exceed the External Revenue or Customs, and the Customs Revenue of this Colony will not increase much above its present standard from the reduction of duties and the importation of Canadian goods. Hon. Members may look surprised at this, but I will tell them that the increase of our territory, and the negotiation with merchants of this Colony respecting the transmission of goods to this Colony, and I believe that cargoes of Canadian goods will come in to this port immediately after Confederation. This will be a relief to us. The Revenue from our own Customs will in a few years come to a stand still, or rather, notwithstanding the increase of our territory, the Revenue will decrease. Looking ahead, it is argued by some Hon. Members that these terms look good for the present time, but bad for the future. I believe, however, that the bargain about to be made is a good one. Let us, if we can, strengthen the hands of the Government in asking more, but let us

do nothing to weaken them and compel them to take less. We want more money just now. My idea is that the expenses of Local Government are set down at a figure which is unnecessarily high. I think the expenses might be considerably reduced, and thereby a saving made to the Colony. The subsidy of \$35,000 is, I think, too small. I will, therefore, move to increase it to \$50,000, and to increase the limit of representation from 400,000 to 1,000,000. I make this proposition with the more confidence because I believe that the Dominion Government will think very little of \$15,000, but they might think a good deal of the \$15,000 which would be necessary to increase the subsidy to \$50,000. In regard to the mines of this Colony, I think they will be more lasting than some Hon. Members predict; and I also differ from those who think that our prosperity depends entirely upon our mines. I believe that there is a great future for the Colony. I believe that the mineral resources will last our time, and that of our children. I believe, also, that our agricultural resources may be developed so as to give us one million of population within ten years, and that this Colony will be more than able to improve upon the Overland Railway, the true North-west Passage, is established. I conceive that it is not at all an exaggeration to assume that this Colony will have a population of one million within our lives. With such a climate as we have, and with such natural advantages, this Colony has stood out as a marvelous oasis.

The Hon. Mr. CARRALL, Member for Cariboo, said:—Sir, Hon. Members have said, and I think with reason, that the policy of the Dominion tends towards Free Trade. Excise Duties are gradually taking the place of Customs, and I incline to the opinion that the importation of Canadian goods will reduce the revenue of this Colony considerably, but in any case, if a surplus should accrue to the Dominion Government, then a proportion of that surplus should revert to us, so that it might be applied for local purposes. If the inequalities foretold should arise, then with such representation as we shall have, we shall have the means of securing a due proportion of the surplus. If the Canadian Government do not give us a fair share, we will force it from them. We shall be strong enough even with the number of Representatives proposed by these Resolutions. If the population really increases, as it is said it will, we shall have a vast representation. As regards the Indian population, it is roughly estimated by the Vicar-General at 60,000. The Hon. Mr. DRAKE, Junior Member for Victoria City, said:—Sir, I do not think that the advantages to Canada have been fairly put; it has been said that the sum of \$35,000 is an arbitrary sum similar to the subsidy allowed to Newfoundland, from the expenses of carrying on the Government of this Colony in proportion of the expense of the Government of Newfoundland in comparison to the population. I say that the sum is out of proportion and too small for the requirements of this Colony. I would put it up to \$70,000. Canada will receive, after paying subsidies and expenses \$128,000, Canada will no doubt fund the debt at a smaller rate of interest.

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

Hon. Mr. DRAKE.—It is a matter of assertion, but I am of opinion that she will, and with the payment of debts in five years, Canada will pay out about \$33,000 only a year, therefore I move a recommendation to the Governor that "\$70,000" be inserted in the conditions, instead of "\$35,000."

The Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER, said:—Mr. Chairman, I shall be glad, speaking for myself as an individual, to give my opinion of the advantages of the reasonable suggestion, and shall not oppose the recommendation of the Hon. Member for New Westminster. With reference to the amount of our debt, the Government scheme gives the Colony the full benefit of the debts to come in. I say that the debt of British Columbia, after Confederation, cannot be funded, or the greater part of it, because the reason, the debt is payable in Debentures which fall due at certain dates. After Confederation the price of Debentures will go up, and Canada can get so further benefit by funding, except as regards the Floating Debt. With regard to the remark of the Hon. Mr. Wood, who says the Resolution is framed with reference to present gain and future loss, I say we may wait and the horse may starve while the grass is growing. When we enter Confederation, we must do so in the expectation that we shall participate in all the advantages of Confederation, any increase of revenue or population will bring its share to us; we must believe that Canada will deal fairly with us.

Now, Sir, I followed the Hon. Member for Victoria District through his figures when he propounded his new scheme, and I must say that I am better pleased with the Government measure than I was before; ours comes out on a stronger basis than before, in contrast to his. By his scheme he proposes to ask a clear gift; we ask much the same amount, but show means no assumption more than the Government have. It is wrong to look upon the estimate of population as a fiction, it is not so, it is based upon calculation. Call it an expediency if you will, but it is no fiction. He seems to treat British Columbia as if it were an estate to be parted with for a *quid pro quo*, which is not a fair way of treating the subject. If Canada send us goods she will derive greater advantages from doing so than we shall, but nevertheless we shall participate. When our population increases rates of taxation will be reduced; a lower tariff, cheaper manufactured goods, and lower rents, are amongst the advantages that I look for out of Confederation. With regard to the Road Tolls, I look upon it as essential that they should be kept up to meet the expense of maintaining the roads and keeping them in repair. It has been a question, and perhaps it is still open for debate, whether the care and maintenance of the Main-trunk Road should not be thrown upon the Dominion Government; if we regard the road as Military work necessary for the defence of the country its maintenance may fairly be a charge upon the federal revenue. I think we shall be in a better position to uphold the terms after this discussion. I believe that our future will be speedily prosperous, and I am quite satisfied that the Dominion Government should share in our prosperity. It will not do for us to depend on our own resources.

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

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

1. That the Council recommend to His Excellency the Governor, the following Resolutions for his consideration: 2. The population of British Columbia shall be estimated at 40,000. 3. The following sums shall be paid simultaneously by Canada to British Columbia for the support of the Local Government and Legislature, to wit:—An annual grant of \$80,000, and a further sum of 80 cents a head per annum of the population, both payable half-yearly in advance, the population of British Columbia being estimated as aforesaid. Such grant of 80 cents per head to be augmented till the population shall be shown to be

One 40,000, at which number it shall thereafter remain. Canada shall also pay to British Columbia, in semi-annual advances, the sum of \$150,000 per annum, which shall from time to time be reduced in proportion as the population may exceed 40,000.

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

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

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

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

The several recommendations of the Hon. Messrs. DeCosmos, Drake, and Hobson were read by the Clerk. Some discussion ensued as to how the vote was to be taken, and the Chairman decided to put the recommendations of Hon. Mr. DeCosmos first, by itself, and then the recommendation of Hon. Mr. Drake, which was an amendment on the recommendation of Hon. Mr. Hobson.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WEDNESDAY, 16TH MARCH, 1870.

Committee sat at a quarter past one.

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

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

He said, it is pretty generally known that a company was started for the construction of a Graving Dock at Esquimalt, and that negotiations with that object in view had taken place under a former admin-

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

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. WOOD said.—Sir, I agree with what has fallen from Hon. Members who object to the naming of the locality, and I shall move that the word "Esquimalt" be struck out, and the words "such place as the Dominion Government shall appoint" be inserted. I desire, if we are to have this organic change, that we should be free of sectional and local feelings of irritation. The naming of Esquimalt as the locality for the Dock seems to me to be an endeavour to purchase the good-will of Victoria, whose population is known to be anti-confederal. ["No, no,"

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

Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS.—What is the estimated cost of constructing the Docks?

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL.—£100,000.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER.—I thank Mr. Chairman, that it is much to be regretted that Mr. Wood has attributed not very creditable motives to the Government. ["Hear, hear."] I am sorry to have to say so. I am sorry I cannot congratulate him on statesmanlike qualities when he says he might have been influenced. I have never taken this view. I believe the influence of a vote never occurred to any Member of the Executive Council. I protest against such insinuations. I congratulate the Hon. Member for New Westminster upon the course he has taken, and on his support of the Government without reference to any sectional views. I feel bound to explain why Esquimalt has been named by the Government. The main object in asking for a Graving Dock there, is to secure the head quarters of the Navy, on the Pacific coast, within the Colony. When you come to remember that Esquimalt is the Naval Station, and has been for years, and when you come to consider that assistance is offered by the Imperial Government, it will not be difficult to discern that there was reason on our side. I could give you good commercial reasons, but it is sufficient to say, that the Government named Esquimalt, especially, with a view to the retention of the Fleet; both the late Admiral and the late Governor agreed in reporting in favour of Esquimalt; we should therefore have been remiss in not pointing it out. I think it hard that the Government should be twitted with the intention of catching votes. ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos] I scout the idea. There is an Imperial Act, which only allows the Admiralty to lend a limited sum to Colonial Docks. The Act of 28 & 29 Victoria, Cap. 206. This Act allows a loan of £20,000 from the Admiralty upon certain terms; it is a loan of so much money that is contemplated, and not a guarantee of interest. Last year I stated to this Council, that the Admiralty had offered to lend £20,000, at 4 per cent. The Company did not think it sufficient inducement. We hope to get Imperial assistance still, that is one reason for the locality being named. I stand here to say that Esquimalt is the place. I am surprised that a Member from the Mainland should bring up a suggestion of sectional prejudices against the Government in this matter, for the Railway will specially benefit the Mainland; I believe and hope it will follow down the valley of the Fraser, and immediately benefit the district from which the Hon. Member comes. Fraser River is the main artery, and the probable centre of the Railway. I did not, therefore, expect to hear of any sectional prejudice in the Resolutions from any Member from the Mainland, when, if there is any immediate benefit to any special locality, it will be to the Mainland of British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. RING, Member for Nanaimo, said.—Sir, I am prepared to support the Government upon this clause. Why should we set ourselves up in opposition to the opinion of the successive Admirals who have been upon this Station, and who can have no

prejudices? I think it is a waste of public time to impute motives. Esquimaux had been pronounced by Engineers to be the proper place. I am not one of those who, like certain Hon. Members here, would constantly "put their consciences on their elbows for days to peck at." Such motives as are suggested, could never have entered into the minds of the Executive. They have been repelled by the Hon. Chief Commissioner, and why should we be accused of giving personal votes?

Hon. Mr. WOOD—No personal motives are imputed. Hon. Mr. ROBSON—It seems like such an imputation. I think the Hon. Member should withdraw his motion. Consider how such a principle as that suggested by the Hon. Mr. Wood would work. It in effect, amounts to this:—"Because you have a local interest, you must refrain from supporting by your vote what you conscientiously approve of as beneficial to the community."

Hon. Mr. WOOD—Must correct my Hon. friend (Mr. Ring). I do not attribute personal motives in any improper sense; but I say, is there a butcher, or baker, or any other man who will, in these days of pressure, fail to vote as his pocket will be influenced? The material benefit to the individual is an influence at all elections, and rightly so. I can see, in my mind's eye, having a large number of votes at the election, can't you imagine placards posted with the inscription in the largest type: "Vote for DeCosmos and the Esquimaux Dock." This object may not be intentional, but yet can it be otherwise? What is it? Intending without intending? I deny that I impute any dishonest motive in the Executive, but it is clear that the Dock and Esquimaux will influence many votes, and I confess I give them credit for foreseeing so obvious a consequence.

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

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

Hon. Mr. CARRALL, Member for Cariboo—"It may not be intentional but it is so," were the concluding words of the Hon. Mr. Wood. I say yes. So far as this is: that the whole of the conditions of the Resolutions were intended to benefit the whole of the Colony. As a Member of the Executive Council, I repudiate entirely the narrow motives which have been suggested by the Hon. Mr. Wood. The Executive Council were actuated by no sectional views; their object was to make the whole of the Resolutions, not only palatable, but beneficial to the Colony. The merits of Esquimaux as a site for the Docks, are in themselves a sufficient reason to advance in favor of the Executive opinion being correct. I shall vote for the Clause as it stands.

Hon. Mr. DECOSMOS—I am one of those who think it proper to have the locality for the Docks named; and I think the Government would have made a blunder if they had left out the word "Esquimaux."

It would have been wrong in my opinion if the Government had framed the Resolutions with any sectional views. But it appears to me whilst they are likely to do the Colony good generally, they have been framed with a tendency to create the popular vote, and I do not see much harm in that. The point which I want to hear about is, whether £109,000 will be sufficient to construct a good Dock; and what sort of a Dock it is to be? It is possible that a large Stone Dock may not be of so much use as a Patent Slip. I have visited the Floating Docks in the Arsenals of the United States, to take such observations as would serve an unprofessional man. And I confess that if it is to be a Stone Graving Dock in Constance Cove, to admit of one vessel at a time, I am inclined to the opinion that it would not be as good, or as much public utility, as a Patent Slip. I shall support the Hon. or a larger sum than £109,000. I believe that a Dock, or a Patent Slip, at Esquimaux, will attract ships from Puget Sound. It is a step in the right direction. There is a feeling abroad, that the Colony would have to construct this Dock. This would be a mistake; but to get Canada to endorse the scheme, by giving a guarantee for the interest, is in my opinion the right course to pursue.

