HIST 1133 – Primary Source Analysis Essay 1

DUE 13 October 2010 IN CLASS

As outlined in the course syllabus, students are responsible for completing a primary source analysis essay for this course that is worth 10% of your final grade. The essay should be 5 double-spaced pages in length in standard 12-point font with one-inch margins. You will choose one from a limited list of essay questions and primary source documents. Please turn in a hard copy of your essay to the instructor at the beginning of lecture on October 13th and keep a digital copy for your records. Late assignments will be penalized one third of a letter grade per day (i.e., if one day late, a B paper receives a B-) up to a maximum of five days. Please consult the "General Rules, Policies and Expectations for Assignments and Participation" section of the course syllabus for further details.

Expectations for Essay Assignment:

Students are expected to write an essay that meets the following expectations:

- answers the essay question
- provides a clearly stated thesis
- provides evidence of critical thinking and analysis as well as synthesis of researched information throughout and presents a logical and persuasive argument
- utilizes the primary source document and reflects on the production of the primary source
- demonstrates knowledge of the historical context relevant to the question (based on secondary source research) and situates the primary source document within its historical context
- research sources are relevant and credible
- written clearly, using proper grammar and spelling
- clearly documents and cites sources using proper <u>footnote citations</u> and provides a properly formatted <u>bibliography</u> (Chicago Manual of Style footnotes)

Additional Guidelines:

- proofread your work (essays that have not been proofread will get a very low grade)
- have a friend review your essay
- do not use online sources unless obtained through Mount Royal Library eresources or other credible online source
- must include page numbers
- properly staple pages
- write about historical events, persons, and places in the **past tense**
- include name, course info, student number, essay question on first page
- avoid block quotes
- do not use contractions
- do not cite lectures

BC and Confederation (1871)

British Columbia joined the confederated colonies of British North America in 1871, becoming the sixth province of the Dominion of Canada on July 20th. Leading up to BC's Dominion Day, colonial authorities and the federal government entered into prolonged debate over what became known as the BC Terms of Union. Press coverage of this debate and various terms for BC's union with the rest of Canada differed in BC and Ontario.

This assignment includes four short newspaper articles from BC and Ontario newspapers as well as a copy of the BC Terms of Union from 1871.

Primary Source Documents:

Victoria Daily Standard, 27 April 1871 p. 2 "The Constitutional Objection"

Globe, 29 March 1871 p. 2 "Incorporation of British Columbia"

Globe, 30 March 1871 p. 2 "The British Columbia Resolutions"

British Colonist, 20 July 1871 p. 2 "Confederation Complete"

"Order of Her Majesty in Council Admitting British Columbia into the Union, 1871"

Additional Readings:

Conrad, Margaret and Alvin Finkel. *History of the Canadian Peoples: 1867 to the Present.* Volume 2. Toronto: Pearson Education, 2009.

- Ch. 2 – "Nation-building, 1867-1880"

Pass, Forrest D. "Agrarian Commonwealth or Entrepôt of the Orient? Competing Conceptions of Canada and the BC Terms of Union Debate of 1871" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 17 (1) 2006: 25-53.

Essay Question:

How did press coverage of the BC Terms of Union differ in BC and Ontario and why?

Victoria, Vancouver Island. COMMITTEE. Impo Sentinel and Guardian Copy. The Daily Standard. Lieut. H. T. Wright, R.N. C. E. Poolcy, Esq., Lieut. H. T. W. Lieut. E.S. Junes, R.M. L.I., A. Romo, Esq. CITY OF VICTORIA, B. C. STARTER-Licut. E. S. Innes, R. M. L. I. Thursday, April 27, 1871. Jupuzs-Chief Justice Begbie, Lieut E.C. Royse, R.N. ANNO TRICESIMO QUARTO VICTORIA REGINÆ. PROGRAMME. The Constitutional Objection. 100 yards flat,
 Blue Jackets and Marines, 200 yards, flat, Municipal By Law for Raising a Revenue Within the City of Victoria, B. C. In the debate on the admission of High Jump, Quarter mile flat, HENNE WE THE MAYOR AND COUNCIL-lors in Council convened by virtue of the power and authority by an Act entitled "The Victoria Munici-Potting the bhot Long Jump, 200 yards Hurdle Race, & flights, British Columbia, the construction of RUM the railway in ten years was the chief OLD TO pal Amendment Ordinance, 1849." 8. Throwing the Hammer,*
9. Muse Jackets and Marines, 14-mile flat, Whereas, it is exped at for the good government of the City of Victoria that an Annual Revenue be raised for objection urged by the Opposition. BOURB 10. Mne Flat Kace, CLARE Their next objection was to the represen-Municipal Purposes:

Ne it therefore enacted by the Mayor and Councillors
of the City of Victoria as follows: 11. Sack Maco. 12. Turce-Legged Race. tation granted to this Province. It was 13. 200 yards flat, 1. That from and after the passage of this By Law, 14. Blue Jackets and Marines 200 yords, Hurdle Race the general municipal revenue shall be raised, levied, and collected for the use of the Mayor and Council of the maintained, and certainly with some show 15. Consolation Stakes. SPARK of plausibility, that it was a violation of City of Victoria, from Such sources as are hereinafter pro-First, Victoria Directory and FINE H vided, viz. ; Owners of Real Estate in respect of such Estate includthe principle of representation recognized BURGU B. C. Guide. lug improvements thereon, within the city limits, Pursons carrying on any trade or business by wholesale INTHE PRESS AND WILL SHORTLY APby the Quebec Conference, and established by the fifty-second section of the pear, the above work for 1571, containing, in addiwithin the city limits. Persons carrying on any other trade, business or calltion to the usual matter, "Full Lists of every important Settlement in the Colony, Corrected till 1st April." Ad-"British North American Act, 1867." ing within the city limits. This section says: "The number of mem-Persons keeping horses for private use within the city vertisements intended for the above or names for insertien, will be in time till 30th inst. In view of approaching political changes and increased demand for the work bers of the House of Commons may be owners of all dogs running at large within the city from time to time increased by the Parin business circles, its value as an advertising medium SHERK 2. There shall be raised, levied and collected upon and cannot be overrated. Subscriptions respectfully solliament of Canada, provided the proporfrom all owners of real estate, including improvements thereon, within the city limits, except the real Estate SAUTE tionale representation of the Provinces E. MALLANDAINE, and unprovements thereon, that are exempted by the "Victoria Municipal Ordinance, 1867." an annual rate of one-third of one per centum on the market value Compiler and Publisher. prescribed by this Act are not thereby dis-BOKER turbed." Now, under this provision, each ANGOS TO LET. 3. There shall be levied on and from all persons carry-Province was allowed to send a member GOOD FAMILY RESIDENCE WITH A HOSTE ing on any trade or business by wholesale, an annual rete A Curden of 15 Acres well stocked with Choice Frut learing trees, beautifully situated on Pemberton Street (at the head of Fort Street) at present in occupato the House of Commous for every 20,-ORANG 4. There shall be levid on and from all persons carry-000 of its inhabitants. On that basis COCKT ing on any other trude, business or calling, an annual tion of WM. WILSON, Government Street, of whom parthis Colony ought to have a population ticulars can be had upon application. For the purposes of this By-law the term "Wholesale Trader" shall be held to mean Bankers, Proprieters of of 120,000, in order to be entitled to FREN , FARM FOR SALE. Express Officers, Auctioneers, Water Companies, Brewers, Gas Companies, Insurance Companies, Coal send six members. As it is, however, 100 ACRA SOF GOOD LAND, OF WHICH Seven acres are cleared, with 5,000 rails split every 2,000 white inhabitants will send Merchants, and all persons who sell articles in bulk or VERM unbreken packages and liquors under a wholesale license.

And all persons selling goods, wares, merchandize or other chattels other than as a wholesale trader, within a representative to Ottawa. With the and a part raised. There are also a good Log House and CURAC a good well of water on the premises. Balance of land Indian population and all others, we a good well of lightly timbered, lightly timbered, For further particulars apply at STANDARD OFFICE. MARA the city limits, shall be deemed liable to the payment of the annual rate of Sb; and all persons selling by whole-sale and retail shall be liable to the payment of both could not count up more than five or six ABSIN thousand inhabitants to each member. ANISE Hence, it is very apparent that the prin-VICTORIA FR≥NCH RELIEF FUND. 5. There shall be levied upon and from the owners of KIRCH all dega running at large an annual rate of \$2 for each ciple of representation established for CASSI 6. There shall be levied upon all persons keeping the Eastern Provinces has been departed LIST OF DONATIONS. ASSOR horses for their private use an annual rute of \$2 50 for from-we will not say violated-in a Sir James Douglas \$30 00 A Friend (W C) 10 00 7. From and after the passing of this By-Law the Municipal Assessment Roll made by the Municipal Coun-very marked degree, in admitting this country. Last year, Manitoba was adcil of the City of Victoria, and finally passed by the Court of Revision for the year 1871, shall be, and continue to be the Assessment Rull of the said city, subject to be al-tered and amended from time to time as by law promitted with four members,-although | Herbert, Capt. R.N. | 10 00 | Larbouno Mad. | 5 00 |
A Lady, a friend of	Bernaby R.	5 00
France.	20 00 Ward W C.	5 00
Harpur Esq.	25 00 Lowe, Stalschmidt&Co 10 00	
Degrensse, T.	5 00 Nathan II jr.	10 00
Cazahan H.	10 00 Donnell A J M.	2 50
A French Lady	5 00 J G.	5 00
A French Lady	5 00 J G.	5 00
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Canada	3 00	5 00 NAPO its population would not have en-BOUC titled that Province to one, if the S. The Municipal Assessment Roll may be inspected by any person at all reasonable times free of any charge whatever. VIVE. rigid rule of the "British America" SPECI Act, 1867," had been enforced. British 9. Any notice under this By-law required to be served on any owner of Real Estate; or other person in ruspect GRAP Columbia could not have had a member fassesments, or money due on account of assessments either, or not more than one, if the same under this By Law shall be served either personally or by BLOOD leaving the same, or (depositing it in the Post Office, in an enclosure, addressed to such owner or other person as atcressed), at his or her last known place of abode; rule applied. Hence, it is very apparent Reynolds F...... 20 00 Watson E...... 5 00 that neither of these Provinces could Stronss C...... 5 00 Screlle N..... 5 00 and in case such owners are unknown or cannot be tound BANC have been admitted in accordance with br aftizing a copy thereof at or on some conspicuous part CIDER of each town lot or other piece of hand or property in rethe 146th section of the Union Act,-if Cameusa M 20 00 Raymur, Capt 20 00 spect of which the assessment therein referred to shall the rigid rule of the 52d section were ap- have been made. 10. The person who, for the time being shall appear 1 110 Denove P

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tute even one electoral district for the property aforesaid, shall be deemed to be, and shall be Killoy P...... 5 00 Taylor H.,.... une and sufficient service of such notice. Lachwax...... 5 00 Reid W...... House of Commous. Sir - A. T. Galt, 11. The rate or tax on real estate shall be deemed to Todd J 10 00 King J maintained that the Territorial system of due on the 1st day of March, and shall be payable at the Huston G 5 00 Eckstein L 20 00 office of the Clerk of the Municipal Council on the four-Clair P '5 00 White E..... the United States was much preferable teenth day after the final passage of the assessment roll.

12. All the monse due under the provisions of this Byto that of Canada, as the Territories I aw shall be deemed to be payable half yearly (in advance), except in the case of Rate payers, who shall be were only admitted as States into the rated or assessed in a sum not exceeding two dollars and Union on an equality with other States fifty cents, per annum, and in such case the rate for tax shall be deemed to be payable in full in advance.

13. The monies to be collected in respect of the rates. when they had population enough to form a Congressional district. But or taxes levied under sections three and four of this By-Law, shall be deemed to be due on the 1st day of March, and shall be psyable at the Office of Clerk of the Municiwhether better or worse, we question pa. Cruncil, half yearly in advance, on the first Monday in March and on the first Monday in September, in cvery year, and in the event of any such payment being in arrear for the space of Thirty days whether British Columbia would have Claverio *5 00 Bagnall been willing to accept any such vassal-Tisset E..... 10 00 Promis G...... 5 00 age. The Manitobans rebelled against Macdonald W J 10 00 Driard S... 10 00 niter it shall shall due, the person or persons failing to pay shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty delears. 14. The monies to be collected in respect of the rates it,-and were only pacified by being placed as nearly as possible on an equal or taxes levied under sections ave and six of this By-law, shall be deemed to be due on the 1st day of March, and ity with the other. Provinces as circum-Guichen \$50 60 Un onfant des lueges 2 50 shall be payable at the Office of the Clerk of the Municipal stances admitted. In their case as well Countl on the first Monday in March, in every year. 15. If the Municipal rates or taxes in respect of real state hereby made payable, be not paid within, one catendar month after the day or days fixed for payment thereof as aforesaid, interest after the rate of twelve per centum per sanum shall thereupon attach, and be payable until the amount due with such interest be registered as in our own, we think that the Ottawa Government has acted a wise and liberal part in disregarding a more theoretical principle-no matter how good as apas a charge against the property assessed. plied to the Eastern Provinces,-in or-16. On and after the expiration of one year from the day of defeult as storesaid, the amount of such rate or tax, and also, the amount of any rate or tax now overder to give such a necessary represenone for a like period, and interest and cost of registra-tion may, on the application in writing, in the usual form of the Clerk of the Municipal Council, be registered as a tation to the Western Provinces as would meet the practical difficulties presented charge against the land in respect of which such rate or either by extent of territory or deficiency tax was payable. of population. The Manitoba Act has 17. From and after the date of registration as afore-said, the amount covered by any and every such charge had to be supplemented by an Imperial shall bear interest at the rate of Eighteen per centum Act to remove all doubts as to the legal per annum, and after the expiration of three years from such date, the land and property against which such charge has been registered, shall and may be sold by establishment of that Province, and to secure it in the possession of its exclupublic auction. 18. Any person or persons using any occupation, trade or business as specified above, and hable to pay a tive rights against any legislation of the rate or tax in respect of the same shall, previously to Dominion Parliament. Now, whether entering upon such business occupation or trade, obtain an Imperial Act will be necessary in our from the Clerk of the Municipal Council a Secupt for the amount for which he or they shall have bee. assessed, such beceipt to be in the form marked "A" in the case to get over the constitutional question respecting representation we know Schedule hereunto annexed. 19. Every person keeping a Horse or Horses within the thy limits for private use, who shall fail to pay to the Clerk of the Municipal Council yearsy in advance, not. We rather incline to the opinion that an order in Council, as provided in as aforesaid, the sum of \$2 50 for each and every Horse kept by him, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding the sum of \$25 00 for each and every such horse so kept the 146th section of the Union Act will be sufficient, whichever course may be 23. The Owner of any Dog allowed to run at large falling to pay the Clerk of the Municipal Council yearly to advance as aforesaid, the sum of \$2 tor each and every adopted, it is certain that our representation is secured; that it cannot be redog so owned by him, or permitting such dog to run at duced by Canadadian Parliament,- and large without the collar and tag or mark bereinafter recan only be increased after the census of forred to shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding \$10. 21. On payment of the rate or tax made payable by section five of this By-Law, the Clerk of the Council will furnish the owner of the deg or dogs in respect of which the rate or tax has been paid, with a receipt and, also, a 1581. But no increase is likely to take place unless our population at that date shall at least number one hundred and tag or mark, which must be attached by the owner there of to a collar placed around the neck of each dog.

22. The harborer of any dog for the space of one month shall be deemed the owner thereof. forty thousand,-and it is not very probable that we shall attain to it in the 23. In the construction of this By-Law words importing the singular number, or the masculine gender only, shall be understood to include several matters as well as next ten years.

the 146tu section of the Union Act,-if

the rigid rule of the 52d section were ap-

plied. Happily, the rigid theoretical

rule of representation has had to

be relaxed before a practical difficulty

-the deficiency of population to consti-

of each town lot or other piece of mind or property in re-

have been made.

spect of which the assessment therein referred to shall

10. The person who, for the time being shall appear on the Assessment Koll as the owner of any real estate shall, for the purposes of this By-Law be deemed to be

such owner; and if real estate shall not be assessed to

any person by name, or the owner aforeald shall not be known, or cannot be found, then the affixing the notice afore-sid, in manner aloresaid, at or on the lander other

Delatre 5 00 Coutlie A...... 10 00 Friend...... 5 00 Spence T....... 5 00 Mist Capt R N 5 00 De Nouviou 10 00 WHOLE Helmicken Dr 10 00: Boucherat 5 00 Grocers, Spront & Co...... 10 00 Sayward

Camsusa M 10 00 Raymur Capt 20 00

Felix J 1 00 Perow P

Sullivan II O 250 Fee.....

S...... 1 50 Faid G...

Felicien 2 50 Cosmopolitan.....

E...... 6 00 Lucus L... 5 00 Friend 1 00 MOUTHQUESNELLE.

Brown & Gillis 20 00 Rombrot C..... Pucy & Brown 10 00 Ginchen L.....

Colony of British Columbia, Vancouver Island. To Wit: COURT OF ASSIZE AND GENERAL

Gaol Delivery is appointed to be held on Tursday, 10th day of May, Proximo, at the Court House, Victoria, at the hour of ELEVEN in the forenoon, before the Hou Mathew Builtie Begbie and the Hon. Henry Pering Pellew Crease, Justices of the Lady the Queen, assigned to enquire, hear and determine all treasons, misprisons, felonics, misdeeds, offences and injuries, whatsoever and wheresoever within the said island committed, and also

to deliver all the Gaols and every the Gaul of Our Lady the Queen in the said island, Proclamation is therefore hereby made in conformity to a precept directing an delivered to me, to all persons bound to appear at the said Court by recognizance or otherwise, to appear thereat, all Justices of the Peace, Coroners, and other officers who have taken any inquisition or the examination of any prisoner or witness, are required to return such recognizance, inquisition and

examination to the said Court, at the opening thereof, on the first day of its sitting.
Given under my hand at the Sheriff's Office.

Victoria, on the 22nd day of April. A. D. 1871.

H. T. MANN & CO'S

PRICE LIST. Second Quality...... 60 00

Owner Manufactured out of Island Leather, 50 00

Third Quality...... 55 00

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Thursday Morning, July 20, 1871.

Confederation Complete. To-day British Columbia passes peacefully and, let us add, gracefully into the confederated empire of British North America. Perhaps it would be more proper to put it thus: To-day the confederated empire of British North America stretches to the shores of the Pacific, 'whose limpid waters,' to quote the poetic language of Mr J Spencer Thompson, leave in baptismal welcome the brow of the new-born Province which forms the last link in the transcontinental chain-the last star in the constellation which is destined hereafter to shine so brightly in the northern hemisphere.' To-day the great scheme of Confederation in British North America may be regarded as practically complete. It is true that two islands of the Atlantic (Prince Edward and Newfoundland) still stand aloof. But Confederation can get on without them much better than than they can get on without it. They will soon be found sucing for a union they have thoughtless ly spurned. To-day British Columbia and Canada join hands and hearts across the Rocky Mountains, and John Bull the younger stands with one foot on the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific-with his back to the North Pole and his face looking southwardhow far we will not now venture to predict. Let the larger political union which we celebrate to-day be symbolic of a union of parties, of purpose and of action. Let the people of this Pacific Province accustom themselves to think of the Dominion as a second edition of Great Britain, and let all learn to regard each other as a band of brothers upon whom has devolved the bonor and the responsibility of laying the foundations of empire. There is a feeling in the minds of some that the day which celebrates the nuptials of British Columbia and Canada at the same time celebrates the di-voce of the former from the parent empire, and this feeling may tend to damp the en-thusiasm of such as are the subjects of it; and this leeling may tend to damp the enturism of such as are the subjects of it; and woreadily confess that, did any ground for the idea exist, we would sympathise with the feeling it is calculated to beget. Not only is there no ground for the idea, but the reverse is actually true. Instead of the nnion we celebrate weakening those bonds which connect us with the parent empire, it will impart additional strength and vitality to them. It will release us from the red tape and sealing-wex of Downing street, it is true—but then, it will draw us nearer to the throne. It will do more. It will draw together all the peoples of British North America into one common brotherbood and beget a national seatiment, a sentiment more truly British than would be compatible with isolation and discontent. Let the union we celebrate be suggestive of a drawing together, a harmonising and a nationalising of all those sometime discordant elements which have culminated in local faction; and while joining hands with Canada in the grand and patriotic work of building up a second British Empire on this continent, let us join hands among curselves in a friendly but firm resolve to begin our new political life a united and harmonious band for the purpose of making British Coband for the purpose of making British Co-lumbia—what Nature designed her to be— the Queen Province of the Dominion. With one common nationality, one common interest, one object should now actuate every heart

and obliterate all those lines created by the factions of the past. "There is a tide in the affairs of men Which, taken at the flood, lead s on to fortune," Promising and Performing. We all remember how common was the expression a little more than a year ago, 'If Canada would give us su h terms as these, Confederation would undoubtedly be a good.' Canada has given us 'such terms as these' and better. Now doubters of the same class say, . If Canada will only do all she has promised, Confederation will be a grand thing for us.' Now, we contend that this implied doubt of bona fides on the part of Canada is unfairit is more; it is absalutely illnatured. It comes of prejudice arising from sheer ignorance of Canada and the full import of the great scheme she is now so earnestly and successfully engaged in carrying out. But what have we seen? We have seen Canada entering from both oceans upon the great work of the railway-sonding surveying parties in from Lake Superior on the one hand and from the Pacific on the other; and this has actually been done before British Columbia has been admitted, so impatient has Canada been to fulfil her engagements. And this is not only true respecting the greatest work of all, the railway, but it is also true of the geo-logical servey. Here we have the geological party amongst us, all ready ganized and equipped. And so, we heal-tate not to predict, it will be to the end of the chapter. Canada has acted in good faith. She is thoroughly in earnest, and she means to fulfil her every engagement, not as a matter of honor only, but of necessity. She promised what she did to British Columbia less because British Columbia demanded it than because the interests of Confederation demanded it; and she will fulfil her engagements faithfully and well for the selfsame reasons. It is ungenerous, it

is unwise, therefore, to entortain, much

more to express, doubts about the good

faith of Canada.

New Advertisements.

NOTICE.

MKJIBERS OF BRITISH COL-umbia Lodge, EB, are hereby summoned to an energeacy meeting at 1 p in on Friday, 21st Ind., at Masonic Hall, to attend the funeral of our deceased brother James Orr. Members of sister lodges and solourning brethron in good standing are cordially invited to attend. Jy20

I. O. O. F.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF
Columbia Lodge, No 2, are hereby notified
to attend at two lodge room on Friday, the
funeral of our late Brother James Orr.
Members of Victoria Lodge, No 1, and visiting Brethera are respectfully invited to attend.

By order of the N G,
W MARRISON, R S.

FIREMEN, ATTENTION

WOU ARE HEREBY REQUESTed to assemble in uniform at your respective Engine Houses at 1½ o'clock p m sharp the funeral of Mr James Orr, late Foreman of Tiger Engino Co, No 2.

SIMSON DUOK.

Chief Engineer,

THE OPPICERS AND MEMBERS OF UH&LC and Deluge Co are respectfully invited to attend the funeral of Mr James Orr, late Foreman of Tiger Englis Co, No 2.

Power of Attorney.

MR ROBERT PLUMMER, OF VICTORIA Attorney during my absence from Victoria. All claims against me are requested to be sent to him. Jy20 W CROBINSON.

Power of Attorney.

MR ROBERT PLUMBER, OF VICTORIA, A British Columbia, Auctioneer, holds my Power of Attorney during my absence from Victoria. 1920 JAMES SANSBURY SMI.H. LOST.

ONSATURDAY LAST, ON THE Esquimatt or Craighower road, a scored act rior Dog, answering to the name of 'Billy,' crson returning him to the Adelphi Saloon, Vio will be suitably rewarded and no questions asked

500 BOXES

Smith, Lucy & Co's

CELEBRATED

PALE SOAP 20 lbs and 50 lbs each.

FOR SALE LOW BY

R. F. PICKETT & CO.

Alhambra Hall.

Friday & Saturday Evening, JULY 21st and 22d.

Mme. Fernestello. GREAT FEMALE CONTORTIONIST,

-AND-Nickerson's Minstrels.

Particulars on Friday.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

PIONEER SOCIETY'S FIRST ANNUAL

PIC NIC

Will take place on

SATURDAY, the 12th of AUGUST. Particulars will appear in a few days.

St. Nicholas Hotel,

GOVERNMENT STREET, This Establishment

Is now Open for the Reception of Guests And is recommended to the Traveling Public as a

FIRST-CLASS HOTEL

THE ROOMS HAVE ALL BEEN

REFURNISHED,

CLEANLINESS AND GOOD ORDER

APARTMENTS will be let by the DAY, WEEK MONTH, at a Great Reduction from Former (* tes, and Traveler are requested to inspect the Hotel before seek gin accommodation clausehers. J. FRIED,

jy20 1 m

Is Coming!

'AND WILL EXHIBIT

VICTORIA

-ON-

Friday and Saturday, July 28th and 29th.

Particulars to-merrow.

Electric Enameling, FOR FURNITURE OF ALL KINDS,

It Cleans and imparts a Newness Instantly Without Injury.

FOR SALE BY T. P. WOODWARD. AT THE ORIENTAL HOTEL.

At Fifty Cents ver Bottle DIRECTIONS GIVEN WITH EACH BOTTLE.

CORNS AND BUNIONS CURED BY FOUR APPLICATIONS

This is the best thing ever offered to the Public and no Humbug!

New Advertise

THE

Mechanics Institute

WILL HOLD A

PICNIC

GROVE. MEDANA'S

Thursday, 20th July.

When the day will be Celebrated by a

Variety of Amusements IN HONOR OF THE OCCASION, PROGRAMME:

Salute at 1 p m. Address on Confederation at 3.

Dancing throughout the day and evening Foot Races and other sports An efficient Band will be in attendance A renowned Fortune Teller is also expected

Grand display of Fireworks at 9 p m

at 10 p m.

The Piano will be railled at 5 o'clock if all the tickots are disposed of. Tickots for sale on the grounds.

ABMISSION—\$1; Boys, 50 cts; Ladies, free Tickots to be had at Hibben & Cos, or from any mempor of the Committee.

bor of the Committee.

Hefreshments will be supplied by Mrs McDonell and Mr Moss will farnish confectionery, &c.

EDWIN JOHNSON, Hon. Sec. Jy 12

Desirable Investment for a Business Man.

AN HOTEL AND GENERAL STORE A doing an excellent business within an RANT DETACES of the City, in one of the best farming districts of the Island, is offered for sale at a BARGAIN, owing to the population having to leave for Europe.

The Hotal has every accommedation, and the 'Block of Goods can be but, if desired, at a fair discount.

Possession can be given at any time.

ods can be firm, as a by the sees of can be given at any time.

For particulars apply to HEISTERMAN, Land Agent, Laugley at.