Hon. Mr. THURTELL—That is the intention; that a private company should undertake the work, the Dominion giving a guarantee. It will be left for the company to choose. Probably Clarke's patent slip, with hydraulic lift, would be the easiest worked as it would be the cheapest. It could probably be erected for £75,000, whereas a cut stone Quay Dock would cost more. One of the advantages of the latter would be that there would be no work sent in the Colony during its construction, whereas the principal cost of a patent slip would be expended elsewhere for machinery. I cannot say if £109,000 would be enough for the construction of a cut stone Dock or not. I think that a guarantee of five per cent on £109,000 will be a sufficient inducement for any company to take the matter up. I am convinced that £109,000 will not build a stone Dock of sufficient capacity to take in such a ship as the Zealot.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—If the people of Victoria desire the terms why should not they vote for Union? My desire is, if we are to be united, to see a union which shall be lasting. I say that these terms are not lasting. They are in the nature of direct and immediate pecuniary advantages. Reaction will set in. The Railway and Dock are built. Show me in these terms continuing and abiding benefit and I am satisfied. Let the people of Victoria choose, but I ask Hon. Members, who understand human nature, whether the people would not choose direct benefit in preference to prospective and continuing advantages. Men are not so wise as to choose direct present pecuniary benefit, rather than that benefit which is to be lasting and remote. I fear reaction. I look upon this place as my home, and shall complain, I think with justice, if ten years' hence I find a great reaction of the present hasty action.

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

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. D'ARRE—I doubt whether the amount named is large enough. I have information from good authority that double that amount will be re-

quired. Canada is only asked to guarantee the interest. I shall therefore move an amendment, in the shape of a recommendation to His Excellency, that the sum of £100,000 be increased to £150,000 in the conditions. I am of opinion that the terms should be put in as favorable a light as possible for this Colony.

Hon. Mr. PEMBERTON—I would ask the Chief Commissioner of the Dominion Government, if it would be possible to connect the supply of water with the Docks. London is supplied by a large fresh water reservoir, and it is possible that the same course might be adopted as regards this city. If the course of the water in the valley of Victoria Arm were stopped, the Gorge being a natural valley, if it were possible to exclude the salt water from the whole of Victoria Harbour, a vast natural reservoir of fresh water might be formed, which would supply the whole city with water. Being no engineer, I feel some diffidence in putting it forward. I only put it, as a suggestion to the Chief Commissioner, with the view of inquiring whether it could be done.

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. Drake's recommendation "That the sum of £150,000 be increased to £200,000," on division was lost, eight voting in favor of the recommendation.

Clause 4 was then passed as read.

The Chairman then read Section 5.

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

"a. Salary and allowances of the Lieutenant Governor;

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

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

"d. The Postal Department;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. ROBSON—I do not agree with the Hon. Member for Victoria District. I think the Act of British North America applies to original Provinces, and provision is made for the admission of others. They might be presumed to apply to us, but I think it is proper to ask in an address that these charges

should be put in, and that it is as necessary to insert these as it is to insert any clauses. We should make it plain that we desire to have these terms applied to us.

Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS—There is no provision in paragraph 5. for payment of salaries of Judges of Admiralty or District Courts.

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS—Does the Hon. the Attorney General intend to insert Admiralty Court?

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—We must not arrogate to ourselves powers which we have not; and the insertion of such a clause in the Resolutions which we are now discussing would be entirely out of place, and I would suggest to Hon. Members not to introduce this Resolution now, but let it be brought up as a substantive measure. It cannot be brought up again if it is decided now.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. WOOD—The principle is had to pay Judges by fees.

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

before us now, and the recommendation comes fairly and correctly in this place.

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. WOOD—With the permission of the Council, withdraw the recommendation, on the understanding that it shall be brought up at a future day as a distinct motion.

Hon. Mr. DRAKE—The recommendation as to Pensions was put, and lost.

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. TRUTCH—I should really like to know what this is all about. One Hon. Member says that the course is disrespectful, because the sense of the Council was against him. The Hon. Member for Lilloet indulges in a species of harangue which is peculiar to him, when he is at a loss for an argument, he shakes the red flag of officialdom before him, lowers his head, and charges at it madly. With regard to disrespect, I think we treat them with respect by discussing them here at all. We might allow them to pass here, and vote them down in the Executive; but instead of that, the Executive Members enter freely into the discussion here, and declare what their views are fully. As to voting recommendations of Hon. Members down, when a suggestion is made to substitute one scheme for another, it would be strange if the Government Members should not unite in voting it down. With regard to the recommendations for adding to the terms and conditions, they ought to be carefully made, or their insertion may create great disappointment in the public mind by leading people to expect more than will be accorded. Hon. Members should weigh their votes well. 1, for one, will not vote for what I cannot recommend to His Excellency in the Executive Council.

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

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

Hon. Mr. WOOD—What I say is that the recommendations of Independent Members do not reach, and will not reach, the head of the Executive. We want them to reach. We all believe that the Members of

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

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

Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS—The conviction is and out of this House is, that the Elected Members are useless, being out-numbered by the official vote. The only reason why I would endeavour to be elected to a seat, in a Council so constituted, is to prevent evils that might happen. The Government might get tools to go in and vote as they liked. The Government might get some one to be elected, and then call it the popular vote. The mistake has been in interpreting recommendations into amendments.

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

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. HUMPHREYS—I do not approve of the principle of pensions, and I cannot understand why pensions should be given to men who came out to this Colony, as I came out, as needy adventurers. The people of this country do not approve of pensions. If Hon. Members had been induced to come out from England to assume positions under Government for life, I could understand their being provided for with

Union shall within three years from the date of the Union, construct and open for traffic such Coach Road, from some point on the line of the Main Trunk Road of this Colony to Fort Garry, of similar character to the said Main Trunk Road; and shall further engage to use all means in her power to complete such Railway communication at the earliest practicable date, and that Surveys to determine the proper line for such Railway shall be at once commenced; and that a sum of not less than One Million Dollars shall be expended in every year, from and after three years from the date of Union, in actually constructing the initial sections of such Railway from the Seaboard of British Columbia, to connect with the Railway system of Canada."

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

Hon. Mr. DE COSMOS.—Sir, I do not claim any honour in connection with the resolution respecting the Railway. I am perfectly willing to accord the praise that is due to the originator of this clause, but think a portion of it a great mistake. I do not altogether like the way in which these Resolutions are got up. I don't like the preamble as to "real union." In all these Government Resolutions there is something of a "catching" or "padding" of the preamble, and the popular vote. Material union can exist without railroads. Look at the real union between this Colony and Great Britain. People who were here in 1852 may recollect how safe they felt during the San Juan difficulty, and subsequently during the Trent affair. There was then a physical union; we felt that we should be protected by the British. I believe that I was amongst the first or second of those who moved in the matter of the transcontinental coach road. But whilst on this subject I will take occasion to do justice to the memory of the gentleman who proposed the Overland Railway through British America. It was during the administration of Sir Robert Peel, in 1844 or 1845, that W. G. Goswold, a bookseller in Halifax, addressed letters to Sir Robert Peel, about a Railway from Halifax to Vancouver Island. Previously, Whitney had proposed his scheme for a Railroad from Texas to the Pacific. One worthy old citizen, Mr. Walling, has been distinguished among those who have taken active measures in favor of the Railway. Till Lord Granville's despatch arrived, none of the negotiators seemed to have made much headway. At the Conference of Delegates from British North America in London, an Overland Railway was considered and described as "a subject of the highest importance, and one to be promoted" at the earliest stage that the finances of the country "would admit of." The proposition before us shows how great a stride has been made in this matter since 1847. I have no wish to claim any honour or to detract from that which is due to others, but we must recollect that \$1,000,000 a year is not a Railway across the Rocky Mountains. I have, however, year after year looked upon Railway communication as the only means to settle up the interior of British Columbia. I never could see how British Columbia could be settled up without a Railway to connect Fraser River with Kamloops. I think, Sir, that a different course ought to be pursued by the Government with the Dominion than that proposed. Assuming that the Coach Road may be open in three years, for I am ready to admit that proposition, when people settle the country from Thompson's River to Osoyoos Lake the farmers must have the means of transport for their various productions. How are they to get them out? I maintain that the true course for the development of the resources of the country is to make a line of Railway from some navigable spot on the Fraser to Lake Kamloops. I claim for this that it might be regarded as a part of the transcontinental line, and in my opinion it would do more to build up the country than anything else that could be conceived, and I believe it to be thoroughly practicable. I, therefore, have a recommendation to His Excellency that the construction of a Railway from steamboat navigation on the Fraser River to Kamloops Lake be inserted in the terms, instead of commencing from the initial sections on the Seaboard of British Columbia.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER.—Sir, I approach

the consideration of this clause with a great sense of the magnitude of the work which we propose to the Government of that Dominion with which we propose to be confederated. My mind seems somewhat shaken before the contemplation of its magnitude; and it is only when the reduction is gradually forced upon me, that the union can never be a reality until the Railway is commenced in our own territory, and that it is necessary, that I can bring myself to believe that it should be done. That it is practicable is undeniable and needs no argument. From all that I have been able to ascertain, and comparing it with the difficulties which have been overcome on the Pacific line, I believe the proportion of cost of the proposed line of Railway to

Columbia to Canada to be not more than two-thirds of the cost of the line already built from California across the Sierra Nevada. There will of course be difficulties to overcome, which may influence the choice of the best line of route. I believe we are justified in asking for the construction of the Railway, and I am satisfied, I may say I know, that there is a great desire on the part of those now in power in Canada to construct this Railroad, and if it be in their power to do it, it will be done. To go to the terms; objections have been made to the commencement of the work. I would ask the House to consider what an amount of prospecting and survey will have to be done before any commencement can possibly be made in the work. I do not think that there is any delay suggested by fixing the time of three years. I think it is the shortest time that could be named.

The proper line could hardly be determined sooner, than I do not presume to suggest to the House, or means. My opinion is that the Railway will be built by private enterprise, under a guarantee. As the Imperial Government have shown a desire to encourage Confederation, I think we have a right to expect that they will render some assistance in the building of the Railway, especially after Lord Granville's despatch [hear, hear]. I hope that the Canadian Government will have the assistance of the Imperial Government in carrying out this scheme. It will be some time before the scheme can be developed, and then at least two seasons must elapse, as an immense amount of reconnoitering and surveying will be necessary. Three years is not too much. The Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. De Cosmos) objects to the framing of this Resolution, and I think his objection is unfounded. I believe that the benefits will be real and substantial. The reason that so small a sum as \$1,000,000 is asked for is that it is only intended to be an earnest, so to speak, on the part of the Dominion Government that the Railway will be made. I believe that the expenditure of \$1,000,000 upon the first section will bring an accession of from 5,000 to 10,000 to our population. We have a right to ask that the Railway should be commenced here. It is desirable that it should be made here. It will be found that when once it is commenced here a nucleus of population will be formed which will add considerably to the prosperity of the Colony. It has been argued that no profit can arise from the expenditure of the vast amount of capital that will be required to build this Railway. It will cost probably \$20,000,000, and therefore is not likely to be profitable for years to come. We cannot, in my opinion, expect any pecuniary return for years. It behoves the Dominion Government, if they desire the prosperity of this part of the empire, to develop the resources of the estate which we are handing over. If they value it as we do, and as we believe that they do, they will endeavour to realize the advantages at the earliest possible date. This Railway will do so, when it is completed across the Rocky Mountains, and in my opinion not till then we shall have a population. Before concluding, I desire to say that it is intended, although it is not so stated in the terms, to give an assurance to the Dominion Government that any amount of land which they think reasonable will be given. This will be made a part of the scheme for the construction of the Railway if thought desirable.

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

connect them with the head of navigation on the Fraser.

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

Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS—What is the Seaboard? Does it mean Barclay Sound?

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—That is what we have purposely left open. The line may come down the valley of the Fraser, as in my opinion will be best, or it may come through to Hute Inlet or Bentinck Arm. We have purposely generalized and left it for those who undertake the work to determine for themselves. It is not desirable for us to cram this Resolution by defining the locality for the line or terminus.

The Hon. Mr. ROBSON—Sir, I conceive that we have now come to the most vital part of the whole scheme. I entertain the opinion that no real union can take place without a Railway. Did I believe that the Overland Railway would not be made, I should hesitate very much about Confederation, because I should be apprehensive that the whole scheme would fall in pieces. I think that great haste must be used to build up an English speaking nation, alongside of an existing English speaking country. To accomplish this end, I think that the Overland Railway is necessary, and must be pushed through to speedy completion, to be an immediate success. In ten years time, without an Overland Railway, I do not believe that we should have any English Territory here at all. The great work must be undertaken with the assistance of both the Canadian and Imperial Governments, and pushed through to a speedy success. It is true that a sort of union might exist without a Railway, such as the union between British Columbia and Great Britain. But we propose to establish a union that will endure, and that will render an Overland Railway just as necessary as the veins in the human body are necessary to circulate the blood and to keep up life. I believe that \$1,000,000 is a mere nominal sum, as explained by the Hon. Chief Commissioner, a tangible security that the work will be completed. The expenditure of the first Million will be a guarantee that any Company or Government undertaking it will carry it through. Every reflecting mind will see that if any Company spend \$1,000,000 a year, they must spend more, and that it will be their interest to push it through. To say that because we only name a sum of \$1,000,000, that it will be a matter of 100 years is absurd; my reply to this, I cannot call it an argument, is that capitalists could not be found in the world so silly as to spread the construction over one hundred, or fifty, or twenty, or even ten years. I cannot support the amendment of the Hon. Member for Victoria District, we must carefully avoid committing ourselves to the route or terms of building. I think this may be safely left in the hands of the Dominion Government. It is useless to argue that it is of vital importance to us to have the best route. The Railway must pass through the Colony, and benefit the Colony, no matter where the terminus, it must be in British Columbia, and consequently a benefit to the whole Colony. I cannot see that it would be better to begin in the middle. I look upon it as an absolute necessity that the Railway should commence at the seaboard; moving the material is the greatest expense that has to be contended against, and the advantage of being able to land the material and lay it down at once on the road, will be incalculable. If the Railway were to be constructed from a given point ten miles from the seaboard, it would probably pay the contractor to build that piece of the line. Unless Hon. Members can show us that the material can be brought to the line by way of the Rocky Mountains, don't let us stuffly ourselves by asking them to begin in the middle. It is right that the work should be commenced simultaneously on the Atlantic and Pacific sides. I fancy that, as a matter of policy and economy, any company undertaking the work would so commence, without it being named in the terms, as it would undoubtedly be more economical to carry on the work by sea from the westward in British Columbia, and by land from the East. As for the amount named in the conditions, as I have said, I look upon it as a tangible assurance to the people that the thing will be done, rather than as the specific

statement of a sum with the expenditure, of which this Colony will be satisfied. I have some doubts about the clause requiring the Dominion Government to make a Coarb Road. The age for Coarb Roads has almost passed away. Such a road would not meet the requirements of the present day. I would prefer removing this condition, and require the work to be commenced within two years, or seek compensation in some other way as an equivalent for the supposed advantage of the road. The sooner we get the matter part towards convincing the Dominion Government that this is necessary, the better. Not only is the Railway a national necessity for the Dominion, but for every fractional part of British North America.

The Hon. Mr. HELMCKEN—I reiterate that Confederation means terms. What feeling now exists in favour of Confederation, has been brought about by the assertion that Canada will do certain things for the Colony, amongst others, that she will build a Railway. If the people are deceived in this matter; if Canada does not accede to this portion of the conditions, she need not ask the people of this Colony to be united. I would ask the people to band themselves together to demand that these terms be varied, and I hope they will take that stand. And I will ask that the promises made by the Dominion Government will be strictly performed. ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos and Mr. Wood.] This Colony would be just as much isolated as ever after a paper union, without a Railway as one of the conditions. I acknowledge that we might have such a union with England now, with a Railway. We are a Colony of England, and I don't know that many people object to being a Colony of England; but I say that very many would object to becoming a Colony of Canada. As a Colony of England we have the right to legislate for ourselves, if we become a Colony of Canada, that power is taken away. ["Yes, no," from Mr. DeCosmos.] [Hon. Mr. Robson, it will give us more power.] I say that the power of regulating our own commerce is taken away, and the only power left to us is that of raising taxes for Municipal purposes. That is the difference between being a Colony of Canada, and a Colony of England. The distance is so great between this Colony and Ottawa without any Railway and without any Telegraphic communication, that laws might be passed there, which would ruin British Columbia, without our having any notice of them. I do not consider that Canada expects or intends to attempt to make this Railway a paying institution of itself. There are a great many institutions in this Colony, which are not paying institutions. Canada takes the view that the Railway is necessary to complete the British line of communication between England and her Asiatic possessions, in order that the English people may share in the carrying trade to China and the East Indies, with our American neighbours. Canada expects to influence Great Britain to guarantee the loan for the formation of the Railway. Great Britain may guarantee the loan for the purpose of having a check on the American line of Railway, but she would never guarantee it for Canadian purposes only. The people of England would not tolerate it. I consider this an essential condition. Without it Confederation must not take place. This is one of those things which will be a vast benefit to this Colony and to Canada, and therefore I regard it as a necessary condition. Why should this Colony join Canada, except for the benefit of both? We should be better off without Canada if we have no Railway. I say that this Colony had better stand alone than risk everything, without a Railway. What benefit can Canada expect from Confederation with British Columbia without a Railway? Is she afraid of British Columbia being handed over to America? If Canada thinks she can hold Canada for her own purposes, and use it when she pleases, and take her own time to do what she likes with it, she is mistaken. The Railway has been made a lever for Confederation, by Canada. I ask that Canada be now made to promise faithfully that a Railway shall be made. With regard to the expenditure of \$1,000,000, there should be a forfeit of ten per cent. payable to this Colony, if it is not spent. I am not so much afraid about the Canadian Government not carrying out the terms, as I am of our own people. I believe that there is more danger from our own people than from the Canadian Government. British Columbia may cheat herself, and it is our duty, man for man, to take care that we don't cheat this Colony, that we don't in fact cheat ourselves. I think that the Coarb Road may be useful, it will take some time to build a Railroad, and it will be necessary to have communication. The

road might be used for Immigration purposes, and for driving cattle, but will be of no use commercially; such an idea would have suited people who lived some years ago. Speaking of Commerce in which the Dominion is to take part, I do not myself believe that the Asiatic traffic will come this way; but still we must not lose sight of the idea that it may eventually be partially diverted to this route. These considerations do not afford practically any immediate benefit. I shall be glad if anyone will point out how it is to come.

If it were to be found it might be more beneficial to agricultural interests in a short space of time, than if commenced on the sea coast. Public works in this Colony should help to develop the resources, and one thing should be made to work with another, so as to be mutually beneficial, each should be for the benefit of the whole, and the whole for the benefit of each. Suppose we will be allowed to commence narrow at Fraser River. How much benefit would it be? It might be some, but if these public works were made subservient to the interests of settling up the Colony, they would be more likely to be beneficial.

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

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

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

THURSDAY, 17TH MARCH, 1870.

Hon. Mr. DeCosmos.—Mr. Chairman, Judging from the statements made by the Government, this Railway is not likely to be completed in so short a period as I had hoped. The indefinite nature of the clause is unsatisfactory. It contemplates nothing more than the expenditure of \$1,000,000 per annum, which would no doubt be a great boon, and would stimulate various branches of industry, but that is almost all that can be said of it. The way that it has been met to this Colony heretofore, was that the Canadian Government would construct the road. It now turns out from the statements of the Hon. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, that in all probability the Canadian Government will get some private company to carry out the work, and he adds, "that we may get a guarantee with grants of land, in aid of the undertaking." Now, Sir, from the first I have always been careful not to bring forward the question of the Railway in connection with Confederation. The London Conference favoured it only when the financial position of the Dominion admitted it. It must be quite a long

time before connection by rail with the Canadian Railway system can take place. I never believed the Canadian Government would contract a debt for this purpose at the present. They are already, in my opinion, too deeply in debt and are taxed too high to allow them to do so. According to my calculation, it will cost \$150,000,000 to complete the Railway from this Colony to Montreal.

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

Hon. Mr. DeCosmos.—No! that gets frozen up and cannot be utilised for several months in the year. It must go to Montreal, on the north side of Lakes Superior and Huron. It will cost \$100,000,000 to construct it to Lake Superior from Victoria. Now a 4 per cent guarantee on \$100,000,000 will require Canada to impose additional taxation of 4,000,000 a year. Then you must remember that the wear and tear of the Railway would not be met by the returns. Besides that, there are the running expenses to be provided for. The United States trans-continental Railway only pays from the way stations in the populous districts through which it passes; we should have none, except a few people at the Red River and in British Columbia. A 4 per cent guarantee would be adding one third to the annual taxation of the Dominion. Then for the portion of Railway they will have to make from the West end of Lake Superior to Montreal, there would be required \$50,000 more for each per cent. To meet these sums, therefore, they would have to raise an annual sum of \$1,000,000, Canada, in other words they would have to add nearly fifty per cent, to the present taxation of Canada. Do you think, Sir, they will ever do this? or that any Finance Minister would dare attempt it in the present state of Canadian finances. I call attention to this view of the subject in order to prevent false impressions getting abroad, which would lead to disappointment. With all due deference to his professional knowledge, I deny the correctness of the estimate of the Chief Commissioner that this Railway will cost only two-thirds of the United States Trans-continental line. This is a more different line in my opinion, not an easier one, than the line over the Sierra Nevada. Perhaps part of the year we might get communication, by means of a steam boat and partly by Railway, but for several months in the winter the water portion of the route would be closed up. In the temper of this House and the temper of the Government, I do not expect this Resolution of mine to go up to the Government. Now, I want to utilise our money, and to utilise our time. I estimate that a Railway from Fraser River to Kamloops would cost \$50,000 a mile. According to the plan of the Chief Commissioner, with the expenditure of only \$1,000,000 a year, at the end of five years, if we started at Burrard Inlet, we should get to Yale only, for which the water communication at present existing would suffice, and consequently that time would be lost. Possibly, it might be opened to the Rocky Mountains in ten years, if begun at New Westminster as this scheme proposes. It is our duty to open up the interior country—Osoyoos, Okanagan, Kamloops, Similkameen, and other districts. Bring the interior into communication with the Seaboard, that would settle up the best portion of the interior, provide an outlet for produce, and keep the money that is now sent abroad, within our own borders. The Government plan will injure, if not delay, the development of the country. I have no hope that my recommendation will pass, but still I shall have the satisfaction of feeling that I have done my duty.

Hon. Mr. HOLBROOK.—Sir, I rise to support the recommendation of the Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos.) I quite agree with the gentleman that a Railway starting from the head of Steam-boat navigation, would be more useful than any other. If we have a Company spending \$1,000,000 a year in building a Railway which will open up the farming districts, we shall be able to raise cereals and compete with our American neighbours, and by commencing at the head of navigation we shall reap the advantage in our lifetime. It will develop the Mainland. Agricultural land would be turned into profitable use, and the Mining section from Big Bend to Kootenay, which contains I believe, most valuable mines of gold and silver, will be opened up. If the recommendation of the Hon. Member is adopted, we shall find almost immediate benefit from the opening up of the Inland Trade. It will develop the other towns through the Colony. I do hope it will receive the support of the Executive Council.

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

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—Sir, I thought that I had made the Government views on this clause sufficiently clear yesterday, in supporting the Hon. the Attorney General's motion; if not, my words could not have thoroughly expressed my meaning. The Government have not inserted the construction of a Railway into these resolutions on the principle of local advantages. The Hon. Member for Victoria District (Mr. DeCosmos), seems to argue that we inserted it in order to secure the advantages which would accrue to special localities from way traffic. But I can assure the House that the Executive Council entertained no such idea in adjusting the details of this great scheme; they have endeavoured to secure the utmost advantages to the whole Colony. You will observe, Sir, that the clause is most general in its terms, and it would be useless to attempt to define the line the road should take; it may have a terminus, as I distinctly stated before, at any place on the coast most convenient—at Bentinck Arm, Bute Inlet, or Burrard Inlet, or even by crossing the Fiords between Vancouver Island and the Mainland, it may come to Victoria or Esquimalt. These details must be left to the parties constructing the line. The Executive Council have avoided all through all sectional and local considerations. I stated yesterday, and I repeat it again, that I hoped the Railway would follow down the valley of the Fraser River to the seaboard; but the Government have purposely avoided any definition of any particular line, and have made it as general as possible. I also said that I did not think that the Dominion Government would make the line; and I said so because I am well aware that this is not the way in which great works of this character are generally undertaken in these times. I believe that a private company with the assistance of the Dominion Government, and I hope the Imperial Government also, will construct the line. But this is merely surmise. I know no more of my own actual knowledge than other Members round this board. But I come to this conclusion because I know that it is not considered feasible for Governments to undertake such works. It has been found to be a great mistake. Then why discuss the suggestions of the Hon. Member for constructing a Railway from Yale to Kamloops, or try to fix details which the spirit of the whole resolution avoids, when we don't even say the line shall pass Yale or Kamloops at all? It is a vast undertaking, and if undertaken at all, it will not be with a view to profit, but with a view to the future, and as part of the great responsibility of the Canadian Government in contracting alliance with this Country. The strenuous desire of the Canadian Government is to make such a line. I think they are able to do it, and we know for certain that they will do it if they can. I do not agree with the Hon. Member for Victoria City (Mr. Helmecken), that Confederation means a Railway; the Government do not say that there shall be no Confederation without a Railway.