A LL PERNONS HAVING CLAIMS
A against the Land and Works Department for Goods
supplied on account of Lighthouses. Public Works or
survey, are requested to durains asme on or before the
10th instant or they will be subject to dissallowance.

B W. PEARSE.

Lands and Works Department } Bank of British Columbia

(Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1862)

CAPITAL, - - \$2,500,000 WITH POWER TO INCREASE.

DIRIGUTORM—T W. L. MACKEAN, FSq., (Director London and South African Bank,) Chairman. Robert Gillswig, Fsq. (London Director of the Bank of Montreal) Decury Chairman.

JAMES ANDRESON, Esq., (Messre. Anderson Anderson

EDEN COLVILLE, ESQ., (Director Hudson's Bay Co.)
MARTIN R. SMITH, ESQ., (Messrs. Smiths, Payne &
Smiths, Payne & HEAD OFFICE.

EAST INDIA AVENUE, LEADENHALL STREET, LONDON, ENGLAND. BRANCHES-VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

PORTLAND, OREGON, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

CANADA and NEW YORK The Bank of Montrea

The Bank receives Deposits, sells Erchange, purchase builton, and transacts a Goderal Banking Susiness.

Victoria, B. C., July 14th 1871.

STR-20 WW Berries

RIPE STRAWBERRIES!

THE CELEBRATED STRAWBER-I rice from the well known Gardens of Mr Wm Clark soon, New Westminister, received by every steamer and for sale in 4, 5, 6, 8 and 10 ib boxes by WM GIRSON. je27 Family Grocer, cor. of Yates and Douglas ats

Mule Team for Sale.

I SN OR TWEEVE MULES WETE TW or three Wagons will be sold cheap for cash, or or or three Wagons will be sold cheap for caah, or me by giving good security. Apply to P. MOREN, my28 2md&w Spence's Bridge

MONEY TO LOAN

AT LOW RATES ON FIRST CLASS

Recurity, repayable by installments

Housea and Farms to be Let

Town and Country Property for Sale on easy Terms of Prochase

THOS ALI SOL, Lend Agent, ap16 3m*

Coverement street near F

In the Supreme Court of British Col-

umb a. Re the Bankruptcy Act, 1862, and in the Mat-ter of David Cameron a Bankrupt.

THE HANKRUPT HAVING PASSED
bls second examination, notice is beauty as the

bis second examination, notice is hereby—ven that plus tion will be made to this Honorable Cours at the bourt H. use, James Bay, Yictoria, at the hoar of twelve Clock noos, on Wednesday, the 9th day of angust next, and behalf of the abovenamed bankrupt, for his Order of Discharge.

ROBERT BISHOP, Solictor to the Bankrupt, Dated this 12th day of July, A D 1871.

Jy16

Claret! Claret! Claret!

URING THE SUMMER SEASON PROMIS & SAUNDERS, JOHNSON STREET,

Will Retail their celebrated PrellerClaret my16 6m At \$1 per Gallon, or \$3 per Case.

The Good Time Coming is Almost Here!

TE YOU WANT A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH, SU-CRAIGG'S GALLERY, THEATRE BUILDING,

The only Gallery supplied with KURTZ'S PATENT CONICAL BACKGROUND for producing Rembrands PRICES MODERATE

New Advertisements.

GENERAL ABSTRACT owing the average amount of LIABILITIES and ASSETS of the Bank of British Columbia, within the Colony of British Columbia and its dependencies, taken from the several Weekly Statements for the Quarter ending

LIABILITIES

I, William Ourtis Ward, do hereby declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief the foregoing Statement is a true and faithful account of the average amount of the Assets and Liabilities within this Colony, of the Bank, during the period specified, and that the same was made up from the weekly statements thereof, kept in pursuance of the provisions of "the Banking Act, 1804."

WM. C. WARD, Manager.

Declared before me at Victoria, B. C., this 6th day of July, 1871.

176

(Signed)

A. F. PEMBERTON, S. M.

.. \$324,989 36

VICTORIA, B. C., 30th June., 1871.

Dentistry.

NOTICE ... DENTISTRY.

C. FRANCIS BARNARD, M. D.

SURGEON DENTIST.

DR, BARNARD WILL HAYE
pursued his vocation of Dentistry in Viccorfe Five Years next August, and humbly solicits a portion of the public patron
age for the coming decade.
We cheerfully add br. B's Card to our columns,
convinced that his good taste and judgment, united
to natural skill and ingenuity, locreased by an
extensive practice of upwards of thirty years,
render his services more valuable and reliable than
those of any other Dentist on the Sound, Coast or Island.

land.

Br. H's large experience may be readily seen in the happy and natural expression given his patrons by his lifetike insertion of tull sets, or the partial remedying of natures loss and deficiencies.

Patience and gentioness are the governing principles of the Bostor's office.

of the Doctor's office.
See his case of typedimen Work in Mr Roberts' window
first store north of London House.
OFFICE AND EXEMPLY LONDON TEACH DOUGH SEE STORE, DESCRIPTION OF THE STORE AND MISSION OF TEACH DESCRIPTION OF THE STORE AND THE SECOND OF THE

A CARD.

PR MILLS HOWDEN.—THROUGH THE MEdium of the Colonist want to state the very great
good that has been doee me by you. One year aged was
unfortunate enough to less my palate. I tried many percons without beneficial effect until I went to you, when
I was amplied with an attificial palate which has given
entire satisfaction. I rectimend say person similarly
affected, or requiring anything in the Dental line, to call
upon you.

Respectfully,
my6 1m

C. HERBER.

T. J. Mills Bowden,

DENTALSURGEON

For Wholesale Trade

MANIFEST OF

BARK ROBERT JONES.

FOR

J. H. TURNER & CO

Wharf and Government streets.

10 Coses DRESS GOODS & FLANNELS

8 Cases CLOTHING

1 Case MILLINERY

1 Case FELT HATS

QUILTS

1 Case PERFUMERY

1 Cask SAFETY FUSE

I Case BABBITS METAL

2 Cases GALVANIZED IRON

18 Dozen IRON BUCKETS

2 Casks LEAD PIPE

FANCY GOODS

2 Cases METALLIC ANTIMONY

FOR SALE

BY THE UNDERSIGNED.

Ex Late Arrivals

IRON, in bars, rods, sheets, hoops, &c, al

STEEL, toe, cock, pick, &c TINNED & ENAMELED SAUCEPANS

HORSE SHOE IRON, best brands

FILES, BORAX, ANVILS, VICES

And a great variety of General Hardware

St Nicholas Skating Rink

AFTERNOON SESSIONS

WILL BE SET APART EXCLUSIVE.

LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN

INSTRUCTIONS will be given by Mr Ames to new be

ALFRED FELLOWS,

14 & 16 YATES STREET.

HORSE and MULE SHOES

SPRINGS, elliptic and side

AXLES, all s'zes

BRUSHWARE

SPADES & FORKS

MANILLA ROPE

BEAVER TRAPS

LEAD PIPE

WHITE LEAD

Accompanying them.

Heurs-From 2 to 5 pm.

TIN PLATE & ZINC

GALVANIZED IRON

2 Cases BUISCUITS & PROVISIONS

PAINTINGS

5 Cases COTTON GOODS

6 Cases HABERDASHERY

1 Case LINENS

2 Cases BAGS

1 Case

1 Case

10 Slabs TIN

8 Slabs ZINC

4 Casks ZINO

6 Cases STEEL

445 Bars IRON 45 Bdls IRON

DR TJMILLS BOWDEN WILL cave by the Enterprise on Thursday next and will be absent several weeks. 1916

For Sale—To Let—To Lease.

FOR SALE.

THAT WELL-SITUATED BUSINESS
I Properly known as the lies live, having a frontage
of about 51 tenthers on Bread street, by 75 feet on
Fort street, complete wow-story frame house and two
one-story brick storess whose story me house and two
new occupied by J Weller at a rental of 250 per month.
This property olders a fine opportunity to partice seeking
an investment.

Apply to

Real Estate Agent, Government atreet.

FOR BALE OR TO LET.

FOR SALE OR TO LET.

THE COMMODIOUS FAMILY RESIdecessors as "loss hay Cottege," and in the
occupies know on s." loss hay Cottege," and in the
occupies and brawing family and three bressing Rooms.

Brooms, With two good Kitchen elements of brawing family and three bressing family
bearing fruit trees and just plants for the summer cropthe whole embracing about five acres of land adjoining
the sea shore, with an excitent road to town.

For particulars apply to

Government street, Victoria.

FOR SALE.

THAT EXCELLENT AND COREMODI.

The set twentery I welling House riturted on Bird Cage walk, James Bay, late in the occupation of Capt Cooper with good well of water, stable, coach house and convenient offices. The property is freehold, having a frontage of 50 feet on Bird Lege Walk with a depth of 110 feet. For particulars apply to

To be Let, Furnished 6-ROOMED HOUSE ON PANDORA STREET
Apply to T. ALLSO!, Land Agent,
Government street near Fort.

NOTICE.

WANTED TO PURCHASE FOR CASH

OLD IRON HORSE SHOES & NAILS

OLD TIRE & TRACK IRON

BLACKSMITH'S SCRAPS

OLD BOILERS & PLATES

OLD ANCHORS & CHAINS

-ALSO-

Figure of J T GREENMAN, at the office of J P David Co, Wharf street, Victoria, B C.

THE HIGHEST CASH PRICE PAID FOR

WOOL, SHEEPSKINS,

L. & J. Boscowitz, Wharf Stree

EX ROBERT COWAN.

ORANGES
BANANAS
COCOANUTS

TOWNSEND'S MARKET,

MR. HELMCKEN

MAV BR CONSULTED AT RESS OFFICE Victoria between the hours of 9 and 12 n the mor, ning rat his esidence, James Bay, in the evening.

JUST RECEIVED,

Ex ROBERT JONES,

FROM LONDON.

MALT VINEGAR, in cases and 2 gal, jare

CANDIED PEEL, Orange, Lemon & Citron

CURRIE POWDER, in 1/2 and 1/8 pints

WORCESTERSHIRE SAUCE, Lea &

-OPLA-

Ex Robert Cowan &

Camden, im S. I.

EX PRINCE ALFRED, from S. F.

And a general assortment of GROCERIES which I offer to the trade at the Lowest Market Rates.

WANTED.

ARTHUR STRONG,

GENERAL CONTRACTOR AND DUST MOVER, CESSPOOLS

JULES RUEFF,

TO PURCHASE A YOKE OF good, well-trained WORK OX KN.
Application, staring age, weight and term to be addressed 'A B' and sent to the Office of

LIVERPOOL SALT, coarse and fine

TAYLOR'S MUSTARD, in 161b tins

FINE TURKEY FIGS, in tins

SAGO and TAPIOCA, in tine

SUGARS, Nos 1 and 2 MOLASSES, No 1

LAYER RAISINS

his journal. July 10th, 1871.

OHINA RICE, No 1

FURS, MIDES,

0.12 T

AND CALPSKINS.

OLD RAILS & BARS

OLD HEMP ROPES

OLD COPPER, &c.

PINE APPLES

ROBERT BURNABY.
Land Agent, Government street.

Total amount of Assets .

\$674,583 11

STAGES

Drive the Best Stock !

'Have Most Competent Drivers !

Do the Largest Business !!!

LOSS OF TIME WITH THE STEAM-

Leave Victoria - - Fridays - - 10 a.m. Yale - - - Mondays - - 6 a.m.

RETURNING

Arrive at Yale, Thursdays - - . 6 p.m. Arrive at Victoria, Saturdays - - 4 p.m

REMEMBER THIS

Travelers by the Fast Line save

from \$10 to \$20 Expenses by not loittering on the road as others do. EX "CAMDEN,"

FROM HONOLULU.

OFER FOR SALE THE FOLLOWING

IN BOND OR DUTY PAID.

Wailuka do do Libue do do Wailuku, No 2 do

PUMPKINS LIMES, &c. 4 Commercial Row, July 10, 1871. ISLAND FRUIT IN GREAT VARIETY.

FORT STREET, next oor to Folf & Finlayson's.

A good supply of POULTRY of all descriptions always to hand and GAME in searon.

1913

PINE APPLES. BANNANAS,

PEARS,

SUGARS.

Por sale in lots to suit Purceheers by

SUGARS &

MRS. R. W. TURNER MILLINER AND DRESSMAKER.

on the most reasonable terms.
Instructions given in Cutting and Fitting Breezes. Skirts, Saques, Barques, &c, by the 'atest improved and best Diagrams now in uso. Ladies wishing tears the art -aould do well to call and see the diagrams by which means they can be taught in a week the work of months.

New Advertisements.

SUMMER ARRANGEMENT!

Make the Best Time!

Use the Best Coaches! !!

ERS AT EACH END.

Arrive at Barkerville on Friday following at - - - 6 p.m.

I cave Barkerville, Mondays - - 6 a m.

Four Days Ahead

Lowe Stahlschmidt & Co

SUGARS TROPICAL FRUITS.

Waihee, No 1 in kegs

East Maui, No 2, in bags

FRUIT! FRUIT!

To Arrive Per North Pacific, 25 BOXES

PEACHES,

FOR PALE BY P. CRANOVELLI,
Johnson Street

FROM HONOLULU.

BEST QUALITY.

J ROBERTSON STEWART, Wharf street

AND BRIG ROBERT COWAN.

NOS. 1 AND 2, JANION, RHODES & CO.

North Park street near the Catholic Church.

Barnard's

Carry Most Passengers!!!

H. M. MAILS.

Koloa, Nos 2 & 3, io bags and mate

APPLES.

PLUMS

EX "CAMDEN."

VARIOUS GRADES: MOLASSES.

Ex Bark CAMDEN

MOLASSES

OUTTING AND FITTING DONE

CLEANSED AT THE SHORTEST NO.
tico. Regular days for moving dast—Tucedays,
Thursdays and Saturdays. Is prepared to do all kinds
of job work in his line at reasonable rates.
Orders left at Issae Johnson's in Trounce Alley will of job work in his line at reasonable rates.

Orders left at leaso Johnson's in Trounce Alley will be promptly attended to Residen e, Discovery street, next door to Victoria pp

Jya

Brewery.

of job work in his line at reasonable rates.

by which means they can be taught in a week the work of ments.

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AND GUARANTEE TO CONNECT WITHOUT

The Globe.

TOBONTO, WEDNESDAY, MAROH 19 INCORPORATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

people of this Province, the volunteers The Government scheme for the admight have been condemned and disbandmission of British Columbia into the ed and brought back like oriminals, with-Canadian Dominion was prepounded last night in the House of Commons. We beg all our readers to give the debate a careful perusal; and we think they will one and all rise from it with the convicshould understand at once that the Engtion that the scheme itself is utterly inlish-speaking portion of the inhabitants defendble, and the manner of introduof Canada are not going to "stand the offensive monsense" very many of them cing it to the House so weak as to be have been indulging in about this Northonly worthy of ridicule. West business for the past eighteen months.

There are in British Columbia from 50,000 to 60,000 souls—composed, as Sir George Castler naively remarked, "whites, Chinese, and Indians!" population all told is less than that of the city of Toronto. But to induce this handful of people-2,500 miles off, with a wilderness between-to come into the the Ottawa Government has bound itself to pay them annually from the Dominion theat \$526,000 per annum -or ten dollars annually for every man, trary. scoman and child in the country !- and to build them a railway across the continent, to be commenced within two years and finished within ten, at a cost of \$100,-000,000 !! The said trifling sum to be obtained by making over to a railway their sins, it could hardly have brought company 50,000,000 acres of land, and with it a heavier load of humiliation and disgrace than they have wantonly and granting it a cash subsidy of over a milrecklessly incurred in connection with llou of dollars per annum! the transfer of the Territory to British

Now, it is hardly necessary for us say that we desire as much as any one the incorporation of British Columbia as a member of the Canadian Confederation -and that we desire to have a Rollway but from Halifax to New Westminster at the earliest moment consistent with discretion. But without any precise knowledge of the country, without a survey, without even a professional estimate of the cont without the slightest idea where traffic could be got for years to come to keep the road open-to bind ourselves blindfold to so enormous ar undertaking. would, it appears to us, be deliberate

If the people of British Columbia choose to come into the Union, trusting that for our own interest and theirs we will build a railway to the Pacific the moment we are able to undertake it, and see a prospect of finding traffic-good and well. But if they must have a definite promise that whether the tide of immigration flows into the North-West or not-whether there seems a prospect of large traffic or small trafficwhether the country is found practicable | " Queen sees fit to approve, subject to for a railway or not-whether the cost shall be one hundred or two hundred nullions—or whether we are in a position to stand the burden or not, -well then the demand is entirely unreasonable, and ought, at all hazards, to be rejected.

THE METIS AND THE ONTARIO **VOLUH TERR**S

M. Royal and the conductors of Noureau Mende are beginning to discover that the clamour they have raised for the recall of the Ontario Volunteers from Red River has been a great mistake. It has in the time-honoured phrase been "worse than a crime, it has been a blunder," and accordingly those who were most active in the whole proceeding are now ready to repudiate their own handlwork. The and entered the Confederation: latest remarks in La Minerce on the subject are to the following effect :--

"We have fust received important news from Red River. The reports of troubles in that quarter, which a few days ago went the round of the papers, have turned out to be false, but there has been very great excite- from the several provinces confeder-ment. Dr. Schultz is going to be elected, ated by the British North America Act. and letters from prominent gentlemen, whose words bear weight, say that the letters pubilebed in Le Nouveau Monde have brought this round. The moderate men among the English, who had decided on voting against him, have become so indignant at the fanati-cism of those articles that they have decided to support Schultz. Those articles have done so much barm that M. Royal has been chinged to disavow them, and publicly to con-demer Le Nouveau Monde. Indeed, it has been found necessary to do even more than this for, in order to counteract the effect of these letters, which demanded the expulsion of the Oniscie volunteers, a public meeting has been held at 84. Roulface to petition for their comingance. This meeting was made up of Franch Canadian Metis, and was held as the house of Mr. Louis Thiebeault on the 26th of February at seven c'clock in the everings: Jose Mayer, Em., J. P., being in the good faith of a de facto settleme chatroon, and Mr. Louis Lepage acting as made and sanctioned by what would secretary. The following resolutions were adopted:— Proposed by Mr. L. Talabeault, and seconded by Mr. Jean Bie, Bruce, That the inhabitants in the district of Selkirk having every confidence in Depald A. Smith, Eq., to represent that part, of the country in the Commons of Canada, pledge themselves to do everything in their power to secure his election." 'Proposed by Mr. John Bruce, seconded by Mr. Galarneau. That this meeting has

learned with regret the resolution taken by the Canadian Government to withdraw the troops stationed here for the purpose of assisting in the establishment of a stable and permanent, government in the Province, and to recall them at a time when they are still able to do so much to subserve the purpose for which they came." Proposed by Mr Daniel Carriere, and

seconded by Mr. Charles Genton,-That this meeting has noticed with equal regret the imputations thrown out by certain journals agrifus those troops, the large majority of whom have always conducted themselves in such a way as to entitle them to the orteem and gratitude of all the inhabitants of | n the usual manner, praying Her Majesty

and seconded by Mr. J. Btc. Persuit,- No one but the most stupid or infatuated clause declares has already been done

"That a polition based on the foregoing residutions, and signed by the President and Secretary of this meeting, be transmitted to the Government of Canada through the hands of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor." With tearcely an exception the whole French viess of the Province of Quebec has for months past clamoured for the recal of these volunteers, and this is the answer which comes back from under the very ahadow of Bishop Tache's own palsee. We chould think that this

it remarked, at the very moment-knew such a measure as this under the advice of the Government of the Queen. Its coupled with similar resolutions which members know little or nothing of the have been adopted at public meetings of wishes or interests of the people of the the English speaking inhabitants of Rad Dominion; and yet the clauses of the Bill River, should be more than sufficient to might bind Canada for all time to terms zilence all the bitter alanders which have that her representatives if first consulted been indulged in against our gallant Oawould have refused to assent to. What tario lade, and that the Government will guarantee was there, for instance, that think well before they disband those Riel and his guilty confederates might not troops a moment cooner than the state of have been indemnified against all pains the country renders safe and desirable. and penalties for their crimes? If the Both French and English at Red River deerccate their disbandment now. should the English House of Commons is for the Government to determine and with it lies the responsibility, There may be good and sufficient reasons the national feeling and sentiment if Sir for the step proposed; but if it is taken George Cartier and his weak co-Premier at all on account of the outery that has been raised in Lower Canada by M. Royal and auch verscious scribes, it may be well for our authorities to reconsider | 16th inst:heir resolution when the true character the Covernor-General in Council; and was imof those clamours and their authors come mediately sent to the Imperial Parliament to be fully known, as it now is. The Imperial Government was asked to pass

Some of the Ministerialist papers in Ontario have been very indignant at us for translating those offensive letters-

resolutions asserting the constitutional much more so indeed than they were at the principle which had been violated by the letters themselves and have said that it Manitoba Act; and, on Thursday isst, was a pity they had not been le's in their Mr. Blake brought the question before native obscurity, without any of the prothe House in a practical form. His resople of Ontario or Red River knowing anything about them. We have thought | lutions, after reciting the terms of the British North America Act, and the steps very differently; and the result shows taken to admit the North-west Territories that we have been right. The peointo the Union, went on to say :-fair play ; but fair play they are deter-

Ontario want nothing

It's just as well that our French friends.

from Le Nouveau Monds to La Mineres,

We claim no exclusive right to any part

of that North-West on behalf of our fel-

low provincials, but if it is thought that

a few thousands of people, whether French

or English speakers, are to be arbiters of

the destiny of all that wide fair territory,

because their fathers, and not they, hap-

pened to be among the first immigrants.

all and no special favours to any, is all we

have ever insisted upon, and that we are

bound to have, whatever Meesrs, Royal,

Clarke, Lepins, &c , may say to the con-

ANOTHER EUMILIATION.

ted for the simple purpose of punishing

the Macdonald-Cartler Administration for

rule and its incorporation in the Do-

minion. We need not on the present oc-

casion go back further than the passing of

ceived Manitoba into the Union on an

"It shall be lawful for the Queen

says the Act, "on address from the

" Houses of Parliament of Canada, to ad-

"the addresses expressed, and as the

"THE CONDITIONS OF THIS ACT." Now,

the British North America Act being the

result of Imperial Legislation, it is clear

that neither could the Causdian Parliament

lawfully embody in an address to the

ance with the "conditions of the Act."

constituted on the faith

Manitoba Act of 1870:

elected representatives who at any

Ottawa and claim their seats. The people

of Manitoba had, at all events, acted in

legality of the Act, and it was obviously

most undesirable to shake their confidence

in the good faith of a de facte settlement

the future be their national Parliament.

At the opening of the session, in reply

to a question from Mr. Mackenzie, Sir

John A. Macdonald acknowledged the

force of the arguments employed by Mr.

Mills, the member for Bothwell last year,

against the legality of the proceedings

then taken. Sir John suggested that the

was for the House to address the Crown

f Ministers would have dreamed of ad-

vising the Executive to act on its own :

sponsibility and to ask the Colonial office

to pass a Bill through the Imperial

Houses of the substance and contents

of which the Parliament here-sitting, be

The British Parliament must accept

"A draft of a Bill had been approved by

House be the master last someth."

moment might present themselves

equal footing with her predecessors.

mentary system.

Nothing can more clearly prove the

total absence of all principle in the

present Government than its cool so-

ceptance of whatever the Opposition

forces upon it. How many more times

"eat the lock" before this session is over

Session after session he and his colleagues

now they are admitting, by the Bill they

continued for another

addition to Mr. Holton's amendment,

proposal was carried by a large majority.

But when the resolution so amended

round and voted against it. A week be-

motion as amended being carried.

to the confidence of the nation.

STRAWS SHOWING THE CURREN

Mr. Blake's Bill to secure the inde-

pendence of the Senate by making every

member of that body ineligible for any

public office, has been rejected, but by the

very narrow majority of 58 to 57. A single

vote was all that stood between the

Ministry and defeat, while a good num-

ber of the Cabinet were among those by

whom their own doings and sayings on

this question were sustained. The propo-

eition of Mr. Blake was most reasonable,

and Lis arguments in favour of such a

measure were quite unanswered and un-

answerable. If the Senate is to discharge

with any thing like comfort and success,

it is evidently indispensable that it should

be on all hands looked upon as the most

dignified and independent Assembly

in the country; one above the whisper of

enspicion, and with a record of such a cha-

racter that its opinions-whether of ap-

proval or opposition-might carry weight

among all sections of the community. The

proposition, then, to make the members

of the Senate occupy such a position to-

ward the Ministry of the day as that no

one could have any ground for doubling

their full independence was one which our

rulers would have been wise to adopt and

carry through Parliament without delay.

fensive to those who felt themselves in

danger of losing adherents by such a mea-

sure passing into law, and the usual six

months' hoist was accordingly made

such a majority as may well make

certain people think of the handwriting

on the wall. The recent elections in On-

tario have made certain gentiemen all at

once remarkably conscientious and inde-

pendent, so that they find themselves,

very much to their own astonishment, no

doubt, voting in opposition to their dear

friends in the Ministry, and actually sup-

When such men as Mours. Autr.

some others have shown themselves cours-

Some others of our Ontario representa-

tives, however, could go all lengths;

andiaccordingly, among those who thought

it quite decent to make the Senate of the Do-

"taught," we find the following :-

porting " that fellow Blake."

their masters could propose.

and carried—but it was carried

the 22nd of March it had be-

will the vain and boastful Sir George "That it has been made to appear to this House that the Canadian Government has mined they shall have at all hazards. If conested the Government of the United these letters and discussions in the Quebec Kingdom to submit to the Parliament of the papers had never been laid before the United Kingdom a Bill touching said North. Western territories, or some part thereof and that the Government of the United King. dom, in consequence of such request, has tion is needful to prevent its repetition. proposed to the Canadian Government submit a Bill, a draft of which it has for-They declared, on the 10th of March. out the people of Ontario having had any warded to the Canadian Government. opportunity of knowing the reason why, "That in the opinion of this House the or expressing an opinion on the subject.

sense of both Houses of the Parliament of be Canada should be taken as to who should On form the basis of such proposed legislation.

To attempt directly to negative this proposition would be to deny the authori- do? Why they put up Mr. Blanchet ty of the Canadian Parliament altogether; but to admit frankly the blunder, or o !-Sence against the rights and privileges of | Mr. Blanchet's rider providing that not the House, would have been too straight only coal, coke, corn, flour, &c. should forward for the shuffling habits of the present advisers of the Executive. promising to submit the draft of the proposed Bill to the House,-Sir George Cartier moved the following as a substitute for Mr. Blake's motion :--

amendment was put, to vote it down. So, lat. That this House, after full consideration, passed an Act to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manisupported Mr. Blanchet's effort to extend they are vastly mistaken. A fair field for toba 2nd. That the said Act has received the

sanotion and approval of the Imperial Par-

3rd. That, for the removal of doubts as to certain provisions of the said Act, the Goverament of Canada has requested the Imperial Parliament to passan Act in the Imperial Parliament confirmatory of the said first

mentioned Act. 4th. That the Imperial Government have | rio elections had stricken terror into the Parliament of Canada to creats other vinces in the vast territory of the North- Wes new forming part of our Dominion, and to give them a constitution on the same footing as to guarantee of permanence and otherwise. with the constitution of the other provinces. 5th. That a draft of the said proposed Act has been communicated to this House. 6th. That the provisions of the said draft Act meet the approval of the House, and are in concordance with the will of this House, as expressed in the most formal manner i

the said Act relating to Manitoba. the Manitoba Act of last session in order The reader will observe that the amend to show the blundering incapacity and ment performs the function familiarly total want of competence and dignity exknown as "trailing a red herring across hibited by the Government during the recent debates on the same question. We the scent." It introduces the question of concurrence in the measure itself. and pointed out, recently, under what cirdoes not meet the one raised by Mr. cumstances the Manitoba Act was pushed Blake as to the conduct of the Governthrough Parliament. Instead of insisting ment at all. Further than this, the that law and authority should be in the first place established, and the Territory amendment shows to what an outrageous admitted scoording to the mode prelength had the action of the Ministry gone, for they had incorporated in the scribed in the British North America Act. draft Bill not only clauses simply conthe Ministers chose to negotiate what was in effect a treaty of peace with the firmatory of the Manitoba Act, but others emissaries of the rebels, and,-granting defining also the power of the Parthem terms altogether beyond those conliament of Canada to create other Proceded to other Provinces by the British vinces in the vast territory of the North-North America Act,-ignored entirely "West, and to give them a constitution these formalities which would have re-"on the same footing, &c." Thus, actuelly, they had attempted to pass, and but for the action of the Opposition would have succeeded in passing, through the Imperial Parliament a measure defining the powers of the Canadian Parliament, whilst that body was actually in session.-" mit Rupert's Land and the North-West without condescending to give it the op-" territory into the union on such terms portunity of expressing its own opinion 'and conditions in each case as are in thereupon. Well might Mr. Blake say this was a course of procedure "without precedent, without parallel, without

excuse, and without palliation." In order to obtain a distinct expression of the opinion of the House on this point, Mr. Dorion moved—as an amendment to Sir George E. Cartier's amendment, -to

Crown, nor the Sovereign ordain by an add the following:-order in Council, provisions not in accord-"That on inspection of the measure proposed by the Government of Canada to be The Government was warnedlast year, and submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of confirming certain Canadian legis-lation, depriving the Parliament of Canada took no heed of the warning. But it became evident in time that, for the protecof certain existing powers, and altering the tion of the Manitobans themselves, some British North America Act of 1867, this confirmatory legislation would be neces-House would be wanting in its duty if it did i not express its decided opinion that no such | position from the Opposition was too ofsary. The other provinces were protected mperial legislation should be asked for by in all their rights by the British North the Government of Canada, except after the details of such proposed legislation shall have been submitted to both Houses of Par-America Act; but, as the Canadian Parllament had made, so its authority could lament of Canada for their judgment, and at any time undo, the whole arrangements addresses of such Houses to the Queen, by which Manitoba became a Province praying for such legislation, shall have been

The debate stood adjourned to Monday Again, the question of representation in evening, when Mr. Blake suggested that, the Dominion Parliament pressed for a the Government having practically subsolution. That assembly consists of memmitted to the evident sense of the House bers in certain proportionate numbers by consenting to submit the draft-bill for its approval, both amendments might ated by the British North America Act, be withdrawn, and his (Mr. Blake's) and, except in accordance with the "conresolutions be allowed to pass unopposed. ditions of the Act," no alteration in its But the Government, apparently still hoping to wriggle out of their difficulty, constitution could legally be effected. But then, on the other hand, the Govrefused to accode to this suggestion, rallied their followers, and defeated Mr. Doernment of the new Province had been rion's proposal by a vote of 77 to 55. Sir George E. Cartier's amendment was then

carried by a vote of 78 to 57. When the Speaker was about to put the amendment as a substantive resolution, Mr. Anglin delivered a vigorous and these respects on the presumption of the able speech on the general question, and Mr. Holton then moved to add to Sir George's resolutions the following:-

"That this House is of opinion that no changes in the provisions of the British North America Act should be sought by the Executive Government without the previous sesent of the Parliament of the Dominion."

Now, let any one take the whole of Sir George's resolutions as they stand, with this addition, or-for the sake of brevity and clearness-omit all but the third resolution and Mr. Holton's rider. and how does it then read? Why

newly-elected members from Manitoba That for the removal of doubts, &c., the Government of Canada HAS REQUESTED the should sit by consent of the House, and said that proper steps would be taken to Imperial Government to pass an Act in the Imperial Parliament confirmatory of the said | George Jackson, of South Grey; MR secure the constitutionality of past legisfirst-mentioned (Manitoba) Act. lation by a confirmatory Bill which would be submitted to the Imperial Parliament.

No doubt for the existing state of things That this House is of opinion that no changes in the provisions of the British the Canadian Parliament was to no small North Anerica Act should be sought by the extent responsible. But it is equally Executive Government without the PREclear that the proper course to be taken VIOUS ASSENT OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WILSON, of EAST MIDDLESEX.

Here was a direct vote of censure. The to submit to the British Parliament a last part of the resolutions expressly con-"Proposed by Narciste Mercier, Esq., measure to give relief in the premises. demns that very thing which the previous But did Sir George still resist? Not a all! He accepted Mr. Holton's amendment, and the rank and file of his party. voting obsequiously at his bidding, shared with him the alice of "humble pie" a fear of defeat forced him to swallow. Well might Mr. Mackenzle say :-- " A more " pitiable exhibition of mental imbecilit "civid scarcely be conceived. He felt psined that such a resolution should be 'put upon the journals, but the hon. gentleman was willing to consent to any humiliation rather than confess himself frankly in the wrong, as he ought to have done, and bring in an address

which all were willing to agree to." Subsequently the resolutions as amended were put and carried by a vote of 99 to 38, the Ministry thus for the last time recording their objections to the

Canadian Government asked it. why was founded. It seems hardly respectful to the comrefuse? and many things were less likely | mon sense of our readers to ask what is to happen than some such outrage upon to be thought of a Government that goes scrambling along from day to day, catching at any shift or expedient, no matter pulled the strings. But, nevertheless, we how degrading, to save itself from defind the following answer given by Sr feat; or, when defeat comes, takes it as George to a question put to him on the a mere matter of course, in total disregard of the constitutional principles that should regulate its conduct under such circumstances. "Kither, where an error has been committed, frankly own it, and the Bill on seconds of the action of this rectify it at once; or resist the proffered censure, and, if them defeated, accept Mr. Mills had early placed on the paper | the consequences like men," is the ru'e | the true object."

MR. PUNSHOR'S EXPEDITION TO which should prevail under our Paril -THE PACIFIC.

NO. 3. (Correspondence of the Globe.) Several lines of rail contend for the

kraffio between Ohioaco and Omaha, on the Missouri, the initial point of Union Pacific Rallway, The Chicago and North-Western claims to be the shortdefended the Colonel Gray scandal; but est route. It traverses the State of from East to west sad crosses the Missis sippl at Clinton, Iowa, As three of are passing through the House, that the job was an offence against the indepenparty had travelled over this road before we preferred to take the Chicago, Rock Island dence of Parliament so bad that legislaand Pacific railroad, Accordingly, a low minutes before ten on Wednesday morning the 22nd, we were at the Chicago station house of this road, one of the largest that the coal and flour taxes should most substantial edifices of the kind Continent. With baggage checked a sections secured in the "Silver Paisce Car," come evident that the majority of the the prairies. The train is made up of eight cars. Ahead the locomotive, next House was against them. What did they next the baggage car, the mall car, a secondclass or smoking car, two first-class carriages, and lastly the "palace sleeping car." Soon Chicago, with the dust and traffic of its busy one of their own followers, to move an streets, its warehouses, its manufactories and its suburban residences, is left behind and we are scampering over the level fields of Illinois. On either side the eye is rebe untaxed, but salt. Indian meal, and reshed with the sight of large and comfort able farm houses, surrounded by richly oulti various other articles. What was their motive for this? They hoped that by vated fields. Joliet, Ottaws, and Attios are passed—all flourishing towns. For three hours we traverse the valley of the Illinois, tacking on these additional items, the representatives of the several interests inpassing numerous glass factories—the fine white sand required for making glass aboundvolved would combine when the amended ing on the bluffs of the Illinois river. Starwith a low knavish sort of cunning they

terest. Its rocky sides rise up precipitously from the river, and its summit is reached only by an entrance of eighty feet in width. A band of the Winnebegoes were driven to the scope of the amendment, and his this rock by their enemies, the narrow en-trance blockeded prevented their return, and the stolid warriors submitted to starvation. and the whole tribe was exterminated, their own instance was put, they turned Bureau, 114 miles from Chicago, the train halted twenty minutes for dinner, and we made it the bureau of internal revenue. O! the extent of these prairies, with their wide. fore this game might have succeeded: but the manœuvre came too late. The Ontareaching openness and boundless promise, where, as in the Valley of the Mississippi, | world. sions been truckling and triffing, and the with a hoe it will laugh with an abundant harvest." One hardly wonders at the ra-Government was defeated: Mr. Holton's pidity of the growth of Illinois and Iowa. the wealth of their accumulating harvests, the intelligence and enterprise of their teem-

Now comes this further miserable exhiing populations, for it needs no marvellous feat, but simply the touch of industry, to bition. The Government, defeated notwithstanding their disreputable dodge, evoke the hidden treasures and make them the garden and granary of the new world. accept the verdict of the House, and keep As we passed along, some fields were covertheir places. It is with a sense of shame ed with grass of a most refreshing greenness; we chronicle such a burlesque upon parothers displayed the black loam, freshly up-turned by the plough; but in summer these liamentary responsible government. But fields will be gilded with corn and glowing thehour is at hand, -the handwriting will with ripe wheat, fragrant with deep grass, soon appear upon the wall, which tells | and bright with tinted flowers. The won drous landscape stretches still farther away till lost in the tender blue of the horizon. that the Coalition of 1867 has been tried in the balances and found wanting in one At 6 o'clock in the evening we got the first glimpse of the mighty " Father of Waters." trace of honesty, one shadow of indepen-The great river, unstained as yet by union with the muddy Missouri, rolls grandly dence, one gleam of self-respect, one claim along. As we watch with enthusiasm

broad sweeping current, how we are reminded of La Salle, the bold and adventurous Frenchman, who with a heart of intropid mould, and inspired with the purpose of advancing the interests of La Belle France and of civilization, determined upon making important discoveries in the west; and leav-ing Montreal in 1680, penetrated to the Mississippl, and descended through thousands of weary miles to its mouth. How different the surroundings of the river now. Then is flowed through a wilderness clothed verdant grass and forest covered valleys, along mossy heights, basking in the sunlight, or shadowed by the passing cloud, or by its great cliffs, whose domes and pinnacles were the work of no human hand.

there is still the fair outline of its graceful scenery, but it is freehened and polished by the art of man. Cities have sprung up where was solitude; where the wolf howled and the ed squirrel lesped and chattered are now the busy haunts of men. Then the lone cance of the duties laid upon it by Confederation | the coyageurs was borne over the tranquil current and glided in the shade of mossy crags festocned with wild grape-vine, or was drawn up on the shore at even, when the sultry cloud overspread the West and darkness settled over the leaden waters. Now the stately steamers stem the current and the river bears upon its bosom the commerce

of a mighty nation. Moline is a thriving manufacturing town on the Mississippi. Here are immense walls of stone run up to tame the uxorius amnis. and prevent its overflow. A dam of masonry thrown across the right channel gives an mmense water power. Rock Island city is another stirring manufacturing town, a little further below. We cross the river at Rock nervous sensations; but it has been pronounced substantial, and as it carried us safely

But no. The idea of receiving any proover, we must praise it. spread out beautifully over the hills and luffs of the western bank of the Missiscippi, The thousand lights that streamed through the foliage, and gleamed from the summit of wood-crowned hills upon the gathering darkness, gave a romantis aspect to the of delightful unconsciousness have travelled | the from Oxford to Moscow, and from Moscow boundless prairie in brightness. Around us ginal plan, by giving to the copy, till the and above us all is broad, expansive, gener. or iginal is discovered, the same validity as and above us all is broad, expansive, generout. Along the greater portion of the way are seen evidences of thrift and culture, and farm houses, that are pictures of moral comfort: but we were not struck with the charactor and surroundings of many of the set-tiers. A small frame cabin, a few adjacent straw-stacks, one or two half-starved looking cows, stood out in contrast with the impress of

BOWELL, GIBBS, LAPUM, LITTLE, MER-BITT and MONROE are found, us they were in this case, in the ranks of the Opgrandeur that stamps these broad scree.

Occasionally a dreary swamp or barren
stretch of land reminds you that all is not position on any question whatever, the Government position must be glaringly a garden. The emigrant seeking a home in the West must remember that fever and "too bad" altogether; for these men and ague is a terrible scourge, and throughout ed by the co-operation of the great the whole of the prairie regions the want of body of the intelligent and respectable timber and water is sorely felt. Hwarms of people of this country, irrespective of race or geously able for anything almost that grasshoppers often sweep over them, destroy- | creed; and I owe it to you to say, that the ing the hope of the harvest, and clouds of blackbirds follow the track of the sower to | conducted themselves at the polls, on their pluck up the uncovered grains, -and yet all | first essay under the new Constitution, is over this wide extent towns and cities spring up as if by the wand of the maridan. Atlantic, four hundred and thirty-six miles minion a refuge for worn-out political backs west of Chicago, and fifty-seven miles east of the Missouri River, was a year ago nothand unscrupulous placeman, who would "take the money and do as they were ing, and now it numbers a population of two thousand five hundred. At Avoca we made it our avocation to secure breakfast, a more refreshing employment than writing poetry in a place where Moore celebrated the "Meet-

ing of the waters." At these western eating

rooms the fare is usually collected at the door

passengers accounted the door-keeper with

How much dees it cost to get out of this?"

cisco, which are sold for \$118 American cur-

rency. At Council Binife we disembark

to cross by a ferry the strong-rolling but

muddy Missouri, to Omaha, in the state of

Nebraska. A railroad bridge is in process of

construction, which, when completed, will

save through passengers a great deal of trouble and discomfort; for it will afford direct

transit for the eastern and western trains. The Missouri has been a standing difficulty

with the Rullroad Company. Its banks are masses of dark mud, its bod of shifting quick-sand; and it is continually leaving its old

the sea. A flourishing village, named St-Mary's, stood on its banks a few years ago,

between Council Bluffs and St. Jose. That

has been entirely swept away by it. Not a

vestige of the place remains, and the deep

muddy river rolls over the spot where once

it stood. The spot was pointed out to us

where a short time ago was its old channel

about a quarter of a mile from the present

one. The difficulty in constructing a bridge

was to find a solld foundation. But then,

"nil mortalibus ardui est." Such physical

obstacles must be overcome, and a bottom

side of the globe. A solid foundation of rook

cand. The bridge will be of iron, half a.

hollow cylinders of iron an inch and three-

feet in diameter. When sunk they are fill.

ed in with concrete, rocks, &c. On these

bridge is to be completed this fall, and will

Council Bluffs City is situated at the foot

quarters in thickness and nine and a half

has been found 88 feet below the deep quick.

Foremost among the first and faithful among the faithless there was, of course. Mr. James Beaty, the representative of BAST TORONTO: after him Mr. JAMES as the travellers are passing out. As we were paying for breakfast, one of our fellow-CHAWFORD, of BROCKVILLE; MR. FRAN-CIS HURDON, of SOUTH BRUCE: MR a novel way of saking, we thought, the price A. P. MACDONALD, of WEST MIDDLESEX; of the meal. At 10 o'clock ... Thursday morning we arrived at Council Blude, the station on the castern bank of the Missouri, having made a MR. ANGUS MORRISON, of NIAGARA : MR. W. McK. Simpson, of Algona; Me. Rupus distance of 493 miles in twenty-four hours. The railway fare to Council Bluffs is twenty STRPHENSON, of KENT; MB. AQUILA Walsh, of Norfolk; and Mr. CROWELL dellars; but through passengers do best to purchase tickets from Unicago to San Fran-

Few more indefensible votes have been given during the present Parliament, and that is saying a great deal. Let the conatituents of these gentlemen take a note of it and show very practically what the think of it when the elections come of

The Americans are beginning to obtain a juster appreciation of the effect of bluster and menace on Canada, and of the chances of bed, seeking out for itself a new channel to obtaining annexation by those means. The following is from the English correspondent of the New York Tribune :- "It remains true that England cares little or nothing for Canada as a part of the Empire, and that she will be very glad to sever the connection when Canada herself intimates a wish to go. But: it is certain that she will not code Canada to us against the wishes of the Canadian people, and that anything like men ace or even impatience on our part will be resented, and will postpone the possibility of must be found if it is reached on the other acquiring Canada otherwise than by war, Those of our people, therefore, who hanker after British territory on the American conmile in length. There are to be eleven spans, each 250 feet in length. The piers are tinent ought to make up their minds in the light of facts clearly before them. Two, and only two, courses are open to us: We can whole policy on which the Manitoba Act | wait till Canada wants to come to us, and so receive her with a friendly God-speed from England; or we can decide that we will the bridge will rest 50 feet above high-water annex Canada by force, without regard mark, and seventy feet above low tide. The either to the wishes of her people or the will of the English nation; in which case we cost the U. P. R. R. Co. two millions of dolshall, I don't doubt, possess ourselves of the territory and hold it-at the price of the most dreadful war we have ever waged Between there two there is no middle course, and none can be made for us by reso river, and contains a population of about lutions in one House or swagger in the other | 12,000. The city possesses the element of So far as these latter have any influence | future greatness. It is the rival of Omaha, whatever, they tend directly to war. If | and claims to be the terminus of the Union that is what the authors of them want, they | Pacific Railway. The company has purchaswill keep on in that line, though it might be | ed within its limits real estate to the amount a question whether a more dignified path, of \$100,000, and when the bridge is complet, and a shorter one, could not be found lead, ed they will no doubt erect their denote and ed they will no doubt erect their depote and ing to the same end. Meantime, it will not shope on the broad level plain in front of the be difficult for the American people to undicity. Already four trains from the Bart derstand that, to those who pursue such a come in about the same time to a point of

tion. We have loft the train and find a relef in sauntering down to the river side to survey "Big Muddy," as the Missouri is not inspily called in local phrase. We are mid-way across the Continent and midway be-tween the Gulf of Mexico and the head of navigation of this great river, which is navi-gable for 4,000 miles.

MANITOBA LEGISLATURE.

We learn from Mr. Donald A. Smith, who rrived yesterday from Manitoba, that the following speech was delivered at the openng of the House by Governor Archibald and the address in reply was adopted without a liviaton :—

Honourable Gentlemen of the Legislative Counntlemen of the Legislative Assembly: On this interesting operation, when you

meet for the first time under the new Constitution which has been conferred upon you, I have much pleasure in welcoming you to the scene of your legislative labours. You are about to furnish a test, I trust may say you will furnish a vindication, of the policy which has given you elective and representative institutions. Those are selom conferred on so small a population. Your case is almost, if not quite exceptional. It will be your duty to show that the Legisfature of the Dominion has not over-estimated your fitness for the discharge of the very grave duties imposed upon you by your new

The work before you is sufficient to task cour utmost judgment and discretion. You bave to construct your institutions from the foundation. The arrangements which have infliced for the government of this country in the past, will no longer serve their pur-Your isolation from the rest of the world, which deprived you of some advantages, protected you from many evils. That isolation is about to cease. A line of communication between Untario and this Province will shortly be opened up by the lakes Different lines of railroad are anproaching your borders from the neighbouring States, and within a year there will be steam communication, partly by boat and partly by rail, between this Province and the

Already a contract has been entered into to construct a line of telegraph, which, before the anow falls again, will put you into instantaneous communication with all the

the Governments of British Columbia and Canada, now requiring merely formal confirmation, have grouped into one country all that is British, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in this northern continent, As an incident of the arrangements so made, a rallway will shortly be constructed through the heart of your country, traversing the rich valley of the Saskatchewan, and opening up to immigration vast tracts of the best unsettled country in the world.

. In the new state of things which is at band you will find scope for the exercise of the best abilities and the purest patriotism. Your first duty will be to organize the Province, to make arrangements for the preservation of law and order; to establish courts of justice, and to provide the auxil-iary machinery required in the decision of controverted rights. You will have to define more accurately than they are now defined what are the rights of property, how it shall be transmitted by conveyance, to whom it shall descend by inheritance, how it may be disposed of by will, what safeguards may best be provided against fraudulent conveyances; in short, to lay the foundations of property upon a basis of law.

You will have also to provide the arrangements which every self-governing country requires, for the management of its local and municipal affairs. You cannot be expected -it would, think, be unwise for you to attempt -- to frame a complicated code. The laws to be first enacted should be plain and simple. They should provide for the essential and the immediate, leaving it to future legislation to deal with matters of less importance, and to adopt the amendments and changes suggested by the wants and arising from the progress of the country.

Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly :--The expenditures of the Government slace ts organization, have necessarily been made upon the responsibility of Ministers of the Orown. The details will be submitted to you, and the accounts. I trust, will receive rour sanction. I shall direct the extimates for the current

year to be laid before you. They have been framed with the strictest regard to economy, consistent with the efficiency of the public service. Honourable Gentlemen of the Legislative

Tentlemen of the Legislative Assembly :-You will be invited to discuss measures framed to carry out the various objects to which I have already called your attention. A Bill providing for the establishment of a Supreme Court and Courts of General and Island, on which is built an immense arsenal of the United States Government. The formalities connected with the execution of wooden bridge creaked and ground as the train passed over it, making us twitch with Property Real and Personal, in case of intestacy; a Bill for the Registration of Deeds and the protection of bona fide purchasers. Davemport is a town of 28,000 inhabitants, and Municipal Government of the country TEMPERANCE MEETING. on a solid foundation, will be laid before you, and will demand your early atten-

The great body of the settled lands of this Province are held under the allotment of the Hudson's Bay Company. The lines and scene. Now we have entered Iowa, and are | beundaries are understood to be governed by still in the open ocean of a rolling and richly the surveys made by the authority of the cultivated prairie. A larger portion of this Company.

State we passed in the night, and in a state I regret to have to inform you that been lost within the last year, Hapto Marengo, then on to Brooklyn, and doubt-less in our dreams were in Toronto also. In to have been made with great accuracy. It the morning we awoke with the bright sug. Will be desirable to prevent the mischief shine flooding the cloudless sky and the | which would arise from the loss of the orl-

if it were the original. Your attention will be invited to a measure for this purpose. In conclusion, allow me to congratulate you upon the prospects now dawning on your country. I have been able for several months that I have been in the Province to maintain peace and order, with scarce any of the institutions or aids of an organized

persitions arising from the psinfel events of last winter. I have been secondmanner in which the people generally have

such as would reflect no discredit upon people longer exercised in election institu-I trust your deliberations will be marked by moderation, by good sense, by patriot-ism, and that when the labours of the session shall have drawn to a close, you will leave behind you, in the work you shall have done, a lasting monument to the zeal, and dulty, and success with which you have applied yourselves to the task of laying the foundations of the institutions of a noble

Molices. Spectal

TORONTO MONEY MARKET

Reported by PHILIP BROWNE & CO., Bankers Brokers, 67 Youge Street,

Greenbacks and New York Stohange—Buying at 90; selling at 91. American Silver—Large buying at 5 dia, selling at 4. Small buying at 7 dia, selling at 5. Sterling Exchange, 10; Gold—10 a m., 10; 11 a. m., 10; 13 noon, 10; 1 p.m., 10; 2 p.m., 10; 3 p.m., 101; 4 p. m., 101 Brown's Bronchial Troches -From the Medical Director of the General Hospital, Benton Barracks, near St Louis, March S, 1802 "Meurs. John I Brown & Bon, Boston, Mass, —Use of your far-famed and most serviceable 'Troches' is being made in the hospital of which I have charge, and with very beneficial and decided results in allaying bronchial irritation." For coughs and colds the Troches give prompt relief. SATCHELORY BAIL OFF.

This spiendid Hair Dye is the best in the world the only true and perfect Dye. Harmies—Rediable—Instantaneous—No disappointment—No: I diculous lints—"Does not contain, Lead or any Vitalia Poissa to intere the Hair and the State of the Stat is injure the Hair or System." Invigorates the Hair and leaves it soft and beautiful; Black or Brown gold by all Druggists and dealers. Applied at the Factory, 18 Bond St., New York. In Thousands of Cases -Mrs Winslow's are sillicted, such as teething, griping in the bowels, wind colic, etc , has been used with perfect and neverfalling success in thousands of cases. It softens the gums, reduces inflammation, and allays all pain Mothers do not fail to procure it Be sure and call for "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup," having the fac-simile of "Curtis o Perkins" on the outside wrapper. All others are base imitations

BIRTHS. In this city, on the 26th fast, at Wo. 21 Mt. Andrew's street, the wife of John Donaldson, of a son. At Bowmanville, 25th inst, the wife of A H. MacDougall, Agent Royal Canadian Bank, of a son. In this city, on the 27th fast, by the Rev. Dr Desois, of Montreal, assisted by the Rer. Mr. Gor-Sukel, Mr. ABRAHAN EDWARD COHERN, of Mon treel, to Florispa, only daughter of Alexander Millar, of this city.

At Rodney Aldbero, on Sunday, 10th Inst., Blog. ARD COATES, Esq., late of Cakville, aged 59 years, Deeply regretted. On Tuesday, the 21st March, at his son's residence, township of King, HENRY STUART, Fag. native of Bexanghabire, rcotland, aged 85 years, in the blessed hope of a glorious resurrection On Monday, 27th inst, of consumption, WILLIAM MARTIN PRAESE, marble dealer, in the Sind year of of the Bluffs, about three miles from the hisage

to The juneral will leave the residence of his father-in-law, Mr. B. Worth, builder, 145 Richmond St. West, on Wednesday afternoon, at 3 o'clock. Briends and acquaintances will please accept this On the 74th inst., at his residence, near Tuliamore, THOMAS (HOMPSOF, Esq., aged 65. On Tuesday, 25th inst., Miss ANNE Butte, aged 81

The funeral will take place at half-part 2 m on Thursday, 30th March, from her late residence policy. Canada is only a protest, and war convergence at the ferry depots, and two lis Queen Street East. Vriends and acquaintences additional rouds are in process of construct are respectfully requested to attend.

Insurance.

THE LANCASHIRE Insurance Comp'y. £2,000,000, STR.