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

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—I am glad to have that set right. The Government believe that the Railway will be made, but they do not make it a *sine qua non*, but if on certain views of the whole subject in negotiating with Canada, it is found impracticable for Canada to commence to make the Railway at once, then I see alternative terms, which will not only suit Canada but the people of this Colony, who you must remember will have to pass upon them when they come back from Canada. It has been stated the public mind is impressed with the idea that the insertion of so paltry a sum as \$1,000,000, will lead to the postponement of the completion of the Railway for fifty years. I can assure them it is a fallacy. Why, Sir, as well put by the Hon. Member for New Westminster yesterday, common sense shows that it would be against the interest of the parties making the line to prolong the work over a number of years. It can only be carried on quickly to secure any real profit. I again repeat what the Government Members stated

yesterday, so distinctly, that the One Million a year is not nearly the sum which will have to be spent; the amount stated is only intended to serve as a guarantee or an earnest that the work will be done. If we had said make it in so many years time, they could not have needed it. Certainly in three years time the Dominion Government will be in a position to determine the line. The suggestion of the Hon. Member is, in my opinion, wholly inapplicable to this scheme. If admitted it would entirely remodel the Government clause, which is general. The suggestion is, that the first section should be made at some place on Fraser River. As I said before, we cannot tell whether the Railway will come down the valley of the Fraser River at all. Those who spend the money have a right to choose their line. As far as my own opinion goes, I should say that the Canadian Government will determine the basis of the scheme on engineering considerations of the port best suited for pouring in supplies, and for the cheapest construction of the road. Do not let us hamper so great a scheme by such minute details; let us leave it to those who have to construct the line to select their own route.

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

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

Hon. Dr. HELMECKEN—The Government does not say so, I say so.

Hon. Mr. DRAKE—Well certain Hon. Members say so. Now this is what will happen: Canada will agree to a Railway to get Confederation, and Confederation takes place, Canadian officials rule here and Canadian laws prevail. Three years elapse and Canada may find it inconvenient or impossible to carry out the Railway. I say that we require a guarantee for the making of the Railway. On Confederation how can we enforce this condition. This it definitely underlies the whole scheme. I ask how we are to get out of it, guard against it, or surmount it? Leave the Confederation? That means rebellion, which is not to be thought of by any law-loving persons. We can't float ourselves out when once in, then we are bound to stand fast from now on to eternity? There should be a penalty of \$30,000 for every year in which Canada fails to expend the One Million.

Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL—How do you propose to secure the \$30,000?

Hon. Mr. DRAKE—By Imperial guarantee.

Hon. MEMBER—How would the guarantee of the President of the United States? [Laughter.]

Hon. Mr. DRAKE—I shall be quite satisfied if the President of the United States indorses the Bill [laughter.] I consider the Railway the primary and essential condition of Confederation and I think that Canada is too poor to guarantee such a work as this. She had to go to the Imperial Government to guarantee the payment of the \$300,000 to buy out Canadian interests in the Red River Settlements, and I maintain that we are on the right course to ask for

an Imperial guarantee now. When we get into Confederation we cannot help ourselves. If Canada is unable or unwilling to pay the \$1,000,000 a year, as soon as it appears necessary to her to throw over the conditions, over they will be thrown. The Hon. Member tells us that Canadian statesmen are men of unbounded ambition? Now men of unbounded ambition will not scruple at anything to gain their ends; that is all they look to. Until a guarantee is obtained I shall oppose this Resolution. I don't care whether it is the guarantee of the President of the United States or any other that will do.

Hon. Mr. ROBESON—I have listened with profound astonishment to the remarks of the Hon. Member who has just sat down, upon Canada and Canadian statesmen. I shall not condescend to reply to the aspersions. Canada can support herself against all this kind of thing. She is great enough to do so. Such attacks can only come from those who know nothing about those whom they malign. I am a Canadian, and am proud of being one, but in this matter of making terms of union, I shall be as exacting as any reasonable Member of this Council can be. I would have all the conditions well understood, and would have them put in black and white, but I would ask no endorsement from any other source. When this agreement is completed between British Columbia and Canada we shall have the best possible of guarantees. We shall have the guarantee of the Imperial Government, and of Her Majesty the Queen, from first to last. We shall have the endorsement of the Queen's Proclamation, which lies at the root of these conditions. Can we have or desire better security? [Hear, hear, from Mr. Trutch.] Hon. Members say we cannot get out, and that Canada may repudiate. I say nothing of the kind. Canada would never be allowed by the Imperial Government to contract this Colony to remain in Confederation for the fulfilment of one side of a contract of partnership, the terms of which Canada herself has trodden underfoot. To entertain such a supposition is, if I may be allowed the expression, an outrage on common sense too absurd to be for a moment seriously entertained. Would the Imperial Government stand by and let British Columbia and soldiers to compel British Columbia to remain in Confederation under such circumstances. The Canadian Government never broke faith yet, and the Imperial Government never broke faith yet, and both are pledged to the fulfilment of this condition. Canada has hitherto gone in advance of her word. The distrustful views of the Hon. Junior Member for Victoria (Mr. Drake) are so manifestly unjust that, as it is impossible that they can arise from ignorance, I may be pardoned for attributing them to wilfulness, to a rabid sense of opposition, and a chronic feeling of distrust. To ask the President of the United States to endorse a scheme which emanates from the Imperial Government I look upon as a monstrous ill-timed joke, against which reason and argument are powerless. I cannot—we cannot—dismiss it. Now, to go to the ways and means. Why, Sir, it is well known that Canada is rich. Does the Hon. Member know that Ontario and Quebec have \$4,000,000 lying idle at this moment, carrying low interest. There is plenty of capital in Canada at this moment to build the Pacific Railway. The reason why Canada uses the Imperial guarantee for the £200,000 is this. She can borrow cheaper through the Imperial Government with her guarantee, than without it. Canada frequently borrows money for public works. It pays her to do so. It is simply a beneficial financial operation.

Hon. Mr. DRAKE—I rise for the purpose of explaining that I make no reflections upon Canadian statesmen, but I treat this solely as a matter of business, and as in other ordinary business I prefer having an endorsed note to a simple obligation. In the 14th section of the British North America Act, an Imperial guarantee for a loan of three millions sterling for a Railway is specified. I think we are justified in making a similar request. Mine is a business condition. I am willing to trust Canada, but I say we are entitled to ask for an endorser. The Hon. Member's remarks have not disturbed my position.

Hon. Mr. WOOD—I am obliged, Sir, in the few remarks that I intend to offer to treat of all the amendments and suggestions together. To my mind this condition which requires the construction of an Overland Railway is one of the most important of all the terms. A great deal has been said about the inconvertibility of Canadian statesmen. No doubt Canadian statesmen are very like all others. Canada acts through her ministers. Those now in power are,

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

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

Hon. Mr. WOOD—I understood the Hon. Member to say that Government did not consider it essential. I fear that it is delusive to hope that the Imperial Government would give a guarantee for this Railway. They could only do so on Military grounds; but I am convinced they would never guarantee three thousand miles of an exposed line of Railway, within a few miles of the territorial boundary, a thing which courts assault and would be so perilous to maintain. Seeing that it could be cut in two in a hundred places by hostile forces from the United States, it requires little reflection to see that Colonial undertakings are seldom guaranteed now. Canada's interest in the Railway, on the other hand, is purely commercial. For such a Railway to pay, it must pass through populous districts—places like Omaha and the United States' towms. It is monstrous to suppose that England would supply the capital for such a scheme. No capitalists in the world would advance their money for such an undertaking. The matter has been talked threadbare in the public prints. It is out of the question to suppose that there would be any material trade in bulky goods this way. [Hear, hear, hear.] Canada, finding the thing difficult, will refuse the terms. ["No, no," from Mr. Carrall.] I say the money will not be spent. I back my knowledge of the world and experience of men and things against the "No, no" of the Hon. Member, and I believe the result will be that the Canadian Government will refuse this item, and in refusing will say "We do the best we can; it is our interest to do the thing, but it is impossible to get the guarantee through Parliament." I believe the Canadian statesmen who have the conduct of this matter will say to our Delegates, or to His Excellency "Don't you think you can do without this Railway; you must take our desire to do it for the deed itself. If you do not, perhaps it can be accomplished, and by no means so effectually as by becoming a part of our Dominion." And so a quiet go by will be given to the Railway, and the terms will be back again shorn of this item. If, as the Hon. Chief Commissioner says, these terms are to come before the people—mind I say the people alone—I believe there is a fair and by, perhaps, it is a movement which promises something, and this feeling will lead to these terms being passed. So weak are commercial and agricultural interests in this Colony at the present time, so small is the population, and the mass of the people are doing so badly, and are so dissatisfied that, in my opinion, they will vote for anything that will give change and a chance of bettering themselves. I intend, Sir, to move an amendment, with the view of making this Railway a test question:—"That without a substantial guarantee for an Overland Railway, Confederation should be

rejected by the Delegates from this Colony." It is obvious that this motion will be defeated, but I am desirous to test the opinions of the representative members of this Council on so material a point as this. The Hon. Chief Commissioner says: that these terms are to be decided, eventually, by the representatives alone, of course without the official vote. And here I may ask, are the official members, in the event of its ultimate discussion, to retire from the Council, and leave the question to the representative members alone? If we are fit for Representative Institutions, why not give them to us now? Having promised the Colony terms, I think the Executive are bound to present terms which are good, in the sense of being prospective of permanent good and quiet enjoyment. I cannot forbear to say that in places of terms simply providing for pecuniary benefit, I should have preferred to have seen inserted Constitutional powers, and power of self-government. ["Hear, hear," from Hon. DeCosmos, Hobson, and Humphreys.] I should have desired to embody these in the conditions, and, in particular, I should have desired to retain full power over the Tariff.

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

Hon. Mr. WOOD—Give us reasonable powers of self-government, and I will accept Confederation tomorrow. How we cannot settle our local matters, there will be trouble, and the Tariff is an open question, it is at least one street in the right direction.

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

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—I shall not attempt to answer the discursive remarks of the Hon. Mr. Wood, it would require an *ignis fatuus* to do so, for he is here, there, and every where in no time, but I cannot suffer some of his remarks to pass unnoticed. I have sat in this Council for two Sessions, and have endeavoured to conduct myself with propriety, but I find certain Hon. gentlemen in this Council who, by innuendo and implication, directly and indirectly, have endeavoured to cast slurs upon Canada, and to slander and belittle the Statesmen of that country, which I am proud to call my own. I have, hitherto, refrained from answering, because I thought my country occupied too high a place in the roll of England's Colonies to be affected by such conduct. The position of Canada is so great, beyond cavil and dispute, as not to require any defender in this Council. Such remarks only recoil upon those who make them; the versatility of spleen displayed by the Hon. gentleman who has just sat down, only shows the bitterness of the mind that conceived the remarks. The question now before us is as to Clause 8, and upon the discussion of this clause another question has arisen, or rather has been dragged in, namely, that of the ability of Canada to fulfil the conditions of this particular clause, and it is said that this is to be made a test question. With regard to the idea of any future Canadian Ministry repudiating this condition, I wish, Mr. Chairman, to refer you to English history, and to ask whether you have ever known an instance of an incoming Ministry, whether Whig, Radical, or Tory, repudiating the pledged troth of their predecessors in office. Such a thing is never done to my knowledge, and so far as my experience of history goes, never has been done. ["Hear, hear," from Hon. Attorney General.] I have yet to learn an instance where a loan guaranteed, or anything else undertaken by any Government, has been repudiated by an incoming Ministry. We might just as well suppose that the guarantee for the loan for the later colonies Railway might be withdrawn by Gladstone, because it was given by the late Ministry, as that any future party in Canada might entertain the idea of going back from the promises of the present Government. History forbids such an idea. The Hon. and learned Member for Victoria (Mr. Drake) says he wants a guarantee. Well, let him want it. I am perfectly willing that he should have it. For my part, I look upon the Queen's proclamation as a guarantee which will make the whole thing inviolable. I point to the fact, that every compact entered into with the Maritime Provinces is being fulfilled. Can anyone point to any act of repudiation? No, Sir, Canada has gone beyond her promises. I repudiate, on behalf of myself and the Legislature, that any member of the confederate party has stated that he would accept Confederation without conditions. I never heard the Hon. Member for Victoria District, or the Hon. Member for New Westminster, who have taken a prominent part in this great question, make any such statement. I have the honour of being one of

the Executive Council who framed these Resolutions, and I believe the terms will be acceptable to a large majority of the people. Those who say that there can be no Union without a Railway, speak a fallacy. Railways follow. Look at San Francisco and the Eastern States of America. Look at Scotland and England. I am well aware that British Columbia wants a Railway, and I know that Canada wants it. I am sanguine enough to believe that it will be made. I am assured that the money is ready, if the desired guarantees can be obtained. The Hon. Mr. Wood, in his discursive remarks, flew around like a humming bird buzzing round a rose, and amongst other things touched on the insalubrity of the Halfroad. I say that the American people have Railways of their own, and we do not intend to have from henceforth daily warfare. With regard to the course of the Railway, the Hon. Chief Commissioner has told you that the advantages of the line are greater than those of the existing Pacific line. It is well known that the American Pacific Railway, after passing Omaha, passes through a wild and most difficult country, through miles of hills and sage brush. ["Hear, hear," from Mr. DeCosmos.] The North-West Territory is more fertile than any portion of the route of the American Pacific Railway. The Hon. Mr. Wood says he will make this a test question. I say the whole terms are a test question, and no one part of them more than another. The Canadian Government are to be asked what a condition. Either I must fail to put my ideas clearly, or Hon. Members misunderstand me. I have said over and over again, that the people must decide this question. His Excellency says that if the newly constituted Council asks for Responsible Government, under the Organic Act, they will get it. What need is there to drag in the question into these Resolutions? The Hon. Mr. Wood cannot, dare not, say that the majority of the British subjects in British Columbia are in favour of Responsible Government. I may be found in the minority upon this question when it comes before the people, but I speak from conviction; and, moreover, I say that when once we are in the Dominion, if the people desire Responsible Government, no power on earth can prevent them from having it.

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. ALSTON—As as a test question, I must say I cannot vote for this amendment. If I am in this Council when the final votes upon Confederation are to be taken, I shall be prepared to vote against Confederation, unless a Railway is included in the terms, unless, that is to say, my sentiments undergo some

change which I do not foresee. I do not see how it was made a test question, the Government could carry out their instructions, first to submit the resolutions to Canada, and then to submit the Canadian terms to the people. This is not the time to submit a test question, neither can we arrogate to ourselves the power to do so, it must be left to the popular vote; therefore, although I fully concur in the sentiment that we must have a Railway some time or other, I must vote against it merely as a matter of expediency.

Hon. Mr. HELMCKEN.—Mr. Chairman, the sooner we get back to business the better. The discussion has become too wide. Some Hon. Members seem to think that Canada can't do it, that too much money is required. What is the fact? We merely ask the Canadian Government to spend one Million a year. What is the interest on that sum, at 4 per cent? \$40,000, and the next year \$39,000. I do not know how long it will take to get to the Rocky Mountains. We want the Railway for our own purposes. [Hear, hear, hear.] from Hon. DeCosmos, Holbrook, and others.] We shall derive benefit from the expenditure of million dollars a year in the Colony, and be getting a Railway at the same time. Every one seems to think that the Railway will unite the country, so it will; but it is simply a Railway or a Telegraph that will unite Canada and British Columbia. The only true basis of Union, is that people should have the same interests, the same feelings, and the same desire to make this a prosperous country. If Canada gives us terms sufficiently good to show that it is her intention to do all she can to develop our resources, not at our own interests, then she will gain the affections of the people of this Colony, and then there will be an Union, which no Railway can give, a material Union which nothing can disturb, and we shall find hereafter that Kingdoms and Nations will spring out of this Union. We are told by the Hon. Mr. Wood, that the Officials must vote for these terms, as they have settled by the Governor. This is not so, far before any terms can be concluded, some one must go to Canada from here, or come from Canada to this place, to arrange conditions. I believe in what His Excellency has said. I place more reliance on him than on any one else. I believe he will act fairly and justly in this matter, nor do I think there is so much to fear from Canada as there is from the danger of the people of this Colony cheating themselves; you can make the people believe anything. I do not agree that the country is in such a depressed condition; I know that Victoria, the chief city, is in rather a depressed condition, and perhaps New Westminster also, but out-side it is otherwise.

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

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

Hon. Mr. WOOD.—What else has she got?

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

Hon. Mr. DETOURNÉ.—I remark, Mr. Chairman, that there is a considerable contrast between the views of two Hon. Members of the Executive Council. I mean the Hon. Chief Commissioner (Mr. Trutch,) and the Hon. Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmcken.) The former says that it is not proposed to construct a Railway with reference to local interests. He says to advocate our own local interests is simply inapposite. I think differently. I think that we should deal with it locally as well as nationally. I presume it is put in the terms because it is expected that it will benefit the Colony. We don't care so much for its benefiting the people of Montreal as for benefiting ourselves; we look at it from a British Columbian point of view. I say with the Hon. Member for Victoria City (Dr. Helmcken) that we should deal with it with reference to British Columbian interests. After the discussion of yesterday, I confess my surprise. I thought from the in-

of the Resolutions that the Canadian Government would construct the line. Now, we are informed by the Hon. Chief Commissioner that it will be undertaken by a private company. Then, he says if we cannot get a Railway we must have an equivalent. If this clause is not a fixed principle in the terms, then I ask what do the Government propose as an equivalent? With regard to Railway communication through British Columbia, we ought, in my opinion, to connect Kamloops and the adjacent country with the Seaboard. That is commencing at navigable water on Fraser River and ending at Savona's Ferry, Kamloops Lake. This line, at the utmost, is only 150 miles long. The expense of its construction, at \$50,000 per mile, would be \$7,500,000. We might safely approach the Canadian Government upon this, irrespective of the terms of union, but under the conditional provision authorizing the Dominion Government to construct public works of this character.

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

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

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

suggest an alteration in the words. I am ready to leave the construction of the English to my Solicitor-General. I say that they do not mean "in the Colony." With regard to the remarks of the Hon. Member for Victoria District, I would remark that this is not really a final contract; and I agree with the Hon. Chief Commissioner that the clause ought to be general. The Canadian Statesmen, with whom we are about to deal, are not mere tyroes; and I say in recommendation of this one million leaves it open in Canada to keep the time open. If they expend that sum upon any portion of the line, they will be able to prolong the building of the road as long as they please. And, although it may be said that Canada will take care of us, I say we ought to take care of ourselves. Let us get as good terms as possible, not trusting to the Canadians, but looking after our own interests. We should, in my opinion, abstain from all mention of one million dollars, or any other sum, otherwise the Canadian Government may say that on payment or expenditure of that sum they will have completed their bargain.

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. ROBSON—I have a recommendation to move bearing on the Coach Road, as follows:—
"That a respectful address be presented to His Excellency recommending that clause 8 may be so altered as to include the section of the main trunk road of the Colony lying between Yale and New Westminster in the Coach Road which the Dominion Government is to be asked to construct within three years from the date of union."

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

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

Hon. Mr. CARILL—I shall support the recommendation of the Hon. Member for New Westminster.

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

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

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

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

Clause 8 was then passed as read.

Clause 9 was next read by the Chairman:—

"The Dominion shall erect and maintain, at Victoria, a Marine Hospital, and a Lunatic Asylum, either attached to the Hospital, or separate, as may be considered most convenient."

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

The Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL moved the adoption of this clause.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER—Sir, I desire to say that, in my opinion, the Penitentiary will ultimately be on the Mainland, perhaps at New Westminster or Burrard Inlet, where it is probable the Railway will come. I can easily believe that the Hon. Member for New Westminster does not advocate New Westminster from local motives, but I must defend the Resolution as it stands. I think it better to leave it to the people who find the money to select the place. The position is not the same as regards the Marine Hospital. It

should be at Victoria or Esquimalt, or at some intermediate place, on account of this being the head quarters of the Navy, just as I think Esquimalt is the proper place for the Dock. I believe that New Westminster will do the place, but I cannot, on principle, vote for the recommendation.

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

Clause 9 was then passed as read.

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS.—I suggest the addition of Puget Sound.

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

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

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

Clause 10 was then passed as read.

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

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

Clause 11 was passed as read.

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

"12. British Columbia shall participate, in fair proportion, in any measures which may be adopted, and Funds which may be appropriated by the Dominion for the encouragement of Immigration."

Passed as read.

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

"13. British Columbia shall be entitled to be represented in the Senate by Four Members, and by Eight Members in the House of Commons, until the year 1881, and thereafter the Representation in the Senate and the House of Commons shall be increased, subject to the provisions of The British North America Act, 1867."

Hon. Mr. DRAKE.—Mr. Chairman, there seems to be a difficulty. The Organic Act, Section 51, provides for the re-adjustment of the representation after the census of 1871; and that the representation shall be based on the proportion of 95—the number that Quebec now has—to the population of Quebec. It ought to exist at this number until 1881, or 1891.

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

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

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

Hon. Mr. DeCOSMOS.—Mr. Chairman, during the previous debate, an Hon. Member referred to 120,000 as the basis of representation, as well as the basis of population. We find this echoed by others, last but not least by the Hon. the Attorney General himself. I am surprised to find the Hon. and learned gentleman setting this up as a basis. For the basis of representation

under the Organic Act, was the basis of representation allowed to Quebec, that is, one member for every 20,000. It is proposed that we shall have eight members, then the population ought to be 160,000, but it is only set up as 120,000, which number would only entitle us to six members. Now, Sir, I have no objection to getting eight members for the House of Commons, and four for the Senate; but I do object to the Members and Newspapers spreading abroad statements which have no foundation in fact. I think our population has been over estimated. It is going abroad that 120,000 is the proper foundation for representation, I say it is not so. The honest straightforward and manly course is for our Government to say to the Dominion Government, that it is necessary for us to have a larger representation on territorial grounds. The whole thing resolves itself into expediency; beyond expediency I say that no one can find a fulcrum for the assertion. I would cheerfully support twelve and six so far as it goes. But I do denounce that want of principle and want of truth that surrounds this basis. There is another question about the representation to which due attention does not seem to have been given, it is this: the electoral qualification in Canada is too high, and it will be most objectionable to have the same qualification thrust upon us. The qualification of members may safely be left to the Dominion Government. But that of electors is too high, and will be a source of irritation, which the Government should endeavor to remove now. I should have moved a recommendation as to this, but from the treatment which my amendments have received in this House, I am inclined to let it pass; and I shall move my amendments before my constituencies.

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

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

Hon. Mr. HELMCKEN.—Mr. Chairman, I find the average of representation in the Dominion Parliament is one member to 15,000. That on the basis of 120,000 gives eight members. Nova Scotia has 19 members for 39,000, New Brunswick has 12, Newfoundland has 3 members. All we have to do is to take care that we are not included in the census of 1871. Our number cannot be diminished, so we may put it at 81 again. As for fictitious numbers it is useless to talk about it.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL.—I move that the date "1881" be inserted.

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

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

Hon. Mr. DRAKE.—From Section 61 of the Organic Act, I think our number might be reduced. I think it probable we shall have a population of 120,000 in 1881. As yet we have not that number then, I think it possible that we may be reduced. I shall therefore vote for 1891.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Chairman put the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. Drake, to fill up the blank with the figures "91," carried.

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

Clause 14 was then passed as read.

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

Friday, March 28th, 1870.

The Hon. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—I rise to move the adoption of clause 14. These terms, or rather the terms which come back from Canada, will differ from the new electoral law, and I think it is better to have a clause which shadows forth, and the particulars of the division into districts must be left for the decision of the House.

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

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER.—This clause has been left general, that it may be settled by the newly constituted Council. Hon. H. HELMECKEN.—If there is a qualification for the House of Commons it must be general for the whole Dominion. At present I believe the qualification is that existing in the Province before Union, ultimately there must be qualification for the whole Dominion.

Hon. J. CARROLL.—There is no general law for qualification. Hon. H. HELMECKEN.—The clause is indefinite and dangerous. The Commission qualification will virtually disfranchise half the white voters in British Columbia. We are legislating for the interests of the people, and not the Government as such.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—I believe in British subjects, having a fixed residence, and of certain age, voting in British Columbia. It should be a residential qualification.

Hon. D. HELMECKEN.—We cannot do with the subject now. It is impossible to divide the colony into districts until we know how many electors there will be.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—Mr. Chairman, I move a recommendation to strike out the word "if any."