M'EACHREN'S, DUNCAN-CLARK & CO., TORONTO MAGNIFICENT SHOW

All losses adjusted and promptly settled at the Head Office, Toronto. Bonns Arve:

From the "TIMES" Newspaper of find Hov. last, containing a Statement of the NEW TRANSAUTIONS for 12 Honths of 70 Life Assurance Offices, it appears that the Business of this Institution is amongst the Largestin the Kingdom, BIXTI-FIVE out of BIXTI-BINE British Offices transacting Less Business. Funds on hand, upwards of 6,570 000 00 Annual Income...... 1,255,500 00 The Permanent Stability of the Institution with

> HOLDERS has been the constant Aim of the Directors. Aberal and almost Free Conditions of Policies The NOR-YORFEITABLE PREMIUM STRTEM. Bonuses applied for the Personal Bonedi of the Policy-Holder in Largely Reducing Present Outlay: or Accumu-An immense stock SOT OLD AGE. Before the Sind year's Balance, on 5th April, 1871.

P. WARDLAW, Secy.

Utmost Advantage and Protection to Policy.

Place d'Armes, Montreal, **CANADA**

LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

The Recent Fallures of Insurance Comwill be satisfactory to assurers in the Canada Lite to know, that in it every means are adopted to secure accuracy and faithfulness in its accounts and statements, as well as to secure the safe custody of its funds and property. This may be seen by the following documents:—

1st. The report by a competent and skilful Anditor, showing that the books, accounts, and securities are accurately and safely kept.

Ind. The Report by a Committee of Directors, showing that they have seen and identified the various necurities held by the Company, and that they are valuable for the sums they represent fird. The report and valuation of the position of the Company by the highest and most competent actuarial anthority, the Hon. Elizar Wright, of Rowon.

A comparison of the Company's Profit Bonuses, and its Rates for Assurances, with those of other offices, is invited, ACENCIES TAROUCHOUT THE DOMINION

A. G. RAMSAY, E. BRADBURNE.

Zmusements.

ROYAL LYGHUM. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday Even-ings, March 27th, 28th, 29th, 80th, 1671.

LAST FOUR NIGHTS OF THE

SEA OF ICE Friday, March Slat-Benefit Julia Holman, ORPHEUS IN HADES-ALADDIN BURLESQUE Prices as usual. God Save the Queen. MR. J. CONLEY, THE

POPULAR HUMOROUS VOCALIST Will give his farewell concert on Wednesday even-ing, March 20th, previous to his departure for New York. He never falled to please, and "bring down" the house. He deserves a crowded house. Soiree.

OANS ON CITY PROPERTY. Weslegan Sabbath School, Yorkville, Advances on the security of City or Suburban THIS EVENING, March 24th, THE COLONIAL SECURITIES COMPANY. COMMENCING AT 7 O'CLOCK.

to be **B**eld.

TICKETS 25 CENTS.

ORONTO BUARD OF TRADE A special general meeting will be held in the Board Ecoms, Exchange Buildings, on THURSDAY, the 50th inst, to consider a proposition to send a deputation to Washington on the subject of the Huron and Ontario Saip Canal.

EW'D. T. BROMFIELD, Sec'y.

There will be a Temperance Meeting in the

THIS EVENING.

A. MONABB, ESQ. The Boy. A. Sutherland, Boy W. S. Haghan; also, Alderman Kennedy and Robert Walker, Esq., will address the meeting. Friends of the temperature movement are invited to attend. JAY COOKE & CO. TNSOLVENT ACT OF 1869.

Chair to be taken at Eight o'click, by

James Chapman, of the City of Toronto, in the County of York, Butcher, Plaintill. John Braks, of the City of Toronto aforesaid, Buicher, Defendant.

In the matter of John Blake, an Insolvent.—In pursuance of the order of George Duggan, Esquire, Judge of the County Cours of the County of York, made this day, a meeting of the creditors of the above-named insolvent will be held at the office of the clerk of the said Court in the Court House, in the City of Toronto, at one o'clock, in the afternoon of Tuesday, the fourth day of April next, for the purpose of appointing an assignee in this matter. S. G. WOOD, Attorney for the above-named Pisintin Toronto, March 17th, 1871

Watches and Tewellery.

SILVER IS A NON-CORROSIVE METAL

when subjected to the scids of food, but solid silver plate is very expensive and, therefore not within the reach of all whose taste and training lead them to appreciate good things Bleetro-plated Ware meets the difficulty A surface of fine silver on a strong white metal at less than a fourth of the cost yield an income larger, we believe, then any other first-class security. Porsons holding United States 5-20's can, by converting them into Northern Pactics, increase their yearly income one-third, and still have a perfectly reliable investment. rogive the public every pretertion against being imposed on by worthless articles, we guarantee every article; at the following prices:—Tea Spoons, 1st, 2nd and 3rd quality, \$3, \$4 fo, \$6 per dozen; Dessert Spoons or Forks, 1st, 2nd and Erd quality, \$5, 7, and \$10 per dozen; Table Spoons or Forks, \$6, \$9 and \$12 per dozen; Tea Sets, \$30, \$45 and \$75. Cruets, \$6, \$9 and \$12 each; Cake Baskets, \$6, \$9, and HOW TO GET THEM.—The undersigned will supply these Bonds in any desired amount, and of any needed denomination. Persons wishing to exchange stocks or other bonds for these, can do so with any of our Agents, who will allow the highest current price for ALL MARKETABLE INCOMPTER. trucis, \$6, \$9 and \$12 each; Cake Baskets, \$6, \$9, and \$12 each, and other articles in propertion. On receipt of fire dollars by post, registered, being not less than 10 per cent of the value, we shall send for approval, C.O.D., these articles to any address in the Borlinks.

WILKINSON & CO.

Mickelite Silver.

SPOORS AND FORKS. 'A COOD RELIABLE ARTICLE EXTENSIVELY KNOWN

On this principle the manufacturers of the cele-brated Nickellie Silver have proceeded, and now they have the satisfaction of knowing that the pub-lic appreciate their efforts. NICKELITE SILVER

is known in every part of the Dominion, from Hall-fax to Fort William, and everywhere it is acknowledged to be the best article for domestic use ever produced. The combination of Meteoric Nickel. with other metals in such proportions, only known to the manufacturers, as to secure hardness, whiteness, brilliancy and durability, is the great success ob-tained in the production of Nickelite Silvar. Spoons and Forks made from this metal, are ard, bright and streng; when properly cleaned after long use, they have the appearance of sterling silver, and are as good as new. The extreme cheapness of price place these essential table requisites within the reach of all classes. The wealthy may not only procure them for every-day use, and the independent Freehold Farmers of the Dominion enjoy them at heir frugal board, but the industrious Mechanic, the adventurous Fisherman, and the sober Day Labourer may all partake with their families of the irule of their honest toil, with utensils "good enough for a Prince." Hotels, Etenmboats, Taverus and Bestaurants find these Spoons and Forks especially suitable. There is no "wearing of the plate or "showing the brass" with these articles; being of one metal throughout they are practically indestructable. For all these latter uses the heavy weights will be the most decirable. These Spoons and Forks may now be obtained from all Hardward Serchants in the Dominion invariably stamped with the initials of the manniacturers, R. W. & Co., and a printed guarantee is furnished to each purchaser, BOBERT WILKES, Wholesale Manufacturers' Agent,

Remount

Toronto and Montreal

MOTICE!

READY-MADE CLOTHING, BOOTS AND SHOES, AND To Hardware Men, Iron Founders, Woo len and Paper Manufacturers, Tinsmiths, and the public ganerally. We beg to advise our friends and the public tha

we have removed our store from 52 Front street t 8 Yopge street, opposite the Canadian Bank Commerce, where we purpose keeping a first class assortment of SHELF HARDWARE, in addition to our usual stock of Heavy Hardware, Pig Iron, Olle Chemica's, Tin Plates, etc., etc.

M. & L. SAMUEL,

Zetail Dry Good.

191 YONGE STREET.

RICH BLACK LYONS GROS GRAIN SILKS

TO.DAY.

The best goods and the lowest prices we have

RECENT HOUSE.

HANDSOME LYONS MANTLE VELVETS.

Bought under very favourable circumstances.

EVERY BUYER SHOULD SEE THESE GOODS.

RECENT HOUSE.

cheaper than ever before offered.

RECENT HOUSE.

REAL WHITE LACES.

Magnificent value.

RECENT HOUSE,

COSTUME CLOTES

RECENT HOUSE.

RECENT HOUSE.

MERCHANTS WILL DO WELL

importer**s**.

Linancial.

17 Edinburgh Life Bulldings,

THE DIRECTORS

MONEY TO LOAN,

To assist parties in Building their own

Dwellings, Stores, or Warehouses,

IM THE CITY OR ELSEWHERE

Also in the purchase of Farm or other kinds

productive property. Loans for long or short period repayable by instalments to suit borrowers.

GOLD LOAN

COLD BONDS

Northern Pacific Railroad Co.

These bonds are secured, first, by a First Morigage on the Railroad Steelf; its rolling-stock, and all equip-monis; second, by a First Morigage on the existre Land Grant, being more than Twenty-Two Thousand Acres of Land to each mile of Road.

THE PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST

PAYABLE EI GOLD.

—the Principal at the end of thirty years, and the Inserest Semi-annually at the rate of SEVER AND TEXAS-TEXTES PER CENT per annual.

The Trustees under the Mortgage are Mesure, Jay Cooke, of Philadelphia, and J. Edgas Thompson President of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad

before maturity, be receivable at THE PER CEST.
PREMIUM (or 1.10), in: schange for the Company's lands at their lowest each price.

BLAIRIE & ALEXANDER, Torriso, Oak

H. TAYLOR, 40 O, CURTIS HAYBES, St. Catharins VOSSAN & VAIBBANKS, Petrois

Musical Sustraments

Bossey and Chappell's Captinet. Sa., all the Mos., Bossey and Chappell's Captinet. Sa., all the Mos. Rag-lish Concertinas, 43 keys, double action, \$18 50; Anglo-German Concertinas, \$12 50; German Concertinas, 75c. to \$0; Bax Horns, \$6 50; Violin Strings, 5c. each; Italian Strings, 75c to \$55. Der bundle; Violins, \$1 to \$10; Guitars, \$5 to \$10; Vintes, 10c. to \$10; Bows, 10c to \$1 50; Dymbals, \$7 to \$10. Trade supplied wholessie. B. HUTLAND, King \$1.

Beal Estate.

CPLENDID CHANCE FOR AGRI-

For sale, for \$7,000 or £1,500 sterling, farm of 110 scres, delightfull; situated on River 8s. Clair, township of Moore, six miles from Sarnia; all cleared ex-

cepting 20 acres bush pasture; orchard, eight acres, choice fruit; one acre vineyard. (Delaware and Clin-

ton) full bearing. Orchard and vineyard nearly worth the money. Large dwelling house, 17 rooms: first-class barns and out buildings. Churches, School-

house, Stores and Hechanic shops within forty rods

The Good will and Stock of a valuable

TAILORING BUSINESS FOR SALE.

The undersigned is now prepared to receive ten-ders for the valuable stock of goods consisting of

TAILORS' FURNISHINGS.

and terms of payment.
Dated Belleville, February 18th, 1871.

Apply to Y. DAVIs, Berrister, bernia, Ontario

OOO ACTURE PLAYS, 180.

For mie by

OULTURISIE.

LOOR SALE.

PELLATT # OSLER,

W. MACLEAN,

7-30

PERMANENT I

Secretary and freesurer.

Rates lower than by any other mode.

Apply at the ome:

NEW

BAFB PROFITABLE

GRENADINES,

BASKET CLOTHS, &c.

ARGE STOCK

BROOHE LUSTRES.

NEW TWILLS,

PLAIN LUSTBES,

TERY LARGE PURCHASE

Montreal Siretion Sales MARQUIS OF

TWEEDS

ON FRIDAY, 31st MARCH, The following Real Estate belonging to Messall John Mathewson & Son :--The large stone and brick buildings 70 x 85 feet on College and Inspector streets, presently rected as a Tobacco Factory for \$2.54°, per annual. The Soar, Oil and Candle Factory, \$1 x 54, adjoining on Inspector street, adapted for any kind of manufacturing business. The dcuble dwelling house, \$2 x 67, corner Inspector and William streets, heated by steam; large Vacant Lot on William street, about 102 feet front, rental \$200.

Full information in circular forwarded on age En. Sale al Eleven o'clock, JOHN J. ARKTON.

Advertisemeuts.

agents . Wanted — By 🖼 PHONIX MUTUAL LIFE INSUR ANCE CO., of Hartford, in every County in Ontario and Quebec in which it is not already represented. Liberal terms to men of good canvassing abilities. Address A. R. BETHUNE, General Agent

TR WHEELER'S COMPOUND

Montreal

Montreal,

ELIXIR OF PHOSPHATES AND CALIBAYA is the best Tonio in use, because it is the most physiological, being composed of ingretients absolutely essential to the development of the system. If speedily relieves indigention promoting a vigorous appetite and healthy nutrition. All cases of general debility arising from wasting diseases, such as continuation and Secondary diseases, such as continuation and Secondary diseases of the skin, diseases of the skin BLACK REAL LACES. caused by protracted mental exertion, anxiety of overwork, will obtain immediate relief frequently Largest lot in the Dominion; 25 per cent,

> dial to take, and its use may be protracted for an in-definite period without becoming disagreeable to the EVANS, MERCER & CO., Wholseals Agents.

beginning with the first doze. It is a delight ni c.

Bold by all druggists. THE "OANADA"

BRICK MACHINE

(PATENTED 1864) Special price and Silver Medal awarded at the Provincial Exhibition, held at Montreal, 1868. First Prize and Diploms awarded and the his thire highly recommended by the Judges, at the Provin-cial Exhibition, held at Toronto, 1870. The simplest, best, anad chespest machine making bricks in use.

Descriptive circulars sent on application to PULMER & SHEPPARD, Patentses, Office, \$42, Parthenals street, Montreal,

DARTICULAR ATTENTION IS directed to there Goods, as being the best OTTAWA HOTEL

St. James and Notre Dame Sts. MONTREAL, P. Q.,

D. C. BURNETT, iate proprietor of Woodruff House Waterdown, R.Y., and St. James Hotel, Montreal The proprietors take pleasure in informing their friends and travellers either for pleasure or on business that they have recently opened this New and Risgant Hotel, where they will find every convenience and accommodation. Guests will find this the most pleasant and desirable stopping place in the city.

BURGETT & DOYLE, Proprietors

Grimsby Fruit Canning Co. are authorised to offer for sale from 75 to 100 shares of \$20 each, o like Reserve Stock, to increase the working cash capital. Profits on last year's business, 18 per cent on entire investment. The books can be seen or any in formation furnished on application to DENNIS NIXON, President, or Whi. FORBES, Sec., Treas, and Manager, Grimsby, Ont MONTREAL

NAIL, TACK, AND BRAD Manufacturers. NAILS, TAOKS, BRADS.

MAILS, TACKS BRADS. NAILS, TACKS, BRADS. 500 VARIETIES

AND SIZES. MONTREAL.

SPRING, 1871. T. JAMES CLAXTON & CO. Importer of Bry Goods. We are now prepared to exhibit a

complete stock in every department. T. James Clarton & Co., Osverhill Buildings ST. PETER STREET, MONTREAL.

DOYD & ARNTON,

SHIP, FREIGHT AND INSURANCE BROKERS. AND FORWARDING AGENTS

The attention of exporters of Oil is directed to our PIONEER LINE" of Petroleum Vessels for Gree Britain and the Continent, affording an opportunity of shipping in any quantity, at low rates, and without trouble at Montreal to the shippers. Vessels always Insurance effected in first-class offices

TTO PURIFY THE BLOOD, CARDNER'S BLOOD PURIFIEM

Goods received and torwarded to all parts;

ONE bettle equal to TERES of anylarse parilla in usc. PRICE SI PER BOTTLE

J. GARDNER, Chemist

Prepared only by

Statistics. JAS, B. HOW. SURGEON DENTIST Trick-Res. I and I king Street Her

C. ADAMS, L. D. S., WRGEOM M KING STREET BAST, TOROUTO:

Is now using a new base for artificial teeth which lighter than rubber and transparent. A. YEO'S' MAY, Andstant.

QEED GRAIN.

For sale by DRYADALE & MITCHELL,

TRIBUTION OF FRUIT Th' KES, do , to the members of the

Members and those withing to precess suppliers. the desire to avail themselves of the Beans d' Anjon Pear tree and other plants, to be presented in the Spring, will send their annual fee to the Secretary,

Proprietury Articles,

Patronised by all the world. Rimmel's Ihlang Iblang (the Flower of Flowers), Jockey Club, Francispane, and other Perfumes of exquisite fragrance.

DIMMEL'S OHOICE PER-

TALUABLE Chandlery, Machine Short, Dwelling and Vacant Lot HEAR THE G. T. B. DEPOT, MONKERAL Situates on William, Inspector and Callege stracts, to be sold without reserve. The Subscriber will sell at his rooms, in Montree

Special attention paid to the sertion of Tests

For further information, pamphiete, maps, etc. Beeffs. Blants and flowers.

Fife and Golden Drop wheat; Crown and Golden Vine peas; Norway and Black Tarter cate; Ctover, Timothy, and Alaike seeds.

Commission · Merchanis, 28 West Market Square CELECT GARDEN SEEDS

WARING'S TROPHY TOMATO. LYMAN BROTHERS 5 CO.,

President Grant Tomato,

before March 1st, 16/1. Any person can become a member by sending one delive to D. W. Scalle, Esq., Secretary, St. Catharines. The report for 1570, containing 150 pages of valuable information, will be mailed to new and old members. S. RURYET. Prage

Belonging to the estate of the late Henry Jack. The purchaser of the stock will be entitled to the good-will of the business and to rent the premises. The shop is situated in the most central part of Front Rimmel's Laverder Water, distilled from Mitcham Flowers. Rimmel's Toilet Vineger, of world-wide celebrity for its useful and sant'ary properties. Rimmel's Extract of Lime Juice and Olycerine, the lie rills. To any one desiring to commence in this line the above offers a most desirrinity. Stock may be inspected at any inders to state percentage on Involce value, of payment.

MARY JACK,

Administratoriz of Henry Jack, decessed

Rimmal's Extract of Lime Juice and Cilycerine, the best preparation for the hair Rimmal's Glycerine, the best preparation for the hair Rim street, Belleville. To any one desiring to commence business in Unis line the above offers a most desirable opportunity. Stock may be inspected at any time. Tenders to state percentage on Involce value,

THE PACIFIC.

NO. 4.

(Correspondence of The Globe.)

OMAHA TO CHEYENNE.

inhabitants. It has a fine post-office, two

tenances of a city. But marvellous at has

been the past history of the place, its pros-

pects for the future are brilliant and glow-

ing. In the heart of the continent, at a

point nearly equi-distant between the At-

lantic and Pacific Oceans, with water communication to the Gulf and naviga-

tion extending 2,000 miles above, and broad prairies dotted with well-cultivated

and well-stocked farms on either side,

Omaha and her twin-sister, Council Bluffs,

traffic and travel in the Union. At Omaha

pockets and shouting, "This is the grave

lunch depot of the West, where you can g.

canned fruit, meats, fellies, berries - anything

your heart desires, or your appetite calls for.

Charmed by his elequence we ventured in

but did not find the dinner equal to the ex-

so that on the whole we sympathised with the remarks we overheard from a fellow-

noise than they do food." The baggage was brought over the river by the boat,

and then brought up to the freight-

office in three heavily laden waggons, there

to be re-checked for the west. The scene is

thus given by one of our party in his sketch-book:—The passengers were ranged outside a bar, and as some Saratoga trunk or trea-sured value of frail material escaped from

the hands of the baggage-master with a heavy "thud," an official called out the number

of the check which was attached to each

plece, and the person who held the counter part must call out senerously "check," un-

gruff and growling bass of the man, whose patience, like that of most of us, needed a "further work." Some came out in debris

but were repaired most promptly by a smart fellow, who "roped" for half a dollar values which had come asunder, and for a dollar made damaged wooden trunks "warranted

to carry." At length the struggle to get the

baggage re-checked is crowned with success,

and with a seat engaged in the Pullman Pal-ace Car, for which there is an extra charge

of eight dollars, we are ready for our journey

of more than a thousand miles, to Ogden.

would have used the article if it had been

furnished, your correspondent cannot say; certainly if he had he would have found an interested and delighted audience. We are

figure, but of unvarnished fact. How differ-

ent from the close, oramped, ill ventilated, ordinary car ! The inventive genius of the

and the enjoyment is greatly enhanced when

On board are five nuns, from Montreal

Europe. We have with us Ikeda, Ishibashi,

Matzmurs, and Pfoundes, members of allarge

locomotive that drags us along is purity itself, compared with what often comes out

Then there is a baby, whose notions of

which we follow for 800 miles, dispol the illusion of a level plain. This river is nearly

three quarters of a mile in width, but is not

three quarters of a foot in depth. It is pro-

nonneed unnavigable for anything but a shingle, even in its highest stage. But it is a great fertilizer, and has made a garden of

an immense area of nearly 800 miles from

east to west, and nearly 400 miles from north to south. Its margin is skirted with

trees. Here game is abundant and the stream abounds in fish. We took supper at Grand Island, 151 miles

west of Omaha. Now we begin to feel the

invigorating effects of the dry, pure atmos-

phere, the cloudless sky, the far-reaching,

broad, sweeping vision of the immense glacial

deposits, one seems surrounded by a new

world. The increasing dryness of the air

of their mouth,

The Globe.

mond Street, near Dundas Street.

TORONTO, THURSDAY, MAROH THE BRITISH COLUMBIA RESO LUTIONS.

the terms agreed upon between the Govposition.

Government to accomplish any important ridicule. Their arrogant self-importance which they are wholly incompetent, whilst their weakness and want of principle invite a pressure from those with whom they have to deal that is especially disadvantageous to the people on whose behalf they have to strike a bargain. The national spirit, and the belief th

our material interests will, in the end, be

advanced by the incorporation in one Dominion of the whole British North American Possessions, lead the people of Canada to regard the accession of British Columbia to the Confederation as a matter of high and sound public policy. But the acquisition has its drawbacks, which have to be taken into account in effecting resulting from the want of ready commu-In a multiplying ratio the far- this is a mere " flea-bite." ther the point to be reached lies from the Sect of Government and the settled, populous portions of the country. Between Ontario and British Columbia, with the exception of the Red River sattlements, the region is one vast wilderness, inhabited by restless Indian tribes, line from a powerful foreign nation, with whose subjects savage or civilized, difficultles may occur at any time. We are but four millions; our resources are already pledged to great and costly undertakings; one of which at least-the Intercolonial-however necessary in a political sense, can never be commercially profitable; we have just incurred heavy recrease the controllable annual expendiwith indifference, and leave our descend-

Federation, to connect her permanently, Government? protected against all external influences, with the British Empire. They know that ahe possesses certain elements of wealth peculiar to herself. They recognize the and carriers to the East, for which purpose the co-operation of the Pacific Colony is a necessity. Hence their willingness to make any concession consistent with prudence, justice and ecenomy.

us see to what an extent their recklessness the "cannie" British Columbians.

That Colony contains some 60,000 souls; a motley population of whites, Indians, Chinese and other races, settled or migratory. It is probable that of these not above 15,000 are whites who are fixed and permanent residents. Neverthaless, in apportioning the subsidy of 80 cents per head in the terms of the British North America Act, it is proposed, contrary to the practice in the older Provinces, to count the whole gross population; the first payments proceeding on the assumption, for which there does not appear to be any actual guarantee, that the population is really as numerous as stated. The submidy is to be increased according to the results shown at each decennial consus along the most eligible route, is more until the population reaches 400,000. This subsidy is to be supplemented by several other grants, the first of which is an annual sum of \$35,000 to defray public

charges of government. Then the Dominion is to provide an efficient forinightly mall service between Victoria and San Francisco, and twice s week between Victoria and Olympia, the vessels to be adapted for the conveyance of freight and passengers. Further, the Dominion assumes the charge of all those Executive and administrative burdens borne by the Central Government within the limits of other Provinces, such as the Lieutenant Governor's and Judges' salaries, charges of the department of Customs, postal and telegraphic services, protection of fisheries, militis, lighthouser, buoys, bascons, shipwrecked crews, quarautine and marine hospitals (including a marine hospital at Victoria), geological surveys,

over \$250,000. Now, supposing our concessions stopped | dishonour.

we had not been illiberal on our side of the bargain. Beyond this point the British Columbians might surely be willing to leave all other questions to adjust themselves according to the unfailing laws of self-interest, a recognition of reciprocal advantages, and the action of the constitution. If we permit them

to manage all their own domestic concerny,-if we leave them in possession of their own tariff,-if we give them all the mechinery of general government and a handsome income over and above all their The House of Commons has, for two | necessities, they might, one would supnights, debated the resolutions embodying | pose, be willing to accept just that | and, in a good many cases, have already inposition in the commonwealth which dicated their willingness to bear half the ernment and the delegates from British | the Federal constitution prescribes, and Columbia for the admission of that Co- trust to their own growth to give them lony into the Domicion. The debate again | a future increase of representative power. stands adjourned until to-day, - the But there is an evil precedent before them monstrous proposals of the Government | in the violation of the long-contested | the improvement. It is sheer waste to | of civilization, now the city numbers 20,000 meeting, as might be expected, with a principle of Representation by Popula- go on putting down the miserable "macmost determined resistance from the Op- tion in the Manitoba Act of last year. | adam," which alone can be had. It daily newspapers, street rallway, ger works, Accordingly they demand that they shall neither stands any length of time, nor schools, churches, hotels, and all the appur-It does not seem possible for the present | have in the Senate three representatives and six in the House of Commons. As stroke of policy without subjecting the the Indians do not count in the calculacountry to humiliation and themselves to tions of the older provinces, and the Chinese are essentially migratory, it leads them to undertake operations for may be assumed that, whilst Ontario has to work we trust that it will also take but one member in the House of Commens for every 20,000 of population, British Columbia will have one for less in the back streets and lanes of our city is than every 2,500. Thus for the second positively frightful. In fact, the state of time within twelve months has the Feder- things in this respect is a disgrace to any al compact, based upon Representation civilized community. by Population, been deliberately ignored. and that, too, with the knowledge that thing to remove the plague of cows, horses acts now committed may come to be regeese, and swine, that has so long filled garded as so many excellent reasons and the hearts of those who have a taste for

out of the great North-West. Well, having thus opened purse and set aside the the arrangements between the Dominion | national constitution in order to tempt and the new Province. The difficulty | British Columbia into confederation, we had, one would suppose, gone as far as her nication with Manitoba is enhanced in | demands required or our sense of prudence effect three-fold in respect of British Co- | would permit. But not so if the Ministry lumbia. Every additional mile may be at Ottawa are entitled to speak for the

Without plans, without survey, with out a definite scheme on which any two members of the Cabinet are agreed, -on rough calculations founded on the cost of a Pacific railroad hundreds of miles away, and through an entirely different region, -calculations that are shown on the spot and only separated along a frontier of as soon as uttered to be erroneous, -THE 2 500 miles by an imaginary boundary- Government has agreed to construct PROM CANADA TO THE PACIFIC WITHIN TEN YEARS A RAILROAD THAT, AT THE LOW EST ESTIMATE, WOULD COST ONE HUNDRES MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, AND WHICH, IT I SHOWN, MAY, IF CONSTRUCTED ON THE SAME TERMS AS THE AMERICAN PACIFIC. COST ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. The latter estisponsibilities in assuming the government | millions over and above the present debt of the North-West Territories; and we of the Dominion, and if the population are blessed with an Administration that of Canada is compared with that of has, in four short years, managed to in- Great Britain would represent obligations incurred by the latter of £200,000,000 ture at least fifty per cent. If we were to sterling, or one-fourth the whole national take a narrow and selfish view of the debt. As stated by Mr. James Young in situation, we should eschewall proposals the debate on Tuesday evening, Mr. for new acquisitions, rely solely on the Fleming, the Engineer of the Intercoloterritory we already hold for our support, nial, who has estimated the cost of the treat purely national and Imperial interests | Canadian Pacific at \$100,000,000, is of cpinion that it would cost \$8,000,000 anants to shift like their fathers for them- nually to work and maintain the road, and require a revenue of \$14,000,000 to But that is not the spirit in which | make it pay. Is it wonderful that Govthe people of Canada are acting. They | ernor Musgrove, anxious as he has been see that it is of great importance, by to effect the union, should express himsel admitting British Columbia into the as "amazed" at the offer of the Ottawa

cars nothing for vulgar economics. Let as to the financial basis on which the read has led them in their negotiations with | Cartier auggests land grants of sixty-four millions of acres and a "moderate subsidy."