Hon. M. WOOD.—I think the words ought to stand. The Organic Act says that senators shall be elected for districts, but it may be desirable that some of them should be elected by the people, as they are so situated, and nominated because they are the best men that the Governor can obtain. [No. 4, 000—Hon. Madrignan.] I believe the Executive Council will be very anxious to see the principle of appointing senators in force or whether they should go for the whole colony.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—To this clause it throws the whole power into the hands of the Canadian. The first Governor will be a Canadian and will be the Canadian. We ought to know by whom these appointments will be made.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—I am greatly glad that these colonial differences should be allowed to prevail, I would be content to leave ourselves with the Council as the Governor, and the Council as the Governor, with the advice of his Cabinet, recommends the Senators. [No. 4, 000—Hon. Madrignan.] I believe the Executive Council will be very anxious to see the principle of appointing senators in force or whether they should go for the whole colony.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—I am very glad to talk that way. I am certain that the Englishmen sitting at this table have said less so to expediency than the Canadian. We want to be governed by British Colonials.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—We will better do than the nationalities. Hon. M. WOOD.—I am very glad to hear you say that. I should be very glad to see you go to the other side of the House, and appoint the political friends of the Cabinet. If we are to have responsible government, it will be necessary that the Executive Council should be elected by the people, and not by the Governor, without the consent of any responsible Cabinet. [Hear, hear, hee, hee, &c.] A Canadian first-governor will not act with the same sort of feeling that the English Government will. Senators will be elected by aversion, and supporters of Confederation will doubtless be selected in the colony unless we have responsible government and representative institutions in full view. I am an Irishman and a Dubliner, but very prominent in this colony and power act largely on the home mind—it is one of the characteristics of the race.

Hon. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—I should be sorry to see the Hon. members seem to have forgotten that senators must be residents of British Columbia. Probably they may be selected on the ground of their having the approval of the whole country instead of a section only. It may be that senators will be appointed for the whole colony.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—After how long the expectations of the Hon. Attorney-General, I feel more desirous to press my recommendation, to show that we from the Midland division to have our fair share of representation. I think the wide world is open to us.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—I find by the resolutions passed at the conference of delegates in London, that Senators were to be taken from the Legislative Council, and I believe that the Hon. members were to go into Confederation with that responsible government, and we ought to have a guarantee that the first Senators shall be representative men, and that they shall not be chosen by the Governor, and put into office for life without recourse to the people.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—I shall move a recommendation that the first Senators be chosen by the people. Hon. H. HELMECKEN.—The position will be worth \$300. The difficulty will be to get anyone to go there. People are chary of going into the Legislative Council now, and there will not be very anxious to go to Canada. As to choosing Senators from one place it is out of the question. And it is equally out of the question to appoint them by the Governor.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—We are here as the agents of the people, delegate in point of fact, and we are bound to legislate in accordance with the will and good wishes of the people. In reference to having those Senators appointed, we are bound to see what they are and whether they are the proper representatives of the people.

Hon. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—Hon. members in reference to these resolutions will be submitted to the people, a much enlarged term, and we will try to get the people to elect them. They will have to make the terms acceptable to the people. They will have to pass upon them in the last resort, and so they will.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—The objection seems to me to be dividing British Columbia into districts. It is a qualification for Senators that they must reside in their districts, therefore I think it will not be desirable to divide the colony into districts. I think the clause should stand as it is.

Hon. M. ROBINSON.—One matter deserves attention in connection with this clause, a clause that the Hon. members have made six hundred dollars in a lump sum, without traveling expenses. I think it is now common, and this would place British Columbia Senators at a disadvantage with others. Hon. Madrignan, as it has been proposed, but would be most unfair upon British Columbia, traveling expenses both ways should be allowed.

Hon. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—My opinion is that mileage is allowed. If it is right ten cents a mile both ways is allowed.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—It is the prerogative of the Governor; we had better vote for the repeal of the Organic Act.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—Under the proposed constitution Senators would be chosen by an irresponsible Governor, or the advice of an irresponsible Minister; those who own this country do not want such a state of things to be.

Hon. M. WOOD.—It is better to bear in mind that the Organic Act applies to three or to the most poor Provinces; Canada East, Canada West and the Maritime Provinces, here we want adequate terms.

Hon. M. ROBINSON.—Hon. members seem to assume that we are going to enter Confederation without responsible government. This I repudiate. I say we shall enter with privileges equal to other Provinces. I decline to assume anything else. With regard to the appointment of Senators by the Legislative Council, I would say by what Council? By the one or by the new House? It would not satisfy the people that a Council nominated by the Governor should appoint, and it is yet to be seen that the new House, as shadowed forth by the Governor, would be less objectionable than this one. We are entirely in the dark.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—I understand it that Senators are to be appointed after Confederation, and consequently the recommendation refers to the new Council. His Excellency says that he will give a majority of the possible members, as it has no doubt be means what he says, I believe him to be a most estimable gentleman, but I have a feeling that he has been doing it. It is not to be meant that a few weeks' travel he could understand the wants and feelings of the people; you must eat, drink and sleep amongst them to understand a people. I am sure that the Government contractor I would support the Government. I ask some reason or rank; I would be very easy to give us a majority of two or three popular members, but I do not think a majority of Representative members the Government might still get their own way.

Hon. M. ROBINSON.—I desire, Mr. Chairman, to answer two points. I believe we shall fight for and have responsible Government. In referring to the Governor's speech, the Hon. member for Victoria says the new Council will be just what the new House will still be unrepresentative. I cannot see why there should be the doubt about the Constitution of the new Council. If there were to be only a majority of two or three, I do not think it would be unrepresentative, and the people will not be contented with such a form of Government. The argument of the honorable member for Victoria refers itself in the most ridiculous manner if the people do not want an unrepresentative House, not having the confidence to elect their Senators.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—What have we to do with the Organic Act, and the dragged out a harrow all the days of our lives, if this is wrong it is wrong it is wrong. Now is the time to express our opinion.

Hon. CHIEF COMMISSIONER.—I am very glad to see the Hon. members on this division was that, and of Mr. Robinson, which is not correct was not.

Queen's notice passed as read.

Hon. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—I rise to move the adoption of clause 15th, which is as follows:—

That the constitution and Executive authority and of the Legislature of British Columbia shall subject to the British North America Act, 1867, continue as existing at the time of union, until altered under the authority of the said Act.

And before touching upon the merits of the resolution itself I wish to explain that the time which most necessarily elapses before Confederation will allow ample opportunity to procure a change in the Constitution, and I desire to impress upon members that this question of alteration in the form of Government, is not necessarily connected with the resolution now before the House. I make these observations in consequence of hearing a notice of the Hon. member for Halifax on the subject of responsible government on the orders of the day. On behalf of the Government I desire to say that there is no desire whatever to shift the full burden of the question of responsible government. I throw the matter out and invite the fullest discussion, but as the question of the change of the constitution of this colony is one that has been before the House, and the Imperial Government, it does not seem to me to be necessary to postpone the question of responsible government until we have passed these resolutions. The question of which I postpone a special day, irrespective of these resolutions, should be kept apart for discussion—there is no desire whatever on the part of the Government to shift the question. The question of the change in our constitution is under negotiation between the colony and the Imperial Government at this moment. I am sure that these resolutions are passed, and negotiations must take place. First, Canada has to accept them, then there is reference back to British Columbia to submit to the popular vote, so that there will be full time allowed for the people to consider it, to be inaugurated if they so desire, and they will not want the terms, but that they want responsible government, they will undoubtedly take it. I cannot conceive our going into Confederation with a Crown Council, and at the same time the power to change and get responsible government, that is party government. My point is, that it is not necessary to drag in responsible government now; it is not necessary to do so until we have these resolutions. Our vote on this resolution need not be decided on responsible government, or party government. We shall still be open to amend our resolution on the subject of responsible government to the Governor. I therefore throw out the invitation to those who are in favor of responsible government to amend our resolution in any way they may think proper.

Hon. M. MADRIGNAN.—I think, Sir, that His Excellency's message if I may so call these resolutions, invites us to discuss responsible government. Sir, we have been in former years in favor of responsible government, and have been defeated of them. I do not know what we have gained by this. I think the Government that has for some years past oppressed us. What I am anxious about is the various questions that have come up—the

cannot surrender. To abrogate our own rights would be an crime as much more enormous than suicide, as a life of civil servitude and political freedom is superior to a condition of serfdom; and if life be thus, we have no duty to perform but the noblest part of the gift if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living and those constitutional rights, without which the condition of human existence is not to be desired. But we must know but too well that the people of this colony have, during these years past, been unjustly and unconstitutionally deprived of their rights; but the possibility, to be in the future, of a serious argument for perpetrating that wrong in the future; and it would appear a most fitting moment, when a new constitution should be offered to demand the full restoration of political rights of which we have been for some time so unjustly deprived. A word about the constitution which the Governor proposes to confer upon this colony. Regarding it in the dim light shed upon it by the Executive, it is not unfair to assume that there will be one more popular member taken into the Executive, and that the people will have a majority of two in the Legislature. Let us suppose that the Legislative Council has 20 members, 11 elected by the people and 9 appointed by the Governor. Three are taken from the House of Representatives, and the Executive, where they become—will not say corrupted—manipulated, educated to see things somewhat differently from what they saw them before. In a House so constituted, it is unfair, it is inevitable, to conclude that, on all government measures at least, the Government would command a majority? Take 5 from 20, and 8 from 11, and you have 20 and 8 how many for the Government? Is it not 12? Where, then, is the people's majority under the proposed constitution? And yet it is anticipated, and I will not dispute the right time to ask for responsible government—that if the people want it they will pass, under the new constitution, the ready means of obtaining it. We are asked to consent, and I will not dispute the proposed constitution a condition of things which promises a three years' possibly ten years' annihilation for what the people are prepared for now, and in the meantime, to be ruled by a body which are naturally conservative. All persons holding positions of honor, or power or emolument are conservative. Think you those holding office by appointment, and who are bound to give the whole which would make them responsible to the people's—change their commission from the Crown for the cure of the language of public opinion? They are all naturally desirous to see British Columbia occupying any such false position. They know too well the value of free institutions, and their aversion to new constitutions, and without hindering them from any of their actions, are not without a long and bloody struggle, even in Canada; and if prosperity and contentment in this colony were the result of the new constitution, and the failure of these institutions. That failure was not a horror, on account of the institutions being "representative," but because they were not responsible to the people. There was no constitutional connecting link—no bond of sympathy between those who sat by the will of the people and it was so in contract; it was not popular, it was rotten at the core—proved a delusion and a sham. The people, sometimes in indifference and contempt, permitted another mistake to be made. The error was that thing came to a head and ran in a line to avoid a repetition of that delusion; so that if the people demand that any new constitution which may be conferred upon this colony shall be based upon the only fair principle of responsibility. This question should be finally settled. The colony desires political rest. To inaugurate a fresh political agitation would be most unfortunate and would lead to disastrous results. The possible consequences of a refusal to grant responsible government coincident with Confederation, and the approval of the subject, is not to touch. I would neither prophesy, good or evil; but I would ask the government if they will not only consider the question in relation to other countries. Human nature is much the same on both sides of the great continent. Here the Anglo-Saxon race became so utterly degenerate that it is proposed to better away for more numerous abilities those rights which were purchased with so much blood and sweat? I really refuse to think so meanly of this people. We have seen that even the half-breeds at Red River have too much of the old blood in their veins to permit a fanciful political wrong. It is not a sign to predict a rebellion here. How can Grant there only be made. But this is not my duty to warn the government against necessarily provoking such a possible contingency. We might there be such an unconstitutional asphyxia to invading the people of British Columbia with those political powers conferred under the British Constitution? Why is the present form of government so unpopular with the people? I will tell you why. It is just because it is not a people's government. They feel no hold in it. They have none in working it. They can have none in making it. Only let the people have a hand in forming the Government, in selecting their own officers to rule over them, and they would find a popular government, a strong government, strong in the heart and confidence of the people. In the very same government, there is no popular government, there is no government which the people would not have, there is no government, and that is the only government that is a government for the people. The people of this colony will not only ally a government, but they will see to it that their political rights, and no government would need to fear a undue desire for objection. The people have no right to be asked to give up their political rights in their constitutions they are never mistaken. Those who do not have a greater right than to give a fair return. In what manner in which they acquit themselves in regard to this very question may hang the most momentous consequences. Will they give a fair return? If they do not, I should here to say to retire and warn not to threaten and threaten. The Government may as very government as to a government in the Red River Territory, or they may find themselves in a state of political agitation that may lead to the most serious consequences. I believe that, under circumstances against which no Government in the Red River Territory, the Imperial Government would treat the inhabitants of this colony with even more consideration. It would not be a question of hypocrisy to say that this colony, but it will be a question of just concessions ought to be made. I say that the Government have an opportunity now not only of "stitching our coat" but of doing a great work. Let not the Government make