"Although those industries I have co on their way to Oregon, and a party of Sir Francis Hincks speaks of land grants ticed employ a large number of persons, still "Jape" on their way home from a visit to millions of acres and a "moderate subsidy." and a "liberal money subsidy." Sir the lumber trade, which I before described, and agriculture are the very foundations of Francis thinks that the latter might Canadian prosperity, and those who desire to expedition sent out at the expense of the "this country." With a balance sheet player himself, or to acquire a little pro- is breaking down. The entire party includes party, because much capital is not so much in Wooyene, Special Commissioner of Law, and needed here; and land, which is often purhis interpreter, Von Siebeld; Ite, Minister of chased cheap, increases in value with the Finance to Washington; Sameshima, Plenz. we are unable to see how a million-anda-quarter dollars per annum is to be obtained without somebody being called upon to pay it. The policy, too, of locking-up for railway purposes, handing over increases in value with the description of the country. Still, at home development of the country. Still, at home to London, and suite, and Nim Nan No Mean the collimate is more genial—circumstances which make the position of those who have to work for weekly wages as good in Englished cheap, increases in value with the London, and suite, and Nim Nan No Mean the collimate is more genial—circumstances to London, and suite, and Nim Nan No Mean the collimate is more genial—circumstances to London, and suite, and Nim Nan No Mean the collimate is more genial—circumstances to London, and suite, and Nim Nan No Mean the collimate is more genial—circumstances to London, and suite, and Nim Nan No Mean the collimate is more genial—circumstances to London, and the London an

> then questionable. That portion of the land required west dered by the British Columbians in repulation, and with what readiness they have whose capacity of crying is very considerturn for a cash payment by Canada of adapted themselves to a mode of life at difable, and who is perpetually meeting with sturn for a cash payment by Canada of 8100,000 per annum—a fresh proof that our worthy fellow-subjects on the Pacific coast are well able to take care of themselves—as some 600 or 700 miles of the line will run through that Province—will give him eight or being a sasen opens. There are province in the sasen opens. There are provinced to line a distribute and who is perpetually meeting with a cocidents and troubles. What is more distributed.
>
> Subject and who is perpetually meeting with a cocidents and troubles. What is more distributed and whorever I have met them, with few exceptions, they appear to be doing well, and highly pleased that they emigrated. No doubt a little word with a baby? The character of the answer is left us to consider. But, certainly, our ministrum little woman behaves when the sasen opens. There are provinced to have said to Dr. Johnson, "Sir, what would you do If you were shut up in a tower with a baby? The character of the answer is left us to consider. But, certainly, our ministrum little woman behaves when the coloniate when the sasen opens. There are provinced to have said to Dr. Johnson, "Sir, what would you do If you were shut up in a tower with a baby? The character of the answer is left us to consider. But, certainly, our ministrum little woman behaves were creditably.
>
> FRANCIS H. HEWARD;
>
> Agent at Toronto. turn for a cash payment by Canada of or nine millions of acres; but the colonists | when the sesson opens. There are prorpso- ing plains of Nebraska. The country is still for whose great and especial benefit the ple here as there are in every country, but rich in agricultural resources, and well setline is to be carried through wild and sterile wastes, across mountains and and cities of Europe. The artizans who, rude cabin of the new settler, who has just swamps, at so alarming a rick, are to be attempted and degree of certainty might calculated and come out to the far West to find a home.
>
> [ate upon doing well in Canada are there are Vest and seemingly unbounded grainly stretch.] paid for granting the land requisite for the construction of the line within their arriving here, would locate themselves in are not, as one would suppose, a vast level own borders.

quantity of land, lying—let us assumo-

Do we blame the British Columbians growth by working at their trades until an opportunity offered to settle on land and and A magnificent carth open is rolling in magnificent carth open is rolling in magnificent carth open is rolling in magnificent carth open. for this? Not by any means! We rather Penitentiary, and other claims coming admire their cuteness, and are glad to here. But the class who would profit, baunder the denomination of general government. Beltish Columbia, not having time to recken such smart fellows amongs: crnment. British Columbia, not having time to reckon such smart fellows amongs: Ireland, who now work for a mere pittage, incurred the same amount of debt that our Canadian fellow-subjects; but their barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. Surely a dellar (4s. 2d.) a day here, these transactions, and we do not hesichest to be allowed five per these transactions, and we do not hesichest to the difference between her pro
'ur Canadian fellow-subjects; but their barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. Surely a dellar (4s. 2d.) a day here, where food for a man and his family is cheaper, must be better than half the same and here, which we follow for sound in England or Ireland; and here, which we follow for sound miles. At Omaha we were there are an elevation of 963 feet above the level of the sea, and we are elimbing the leng western alone of the Rocky Mountains. The rapid-flowing waters of the Platte River, which we follow for sound miles, dispol the portion of debt per head and that of and means, such an outrageous become the owner of land himself; those two Provinces. Moreover, until a scheme as this must end in vexation, and it will be some encouragement to

The facts on which are based the ly every one of these resolutions, the This is the class of emigrants which Canada calculations of the actual cost to Can- Minister of Militis, -adding insult to the and develop her vast resources, the basis of extremely vague. Having regard to the Government scheme,—told the House Government has the wisdom to let them the geographical position of the colony, that not one amendment should be perand the expansive nature of some of mitted, but that they must either swal- in a grand future for this Dominion, while the duties accepted by the Dominton, low the whole below, or take the rea margin must be allowed for pretty large spensibility of rejecting it altogether. but it is probable that the first and liberal laws are conflugencies; but it is probable that the Such conduct is quite in keeping fairly and honestly administered; where total comments of Canada on account of with the attitude Sir George E. Cartier there is plenty of room for all, with civil and her new acquisition, under the heads and his colleagues are went to severe religious liberty guaranteed, and education her new acquisition, under the heads and his colleagues are wont to assume, within the reach of every one, the progress already referred to, would amount to over | even whilst perfectly conscious that they | must be sure and certain. And if any words half a million a year; that the British will have in the end to surrender the industrious men, who are now hopelessly Columbians would be from \$150,000 to position. From the wild and reckless tolling and living from hand to mouth in extravagance of the agreement into which present; and that,—after deducting the they have entered, it would really appear which I have travelled many thousand miles they have entered, it would really appear as if the resolutions were only brought forward to be rejected. Humiliation is no degradation in the eyes of men who act without principle and wantonly court dish. It is Reform in principle, and deserves dishoneur.

Sevening, as the darkness gathered, we wise the first number of the positions of the prairie on five, and in the distance long lines of light would extend along the horizon like the view of a brilliantly illuminated city street. During the night we passed twopty four stations, and in the County Court of the rece'pts from import and expise duties as if the resolutions were only brought for on this continent will be accomplished. paid into the Foderal Treasury, -- the Do- | ward to be rejected. Humiliation is no minion would have to pay a nett sum of degradation in the eyes of men who act AUCCCSS.

CUE STREETS.

Some time ago we discussed the question of paving our streets with wooden blocks instead of the miserable macadam. which has been tried to long, and has been found so unsatisfactory. We are glad to notice that the Council is moving in the direction then indicated, and we fully anticipate that some of our principal thoroughfares will be in this way put into a condition very different from what they are now before the present season is over. Property holders know how much their houses would thereby rise in value. expense, and their full share of the other half; and, when this is the case, the the buildings commonplace. In 1854 a few Council will be fully justified in going actively and somewhat extensively into | Council Bluffs was regarded as the frontier does it "bind;" while, even as it is, it is not to be had except at an expense which makes the wooden pavement far cheaper, as well as infinitely better.

When our new Council has got fully measures to have our city thoroughly clean. The amount of filth accumulated And surely our Aldermen will do some

precedents for grantleg representation in | gardens and clean sidewalks with despair. excess of that agreement to a dozen new The first fine days bring the cows as surely Manitobas and British Columbias carved as the crocuses, and the swine and the geere follow hard upon their footsteps the Already these Phillistines are upon us. Let some patriotic Alderman make them a specialty, and in the spirit of Sir Peter | traveller:-"These fellows give us more Laurie or Alderman 'Cute vow " to put them down," and everyone that loves an underolated garden and a decent sidewalk will honour him while living, and mourn him while dead, as a practical philanthro-· said to increase the cost and difficulty | Canadian people. To what comes after, | pist and great social reformer. This cow, goose and plg business may be all very well in a country village, but it is simply abcminable in' a city like Toronto. We are far from saying a single disrespectful word about any of the very useful trio; | 11 it seemed almost like a monster game o but when they are turned into the streets
of a large and rather ambitious city to pick
up a miscrable support from the grass and
uneven tener of the hobble de-hoy up to the garbage they can fall in with, they are decidedly out of their proper sphere. surely cannot be the fact, though we have heard it asserted again and again, that the cow and plg interests are so strong in our city that no alderman has ever had the courage to oppose the unconstrained freedom of their movements for fear of losing his chance for re-election. Cows and porkers must in that case be a very formidable power in the Common wealth. mate would be equivalent to some fifty We shall not believe that our present aldermen have any such fears till we find, however reluctsuitly, that we can in n other way account for the continuance of a nuisance which thousands have long felto be in its place exceedingly vexations and discreditable.

CANADA AS SERN BY AN OLD COUN-

TRY WORKING MAN. A good many have met with Mr. Thos.

Concily, a gentleman sent out by the workingmen of England to examine the actual state of things in Canada and the conting out the actual state of things in Canada and the conting out the roles.

Ordinary car 1 The inventive genius of the conting at 3. Section at 4. Small buying at 7 dis., selling at 4. Small buying at 7 dis., selling at 5. Sterling Exchange, 10; Gold—10 am., 10; 11 moon, 10; 12 moon, 10; 12 moon, 10; 12 moon, 10; 13 moon, 10; 13 moon, 10; 14 p. m., 10; 4 p. m., 10; 4 p. m., 10; 4 p. m., 10; 4 p. m., 10; 5 p. m., 10; 5 p. m., 10; 5 p. m., 10; 6 p. m., 10; 6 p. m., 10; 6 p. m., 10; 12 moon, 10; 13 moon, 10; 13 moon, 10; 14 p. m., 10; 6 p. m., 10; 7 p. m., 10; 8 p. m., 10; 6 p. m., 10; 6 p. m., 10; 7 p. m., 10; 8 p. m., 10; 8 p. m., 10; 6 p. m., 10; 12 p. m., 10; 13 p. m., 10; 13 p. m., 10; 14 p. m., 10; 14 p. m., 10; 15 the old country to either of these, with the prespects of improving their condition.

Mr. Conolly, a "stone mason" himself, a shrewd, intelligent observer, one ho has travelled over the country the head over the head over the country the head over the head ove For be it from us to say that a Pacific railroad is not a worthy enterprise for the people of the Dominion to assist and encourage. But it is an undertaking that, desirableness of becoming the traders before the public credit is pledged for its very clearly, and with great fairness and the enjoyment is greatly enhanced when construction or support, should be the ability. Two letters sent by him to the you compare it with the ordinary 15 minutes subject of the most careful and laborious examination. To rush, into such responsibilities, to bind ourselves to a term of years for its completion, without the least satisfactory a view of the subject as we years for its completion, without the least satisfactory a view of the subject as we But Ministers who have already added so much to the burdens of the people of mad a proposal as could come from they are more suitable for old country that are more suitable for old country last of all two second-class or smoking cars. much to the burdens of the people of mad a proposal as could come from they are more suitable for old country Canada, and who seem to have no limit the lips of a Minister. And yet prople than for our pages; but our read- Now, that we may be prepared to take full to their ideas of her capacity for bearing the Minister of Militis and the ers, we believe, will thank us for giving enjoyment out of the trip, let us cultivate an ers, we believe, will thank us for giving enjoyment out of the trip, let us cultivate an whatever they impose, know nothing and Minister of Finance are not even agreed them the following rather lengthy specimen of Mr. Conolly's style, and his way disposed to be reticent. There are business should be constructed. Sir George E. of putting the case of Canada before his men, pleasure seekers, Texans going to Cartier auggests land grants of sixty-four college months in Britain: fellow workmen in Britsin:-

> amount to "a million or a million-and-a"quarter dollars per annum, which could "be paid without increasing the taxes of and has a better chance to become an eming-up for railway purposes, handing over in any place I have been upon this Con. it may be to a public company, or selling tinent. No doubt many an artizan emigrant who could not find an employment in Eng. who could not find an employment in Eng. if all they say in the day were printed! Who who could not find an employment in Eng. it is all they say in the day were printed! Who would be compelled to real it! And such land has found one here, and has thereby black smoke that comes rolling in bettered his condition; but a large country black smoke that comes rolling like this, thinly peopled, with comparatively few large towns and cities, cannot be expect locomotive that drags us along is pu edto afford employment for a large emigration of that class. Yet it is surprising how completely the 20,000 emigrants who came out not that squalid, hopelers poverty which is tied. Now we are passing the comfortable to be found in many portions of the towns residence of the "old settler;" and now the customed to country life at home, who, on | es out before you on all sides. These prairies come rising village or town, where, if indus- of monotonous plane, but rolling uplands, tricus, they would be sure to rise with its | rising from the Missouri River to the Rocky

disappointment, and, it may be, greater find, when he arrives here, that nearly all disappointment, and, it may be, greater the land of Cauada is owned by men who were poor when they landed, and had nother own customs tariff and perchanged in the land of Cauada is owned by men who were poor when they landed, and had nothing but stout hearts and willing hands to begin life in the bush, and who are always ready to lend a halping hand to a new owner.

and broadening power of the eye infases a new spirit into you, and you are inspired with the sense of fresdom. Some of our passengers must have felt it strongly, for, though a special notice was posted up in a conspicuous place, positively prohibiting smoking in any part of the car, several would persist in filiing the car with tobacco smoke, to the great disgust and annoyance of others. In the evening, as the darkness gathered, we wit-nessed portions of the prairie on fice, and in

MR. PUNSHON'S EXPEDITION TO favourite feeding-ground of the buffalo, the hunch grass, their favourite food, abounding here. Over these plains once bounds ed immense herds of bison, but the thunder and lightning of the "fire wag-gon" has frightened them away. As we passed we caught a distant glimpse of two of these denizers of the plains, that were regarded as apocryphal buffalors. We saw several herds of antelopes; and as the train passed, they galloped wildly away, showing the handkerchief—their white tails spread Omaha is the starting point of the grand Trans-Continental Railroad. It is one of out like a fan. We pass Prairie Dog City, those Western places that has had greatness where these strange little animals abound. They burrow in the ground, and in throwing thrust upon it in a day. On the Western out the earth, raise a mound nearly a foot bank of the Missouri, within the borders of high over their holes. They are of a sandy the State of Nebraska, it sits snugly on the | brown colour, and are about the size of a black squirrel. As we passed, the more shy hills, and is seen to best advantage as you little fellows would run into their holes approach Council Bluffs on the eastern side others would stand up on their haunches and of the Missouri. It has broad streets and a bark at us as disturbers of the peace. Now few fine blocks and stately buildings, but we are rising rapidly, and the cold assures us that we have already gained an immense the streets are chiefly very straggling, and of snow lie on the hill-sides. In the dark squatters took up their abode here when Hills. At 12 o'clock we reach Cheyenne, in the Territory of Wyoming, at an elevation of 6,041 feet above the level of the sea.

> MR, BLAKE, (To the Editor of the Globs.)

BENCHERS OF THE LAW SOCIETY—

SIR,-A barrister's letter in to-day's Gkbe requires a word in reply. Mr. Blake's name was omitted from the list of proposed benchers at his own request, his time being fully occupied, as he stated

in a letter to one of the committee appointed

must become two of the largest centres of by the meeting to prepare the list. I regret that the other emission to which we were detained a couple of hours by the eference is made in your correspondent's ANADIAN WHISKEY. late arrival of the Ohloago, Burlington and etter-the non-payment of postage-cannot Quincy train. As we were waiting at the depot of the Union Pacific Hailroad, we be explained so easily, at least by me, though my name is appended to the circulars. I can were attracted by the eloquence of a orier only say that two others of the members of | OLD RYE. walking up and down with his hands in his the Committee undertook the duty of distributing the lists amongst the profession. The names of both are on the list of "barristers eligible as benchers," and no one can doubt their desire to observe all proper courtesy to their brethree. A mistake, however, was made, for which they are responsible and pectations that were raised I should have not the gentleman whose name is signed said that during the pauses of the fervid orier to the lists. a gong was sounded more distractedly than

ONE OF THE COMMITTEE,

Toronto, 27th March. The St. John (N.B.) Globe of the 21st inst, takes a common sense view of the political situation in Ontario. The conclusions that it arrives at will appeal to the good sense of every inhabitant of Ontario. The writer in the maritime Province, after admitting that it is of comparatively little importance to those in the Lower Provinces, which party succeeded, pertinently adds:—
Yet, there is a connection between the politics of Ontario and the Dominion. Else, why should the elections in that Province bave been hurried on at this inopportune time. The Provincial Legislature had scarcely been prorogued, the Dominion Parliament was in the midst of its session, when, suddenly, many of the members were called away to run their local elections. Now, why could not the elections in Ontario have been postpored for a month or two? What is the reason of the haste? Was there a fear that the discussions in the Parliament might operate unfavourably on the Ontario Government, and the people of that Province be turned from their allegiance to that (:overnment? Or is it a political manceuvre to take out of the House, during the absence of the Premier at Washington, many of the ablest of the Ontario men, and thus prevent the raising of embarrassing questions? If any further argument were wanted against dual representation the condition of things at And now that we are comfortably settled Ottawa now supplies it. It would be a for a ride of filty-five hours, we have need to sound principle to establish throughout the call into requisition every provision we have entire Dominion that the men who go into made to relieve the weariness of travel. One | the Local Legislatures should be free of all of our party, somewhat playfully, boasted that he had everything needed, but when saked by the head of the party for a "pulpit," vants of the Dominion in any way.

Special Actices.

TORONTO MONEY WARRET. in the "Montana," a palace car; and certain.

In the "Montana," a palace car; and certain.

It to call it a palace is not the language of Reported by PHILIP BROWNE & CO., Bankers and Brokers, 67 Youge Street.

or Carrageen), pretty thoroughly. It has been sub-jected to the experimentum crucis in numberless hitchens, and to the criticism of numberless opicurean palates, and the result, as far as we can judge, is a universal verdict in its favour. It has been placed, so to speak, in the front rank of our tood staples, and all that has been said of it by the patentee (Mr. Band), and the Company interested in its sale, appears to be approved and confirmed by public opinicu.

In Toronto, on the 19th inst , the wife of RIGHARD

WATSON, of a son. On Sunday, 20th inst, the wife of HARRY JONESS. Req., Chinguacousy, of a son, At "The Bims," Weston, on the 29th inst., the wife of T. C. Scobly, Esq , of a daughter. At Pottanore, East Indies, on the 24th Jan., the wife of WM. BOULTBER, Esq , C. E , of a daughter.

On Wednesday, the 20th last., by the Rev. J. Bradin, at the residence of the bride's father, Mr. David R. Jawas, eldest son of Joseph James, Esq., to FARRY, youngest daughter of William Jackson, Esq., all of the Township of York.

At the residence of the bride's father, Grimsby, Cnt., on Incider, 28th March, 1871, by the Rev. B. B. Monteymery, Bobbat M. Grippeth, of Hamilton, Novada, U. S., to Mary Alics, youngest daughter of Jacob Kitchen. They started same day for their western home with the good wishes of their many On the 23rd inst., at the residence of the bride's brother, Lucknow, by the Rev Alex. Grant, Angus MacMurchy, Huron Township, to CATHERINE, second daughter of Donald MacDongali, Esq., Calsiay, Scotland.

At Hawksville, Ont., on Sunday, the 26th inst., ALICS JOSEPHIES, third and beloved daughter of M. P. Empey, Mag , sged 22 years and 6 months. At Pickering, Ont., on the 13th inst., John Ma-DILL, Est, in the Sith year of his age. Deceased was a native of the county of Monaghan, Ireland.

On Wednerday, 29th inst, at the residence of his con-in-law, William Cowling, on the Danforth Road, York, RICHARD SLEMAN, Sen's, of Darlington, aged ger Funeral from R R Depot, Bowmsoville, place of interment, Salem Chapel, at 3 p. m. On Monday, the 20th March, at his residence, Peters street, Orillia, T. H. PORTAS, Esq., aged 50

ROYAL INSURANCE BUILDINGS CORNER YONGE AND WELLINGTON STR.

THE CASH BOKUS SYSTEM The road appears to be straight at an arrow 12s 6d, or 15s, (instead of 20s), per £t of the usual pre-

and level as the floor; but we are rising miums. Until the time of participation in bonuses, a pertian of the average rate of 9 feet per mile a pertian of by of the premiums used be paid, and the Annual Payments for policies are thus as for the next 500 miles. At Omaha we were follows:-£1,000, 845 62 \$ 91 25

170 83 a great fertilizer, and has made a garden of tions to the Sums Assured, and are available as a what would otherwise be a dezer). It drains Provision for the Policy Holder himself in OLD AGE. A late Statement in the "TIMES" Newspaper of the Business of 70 Life Offices for 13 months showed that out of 69 British Offices, SINTY-SIVE transacted less business than the LIFE ASSOCIATION OF BOOTLAND. LE INTENDING ASSURERS should EXTER defore the Sind year's Balance on Sth April, 1871. R. N. GOOCH, Agent, Toronto.

P. WARDLAW,

Secretary, Place d'Armes, Montreal

INSOLVENT ACT OF 1869.

James Chapman, of the City of Toronto, in the

County of York, Butcher, Plaintiff. John Biake, of the City of Toronto aforesaid, Butcher, Defendant. In the matter of John Blake, an Insolvent,-In

great natural parture ground. This was the Toronto, March 17th, 1871

Zetail Groceries.

ARE NOW SELLING

Rich, full bedied and fine flavoured—of the kinds so much esteemed in England.

Combining strength and fine flavour. No adulterated or imitation Green Tesa sold. All uncoloured, and comprising the finest qualities, and unequalled in the city.

Pure I ava and Mocha Coffees all deleterious ingredients, so commonly mixed with Coffees.

186 Yonge Street, and East Market Corner, King St. East.

MALT, FAMILY PROOF.

Quetton St. George & Co.,

Amusements.

DOYAL LYCHUM. TRURSDAY EVINING, March 30th, 1871-Last SEA OF ICE.

Friday, March Sist-Benefit Julia Holman. ORPHEUS AND LORD LOVEL BURLESQUE Prices as usual. God Save the Queen.

PAZAAR NOTICE,

The ladies of St. James' Cathedral congregation purpose holding a bazaar, for the sale of plain and fancy work, in the month of June, in ald of the "New Sunday School" building fund. Contributions will be thankfully received by the following ladies:--Mrs. Boulton, "The Grange," Mrs. B. Baldwin,

Mrs. Clarkson, King street east, Mrs. Cayley, "The Home," Baverley St, Mrs. DaGrassi, 291 King street cast, Mrs. Geo. Duggm, 272 Wellington street, Mrs. Grastett, "The Rectory," Mrs. C H. Greene, 53 Gerrard street, Mrs. Gillespie, 211 Jarvis street, Mrs. Harcourt, 250 Church street, Mrs. Monro, Windsor street.
Mrs John Ridout, 111 Wallington street,
Mrs. E. H. Butherford, 250 Jarvis street,
Mrs. Ritchie, 86 Mutual street, Miss Bound, 170 Victoria street Mrs. Williams, 238 Jarvis street

Amancini.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE Grimsby Fruit Canning Co. are authorized ito offer for sale from 75 to 100 shares of \$20 each, o like Reserve Stock, to increase the working cash captial. Profits on last year's business, 18 per cent on entire investment. The books can be seen or any in formation furnished on application to DENNIS NixON. President, or WM. FORBES, Sec., Treas. and Manager, Grimsby, Ont.

Advances on the security of City or Suburban THE COLONIAL SECURITIES COMPANY. 17 Edinburgh Life Buildings, Wellington Street

DROVINCIAL PERMANENT BUILDING & SAVINGS SOCIETY.

Notice is Hereby Given that a DIVIDEND

at the rate of 9 per cent. per annum on the capita stock of this society, for the half-year ending the Six of March, 1871, has been declared by the Board Directors, and that the same will be PAYABLE ON AND AFTER TUESDAY, APRIL 1 at the Eoclety's office.

The Transfer Books will be closed from the end . E. BEADSURNE,

PROVINCIAL PERMANENT

KOUSE-BUILDING BRANCH.

This Society is prepared to advance money on most favourable terms to assist parties in building Dwelling-Houses, Stores, etc. Also, to make an FARM SECURITIES.

R. BRADBURNE, OFFICE-First door south of Post-Office, Toronto

MONEY TO LOAN, To assist parties in Building their own

Dwellings, Stores, or Warehouses, IN THE CITY OR ELSEWHERE Also in the purchase of Farm or other kinds of productive property. Loans for long or short periods repsyable by instalments to suit borrowers. Rates lower than by any other mode. Apply at the office of the Union Building Society, 2 King street cast.

NEW 7-30 GOLDLOAN

W. MACLEAN,

Secretary and treasurer.