the fatal mistake of saying the people shall not manage their own affairs. Do not let them make the fatal mistake of compelling the people to reject these conditions at the polls. Now, I have discharged my duty; I have said all I feel called upon to say at this stage. I have stated my own views and I venture to think, those of an overwhelming majority of the people of British Columbia as well as of my own constituents. I trust that the Government will be able to give a vote on this question which affects this whole community (hear, hear). This, in a sense, distinct from the conditions, and it is probable that they may be able to obtain what we are now asking from a different quarter. But, obtain it from where he will, it is ours, it is ours. I am not to move the following amendment, as meeting the case more fully than the resolution offered by the hon member for Leithead:—
 "Whereas no union can be either acceptable or satisfactory which does not confer upon the people of British Columbia as full control over their own local affairs as is enjoyed in the other Provinces with which it is proposed to confederate; therefore, be it Resolved, That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor, earnestly recommending that a Constitution based upon the principle of responsible Government as existing in the Province of Ontario, may be conferred upon this colony, coincident with its admission into the Dominion of Canada."
 Hon the Governor.—Allow me to observe on this, that the member on member is asking the Government to grant what it has no power to give.
 Hon the Governor.—The Governor has promised to seek the power to grant on a new constitution. We only ask that on that new constitution we may have responsible government.
 Hon the Governor.—Mr Chairman, I do not intend to occupy the House for many minutes. I agree with the hon member for Leithead and I disagree with the hon member for Vancouver. I think, sir, that we ought to have representative institutions and responsible government irrespective of Confederation. The hon member for New Westminster says that the same responsibility of Confederation. I think this is a mistake, but it is of no matter long as we get it. I look upon British Columbia as a municipality under the British Crown. Under a municipality, the hon member will be less a power. Anyone who knows anything of municipal law knows that it is based upon three principles: Territorial, authority and responsibility. The colony is the first principle, the hon member for Vancouver is the second, and the third, and the fourth set down to the Council do not asking the elements of responsibility of the Executive to the people. Governing is not to be done without responsibility, no matter how elective the new Council is, it will be a failure. The people want responsible government and representative institutions under any circumstances. I think the hon member would be traitor to themselves if they accepted any form of government which had not the element of responsibility. I think the hon member who had not the element of responsibility, I think the hon member of the Government that I thought was robbery, in fact my rights. I would go to a further extreme than the hon member for Leithead, I would go with a long speech on this matter, as I consider it of little use. This question closed, I am content to leave this Council and go to my constituents.
 Hon the Governor.—Mr Chairman, I should like to ask what all this breeze is about? It is perfectly clear to all that as soon as we enter the Confederation the people of this colony are to be in a form of government they desire, I refuse to take up the issue without Confederation, in a state of isolation. We are dealing with Confederation, and the people with the hon member for New Westminster, aware of the serious issue of responsibility, which exists in England, which is fairly being the Standard-Bearer of national sentiment, and I am glad to see that the same sentiment is not extinct in the United States. During the late war I was in the United States Army. I visited the then secretary of War, was a most enjoyable man. I would like to get it into the heads of the people that no man could be removed. When I look the ground that responsible government is not expedient, it is not because I have any objection to it. I say that it is not expedient for this colony. I will repeat my objections. The Council consist on my own belief, the constitution exists to remove and the liabilities are all, engaged in bread-eating; there are few men of independent means who would take part in responsible government; and consequently the direction of public affairs would fall into the hands of men who are not fitted or qualified to govern the country, or otherwise into the hands of Victorians; neither of which I, for one, want to see. How unfortunate it would be for Cariboo to be the hon member for Victoria (Dr Holmes) were elected for Cariboo. I do not think that the hon member for Cariboo is a man who is fit to be a member of the Legislative Council. I offer that argument as a British Columbian. The Executive Council did not care what was said of government the people like. The Executive say the question is one for the people to decide. We have a measure of responsibility now. The hon member for New Westminster says that His Excellency will do certain things. I take it to mean, as it reads, and I have no doubt that a majority of the people's representatives will all round the board, and none how great the majority will be. (Interjection.) I think the hon member says that it is best if we have not a distinct issue throughout the colony. (It has Mr DeCrombec.) The hon member says that it is best if we have not a distinct issue throughout the colony. (Interjection.) It is made a separate question my advice to the Government will be not to grant it. The Governor has left you to choose your own form of government. Do you think it would be better to have as permanent heads of departments two or three gentlemen who are familiar with the status of the colony, or a Council of men who are not? They will have it. I am here to state that His Excellency the Governor has no wish or desire to keep responsible government, if he had any such desire it is likely that he would have elected the Executive Council as well as to make it elective. I suppose that people do not consider what they are taking about when they make it responsible government; they do not care what is the result of the failure that have been made in respect of responsible government; there have been some failures, as, for instance, in Jamaica, and in Victoria. A class of people are present who are not responsible government whom no person would like to have as rulers. There are petty intrigues mixed up with political considerations which prevent the people from getting what they want, as in large countries like Great Britain, where there is a healthy class, and a respectable middle class, and a vigorous and energetic middle class, and a class which will take care of their own interests, and is associated with local affairs will be so small and so entirely unimportant with particular localities that a steady and vigorous mode of department will be far better for the colony than responsible

ment population. 2. Established interests, wealth, whether capital or real estate, the well-being of professional men, and business, agriculture, industrial, and mercantile. Population, however, is not a matter of mere numbers, but of quality. We may have a very large population, but if it is composed of a mass of ignorant, uneducated, and unskilled labor, it is of little value. We must have a population of a high quality, and one that is capable of doing the work of the country. We must have a population that is capable of doing the work of the country. We must have a population that is capable of doing the work of the country.

... Take the example of V.I., in old days, as an example of small territory... I think that the Government should be more liberal in its policy towards the colonies... I think that the Government should be more liberal in its policy towards the colonies... I think that the Government should be more liberal in its policy towards the colonies...

TUESDAY, 22nd March.

... Hon. Mr. Chairman, I rise with some diffidence to give my opinion on the subject of the proposed... I think that the Government should be more liberal in its policy towards the colonies... I think that the Government should be more liberal in its policy towards the colonies...

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those farmers who had commenced farming under a protective tariff, a great interest in what is proposed among them. They must have an agricultural population. If Confederation comes and brings the Canadian tariff we destroy the agricultural interests altogether and leave the farmer a wretched creature, and the farmer without a rest or respite will, in my opinion, be accepted. Less than that no Confederation will meet severely felt. From the time that a protective tariff is introduced from the difficulty of transport, the day will be over, and very quiet, when they will find no more there than that they have a tariff. They may find an outlet, which they will not find in the present. If the duty is not maintained how can they sell their produce. If the tariff is not maintained, the farmer will be obliged to sell his produce at a discount, and farmers of the Upper Country will then hold the tariff of more consequence to them than to the people of the lower country. I say Confederation will not give a new outlet to the farmer. The agricultural interest will prefer being in a country with protection and without competition than in a perpetual struggle for existence under Confederation. I am in favor of protecting our farming interests, but I wish to see a lower rate upon some other goods, I should think it an advantage. I support protection to our agricultural interest, and not the having open to us ports to other States. The latter part is for me, not upon a question.

Mr. Hays:—I have no objection to the tariff. It is difficult to tell what result the tariff will produce. I think it is better to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States, than to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States. I think it is better to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States, than to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States.

Mr. Hays:—That was the logic of the House, I suppose. Mr. Hays:—They were a committee of gentlemen who were appointed to look into the matter. I think it is better to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States, than to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States.

Mr. Hays:—I do not think it is necessary that the tariff should be raised. I think it is better to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States, than to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States.

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interests are our own staples, properly so-called as above defined, such for instance as the wool of Australia, gold any where, or diamonds, as in New Zealand. Our staple staples are our fisheries, our forests and our minerals in any mining of salts, apud for shipbuilding and the repairs of ships. Next, we must take trade and commerce, our local and geographical position, and as to give us some advantage in the distribution of goods, and as such to be regarded as an element of wealth, and one of our material interests. I think it is better to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States, than to have a tariff which will protect us from the competition of the United States.

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WEDNESDAY, 23d March.

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How CHIEF COMMISSIONER—The letter we want to protect would be acquired under consideration.

How MR. HARRISON—Why what we want now is what we want under other policy. Now, we want to have a tariff, but what is behind our policy? Why, to protect industry. I am not that the Government has no right to do anything at all in relation to tariff and the example of the United States is cited. It has been said that California was not a tariff-free country. It has been said that California was not a tariff-free country. It has been said that California was not a tariff-free country.

How MR. HARRISON—I don't think that section applies to the tariff; it does not apply to the tariff. I don't think that section applies to the tariff; it does not apply to the tariff. I don't think that section applies to the tariff; it does not apply to the tariff.

How ATTORNEY GENERAL—No, that is not a mistake. The section would be in force from the first day of January. It does not mean merely that people may come to the tariff. It means that people may come to the tariff. It means that people may come to the tariff. It means that people may come to the tariff.

How ATTORNEY GENERAL—It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake.

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that we shall have protection, although there are a lot of things that we shall have protection, although there are a lot of things that we shall have protection, although there are a lot of things that we shall have protection.

How MR. HARRISON—Will the hon. member alter the word 'necessary' to 'very desirable'?

How MR. HARRISON—Highly desirable would suit my view better.

How MR. HARRISON—I think the word ought to be retained. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake. It is not a mistake.

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taxation. So far from saving off population we seem to see it, and in England free trade is intended to benefit the manufacturers and it does so. It is not at all a question of more money it would have been a matter of fact. High prices for coal is now unknown, but free trade for way of loggia.

How Mr. DeCromme—There is a distinction between a tariff for protection and a tariff for revenue. The former is a question of money with a tariff for a market, but it is not a question of money. It is a question of revenue. It is a question of money. It is a question of money.

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THURSDAY, 24th. March.

On the House going into Committee of the whole on the Confederation Resolution.

Mr. DeCromme moved the following resolution—"That in the opinion of the House it is expedient in order to foster commerce, to admit, duty free, into this colony or some portion thereof certain articles of foreign manufacture not produced in the Dominion of this colony, and that protection be granted to the same by the Dominion in the terms of union with Canada." In reply to a question the Hon member said it would be impossible to name all the articles; but a few of them might be instance, such as tropical fruits, silk and English dry goods. He thought that the proposition for bringing these matters to the attention of the Dominion government, believing that they would listen to them. Some discussion ensued as to the mode in which the different recommendations and results were to be taken up.

The Hon ATTORNEY GENERAL called hon members' attention to the fact, that it had been agreed by the House that an expression of opinion on these general principles, namely as to the protection of agriculture, of manufactures, and of commerce, should be taken, and that as had been very properly suggested by the member for Victoria District, a general resolution should be framed on these abstract views.

Hon Mr. ROBINSON—I shall offer an amendment, to cause I think the question of Free Port and Protection should not be dealt with together.

Hon ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The proposition of the hon member for Victoria District is as to what should be admitted free, the hon member for New Westminster proposes to suspend the whole tariff.

Hon Mr. ROBINSON—I stated one reason why I thought it not desirable to put the two together. You cannot get the control of the tariff. I say we want free trade in certain articles, and we must have the tariff on every article mentioned as to these articles. My difficulty is that we were last evening discussing protection, and how far we should have the power to deal with it. I proposed an amendment which was I think, the only constitutional way of dealing with the question, and in answering certain propositions of hon gentlemen yesterday, I endeavored to deal with protection proper. I listened with interest to what fell from the Hon Commissioner of Customs, and I do not like to set my opinion against his on matters of this kind, on which I know he is an authority, especially when I find him backed by the hon Attorney General and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. I inquired the United States of America, and said that they are a living instance of non-separation of tariff. The hon Chief Commissioner of Customs did not go so far as to say we could frame a tariff for ourselves, but that the Dominion Government would frame it for us. Now, Sir, I say that we must not run away with any such idea. If we were allowed to have a different source of revenue, New-Foundland would ask the same. New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and other provinces would all ask for exceptional tariffs, and the federal fiscal policy would be broken up and destroyed. Depend upon it we might not to run away with such an idea. The hon member's amendment could admit of exceptional or partial duties, but more than the United States can do so. Some hon members say that we are not under the Organic Act, and need not be under it, unless we choose, that there is a distinction between the Organic Act and those that may hereafter be enacted, and that we can change the Organic Act if we think proper. I admit that any province not prepared to come in under the Organic Act may stop out of the act, but not coming in now, but will be if we go into the Dominion I am surprised to hear some hon members speaking lightly of a reciprocity treaty. Look at the single ton of coal we at present pay and 18,000 tons per annum to San Francisco. I have no doubt that under a reciprocity treaty, we should supply them with 50,000 tons a year at least, to say nothing of anthracite coal. In the course of a year, if we do not develop our own coal, we develop itself, this would bring in \$900,000 or, say, one

million dollars a year into the Colony. Mr. Chairman, we are now speaking of a single item, and that, I believe, not the largest, which would bring in one million a year, and that calculation is based upon the present consumption of coal in San Francisco, and the consumption will no doubt increase in addition to this, look at the quantity of shipping, and the cheap commodities which are now being brought in, which could hardly be brought as a measure of commerce. There are obstacles to reciprocity. No doubt it would be very nice if we could open the United States ports to our goods, and close our ports to theirs. But this would not be reciprocity. There is, in my opinion, only one answer to be given. I say, give the farmers good roads, and this will be protection for them. Now, Sir, what does the development of our coal interests mean? It means extension of labor, and circulation of money. Farmers have at once a full demand for their produce. Apply the same argument to lumber, its development would cause more money to be expended in the colony. Every ton of coal brought to the bank, and every tree cut down, means spending of money. Here, then, is another field opened up for what farmers have to sell. Give the farmers this development and good roads, and they would soon find out that reciprocity would be like the handle of a jug, on the side of British Columbia. Depend upon it we will come in under the reciprocity treaty, and the advantages will be to give our side that it will hardly be reciprocity. Nothing can be more unfair than to suppose we have a free market in the United States and they have none here.

Hon COLLETT asked if Mr. ROBINSON had any resolution to propose.

Hon Mr. ROBINSON said that it is not his reply to remarks that had been made by other hon gentlemen. The Hon ATTORNEY GENERAL said that the resolution of the hon gentlemen was misleading, was embarrassing, and would tend to complicate the question before the House, and proceeded to enforce a statement which he understood Mr. ROBINSON to have made as to what he would do as Chief Commissioner, but Mr. HANLEY, and himself on a previous occasion as to the right to control tariff being in the Province after Union.

Hon Mr. ROBINSON—Anyone who knows the history of the United States knows that if any question of dealing with the tariff law in any manner other than federal condition, it would be in reference to groups of states in lieu of single states. I say then that we must consider this as a group of Provinces of the Dominion. Many years will probably not elapse before we have a group of States distinguished as Pacific and Atlantic, or East and West and North and South, in the relationship of the Republic.

Hon Mr. ROBINSON—I rise to move a resolution. On the same as that proposed at the Year Convention by the hon member for Victoria District in 1867.

Hon Mr. ROBINSON and ATTORNEY GENERAL.—What Convention? We know of no Convention.

Hon Mr. ROBINSON—I have a perfect right to allude to what I please at the little Parliament we have. The resolution to which I propose is as follows:

Resolved, That the Hon Commissioner of Customs be authorized to negotiate with the Hon Commissioner of Customs of the United States, for the purpose of establishing a free port in the Dominion of this colony, and that the Hon Commissioner of Customs be authorized to make provision for the establishment of the same.

I am unwilling to find what a chance has come over the hon Mr. DeCromme since he changed his object as a rule of trade. He is becoming less capable of taking a statesmanlike view of these things than he was two years ago. I think by proving that the new council shall, after the declaration had it desirable, that a Free Port shall be established in the colony in, after all, the proper way. I cannot think that the House, with the small representative element that it has should be asked to decide this point. I say that the tendency of the Canadian Government is in the direction of free trade. (No, no, from hon Mr. DeCromme.) I say it is, and there is a speech of Sir G. E. Carter recently published, in which he says of the tendency of Canadian policy in regards free trade.

Now, please the great British Empire, and I published on this continent, the "Great Britain and I believe that all British men act as will be admitted free, if Great Britain has a free port in pushing forward this Empire, we will naturally exact some advantages, and we will naturally look for some immediate financial result. Every producer of labor in England is taxed upon the output; but transfer this to the Dominion and they will become producers of commodities. I believe that to be the first; but transfer that there should be a free port here, or a free port it would mean thus everything should necessarily be admitted free. There is no reason why local industries and especially the manufacturing should not continue to enjoy substantial protection. I believe the Canadian Government will readily realize the advantages of the policy of giving a free port to the Pacific. There could be no local industry developed in the provinces, so that the Atlantic could not object. Our free port would attract commerce and wealth to the nation which they could not possibly attract, and this would enrich the nation and really benefit all. I mean to say that the advantages would be local, the general advantages would

sub, therefore I think the time should be taken on another vote. The bill is not equally to Victoria and the other country, nearly the former is the lion's share; I know the other country pretty well, formerly the other side of the island of the north. This should not be made an island and Mainland question.

Hon D. HALLAM—Do not regard the subject as a joke. We have put 400 road on Vancouver Island, roads not one mile in length of the Mainland. Victoria gets the lion's share. I belong to a company who pay a large proportion. What do they propose in place of a road? Some one must pay it. Thirty thousand dollars per annum is required to keep roads in repair. If Victoria and Vancouver Island are more concerned with what is for the good of the colony, generally, than any part of the Mainland.

Hon M. HENNING—I rise to have to do with the bill, it is a number for Vancouver Island, it is a bill for the Mainland. I have always been a member of the part of Vancouver Island and I have been for the whole, and not for a part of the colony. I am in favor of the bill, as a member of the Mainland, and I believe that that to be more quiet, if the hon members for Westmorland and the whole of the island in relation to the Mainland would be better. I rise on the action of the hon member for Yale, it is a fact.

Hon M. HENNING—Vancouver Island has always made practical jokes if you please, but the Mainland is not.

Hon M. HENNING—I referred to the hon gentleman for Victoria, there is no bill for Vancouver Island. Yes, a road bill. (Hon J. HENNING.) As soon as the road is paid for the people of the Mainland will, in a happy return to pay my road bill.

Every line has been used as a threat against Confederation. I do not offer any suggestion, but I do not support the bill. I do not expect that you will have to contribute \$5,000 from the population of the other country. The hon member for Yale is in favor of Vancouver Island. The whole of the colony is paying large sums of money for the Mainland. The hon member for Yale is in favor of Vancouver Island members without consideration.

Hon M. HENNING—I hope the hon member, in view of the substance of the hon chief Commissioner, will vote so as to show the resolution to be wrong.

Hon A. HENNING—I do not express a contrary hope. The hon member for Yale and the hon member for Victoria. I do not expect that you will have to contribute \$5,000 from the population of the other country. The hon member for Yale is in favor of Vancouver Island members without consideration.

WEDNESDAY, 6th April.

The hon Attorney General, in the absence of the hon Colonial Secretary, Presiding Member.

On motion, the House resolved itself into committee of the whole, to receive and consider the message of His Excellency the Governor respecting the proposition made for the sending of a bill to the House.

Hon G. HENNING—I rise to move, that the bill be referred to a select committee of the hon members for the Mainland and the hon members for the other country.

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had enough of discontent, I say that, although respectable government is not strictly speaking, a condition it would be and permit the whole question.

Hon G. HENNING—Nothing would be easier than to forward the resolution by post to Canada. This has probably been done already, but to every one of the hon members I know there are numerous points requiring explanation, and to make these effective the presence of a delegate to our parliament, understanding the question and authorized to appear to be indispensable. I am inclined to think the names of the delegates are pretty well known, but I have no authority to mention them here. The resolution is on his own responsibility, and he does not ask the Council to share that responsibility. For what purpose should the Council be present? The Council will be present to ensure the interests of the colony. What those gentlemen will say on the subject of responsible government I am not prepared to tell you, but I tell you this, that no subject can be brought up and every other they will act with intelligence, with no discredit to those who are not in credit to us. I am ready at any time to throw them so far as that. I hope the Council will trust them as the Governor has shown himself ready to trust them. Every year there are expenses that cannot be provided for except by the supplementary estimates. This will doubtless be one of them. There will be no other vote for the year, that I know of, proposed on the account. If it is, it will be time enough to approve it when it comes. In the meantime you are simply to make the expenditure of a good sum of money for an object of infinite importance.

Hon M. HENNING—There is a highly curious deal struck up by the hon member for Victoria. I think there are some of these gentlemen bound on their own terms. I have a pretty good idea who the gentleman was, and I do not think they represent the people, especially in the matter of responsible government. I believe the Governor will not fairly and honorably, but I think he will not see a man who will be in a position to do so. My opinion is that the hon chief Commissioner, the hon member for Victoria and the hon Attorney General do not represent the people. Popular members will be not in a position to do so. I do not desire to mention names, I would merely suggest that the hon member be requested to select one of the delegates from the Mainland.

Hon G. HENNING—My views on responsible government have been most sincerely expressed, and I am ready to do so again, but I am astonished that after hon members have told us that the people are a well informed people, a very intelligent people, and that they should be asked to trust them, they should be asked to trust them. I am not in a position to do so. My opinion is that the hon chief Commissioner, the hon member for Victoria and the hon Attorney General do not represent the people. Popular members will be not in a position to do so. I do not desire to mention names, I would merely suggest that the hon member be requested to select one of the delegates from the Mainland.

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Hon CHIEF COMMISSIONER.—I must explain that I spoke from recollection. I was not in the House.

Hon MR HENSON.—I claim that the official members who voted against responsible government would be struck out. But if we allow them to be counted, there is still a majority of six to three of the representative members in favor of responsible government; explanation as is necessary. With regard to responsible government being in the hands of the new Council, members will, we may presume, be elected for four years; consequently the question will, in all probability, be postponed for four years. And I say that those who keep back responsible government will run a great risk of having Confederation debated at the polls. Some hon members may desire such a result. If so let us understand the course they are taking. With regard to the individuals going on the delegation, if we are to take the general rumor there is not one who will properly represent the Mainland. There are two recent converts, and one open opponent of Confederation, an imprudent and politically unprincipled enemy to Confederation, charged with some power, I won't say with the eleven hooded gentlemen, but with some power to defeat Confederation; the people will not be satisfied. It is extraordinary that the Governor should make such a selection, ignoring the whole Confederation party and the whole Mainland as a territory. I could not justify myself if I voted for his selection, which will virtually be voting for three Island members, two recent converts and one—(No, no from Mr. Helmcken)—well, I won't say it again. (Laughter.) I can understand a Government's selection at heart pursuing this course, but I cannot understand a Government that is true to the cause doing so.

Hon CHIEF COMMISSIONER.—Mr Chairman, hon members seem to be in position of fighting shadows in the dark. If they are wrong in their suppositions all the words that have been spoken today are blown away. I fully concur in what fell from the hon Collector when members who favor Confederation should be the last to object to the Governor's selecting members.

Hon MR HENSON.—We have faith in the streets of the Executive in the Executive Council. The only act that was in me and other Confederation was the appointment of the hon member for Victoria confederates at heart. I believe his Excellency to be a man of progress, and ask leave to sit again, so that the Governor may have the opportunity of sending down names, or at all events, of satisfying the Mainland that their interests, and those of the Government are cared for.

The motion to rise and report progress was lost.

Hon MR HENSON.—I think this debate, if it may be so called, is quite a called for and unnecessary. It is ridiculous to bring up the names of men who may possibly go to Ottawa and discuss them; it should not be allowed. It is waste of time and lungs. I had prepared a resolution that the terms should be sent by post, but I see that it would be vain to put it to the vote. If delegates go they

ought to be properly equipped. I shall not, therefore, oppose the vote.

Hon MR DUNSTON.—I agree with the hon member for Newcastle that this debate is waste of time. I think the Mainland will be reassured.

Hon MR DUNSTON.—I think it is not a question whether Island or Mainland is represented. We want the views of different parties represented, having out the Mainland and Island.

Hon MR HENSON.—I express a hope that the Government will not press a Government vote.

Hon ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I can inform hon members that I feel perfectly satisfied that the Governor will not send down names. The hon member who names the delegates has better information than myself, the House having given unanimous assent to the terms. No, no, I was the exception.—Hon MR DUNSTON.—At all events, it was passed by a majority, and so becomes the act of the Council, unable to refer to the Executive Council. If, must injure the faith in the world that the Governor has not Confederation truly at heart. The hon member for New Westminster says that I am a convert, and that I represent Victoria. I am glad that the old should be sorry that it should run in the other direction. The hon member for New Westminster has told us we cannot get responsible government but he would not consent to make it a vote against.

Hon MR HENSON.—I have never said that Confederation would be refused without responsible government.

Hon ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I have no doubt, I am not speaking from private knowledge, but I have no doubt that the delegate will be clothed with full power to discuss all the suggestions made on the matter. If responsible government is started by the Canada Cabinet, it will receive full consideration.

Hon HONESTY.—The people do not distrust His Excellency, and on this delegation they will endeavor to keep up the present system. I am satisfied that if the hon member named, were sent to Confederation is ill.

Hon CHIEF COMMISSIONER.—I believe that those who support Confederation are leaving the cause. I believe that if a consistent representative of Confederation from the Island, and one from British Columbia are sent on this delegation, with one member of the Government, such a delegation would carry confidence even if the terms were modified. I propose to vote for this resolution. I hope the delegates will be such as will give satisfaction. I intend that there are some who would add weight to that delegation, and I should not like to see office members left out.

The motion to rise and report progress was carried, only one vote being against it.

The motion of the Hon Chief Commissioner, Committee read and reported resolution passed.

House adopted resolution

Reported for the Government by

W. S. SEBRIGHT GREEN.