SAFE, PAOFITABLE, PERMANENT JAY COOKE & CO

GOLD BONDS

OF THE

Northern Pacific Railroad Co. These bonds are secured, fret, by a First Mortgage on the Baliroad itself; its rolling-stock, and all equipments; second, by a First Mortgage on its entire Land Grant, being more than Twenty-Two Thousand Acres of Land to each mile of Hoad. The Bonds are free from United States tax;

PAYABLE IN GOLD,

THE PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST

-the Principal at the end of thirty years, and the Interest Semi-annually at the rate of SEVEN AND THREE-TEXTHS PER CENT per annual. They are issued in denominations of 2:00, \$500 \$1,000, \$5,000 and \$10,000. The Trustees under the Mortgage are Mattra. Jay Cooke, of Philacelphia, and J. Edgar Thompson. President of the Penns, Ivania Central Railroad These Northern Pacific 7 30 Bonds will at all times before maintily, be receivable at TRE PER CERT PARKIUM (or 1 10) in exchange for the Company's lands at their lowest cash price

In addition to their absolute safety, these Bond; yield an income larger, we believe then any other first-class security. Persons holding. United States

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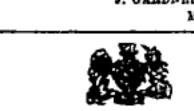
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CLXXVII

ORDER OF HER MAJESTY IN COUNCIL ADMITTING BRITISH COLUMBIA INTO THE UNION, 1871

At the Court at Windsor, the 16th day of May, 1871.

PRESENT

The QUEEN'S Most Excellent Majesty.
His Royal Highness Prince ARTHUR

Lord Privy Seal.

Earl Cowper.

Earl of Kimberley.

Lord Chamberlain.

Mr. Secretary Cardwell.

Mr. Ayrton.

Whereas by the British North America Act, 1867, provision was made for the Union of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into the Dominion of Canada, and it was (amongst other things) enacted that it should be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, on Addresses from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, and of the Legislature of the Colony of British Columbia, to admit that Colony into the said Union, on such terms and conditions as should be in the Addresses expressed, and as the Queen should think fit to approve, subject to the provisions of the said Act; And it was further enacted that the provisions of any Order in Council in that behalf should have effect as if they had been enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;

And whereas by Addresses from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, and from the Legislative Council of British Columbia respectively, of which Addresses copies are contained in the Schedule to this Order annexed, Her Majesty was prayed, by and with the advice of Her Most Honourable Privy Council, under the one hundred and forty-sixth section of the hereinbefore recited Act, to admit British Columbia into the Dominion of Canada, on the terms and conditions set forth in the said Addresses;

And whereas Her Majesty has thought fit to approve of the said terms and conditions, it is hereby ordered and declared by Her Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, in pursuance and exercise of the powers vested in Her Majesty by the said Act of Parliament, that from and after the twentieth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, the said Colony of British Columbia shall be admitted into and become part of the Dominion of Canada, upon the terms and conditions set forth in the hereinbefore recited Addresses. And, in accordance with the terms of the said Addresses relating to the Electoral Districts in British Columbia, for which the first election of members to serve in the House of Commons of the said Dominion shall take place, it is hereby further ordered and declared that such electoral districts shall be as follows:—

- "New Westminster District" and the "Coast District," as defined in a public notice issued from the Lands and Works Office in the said Colony, on the 15th day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, by the desire of the Governor and purporting to be in accordance with the provisions of the thirty-ninth clause of the "Mineral Ordinance, 1869," shall constitute one district, to be designated "New Westminster District" and return one Member.
- "Cariboo District" and "Lillooet District," as specified in the said public notice, shall constitute one district, to be designated "Cariboo District," and return one Member.

"Yale District" and "Kootenay District," as specified in the said public notice, shall constitute one District, to be designated "Yale District," and return one Member.

Those portions of Vancouver Island, known as "Victoria District," "Esquimalt District," and "Metchosin District," as defined in the official maps of those districts which are in the Land Office, Victoria, and designated respectively, "Victoria District Official Map, 1858," "Esquimalt District Official Map 1858," and "Metchosin District Official Map, A.D. 1858," shall constitute one District, to be designated "Victoria District," and return two Members. All the remainder of Vancouver Island, and all such islands adjacent thereto

All the remainder of Vancouver Island, and all such islands adjacent thereto as were formerly dependencies of the late Colony of Vancouver Island shall constitute one district, to be designated "Vancouver Island District," and return one Member.

And the Right Honourable Earl of Kimberley, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions therein accordingly.

ARTHUR HELPS.

SCHEDULE.

Address of the Senate of Canada.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Senate of Canada in Parliament assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing:—

That by a despatch from the Governor of British Columbia, dated 23rd January, 1871, with other papers laid before this House, by message from His Excellency the Governor-General, of the 27th February last, this House learns that the Legislative Council of that colony, in council assembled, adopted, in January last, an Address representing to Your Majesty that British Columbia was prepared to enter into Union with the Dominion of Canada, upon the terms and conditions mentioned in the said Address, which is as follows:

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Legislative Council of British Columbia, in council assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing:—

That, during the last session of the late Legislative Council, the subject of the admission of the Colony of British Columbia into the Union or Dominion of Canada was taken into consideration, and a resolution on the subject was agreed to, embodying the terms upon which it was proposed that this colony should enter the Union:

That after the close of the session, Delegates were sent by the Government of this Colony to Canada to confer with the Government of the Dominion with respect to the admission of British Columbia into the Union upon the terms proposed;

That after considerable discussion by the Delegates with the Members of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, the terms and conditions hereinafter specified were adopted by a Committee of the Privy Council of Canada, and were by them reported to the Governor General for his approval;

That such terms were communicated to the Government of this Colony by the Governor General of Canada, in a despatch dated July 7th, 1870, and are as follows:—

1. Canada shall be liable for the debts and liabilities of British Columbia existing at the time of the Union.

2. British Columbia not having incurred debts equal to those of the 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 five per cent per annum on the difference between the actual amount of its indebtedness at the date of the Union, and the indebtedness per head of the population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (27.77 dollars), the population of British Columbia being taken at 60,000.

- 3. The following sums shall be paid by Canada to British Columbia for the support of its Government and Legislature, to wit, an annual subsidy of 35,000 dollars, and an annual grant equal to 80 cents per head of the said population of 60,000, both half-yearly in advance, such grant of 80 cents per head to be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by each subsequent decennial census, until the population amounts to 400,000, at which rate such grant shall thereafter remain, it being understood that the first census be taken in the year 1881.
- 4. The Dominion will provide an efficient mail service, fortnightly, by steam communication between Victoria and San Francisco, and twice a week between Victoria and Olympia; the vessels to be adapted for the conveyance of freight and passengers.
 - 5. Canada will assume and defray the charges for the following services:
 - A. Salary of the Lieutenant-Governor;
 - B. Salaries and allowances of the Judges of the Superior Courts and the County or District Courts;
 - C. The charges in respect to the Department of Customs;
 - D. The Postal and Telegraphic Services;
 - E. Protection and encouragement of Fisheries;
 - F. Provision for the Militia;
 - G. Lighthouses, Buoys and Beacons, Shipwrecked Crews, Quarantine and Marine Hospitals, including a Marine Hospital at Victoria;
 - H. The Geological Survey;
 - I. The Penitentiary;

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.

- 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 British Columbia into the Dominion of Canada.
- 7. It is agreed that the existing Customs tariff and Excise duties shall continue in force in British Columbia until the railway from the Pacific Coast and the system of railways in Canada are connected, unless the Legislature of British Columbia should sooner decide to accept the Tariff and Excise Laws of Canada. When Customs and Excise duties are, at the time of the union of British Columbia with Canada, leviable on any goods, wares or merchandises in British Columbia, or in the other Provinces of the Dominion, those goods, wares and merchandises may, from and after the Union, be imported into British Columbia from the Provinces now composing the Dominion, or into either of those Provinces from British Columbia, on proof of payment of the Customs or Excise duties leviable thereon in the Province of exportation, and on payment of such further amount (if any) of Customs or Excise duties as are leviable thereon in the Province of importation. This arrangement to have no force or effect after the assimilation of the Tariff and Excise duties of British Columbia with those of the Dominion.
- 8. British Columbia shall be entitled to be represented in the Senate by three members, and by six members in the House of Commons. The representation to be increased under the provisions of The British North America Act, 1867.
- 9. The influence of the Dominion Government will be used to secure the continued maintenance of the naval station at Esquimalt.
- 10. The provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, shall (except those parts thereof which are in terms made, or by reasonable intendment may be held to be specially applicable to and only affect one and not the whole of the Provinces now comprising the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this Minute) be applicable to British Columbia in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the other Provinces of the Dominion, and as if the Colony of British Columbia had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act.
- 11. The Government of the Dominion undertake to secure the commencement simultaneously, within two years from the date of the Union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected, east of the Rocky Mountains, towards the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and further,

to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of the Union.

And the Government of British Columbia agree to convey to the Dominion Government, in trust, to be appropriated in such manner as the Dominion Government may deem advisable in furtherance of the construction of the said railway, a similar extent of public lands along the line of railway throughout its entire length in British Columbia (not to exceed, however, twenty (20) miles on each side of said line,) as may be appropriated for the same purpose by the Dominion Government from the public lands of the North-West territories and the Province of Manitoba: Provided that the quantity of land which may be held under preemption right or by Crown grant within the limits of the tract of land in British Columbia to be so conveyed to the Dominion Government shall be made good to the Dominion from contiguous public lands; and provided further, that until the commencement, within two years, as aforesaid, from the date of the Union, of the construction of the said railway, the Government of British Columbia shall not sell or alienate any further portions of the public lands of British Columbia in any other way than under right of pre-emption requiring actual residence of the pre-emptor on the land claimed by him. In consideration of the land to be so conveyed in aid of the construction of the said railway, the Dominion Government agree to pay to British Columbia from the date of the Union, the sum of 100,000 dollars per annum, in half-yearly payments in advance.

12. The Dominion Government shall guarantee the interest for ten years from the date of the completion of the works, at the rate of five per centum per annum, on such sum, not exceeding £100,000 sterling, as may be required for the con-

struction of a first class graving dock at Esquimalt.

13. The charge of the Indians, and the trusteeship and management of the lands reserved for their use and benefit, shall be assumed by the Dominion Government, and a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government shall be continued by the Dominion Government after the Union.

To carry out such policy, tracts of land of such extent as it has hitherto been the practice of the British Columbia Government to appropriate for that purpose, shall from time to time to conveyed by the Local Government to the Dominion Government in trust for the use and benefit of the Indians on application of the Dominion Government; and in case of disagreement between the two Governments respecting the quantity of such tracts of land to be so granted, the matter shall be referred for the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

14. The Constitution of the Executive Authority and of the Legislature of British Columbia shall, subject to the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, continue as existing at the time of the Union until altered under the authority of the said Act, it being at the same time understood that the Government of the Dominion will readily consent to the introduction of responsible government when desired by the inhabitants of British Columbia, and it being likewise understood that it is the intention of the Governor of British Columbia, under the authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to amend the existing Constitution of the Legislature by providing that a majority of its Members shall be elective.

The Union shall take effect according to the foregoing terms and conditions on such day as Her Majesty by and with the advice of Her Most Honourable Privy Council may appoint (on addresses from the Legislature of the Colony of British Columbia and of the Houses of Parliament of Canada in the terms of the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867,) and British Columbia may in its address specify the electoral districts for which the first election of Members to serve in the House of Commons shall take place.

That such terms have proved generally acceptable to the people of this Colony. That this Council is, therefore, willing to enter into Union with the Dominion of Canada upon such terms, and humbly submit that, under the circumstances, it is expedient that the admission of this Colony into such Union, as aforesaid, should be effected at as early a date as may be found practicable under the provisions of the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867.

We, therefore, humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of Your Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, under the provisions of the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867, to admit British Columbia into the Union or Dominion of Canada, on the basis of the terms

and conditions offered to this Colony by the Government of the Dominion of Canada, hereinbefore set forth; and inasmuch as by the said terms British Columbia is empowered in its address to specify the electoral districts for which the first election of members to serve in the House of Commons shall take place, we humbly pray that such electoral districts may be declared, under the Order in Council, to be as follows:

That "New Westminster District," and the "Coast District," as defined in a public notice issued from the Lands and Works Office on the 15th day of December, 1869, by the desire of the Governor, and purporting to be in accordance with the provisions of the 39th clause of the "Mineral Ordinance, 1869," shall constitute one district, to be designated "New Westminster District," and return one Member.

That "Cariboo District," and "Lillooet District," as specified in the said public notice, shall constitute one district, to be designated "Cariboo District," and return one Member.

That "Yale District," and "Kootenay District," as specified in the said public notice, shall constitute one district, to be designated "Yale District," and return one Member.

That those portions of Vancouver Island known as "Victoria District," "Esquimalt District," and "Metchosin District," as defined in the official maps of those districts in the Land Office, Victoria, and which maps are designated respectively, "Victoria District Official Map, 1858," "Esquimalt District Official Map, 1858," shall constitute one district, to be designated "Victoria District," and return two Members.

And that all the remainder of Vancouver Island, and all such islands adjacent thereto as were formerly dependencies of the late colony of Vancouver Island shall constitute one district, to be designated "Vancouver Island District," and return one Member.

We further humbly represent, that the proposed terms and conditions of Union of British Columbia with Canada, as stated in the said Address, are in conformity with those preliminarily agreed upon between delegates from British Columbia and the Members of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, and embodied in a Report of a Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the 1st July, 1870, which approved Report is as follows:

Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the 1st of July, 1870.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a Despatch, dated the 7th May, 1870, from the Governor of British Columbia, together with certain Resolutions submitted by the Government of that colony to the Legislative Council thereof—both hereunto annexed—on the subject of the proposed Union of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada; and after several interviews between them and the Honourable Messrs. Trutch, Helmcken and Carrall, the Delegates from British Columbia, and full discussion with them of the various questions connected with that important subject, the Committee now respectfully submit for Your Excellency's approval, the following terms and conditions to form the basis of a political union between British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada.

[Here are sel forth at length the terms of Union as stated on pages 659-661 in the Address of the Legislative Council of British Columbia.]

(Certified.) Wm. H. Lee, Clerk, Privy Council.

We further humbly represent that we concur in the terms and conditions of Union set forth in the said Address, and approved Report of the Committee of the Privy Council above mentioned; and most respectfully pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of your Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, under the 146th clause of The British North America Act, 1867, to unite British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada, on the terms and conditions above set forth.

The Senate, Wednesday, April 5th, 1871.

(Signed) Joseph Cauchon, Speaker.

Address of the Commons of Canada. To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada in Parliament assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing:-

The balance of the Address is identical in form with the Address of the Senate and is omitted for that reason.

JAMES COCKBURN, Speaker.

House of Commons,

Saturday, 1st April, 1871.

Address of the Legislative Council of British Columbia.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Legislative Council of British Columbia in Council assembled, humbly approach your Majesty for the purpose of representing:-

[Etc., etc., etc. The Address is set forth at length in the Address of the Senate.] (Signed) PHILIP J. HANKIN,

Speaker.

CLXXVIII

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT, 1871

(34 & 35 Victoria, c. 28.)

An Act respecting the Establishment of Provinces in the Dominion of Canada.

29th June, 1871.

Whereas doubts 1 have been entertained respecting the powers of the Parliament of Canada to establish Provinces in territories admitted, or which may hereafter be admitted, into the Dominion of Canada, and to provide for the representation of such Provinces in the said Parliament, and it is expedient to remove such doubts, and to vest such powers in the said Parliament:

Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present

Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:-

1. This Act may be cited for all purposes as The British North America Act, Short title.

2. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time establish new Provinces Parliament of in any territories forming for the time being part of the Dominion of Canada, but canada may not included in any Province thereof, and may, at the time of such establishment, Provinces and make provision for the constitution and administration of any such Province, and provide for for the passing of laws for the peace, order and good government of such Province, the constitution etc., thereof. and for its representation in the said Parliament.

- 3. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time, with the consent of the limits of Legislature of any Province of the said Dominion, increase, diminish, or other-Provinces. wise alter the limits of such Province, upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed to by the said Legislature, and may, with the like consent, make provision respecting the effect and operation of any such increase or diminution or alteration of territory in relation to any Province affected thereby.
- 4. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time make provision for the Parliament of administration, peace, order and good government of any territory not for the Canada may time being included in any Province.
- me being included in any Province.

 5. The following Acts passed by the said Parliament of Canada, and intituled not included in a Province.

 Spectively: respectively:
 - "An Act for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the North-Confirmation Western Territory when united with Canada''; and

of Acts of Parliament of

¹ See lord Kimberley's speech in Hansard, vol. ccvi, 3rd ser., p. 1171, for the reasons which led to the Canada. introduction of this bill.

Agrarian Commonwealth or Entrepôt of the Orient? Competing Conceptions of Canada and the BC Terms of Union Debate of 1871

FORREST D. PASS

Abstract

Much of the historiography of British Columbia's 1871 entry into Confederation has concentrated on the motives of British Columbians in seeking union with Canada. This article examines the discussion of the province's Terms of Union in the Canadian parliament and in the eastern Canadian press, and recasts the debate as a conflict between two competing visions of Canada's economic future. Proponents of the admission of British Columbia believed access to the Pacific would transform the new Dominion into a commercial superpower. Opponents of the Terms looked upon distant, mountainous, and sparsely populated British Columbia as a liability, a region and a community that, unlike the Prairie West, could never conform to the agrarian ideal that underpinned their conception of Canada. A reconsideration of the Terms of Union debate in eastern Canada suggests a broader conception of what constitutes Canada's founding debates, and supports the work of other scholars who have identified an agrarian-commercial cleavage as a defining feature of nineteenth-century Canadian politics.

Résumé

Une grande partie de l' historiographie sur l'entrée de la Colombie-Britannique au sein de la Confédération en 1871 porte sur les motifs qui ont guidé la population de la Colombie-Britannique à vouloir s'unir au Canada. Cet article traite du débat entourant les conditions d'adhésion de la province, qui a eu lieu au Parlement du Canada et dans la presse canadienne de l'Est. Il reformule la question et la présente comme un conflit entre deux visions contradictoires de l'avenir économique du Canada. Les partisans de l'adhésion de la Colombie-Britannique croient que l'accès au Pacifique transformerait le

The author is indebted to Jonathan Vance, Andrew Smith, Carmen Varty, Christopher Armstrong, Kristina Guiguet, Wendy Mitchinson, and the four anonymous JCHA reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.

nouveau dominion en une superpuissance commerciale. Quant aux opposants, ils voient cette Colombie-Britannique éloignée, montagneuse et peu densément peuplée comme un boulet, une région et une collectivité qui, contrairement à la Prairie de l'Ouest, ne pourront jamais se conformer à l'idéal agraire que soustend leur conception du Canada. Un nouvel examen du débat sur les conditions d'adhésion qui ont eu lieu dans l'Est du Canada mène à une conception élargie de ce que sont les débats fondateurs du Canada. Cette vision rencontre les travaux d'autres chercheurs qui confèrent à la division agraire-commerciale un rôle déterminant de la politique canadienne du XIXe siecle.

"All hail Columbia! not least though last." So the Rev. Aeneas McDonell Dawson opened his 1871 ode, "British Columbia Becomes a Province of the Canadian Confederation." Over sixty-one lines, the Ottawa Roman Catholic priest — and brother of the well-known surveyor and expansionist, Simon James Dawson — extolled British Columbia's resources and, more importantly, the position its acquisition would soon give the fledgling Dominion of Canada:

Extend'st thine arm of might where sets the sun, Thy magic wand out o'er the western sea, And lo! ere yet, thy work is well begun, Vast continents and islands come to thee! Cashmere and Thibet welcome tribute pay, Her pent up treasures China willing pours; Japan, from rest of earth no more astray, And India come, their wealth changing with yours. How blest thy favoured people in their store! Earth's richest theirs! Her pearls Arabia sends, Her diamonds rare Golconda! Thine even more; With these vie each eager clime that blends Its lot with thine, and on thy ocean throne, When greater than thyself, bright land, are gone, Thou'lt reign Columbia, o'er the sea, Hope, refuge, stronghold of the Free!¹

¹ Aeneas McDonell Dawson, "British Columbia Becomes a Province of the Canadian Confederation," in his *The North-west Territories and British Columbia* (Ottawa: C.W. Mitchell, 1881), 218. On the Dawson family's involvement in the Canadian expansionist movement, see Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West*, 1856-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 39.

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Dawson was not alone in waxing poetic on the riches that Canada would accrue through its annexation of British Columbia. For Dominion Day 1869, a verse in the Belleville, Ontario, *Daily Intelligencer* eagerly anticipated the extension of the Dominion's borders to the Pacific, "where the stormless waves have no angry crest / As they wash our barques to the gorgeous East." Two years later, the *Intelligencer*, the organ of North Hastings MP and Conservative cabinet minister Mackenzie Bowell, supported unequivocally the Terms of Union admitting British Columbia to Confederation. The transcontinental railway promised as one of the Terms of Union would, the paper predicted in an editorial of 1 April 1871, "be certain to become the great artery for [the] great traffic" between China and Liverpool. In extolling the value of Asiatic commerce, Dawson and the *Intelligencer* positioned themselves firmly on one side of the fierce debate over the admission of British Columbia, a debate which provides an intriguing insight into the competing conceptions of the new Canadian nation that prevailed in the years immediately following 1867.

Historians have explained satisfactorily the motivations of British Columbians in seeking federation with Canada, but the eastern Canadian parliamentary and press discussion of British Columbia's entry into Confederation has received considerably less scholarly attention. Writing in the late 1950s, Margaret Ormsby was aware of the opposition to the Terms of Union in the federal parliament, opposition she attributed to the financial commitments the Terms imposed on the young Dominion. She also suggested, in a brief, exploratory article on Canadian opinions of the Terms, that eastern Canadians believed in a "manifest destiny," that led them to support the annexation of British Columbia. More recently, Jean Barman has described the parliamentary debate on the Terms as anti-climactic, while Patricia Roy and John Herd Thompson acknowledge that the admission of British Columbia was part of a larger strategy of western development, and relate it to the expansionist programme of Toronto *Globe* editor George Brown, but do not examine the parliamentary debate. The authors of the national surveys have presented

^{2 &}quot;Land of the Maple Leaf," Daily Intelligencer (Belleville) (3 July 1869), 4, col.1.

³ Bowell was sole proprietor of the *Intelligencer* and thus its editorials reflected his political agenda P.B. Waite, "Sir Mackenzie Bowell," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, <www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=41353.htm>, (viewed 16 January 2007).

^{4 &}quot;Admission of British Columbia," Daily Intelligencer (1 April 1871), 2, col. 2-3.

⁵ For British Columbia's economic motivations, see Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958), 245-49, 257; Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 96; Patricia Roy and John Herd Thompson, British Columbia: Land of Promises (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2005), 49-50.

⁶ Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia, 249-50.

⁷ Margaret Ormsby, "Canadian Opinion on British Columbia's Entry into Confederation," Report of the Okanagan Historical Society, 9 (1940): 35-7.

⁸ Barman, The West Beyond the West, 97; Roy and Thompson, British Columbia: Land of Promises, 46, 49-50.

the Terms of Union as a "Made-in-BC" solution to local economic problems, a solution eagerly endorsed by an expansionist parliament. Arthur Lower believed the admission of British Columbia to Confederation was significant chiefly in that it rested on the consent of the colony's electorate; while W.L. Morton characterized the debate on the Terms in Parliament as a mere formality and Desmond Morton described the process of admitting British Columbia as "deceptively simple."

Though these historians have downplayed the significance of the debate, the proposed Terms of Union sharply divided the Canadian parliament and press. Even if, as Ormsby suggests, Canadians believed in a manifest destiny they disagreed on whether this destiny included British Columbia: the Pacific colony's admission to the union was a considerably more divisive question for Canadian parliamentarians and journalists than the purchase of Rupert's Land two years earlier, the Manitoba Act the previous year, or the Prince Edward Island Terms of Union two years later. Both government and opposition commentators recognized the British Columbia debate as one of the keenest fought battles in Canada's short parliamentary history. 10 The financial cost of the Terms, and of the promised railway in particular, figured prominently in the discussion, as Ormsby correctly noted. "It wouldn't pay Canada to take many British Columbias at this price," the Orangeville, Ontario, Sun opined, and most opponents of the Terms were inclined to agree. 11 However, it is simplistic to characterize the debate as merely a conflict between government patriotism and opposition parsimony. Rather, the debate on the Terms was so contentious because it enflamed a pre-existing ideological conflict over the source of Canada's future prosperity. For those, generally opposition Liberals or Reformers, whose conception of Canada was inspired by the agrarian ideal, distant, barren, and sparsely-settled British Columbia was an expensive and unnecessary liability, and its population failed to conform to their ideal of the upstanding yeoman-citizen. On the other side were those, including Rev. Dawson and the staff of the Belleville Intelligencer, who saw Canada's future prosperity in its emergence as a nexus of international commerce. British Columbia, already rich in mineral wealth, was well situated to control the trade of the Pacific, and the construction of a Canadian Pacific railway would make Canada the entrepôt between Europe and the Orient. The division I posit

⁹ Arthur Lower, Colony to Nation: A History of Canada, 4th rev. ed. (Don Mills: Longmans, 1964), 361; W. L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 338; Desmond Morton, A Short History of Canada, 5th ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2001), 104-5.

¹⁰ Alexander Morris to Sir John A. Macdonald, 1 April 1871, cited in Donald Grant Creighton, John A. Macdonald, vol. 2 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1955), 105; "The British Columbia Resolutions," Perth Courier (7 April 1871), 2, col. 3.

^{11 &}quot;The resolutions to admit British Columbia ..." Sun (Orangeville) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

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between the commercial and agrarian camps was not perfect. Commercialist Conservatives were certainly concerned about agriculture and frequently sought to reassure the opposition that parts of British Columbia were indeed arable. For their part, Liberal agrarians asserted, often formulaically, their commitment to the eventual consummation of a transcontinental union and even to the desirability of expanding trade with Asia. Party allegiance certainly informed the final division on the Terms, but we should not dismiss partisanship as a mere antipathy between the "ins" and the "outs." Rather, the parties that emerged in the decade after Confederation were themselves products of competing conceptions of Canada's economic and political future. Ben Forster in particular has emphasized the importance of the tariff question, which divided farming and business interests, in defining the political landscape of the 1870s. 12 That the debate on the Terms of Union was so acrimonious, especially when compared to the relative bi-partisanship that had typified discussions of other expansionist legislation, suggests an important role for the agrarian-commercial dichotomy generally, and the British Columbia debate specifically, in defining Canada's early two-party system. Considering the Terms of Union debate as a contest between two competing conceptions of Canada's ideal economic foundation accounts for the debate's contentiousness.

In recasting the debate on the Terms of Union as a debate on the future of Canada as well as of British Columbia, this article contributes to a growing revisionist historiography of Canadian Confederation, a literature that challenges long-accepted nationalist interpretations and presents a version of Confederation that is more problematic and more firmly situated within its multiple contexts. Ian McKay urges historians to consider Canada as a project in liberal state formation, but, as he correctly observes, liberalism in nineteenth-century British North America resembled a "secular religion" rather than "an easily manipulated set of political ideals." Thus, while none of the politicians and newspapermen considered in this study would have dared to challenge the key tenets of classical liberalism — individual liberty, at least for some, and its economic corollary, the free market — they differed considerably on the form the liberal state they envisioned might take. Several historians and political scientists have demonstrated that the conceptions of British North America's future that animated

¹² Ben Forster, A Conjunction of Interests: Business, Politics, and Tariffs, 1825-1879 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 147-64. Jonathan Swainger also discusses the emergence of modern political parties during the 1870s, while S.J.R. Noel discusses a corollary to sharper ideological differentiation, the emergence of the centralized party apparatus. Jonathan Swainger, The Canadian Department of Justice and the Completion of Confederation, 1867-78 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 4-6; S.J.R. Noel, Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics, 1791-1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 275-93.

¹³ Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (December 2000): 617-45.

nineteenth-century politicians, newspapermen, and the public were rooted not only in economic self-interest but also in broader political and economic ideologies, with the dialectic between agrarian virtue and commercial avarice figuring prominently.¹⁴ The chief shortcoming of much of the recent Confederation historiography is that it does not carry its analysis beyond 1867 to include the admission of the latecomer provinces. 15 Yet the question at least one contemporary parliamentarian raised during the British Columbia Terms of Union debate is pertinent to a reassessment of the overall purpose of Confederation: why was an economically, and perhaps morally, bankrupt community of 10,000 white settlers, perched precariously on the Pacific Slope, able to dictate terms to a more developed confederacy of four million?¹⁶ What did British Columbia offer the new Dominion such that a majority of Canadian parliamentarians was willing to ignore the opposition's dire predictions of financial ruin? The debate on the British Columbia resolutions concerned not only the political future of a far-off colony, it also served as an opportunity for Canadians to discuss once again the nature and future of their "new nationality."

The circumstances and provisions of the British Columbia Terms of Union are well known to most students of British Columbian and Canadian history. In the years following the union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island in 1866, rival factions emerged favouring either federation with Canada or annexation to the United States as a means of alleviating the depopulation and economic recession that followed the Cariboo gold rush. Meanwhile in Canada, Prime Minister Macdonald lobbied the Colonial Office to replace British Columbia's anti-Confederationist Governor, Frederick Seymour, with someone more

¹⁴ Peter J. Smith, "The Ideological Origins of Canadian Confederation," in Janet Ajzenstat and Peter J. Smith, eds., Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican? (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997), 47-78; Allan Greer, "Historical Roots of Canadian Democracy," Journal of Canadian Studies 34, no.1 (Spring 1999): 7-26; Rusty Bitterman and Margaret McCallum, "When Private Rights Become Public Wrongs: Property and the State in Prince Edward Island in the 1830s," in John McLaren, A.R. Buck, and Nancy E. Wright, eds., Despotic Dominion: Property Rights in British Settler Societies (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 144-68. Greer is careful not to characterize the phenomenon he identifies as "agrarianism," but his discussion of anti-corporate ideology in pre-Confederation Canada generally accords with Peter Smith's thesis.

¹⁵ Canada's Founding Debates is an exception, as its editors consider 1873, the year of Prince Edward's Island's entry, to be the date by which the work of Confederation was substantially complete. However, the book offers a narrow definition of the founding debates, considering for the latecomer provinces only the debates in the local legislatures. Jonathan Swainger argues for 1878 as the end-date for the Confederation period, but his focus is institutional developments in Ottawa, not territorial expansion and the admission of new provinces. Janet Azjenstat, et al., eds., Canada's Founding Debates (Toronto: Stoddart, 1999), 1; Swainger, The Canadian Department of Justice and the Completion of Confederation, 1867-78, 18.

¹⁶ The politician in question was Quebec Senator John Sewall Sanborn. Canada. Senate, *Debates of the Senate*, 1871 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975), 184.

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favourable to union.¹⁷ After Seymour's sudden death at Bella Coola in June of 1869, the Colonial Office complied with Macdonald's request and dispatched Anthony Musgrave, the Governor of Newfoundland, to Victoria. Frustrated with the divisions among the colony's pro-Confederationists, Musgrave presented draft terms, as a motion of the Government, to the colony's unicameral legislature during the winter of 1870.¹⁸ Upon the legislature's ratification, with some minor modifications, of the Governor's proposed Terms, a delegation of three under the *de facto* leadership of the colony's Commissioner of Lands and Works, Joseph Trutch, travelled to Ottawa to negotiate with the Dominion government. 19 Macdonald's Ouebec lieutenant and fellow leader of the great coalition, Sir George Etienne Cartier, acted for the Dominion, famously offering the British Columbians a transcontinental railway when only a wagon road had been requested.²⁰ The revised Terms, ratified by the colonial legislature in January 1871, included a per capita subsidy for the maintenance of the provincial government; representation in Parliament by six members and three senators; and, most importantly and controversially, a promise to commence construction of a transcontinental railway within two years, for completion within ten.²¹ Trutch then returned to Ottawa, where British Columbia's political future now lay in the hands of Canada's parliamentarians.

Cartier introduced the address to the Queen embodying the British Columbia Terms of Union in the House of Commons on 28 March 1871.²² For

- 17 Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), CO 537, Colonial Office Secret Supplementary Correspondence, 1832-1922, /100, no. 204, John A. Macdonald to Sir John Young, 23 May 1869.
- 18 PRO, CO 60, British Columbia, Original Correspondence, 1858-1871, /38, no. 11, Anthony Musgrave to Sir John Young, 20 February 1870.
- 19 The other two members were R.W.W. Carrall, a member of the legislature for Cariboo District, and Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, a long-time colonial official and until lately an opponent of the Confederation scheme.
- 20 Musgrave's dispatches to the Colonial Office suggest that the British Columbians expected a railway long before Cartier offered one. The "noisiest" advocates of Confederation, Musgrave informed the Colonial Secretary on 5 April 1870, had led the people to expect a railroad as "a certain matter of course," and that only when Canada's offer was known would the colony's political radicals cease to use the rosy prospect of Confederation for "weal political purposes." PRO, CO 60, /38, no. 32, Musgrave to Lord Granville, 5 April 1870.
- 21 Terms of Union, 1871 (Victoria, B.C.: Queen's Printer, 1981). At the request of the Canadian government, Trutch agreed that British Columbia would not insist upon the ten-year deadline. At a dinner in Ottawa following the passage of the Terms through Parliament, he reassured his hosts that British Columbia had not made a "Jewish bargain," and being now part of the Canadian body politic, the province would be loathe to demand its "pound of flesh." British Columbia and the Pacific Railway: Complimentary Dinner to the Hon. Mr. Trutch, Surveyor-General of British Columbia, given at the Russell House, Ottawa, on Monday, 10th April, 1871, (Montreal: Gazette, 1871), 9.
- 22 Macdonald was in Washington as part of the British delegation negotiating a new fisheries treaty with the Americans. The absence of references in his papers suggests that he had little involvement in the British Columbia debate.

the governing party, the admission of British Columbia was simply the culmination of the road to nationhood embarked upon at Charlottetown in 1864. Cartier reminded the house that the former Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, had predicted as early as 1858 that the colonies of British North America would one day form a united empire from the Atlantic to the Pacific. and he marvelled at the speed with which Lytton's prediction had been accomplished. The progress of the Dominion evoked favourable comparisons with the American experience: expansion to the Pacific had taken the Americans six decades, Cartier remarked, but Canada had accomplished it in less than ten years, indeed in less than five.²³ Canada's development ought to mirror or even overtake that of the United States, for it was the new Dominion's duty and destiny to establish a British empire in North America.²⁴ If a transcontinental empire was the "ulterior object" of Confederation, as Postmaster General Alexander Campbell suggested on introducing the Terms of Union in the Senate on 3 April 1871, certainly the admission of British Columbia was integral to the success of the project.²⁵

The supporters of the Terms of Union looked beyond expansion to the Pacific. Cartier's speech only briefly alluded to the purpose for which Canada should acquire a Pacific seaboard. English history, he suggested, demonstrated the "splendid position" that could be achieved through maritime power, and access to the Pacific was critical "if ever this Dominion was to be a powerful nation in the future." ²⁶ In conversation with the British Columbia delegates, Cartier had expressed his belief that Quebec, as a manufacturing centre, and British Columbia, as the inlet for the Pacific trade, would become the most important sections of the Dominion, and his Montreal organ, *La Minerve*, was quick to develop the theme of maritime commercial power. ²⁷ The day after the British Columbia resolutions were introduced in the House, *La Minerve* reprinted its editorial of 26 May 1869, when Parliament had contemplated the purchase of Rupert's Land. The editorial's imagery echoed that of Dawson's poem:

²³ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1871 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1871), 663. Newspapers favourable to the Terms also recalled Lytton's prediction. "After the vote ...," *Daily News* (Kingston) (31 March 1871), 2, col. 3; "The Pacific Railway," *Times* (Ottawa) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

²⁴ See, for example, the speeches of Col. John Hamilton Gray, Hector-Louis Langevin, and William Miller. Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 692, 700; Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 179.

²⁵ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 151-2.

²⁶ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 663.

²⁷ Quoted in John Sebastian Helmcken, Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975), 358.

Le Nord-Ouest n'est aujourd'hui qu'un vaste désert et la solitude est la seule compagne de cette nature sauvage; mais attendons. Le Nord-Ouest, c'est la grandeur et la richesse, c'est l'empire du commerce; c'est le dernier trait-d'union entre l'Europe et l'Asie; c'est le chemin de l'or australien des shawls, du cashmere [sic], des diamants de Golconde, des soies de la Chine, des épices du Malabar et des Moluques, etc. Une immense activité mettra un jour Victoria en rapport journalier avec Montréal et les nations, pour trafiquer, devront débarquer chez nous.²⁸

The future lay with trade, the editorial continued, and the trade routes to the Orient had long determined the fate of western nations. Victoria, a thousand miles closer to China and two thousand miles closer to Japan, would soon overshadow San Francisco as Asia's port of entry just as Alexandria had displaced Petra, Tyre, Palmyra, and Constantinople. Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe also believed that the Pacific Railway would become the favoured route to Asia, and, though less effusive in its support for the Terms than its Montreal and St-Hyacinthe contemporaries, Le Nouveau monde of Quebec City also stated that the admission of British Columbia offered to Canada "l'espérance d'obtenir le contrôle d'une partie du commerce de l'Asie avec l'Europe." 30

Conservative MPs and newspapers from Ontario also looked forward to Canada's emergence as the world's leading commercial power. The member for Russell County, Dr. James Alexander Grant, spoke in terms very similar to *La Minerve*. Like the nations of classical antiquity and more recent commercial centres, British Columbia was destined to become the new centre of Asian trade. When he considered the geography of the Strait of Georgia basin, Grant saw a series of harbours "set apart by a special Providence as a depot for the shipping of the East, and as an entrance to the great highway of all nations across the British American continent." The Ottawa *Free Press* suggested that the construction of a "British Pacific Road" was "not only essential to the union of British Columbia, but to the [securing] to this country that trade with the real Orient which its position entitles it to expect, and which will be of more value than it is now possible to estimate." The national prosperity that Oriental trade would bring was worth the price the British Columbians

^{28 &}quot;La Colombie et le chemin du Pacifique," *La Minerve* (Montreal) (29 March 1871), 2, col. 2-5.

²⁹ Ibid.

^{30 &}quot;La division qui a eu lieu ...," *Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe* (11 April 1871), 3, col. 3-4; "Annexion de la Colombie anglaise," *Le Nouveau monde* (Quebec) (3 April 1871), 1, col. 3.

³¹ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 675.

^{32 &}quot;British Columbia in the House of Commons and Senate," *Free Press* (Ottawa) (31 March 1871), 2, col. 1.

demanded. Equally enthused was Alexander Morris. The Inland Revenue minister and member for Lanark South had been among the earliest proponents of transcontinental Confederation. His 1858 lecture on "The Hudson's Bay and Pacific Territories" foresaw the emergence of a "Great Britannic Empire of the North" that would become the thoroughfare for the trade of China and Japan.³³ In the Commons in 1871, Morris reiterated his contention that a transcontinental railway would serve not only to unite the new Dominion, but would also ensure Canada's commercial supremacy.³⁴

For some years Maritimers had eagerly anticipated that the trade of the Orient flowing into British North America through British Columbia would flow out through Halifax and St John.³⁵ Cartier had predicted that the merchant communities of the lower provinces would make common cause with the British Columbians, and indeed many Maritime MPs and newspapers came out in favour of the British Columbia resolutions. ³⁶ The member for the City of St John, former New Brunswick premier Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, spoke to the commercial benefits for eastern Canadian ports. He argued that, unlike a railway that ended at the eastern foothills of the Rocky Mountains, as some in the opposition proposed, an interoceanic line would capture not only local but also through traffic, and this trade could only benefit the terminal cities of the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic seaboard.³⁷ Another maritime Father of Confederation, Sir Charles Tupper of Nova Scotia, argued that the Canadian railway, unlike the American, would travel through fertile territory and would reduce the journey between China and Great Britain by 1000 miles. 38 Maritime newspapers sympathetic to the federal ministry also saw the Canadian national destiny in global terms. "We have entered upon an era of great public works," predicted the Halifax Daily Reporter, "all tending to give British North America its true position in the British Empire as the great central link uniting the three Islands that constitute the 'Motherland' with those great dependencies of India, Australasia and New Zealand and forming the great highway over which traffic and travel to and from these dependencies shall pass by the shortest and

³³ Alexander Morris, *Nova Britannia: or Our New Canadian Dominion Foreshadowed* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1884), 88.

³⁴ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 714.

³⁵ An early example is T.T. Vernon Smith's 1859 lecture before the St. John Mechanics' Institute, which enumerated the commodities of the Orient that would flow over a proposed transcontinental network of railways and waterways tributary to the New Brunswick port. T. T. Vernon Smith, The Pacific Railway, and the claims of Saint John, New Brunswick, to be the Atlantic terminus read before the Mechanics' Institute of Saint John, February 7, 1859 (St John: W.L. Avery, 1859), 19-20, 28-9.

³⁶ Quoted in Helmcken, Reminiscences, 358.

³⁷ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 668, 671. One Anglophone Quebec newspaper also noted the prosperity the railway would give to that city. "The position of the Opposition...," *Quebec Mercury* (31 March 1871), 2, col. 2.

³⁸ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 757.

speediest route."³⁹ The Halifax *British Colonist* also noted the importance of the railway for imperial unity and trade, and believed that Britain would subsidize the railway as both a military and commercial undertaking. British and Canadian subsidies would encourage investment, and the completed railway would "advance these young countries to the foremost position among the commercial communities of the world."⁴⁰

In the upper chamber, senators reiterated both rosy visions of Canada's commercial ascendance and dire predictions of what might transpire were the Terms rejected. Peter Mitchell of New Brunswick foresaw Canada's emergence as a great maritime power within a decade, while James Skead of Ontario warned that if British Columbia were not admitted on the Terms presented, Canada would lose access to "the carrying trade of China and Japan." It was Nova Scotia senator William Miller, however, who presented the most detailed articulation of the commercialist view of the British Columbia Terms of Union. In the longest speech delivered during the three-day senate debate on the Terms, Miller suggested that, while British Columbia's own resources were considerable, the colony's greatest contribution to Canada and the Empire would be the opening of a British Pacific seaboard to Asian commerce. Like James Grant and La Minerve. Miller looked to history to illustrate the benefits of commerce to a national economy. Citing an "able" yet anonymous author, he observed that since antiquity Oriental commodities had been a source of great wealth to the communities that trafficked in them. The transcontinental thoroughfare would be of particular value to the Maritimes. With its mighty capital poised to become "the great Atlantic depot of the trade of the East," Miller speculated that the name of Nova Scotia might one day stand alongside Phoenicia, Rome, and Arabia. It was to secure the trade of the Orient that Canada undertook its "especial mission" to unite British North America from coast to coast. 42

While the commercialists shared many common ideas, they adapted their approaches to their various audiences. Miller's speech was calculated to appeal not only to Maritimers but also to imperialists, for he saw the emergence of Canada as the entrepôt of the Indies in imperial as well as national terms. He was supported in this view of the railway as an imperial necessity by the writings of Viscount Bury, the British MP and former Canadian Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who had written extensively on the economics of railways and believed that British trade with the Pacific must be carried through the North American colonies. ⁴³ La Minerve had also cited Bury, but the Montreal paper recognized the necessity of making the prospect of a transcontinental empire

^{39 &}quot;Marching On," Daily Reporter and Times (Halifax) (1 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

^{40 &}quot;Our Ottawa Letter," British Colonist (Halifax) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 3.

⁴¹ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 243-4.

⁴² Ibid., 179.

⁴³ Quoted in Ibid., 177.

attractive to French Canadians. 44 In its editorial of 3 April, after the Commons had ratified the resolutions, La Minerve not only reiterated its faith that Canada would dominate the trade of the Indies, but also credited French Canadians with having originated and fulfilled the idea of a transcontinental nation. La Salle, Beauharnois, and Varennes had proposed it as early as the seventeenth century, and it was Cartier, "un premier ministre canadien," and "une courageuse phalange de Canadiens-Français intelligents," who had ensured that the idea would reach fruition. 45 Cartier himself linked the admission of British Columbia with the national aspirations of French Canada in a speech at a banquet for Joseph Trutch. 46 One Anglophone paper melded *La Minerve*'s French Canadian interpretation with the British imperialist view. According to the Ottawa Times, the railway was a significant imperial concern, insofar as it would strengthen Great Britain's military and commercial position in the Pacific. However, in recounting Cartier's speech at Trutch's banquet, the paper deemed it noteworthy that the opening of a western route to Asia would be the work of a "lineal descendant" of Jacques Cartier, who had also sought "Oriental splendour" up the St. Lawrence.⁴⁷ In the centuries-old quest for the Northwest Passage, the commercialists found common ground for French and English Canadians.

La Minerve's appeals to see the admission of British Columbia as the culmination of a long history of Canadian progress were not, of course, shared by all French Canadian commentators. A rival Montreal paper, Le Franc-Parleur, argued that in considering only the commercial side of the Terms, the government would increase the national debt and thus compromise Canada's future. ⁴⁸ In the House of Commons, the most vocal French Canadian opponent of the Terms of Union was Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, ironically the man Wilfrid Laurier would later appoint as British Columbia's Lieutenant-Governor. Ever fond of illustrating his contentions with the fables of Lafontaine, Joly compared the Canadian expansionists with the frog who, aspiring to be as large as an ox, inhaled air until he exploded. ⁴⁹ He ridiculed in particular the

^{44 &}quot;La Colombie et le chemin du Pacifique," *La Minerve* (Montreal) (29 March 1871), 2, col. 2-5

^{45 &}quot;L'admission de la Colombie Anglaise," La Minerve (Montreal) (3 April 1871), 2, col. 3-4.

⁴⁶ British Columbia and the Pacific Railway, 4.

^{47 &}quot;The Star of Empire Glitters in the West'," Times (Ottawa) (13 April 1871), 2, col. 1-2.

⁴⁸ Adolphe Ouimet, "La Colombie Anglaise et le chemin de fer du Pacifique," *Le Franc-Parleur* (Montreal) (6 April 1871), 314-16.

⁴⁹ In the Confederation Debates in the Canadian provincial legislature, Joly had used a Lafontaine fable about an overburdened donkey to draw attention to the tax burden the union of the colonies would impose. Lafontaine's frog and ox fable was also paraphrased by at least three western Ontario newspapers in their coverage of the British Columbia debate. Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 696; Azjenstat, et al., eds., *Canada's Founding Debates*, 138-9; "British Columbia," *Owen Sound Advertiser* (6 April 1871), 2, col.2; "An Outrageous Proposition," *Norfolk Reformer* (Simcoe) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1; "The Dominion Parliament," *Weekly Dispatch* (St Thomas) (6 Apr 1871), 2, col. 1-2.

notion that Canada might become a highway to Asia. "It was very fortunate," he observed sarcastically, "[that] the Pacific made a boundary to the land to be annexed, although it was true [that] China and Japan were beyond, and perhaps the Pacific might yet be made a Canadian sea." ⁵⁰

Joly was joined by English Canadians in dismissing the notion of a Canadian empire built on commerce. The Toronto Globe acknowledged that Canadians were interested in Eastern trade and were therefore willing to offer prudent and economical inducements to British Columbia.⁵¹ Others in the English Canadian opposition were less charitable. For Montreal Centre MP Thomas Workman, the notion that merchants would send Oriental goods over the Pacific Railway was ridiculous because long distance travel by rail would damage fragile items.⁵² Robert Dickey, a Nova Scotia senator, generally supportive of the British Columbia resolutions, had to concede that while some light luxury goods might travel from Asia to Europe through Canada. most commodities would continue to travel by sea.⁵³ Quebec senator John Sewall Sanborn used the proponents' classical illustrations to a different end: as Alexander the Great had found eventually that there was no more world left to conquer, so it would be for Canada's would-be expansionists. When Sanborn recalled Lord Elgin's observation that "a Yankee would not be content with the Garden of Eden but would go westward," he alluded to another contention of the opposition, that expansion to the Pacific to rival the United States was not only economically untenable, it was also un-Canadian. William Miller might profess that Canadian expansionism had goals more just and more noble than mere self-aggrandizement, but both Thomas Workman and Ontario Senator William McMaster saw in the resolutions and the speeches of their proponents a "spread-eagleism" more characteristic of American than Canadian nationalism.⁵⁴ The Norfolk Reformer ironically alluded to Jonathan Sewall's oft-quoted motto of American manifest destiny, "No pent up Utica contracts our powers," in its denunciation of the imperial delusions of the government. The Bowmanville, Ontario, Canadian Statesman compared the admission of British Columbia to the recent American purchase of Alaska, both examples of "extension of territory' mania of the worst form." 55 In Loyalist Ontario, no

⁵⁰ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 696.

^{51 &}quot;The British Columbia Resolutions," Globe (Toronto) (30 March 1871), 2, col. 1.

⁵² Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 723.

⁵³ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, *1871*, 200.

⁵⁴ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 723; Canada. Senate, Debates, 1871, 247.

^{55 &}quot;No Pent Up Utica," *Norfolk Reformer* (Simcoe) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 3; "The rulers at Ottawa...," *Canadian Statesman* (Bowmanville) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1. Sewall's 1778 epilogue to Joseph Addison's play, *Cato*, juxtaposed Cato the Younger's opposition to the excesses of Julius Caesar, which was Addison's setting, with the new American Republic's resistence to the tyranny of Great Britain. It concluded that Washington might aspire to an empire encompassing "the whole boundless continent," unlike Cato, confined to his "pent-

comment against a policy could be so damning as the suggestion that it reeked of Americanism.

Opponents of the Terms argued that the ministry's American precedents were not apt because British Columbia and the American West were at different stages of development. Senator David Wark of New Brunswick observed that there was already a substantial population and a rich economy in California before the Americans contemplated a railway.⁵⁶ David Mills, the Liberal member for Bothwell, Ontario, raised the same objection, as did the secessionist Halifax Morning Chronicle.⁵⁷ To the opposition, British Columbia lacked a critical feature necessary for nation-building, namely the presence of, or even the potential to attract, a significant and permanent population. The mining colony's population was composed largely of transient sojourners, who rarely stayed long in one location and felt no compunction against quitting British Columbia when the mines ceased to be profitable. For Canadians, as for others, mining was a valuable pursuit insofar as it garnered attention for new fields for colonization, but it was not in itself a viable economic foundation for a new nation.⁵⁸ A railway intended to carry through-traffic was a purely speculative venture and no more a suitable basis for national stability than gold mining. Agriculture alone was the basis for lasting prosperity. The Canada the opposition envisioned was a nation of thrifty yeoman farmers, with a fiscally prudent legislature constituted strictly upon the principle of representation by population to protect them from the excesses of corrupt ministers and monopolistic corporations. Richard Cartwright, for example, recalled in his memoirs that the independent farmers of Ontario "answered very nearly to the class of old English yeomen," as the epitome of civic virtue and the bulwark of democracy against the onslaught of urban commercial oligarchy, and others in the opposition also commented on the salutary influence of the freeholding agricultural

up Utica." The *Reformer* also quoted from Fitz-Greene Halleck's popular poem, "Marco Bozzaris," comparing the expansionism of the government to the nocturnal delusions of Halleck's decadent Turk, whose dreams of empire and riches are foiled by the Greek hero Bozzaris. In seeking to contract the powers of an expansionist government, the Canadian opposition fulfilled the roles of Cato of Utica and Marco Bozzaris. Jonathan Sewall, "A New Epilogue to Cato," *New-Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth) (31 March 1778); Fitz-Greene Halleck, "Marco Bozzaris," in James Grant Wilson, ed., *The Poetical Writings of Fitz-Greene Halleck* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1869), 13-17.

⁵⁶ Canada. Senate, Debates, 1871, 224.

⁵⁷ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 699; "Dominion Extravagance," *Morning Chronicle* (Halifax) (12 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

^{58 &}quot;An English gentleman...," *Globe* (Toronto) (5 September 1865), 2, col. 2-3. Even some of British Columbia's staunchest supporters had admitted that a "productive class" was necessary for long-term stability. See Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Speeches of Edward Lord Lytton*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1874), 87; "Art. III: British Columbia and Vancouver Island," *North British Review* 35 (1861): 66-7.

class on national political life.⁵⁹ When British Columbia and its Terms and potential were assessed according to this conception of Canada, the Pacific colony was everything the new Dominion was not.

The alleged agricultural sterility of British Columbia underpinned much of the opposition to the Terms of Union, and the proponents of the resolutions worked vigorously to refute it. Although the commercialists had presented the British American West as a "passage to India," they also subscribed to the second great myth of the west, the myth of the "Garden of the World." Lacking personal experience of the colony, politicians on both sides of the floor drew on anecdotal and published sources for their information about the colony's productivity. On the basis of Trutch's reports, Alexander Morris stated that British Columbia encompassed almost as much agricultural land as Ontario.⁶¹ Nova Scotia senator Frank Smith contended that the colony was as fertile as Ireland, though he did not provide a source. 62 Peter Mitchell suggested that the proposed Bute Inlet route would pass for three hundred miles through a plateau so bountiful that horses could survive through the winter without fodder.⁶³ Others sidestepped the issue of British Columbia's fertility to emphasize its other resources. Cartier himself in introducing the resolutions suggested that the land offered to the railway company would be "not merely agricultural land, but mineral land," and Le Journal des Trois-Rivières noted the colony's mineral and timber wealth, citing Trutch as its source. 64 The Ottawa Free Press wrote of British Columbia's "fertile valleys," but also predicted that the new province

⁵⁹ Cartwright, Reminiscences, 340-1. For other appeals to the yeoman myth from opponents of the Terms of Union, see Edward Blake, "To Knights of Labour," in Dominion Election Campaign of 1886. Hon. Edward Blake's Speeches. No. 12 (First Series) (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1886), 352; William M. Baker, Timothy Warren Anglin, 1822-96: Irish Catholic Canadian (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 28; University of Western Ontario Library, David Mills Papers, B-4281-2, file 196, "Address at Victoria BC," 5 October 1899, 10; "Address re: Political Systems in Canada," (c.1893), 21; Azjenstat, et al., eds., Canada's Founding Debates, 137-8.

⁶⁰ Henry Nash Smith and John Allen examine the place of these myths in the American imagination, while Doug Owram discusses the myth of the garden in the context of Canadian expansionism. John Logan Allen, Passage through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1975); Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth, Reissue ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Doug Owram, Promise of Eden.

⁶¹ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 714.

⁶² Ibid., 224.

⁶³ Ibid., 238. Mitchell's source was Alfred Waddington, "On the Geography and Mountain Passes of British Columbia in Connection with an Overland Route," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 38 (1868): 118-28. What the senator failed to mention was that Waddington, as concessionaire of the Bute Inlet right-of-way, had a vested interest in promoting the Chilcotin route for the railway.

⁶⁴ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 662; "Parmi les mesures ...," *Le Journal des Trois-Rivières* (17 April 1871), 2, col. 2.

would become an important market for Canadian grain. 65 Senator James Ferrier of Quebec drew attention to the colony's mines and fisheries, while William Miller, acknowledging the "uneven ground," spoke of rich supplies of coal and timber, as well as the prospect of a thriving trade in fish between British Columbia and Catholic South America. 66 In addition to its strategic importance for the Pacific trade, the commercialists saw in British Columbia the resources necessary for diverse economic pursuits, including agriculture.

For the opposition, however, the lack of agriculture loomed large. The member for Lambton County, Ontario, and future Liberal prime minister, Alexander Mackenzie, contended that the Pacific Slope was barren, a position corroborated by the colony's dependence on the neighbouring American states for its food supply.⁶⁷ In addition to trade statistics printed in the sessional papers, opponents of the Terms drew, albeit selectively, on the reports of Canadians who had first-hand knowledge of the far West. David Christie related to the Senate his recent personal conversation with Malcolm Cameron, the Sarnia politician and newspaperman who had visited the Pacific colonies in 1862. Cameron's initial reports from British Columbia to eastern newspapers had been favourable, emphasizing the colony's mineral wealth and dismissing Canadians who had returned home prematurely and now denigrated British Columbia's resources as "not worthy sons of the men who made Canada."68 Indeed, like the Macdonald-Cartier government six years later, Cameron predicted in an 1865 speech that political unification of British North America would make Canada the great commercial emporium of the world.⁶⁹ However, as Christie emphasized, Cameron had been only lukewarm in his assessment of the colony's agricultural potential. While the demand created by the mining communities ensured prosperity for some farmers, Cameron remarked that "the country was never intended for a purely agricultural one."70 In his conversation with Senator Christie nine years after his visit to the west, he stated that the only fertile lands in British Columbia were prone to flooding, while the uplands were sterile deserts of bunch grass. Moreover, Christie recalled, Canadian settlers in British Columbia had dismissed as overly optimistic even Cameron's most cautious assessments of British Columbia's agricultural fertility.⁷¹

^{65 &}quot;The Wealth of British Columbia," Free Press (Ottawa) (13 April 1871), 1, col. 6-7.

⁶⁶ Canada. Senate, Debates, 1871, 172-3, 227.

⁶⁷ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 672.

⁶⁸ Quoted in "Hon. M. Cameron on British Columbia," Globe (Toronto) (14 November 1862), 2, col. 2.

⁶⁹ Malcolm Cameron, Lecture Delivered by the Hon. Malcolm Cameron to the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese in the Chair (Montreal: G.E. Desbarats, 1865), 21.

⁷⁰ Quoted in "Hon. M. Cameron on British Columbia," *Globe* (Toronto) (14 Nov 1862), 2, col. 2.

⁷¹ Quoted in Canada. Senate, Debates, 1871, 255

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To the opponents of the Terms of Union, the government's suggestions that British Columbia would attract settlers, and consequently that sales of land in the province could finance railway construction, were absurd. "If you could not derive a revenue from the fertile lands [of Ontario and Quebec], how could you expect to do so from this miserable region of the West?" inquired Senator Benjamin Seymour. Timothy Warren Anglin, member for Gloucester County. New Brunswick, made much the same point, asking why settlers who would not take lands in Ontario would choose to settle in a "sea of mountains" where "it would be difficult to find those vast tracts of fertile country spoken of by hon. Members opposite."⁷² In Anglin's view, perpetual landslides and avalanches would frustrate efforts to construct railways and farms in British Columbia's "sterile mountains" and gloomy canyons. 73 Another New Brunswicker, Senator William Hunter Odell, echoed these doubts, questioning why British Columbia, so attractive a country in the eyes of the government, had hitherto failed to attract settlers. 74 He pointed to the difficulties of clearing land, the exhaustion of the gold mines, and the improbability of a timber industry given that conifers as large as those on the west coast would splinter in falling.⁷⁵ For Quebec nationalists Antoine-Aime Dorion and Luc Letellier de St. Just, the money necessary to build "a railway in a barren and mountainous country" would be better spent to improve transportation networks in the proven agricultural districts of the St Lawrence Basin. ⁷⁶ Given that even the Grand Trunk Railway, which passed through settled and civilized country, had failed to turn a profit, Le Franc-Parleur thought it easy to predict "la carrière brillante du 'grand Pacifique,' sillonnant les forêts et les déserts."⁷⁷ The Huntingdon Canadian Gleaner, which served the Anglophone population of southwestern Quebec and whose editor, Robert Sellar, was certainly no friend of French Canadian nationalism, had to

⁷² Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 718, 720. The "sea of mountains" characterization was, of course, made famous by Edward Blake in his "Aurora speech" of 1874. While Blake spoke against the Terms as presented, he did not oppose the eventual annexation of British Columbia, and did not speak to its fertility and geography in this debate. Neither Blake nor Anglin coined the phrase. It first appears in reference to British Columbia in Milton and Cheadle's 1865 work, *The North-west Passage by Land*. Edward Blake, *Speech at Aurora Delivered October 3rd*, 1874 (Montreal: Penny, Wilson, 1874), 7; William Fitzwilliam Milton and Walter B. Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1865), 391.

⁷³ This characterization of British Columbia's geography does not appear in the official record of the Commons debate but it does appear in at least one press account of Anglin's speech. See "The Dominion Parliament," *Weekly Dispatch* (St Thomas) (4 April 1871), 2, col. 1-2.

⁷⁴ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 264.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 265.

⁷⁶ Canada. Senate, Debates, 1871, 165; Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 729.

⁷⁷ Adolphe Ouimet, "La Colombie Anglaise et le chemin de fer du Pacifique," *Le Franc-Parleur* (Montreal) (6 April 1871), 316.

concur with the judgement of Dorion and Letellier. "A road of such a length can never pay during this century as a commercial speculation," the *Gleaner* wrote of the Pacific railway, "and no man would exchange a hundred acres of land on the banks of the St Lawrence for a thousand at the base of the Rocky Mountains." Without an agricultural base, critics of the Terms of Union feared British Columbia would never enjoy significant population growth. Just as any Ontario county west of Hamilton was more productive than British Columbia, so the population of British Columbia was, and was likely to remain, smaller than that of the larger Canadian counties."

The small size of the present and projected population of British Columbia was a significant concern for opponents of the Terms. The resolutions estimated British Columbia's population at 60,000 for the purposes of determining its per capita subsidy and parliamentary representation, and, accordingly, granted the province six members in the House of Commons. However, if British Columbia did have a population of 60,000, even by the most generous estimates only one quarter of that population was white, the rest comprising Aboriginal peoples and Chinese. The British Columbia government was most concerned about the population estimate as it affected the subsidy. The Canadian press and parliament, however, were most concerned about the apparent violation of the principle of representation by population. To Ontarians in particular, the constitutional violation, which followed a dangerous precedent established by the *Manitoba Act* the previous year, threatened to reignite sectional hostility. The Goderich

^{78 &}quot;The Admission of British Columbia," *Canadian Gleaner* (Huntingdon) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 5-6.

^{79 &}quot;Hon. M. Cameron on British Columbia," *Globe* (Toronto) (14 November 1862), 2, col. 2; Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 163.

⁸⁰ Several estimates of the white population were posited, ranging from 10,000 to 17,000. Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, *1871*, 665, 696, 718, 729; Canada. Senate, *Debates*, *1871*, 153, 184, 220, 225; "The Confederation of British Columbia," *Daily Advertiser* (London) (30 March 1871), 2, col. 3; "A Hundred Million Dollars, and a Hundred Million More," *Huron Signal* (Goderich) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1; "The British Columbia Resolutions," *Globe* (Toronto) (30 March 1871), 2, col. 1.

⁸¹ The British Columbia delegation did not object to a reduction in the population estimate from Musgrave's proposal of 120,000 to 60,000 because Cartier determined another means of ensuring an appropriate subsidy. Concern over the per capita grant came to the fore again in the province's dispute over the validity of the 1891 census, and in proposed colonization schemes intended to increase the population and thereby boost the grant. Helmcken, *Reminiscences*, 348-9; Garth Stevenson, *Ex Uno Plures: Federal-Provincial Relations in Canada*, 1867-1896 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 176; British Columbia Archives (hereafter BCA), GR-0441, Premier's Papers, Box 4, File 4, Item 579/96, Alexander Begg to Premier John Herbert Turner, 26 October 1896.

⁸² The Winnipeg *Manitoban* defended the representation formulae of both Manitoba and British Columbia on the grounds that the communities of the western frontier needed a full representation of their interests at Ottawa through their formative years. The paper also hoped the Terms would ensure the prompt completion of railway between Fort Garry and the east. Manitoba's

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Huron Signal calculated that British Columbia would have one member of parliament for every 2,000 white citizens, while Ontario had but one member for every 20,000 citizens. In his memoirs, Richard Cartwright, the member for Lennox, speculated that in admitting British Columbia the ministry had sought to compensate for projected electoral losses in the East with new, safely Conservative seats in the far West. Grit papers in London and Simcoe also worried that the new provinces were intended as nothing more than rotten boroughs the governing party could use to overwhelm the new-found influence of Ontario. In Parliament, member after member rose to challenge the representation formula. In the Senate, Letellier also criticized the proposal to give British Columbia three senators, though Jean-Charles Chapais quickly pointed out that senate representation was sectional rather than proportional, and even Alexander Mackenzie was willing to allow some departure from the letter of the constitution in this area.

Just below the surface of these impassioned defences of the principle of representation by population was a disagreement between opponents and supporters of the resolutions over the basis of political participation. For the commercialists, the preconditions for political representation were very different from those assumed by the opposition, as Governor Musgrave's justification for the proposed representation formula indicates. In a letter to Sir John Young, the Canadian Governor-General, explaining British Columbia's terms, Musgrave noted that a small population and small production rendered the colony dependent on imports. Such imports yielded greater customs revenue *per capita* than anywhere in the older provinces. Musgrave therefore argued that British Columbia's population estimate should be based upon the annual customs revenue in eastern Canada; as British Columbia had collected about \$350,000 in customs duties the previous year, and as Canada's customs

single member of the House of Commons, Donald Alexander Smith, voted in favour of the Terms and later presided over the completion of that railway as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, president of the CPR. "British Columbia," *Weekly Manitoban* (Winnipeg) (29 April 1871), 2, col. 3.

^{83 &}quot;A Hundred Million Dollars, and a Hundred Million More," *Huron Signal* (Goderich) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

⁸⁴ Richard J. Cartwright, Reminiscences (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1912), 94.

^{85 &}quot;The Confederation of British Columbia," *Daily Advertiser* (London) (30 March 1871), 2, col. 3; "An Outrageous Proposition," *Norfolk Reformer* (Simcoe) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1-2. Two Quebec papers supported the Terms on precisely these grounds, arguing that the admission of new provinces was an acceptable means of establishing balance in the federal system as it would curb Ontario's influence and frustrate efforts to impose a legislative union. See "Annexion de la Colombie anglaise," *Le Nouveau monde* (Quebec) (3 Apr 1871), 1, col. 3; "The position of the Opposition ...," *Quebec Mercury* (31 March 1871), 2, col. 2.

⁸⁶ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 666, 672, 680, 698, 702, 727; Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 164, 250, 257.

⁸⁷ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, *1871*, 163, 202; Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, *1871*, 672.

revenues were \$2.75 per capita, the colony's consuming public was worth as much to the Dominion treasury as 120,000 eastern Canadians. Thus, the exact population was irrelevant, and British Columbia should "come into the Union with the privileges, as she relinquished the Revenue, of 120,000 of the population of the Dominion." While Musgrave's despatch was printed in the 1871 Canadian Sessional Papers, making it available to proponents and opponents of the Terms alike, Canadian politicians were reluctant to follow his logic, arguing instead that immigration would quickly correct British Columbia's excess representation, or that competing local interests within the colony demanded more than one member of parliament. However, at least one Ontario newspaper favourable to the Terms did agree with Musgrave that wealth, area, and "varied interests" should be given weight alongside population when determining parliamentary entitlements.

What Musgrave advocated, and the Terms embodied in fact if not in spirit, was political representation based not on population or property ownership but on consumption and taxation, that is, on participation in a commercial rather than an agricultural economy. Indeed, Musgrave had informed the Colonial Office in 1870 of the impossibility of a property qualification in British Columbia, and the *British Columbia Government Act* of that year enshrined in law his recommendation that the franchise be extended to all male British subjects irrespective of property ownership. For the opposition, however, permanent landed settlement, almost certainly agricultural, was the only basis for political participation. In their view, agriculture determined not only the size but also the moral quality of a population. Governor Musgrave himself gave the opposition ample evidence that the nature of British Columbia's economy indeed produced moral degradation. The white inhabitants, Musgrave had written to Governor-General Young, "are chiefly male adults of wasteful and expensive habits," and the Canadian opposition seized upon this characterization. For David Christie,

⁸⁸ PRO, CO 60, /38, no. 11, Musgrave to Sir John Young, 20 February 1870.

⁸⁹ Canada. Parliament, Sessional Papers (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1871), no.18, 2; Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 661-2, 692; Canada. Senate, Debates, 1871, 153, 228, 259.

^{90 &}quot;The Parliamentary Representation of British Columbia," *Times* (Ottawa) (31 March 1871), 2, col. 2.

⁹¹ PRO, CO 60, /38, no. 20, Musgrave to Granville, 23 Feb 1870.

⁹² Adele Perry argues that British Columbia's social and racial composition challenged Victorian moral ideals, and she suggests that the failure of the colony to evolve from a mining outpost into an agricultural society perpetuated its moral marginalization. Adele Perry, On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 3-19.

⁹³ PRO, CO 60, /38, no. 11, Musgrave to Young, 20 February 1870. Musgrave also believed the people of British Columbia were as yet unfit for responsible government, and a significant portion of the Confederation debate in the British Columbia Legislature was spent interpreting and refuting his assessment. PRO, CO 60, /38, no. 20, Musgrave to Granville, 23 February 1870; Azjenstat et al., eds., *Canada's Founding Debates*, 23-55.

it was incomprehensible that a population whose own Governor described them so should enjoy so disproportionate a parliamentary representation. 94 Benjamin Seymour of Ontario thought the representation provisions an insult to the people of his own province, who more closely fit the agrarian ideal of citizenship. "I cannot see the fairness," Seymour told the Senate, "in giving some 10,000 whites, represented as being of wasteful and extravagant habits, three members in the senate whilst Ontario, with two millions, representing a sturdy yeomanry, an industrious population, not a people of wasteful and extravagant habits, has only twenty-four members in the same branch."95 A people so un-Canadian in their morality were only fit for an un-Canadian form of government. William Macdougall, the Member for Lanark North, whose own brother had experienced disappointment in the British Columbia gold fields, made this clear when he stated that "it was absurd that the future destiny of [British Columbia] was in the hands of a few adventurers who were mining there." Senator Sanborn thought it humiliating that "a country like [Canada], enjoying responsible Government and representative institutions for many years — with a superior system of colleges and schools, with a territory and resources in a high stage of development," should have terms dictated to it by a despotism such as British Columbia. 97 For those opponents of the Terms who did accept the principle of extending the Dominion's boundaries to the Pacific, the American model of territorial administration was preferable, both economically and politically, to the admission of full provinces in the West. Inexpensive to administer and represented only by a non-voting delegate, territories were only admitted to statehood when they reached a certain population threshold and a concomitant level of infrastructure development and political maturity.⁹⁸

If the opposition saw the white population as degraded by their economic circumstances, they were even more indignant at the suggestion that Aboriginal peoples be included in the population for the purpose of calculating subsidies and parliamentary representation. This was further evidence of the government's intention to undermine representation by population; why else, the opponents wondered, should British Columbia's Indians be included in the population estimates if Ontario's were not?⁹⁹ Musgrave acknowledged that the population included "a large number of Indians," but he also noted

⁹⁴ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 252.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 220.

⁹⁶ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, *1871*, 725; "British Columbia: Letter from a Toronto Miner," *Daily Leader* (Toronto) (20 November 1862), 2, col. 4.

⁹⁷ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, *1871*, 184. Sanborn's characterization of British Columbia as a "despotism" referred, of course, to the absence of representative and responsible government in the colony.

⁹⁸ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 666; Canada. Senate, Debates, 1871, 251-2.

⁹⁹ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 672, 698.

that they were consumers. 100 If one accepted his contention that contribution to revenue was an appropriate basis for representation, and if the Aboriginal population participated in a taxable market economy, then there was, ironically enough, no contradiction in including Aboriginal peoples in the representation formula. 101 Proponents of the Terms echoed Musgrave's assessment of the colony's native peoples. Both Cartier and Public Works Minister Hector-Louis Langevin characterized the Aboriginal population as civilized subjects engaged in useful occupations. ¹⁰² The opposition, however, mocked the government's presentation of the Aboriginal population. According to Cartier, the Canadian Gleaner reported sarcastically, the native inhabitants were "not wild Indians . . . but Indians like those of Caughnawaga."103 Senator Christie suggested instead that the Indians in question were "perfectly worthless," and, according to Arthur Harvey's Statistical Account of British Columbia, contributed nothing to the labour force. 104 The most damning assessment of British Columbia's racial composition came, however, from the Halifax Morning Chronicle, which warned that "the 'fellow countrymen' we would meet at the end of the [Pacific railway] would be mostly Digger Indians and 'Heathen Chinees'." 105 While the prospect of having "heathen Chinees" as compatriots was probably offensive enough to white Canadian sensibilities, the American term "Digger Indian" connoted all that was undesirable about the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Slope. ¹⁰⁶ Lazy, dirty, and simian to the settler's eye, the Digger Indians of California were seen as the lowest, most degraded form of humanity, much lower in the hierarchy of races than the First Nations to the east of the continental divide. 107 In Canada, the distance between the Aboriginal peoples of the east and the Diggers was illus-

¹⁰⁰ PRO, CO 60, /38, no. 11, Musgrave to Young, 20 February 1870.

¹⁰¹ There was, of course, no question of extending the franchise to Aboriginal peoples, or of allowing Aboriginal subjects to stand for Parliament.

^{102 &}quot;The Commons," Ottawa Citizen (29 March 1871), 2, col. 3; Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1871, 700.

^{103 &}quot;The Admission of British Columbia," *Canadian Gleaner* (Huntingdon) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 5-6.

¹⁰⁴ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 252; Arthur Harvey, *Statistical Account of British Columbia* (Ottawa: G.E. Desbarats, 1867), 9.

^{105 &}quot;British Columbia," *Morning Chronicle* (Halifax) (3 April 1871), 2, col. 1. In addition to its strident dismissal of the Aboriginal population, this article is the only one I have found that addresses, however briefly, the undesirability of British Columbia's Chinese element, and thus foreshadows the rise of the "Oriental Question" to national prominence beginning in the 1880s. For more on Asian stereotypes in Canada, see W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 3-22.

¹⁰⁶ Allan Lönnberg, "The Digger Indian Stereotype in California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (1981): 215-6.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 219; William Penn Adair, "The Indian Territory in 1878," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 4, no. 3 (1926): 258-9.

trated succinctly by John Charlton, the Liberal Member for Norfolk North, when he asserted in Parliament in 1890 that, "if I am to be compared to an Indian, I would rather be compared to an Iroquois [an Eastern people] than to a Digger Indian." While colonialism had transformed the "Indians of Caughnawaga" into farmers, the Digger Indians with whom the *Morning Chronicle* populated British Columbia were not agriculturalists but "[grabbled] for wild roots, and [had] a general fondness for dirt." In California, the degradation of the Digger Indian justified expansion and dispossession. For Canadian opponents of the British Columbia Terms of Union, the presence of degraded western Aboriginal peoples, combined with the lax mores of the settler population and the sterility of the soil to present British Columbia as quintessentially un-Canadian space.

Aside from the un-Canadian nature of British Columbia's geography and population, the opponents of the Terms of Union also focussed on the motives of the government in endorsing the resolutions. The arguments they chose echoed a long tradition of agrarian, or civic republican, suspicions of the excesses of the commercial class. As Peter Smith has argued, the use of patronage was the main point of contention between agrarian and commercial interests in the pre-Confederation Province of Canada, and concerns about patronage animated the opponents of the British Columbia Terms. 110 Increasing the size of the union could only increase the scope for government patronage, and indeed the opposition contended that this had been the cynical aim of Confederation in the first place. "Injurious as has been the effect of Confederation to the best interests of this province," opined the Canadian Gleaner, "it has yielded rich fruits to Cartier and his colleagues. It has enriched and aggrandized them in every way. They look for greater results from this admission of British Columbia."111 After all, the paper predicted, the Pacific Railway would provide considerably more opportunities for corruption than the Intercolonial Railway, a remarkably prescient observation considering the scandal that would sweep the government from office two years later. The Bowmanville Canadian Statesman was much more succinct, worrying what might become of the country "should the schemes of Sir John, Sir George, and their hords [sic] of leeches on the public chest, not be decisively vetoed by the people."¹¹²

The opposition was particularly concerned that the principal beneficiaries of the government's new railway patronage would be large private interests.

¹⁰⁸ Canada. House of Commons, Debates of the House of Commons, 1890 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1890), 657.

¹⁰⁹ O.P Fitzgerald, California Sketches (Nashville, TN: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1883), Chapter Two. <www.books-about-california.com/Pages/California_Sketches_2/CA_Sketches_2_Chpt_02.html>, (viewed 6 November 2005).

¹¹⁰ Smith, "The Ideological Origins of Canadian Confederation," 55.

^{111 &}quot;The Admission of British Columbia," *Canadian Gleaner* (Huntingdon) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 5-6.

^{112 &}quot;The rulers at Ottawa ...," Canadian Statesman (Bowmanville) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

Fear of corporate capitalism had been a strong feature of pre-Confederation reform ideology, as Allan Greer has demonstrated, and the prospect of a privately-constructed but state-subsidized transcontinental railway rejuvenated these concerns. 113 Where the proponents of the union and of the railway saw the fulfillment of the dream of the Northwest Passage, the opposition remembered a previous gamble on the value of Pacific trade, the South Sea Bubble of 1720, in which rampant speculation had ruined many an investor. 114 Now the investor that faced ruin was the State. Numerous politicians and newspapers feared that cost overruns in the construction of the Pacific railway would drive the Dominion to bankruptcy. Aside from the ministers who would profit from patronage, the only beneficiaries of the railway speculation would be large capitalists, who would receive substantial land grants to finance the project. The government presented the proposed land grants as a means of financing railway construction without spending public funds, but the opposition saw it as a massive giveaway of public property to private interests. Richard Cartwright, for example, warned that the grants were equal in area to several American states. Senator Letellier and Oxford North, Ontario, MP, Thomas Oliver, opposed granting the best land in the Northwest Territories to a private corporation, while the Halifax Morning Chronicle spoke of "whole provinces to be given away to private capitalists as a guarantee to build a railroad that will not pay its working expenses for fifty years!"115 Aside from the economic cost, some also saw in the rise of corporate power a threat to Canadian liberty. David Mills, in an article published the year after the Terms of Union debate, warned that railway companies such as the Canadian Pacific were enemies of popular government and suggested that nationalization might be the only solution. 116 The anti-corporate sentiment that inspired opposition to the railway scheme, also led the leader of the opposition to dismiss the economic attractions of British Columbia. "The gold mines have certainly proved remunerative," granted Alexander Mackenzie, "but they are carried on by large companies," so presumably little of the wealth they produced went to the ordinary miner. 117

¹¹³ Greer, "Historical Roots of Canadian Democracy," 18-22.

¹¹⁴ Canada. Senate, Debates, 1871, 166.

¹¹⁵ Canada. Senate, *Debates*, 1871, 162; Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 717; "Dominion Extravagance," *Morning Chronicle* (Halifax) (12 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

¹¹⁶ David Mills, "Railway Reform: the Canadian Pacific Railway," *Canadian Monthly and National Review 2* (1872): 437.

¹¹⁷ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 672. Mackenzie no doubt recalled Cariboo gold rush-era reports in the eastern press that development of the mines required considerable capital, and he echoed a longstanding concern that this would exclude the free miner. "British Columbia," *London Free Press* (30 April 1862), 2, col. 1; "Late from Vancouver Island (Correspondence of the Leader)," *Daily Leader* (Toronto) (6 August 1862), 2, col. 3; "British Columbia," *Daily Leader* (Toronto) (25 August 1862); "British Columbia," *Novascotian* (Halifax) (8 December 1862), 1, col. 5.

AGRARIAN COMMONWEALTH OR ENTREPÔT OF THE ORIENT? COMPETING CONCEPTIONS OF CANADA AND THE BC TERMS OF UNION DEBATE OF 1871

The virtuous Ontario yeoman who settled in British Columbia, unable to draw a living from the land, could only hope to become the degraded wage slave of a mining conglomerate.

The opposition's arguments failed ultimately to influence the will of Parliament. The division in the Commons was 91 in favour (56.9 percent) to 69 opposed, while in the Senate the resolutions were passed by a slightly larger margin of 36 (63.2 percent) to 21. However, a comparison of the Commons vote to a division on the purchase of Rupert's Land in 1869 illustrates just how divided Canadian opinion was concerning the British Columbia Terms. No roll call exists for the vote on the Rupert's Land purchase, but what has survived is a roll call on an unfriendly amendment to the resolution. Proposed and seconded by two members from Nova Scotia, one of whom was the son of a prominent anti-Confederate, the amendment characterized the Northwest as "a Territory likely to involve this Dominion in a heavy expense without any prospect of adequate remuneration."118 The Commons rejected this contention by an overwhelming majority of 121 to 15. Those who voted in favour of the amendment, and thus against the annexation of Rupert's Land, apparently opposed territorial expansion generally, for they all voted against the British Columbia Terms two years later. 119 However, many of the most vocal opponents of the British Columbia Terms had not only opposed the amendment to the Rupert's Land resolutions, but had spoken passionately in favour of the purchase. Alexander Mackenzie, though opposed to continued rights for the monopolist Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest, nevertheless believed the Prairie West was a valuable acquisition. 120 Alexander Tilloch Galt noted the "new field of duty" that the cession of the Hudson's Bay territories opened for Canada. 121 Opposition politicians did object strenuously to certain provisions of the Manitoba Act of 1870, and their particular concern about Manitoba's parliamentary representation presaged their opposition to the British Columbia Terms the following year. 122 Despite his misgivings, however, Alexander Mackenzie recognized the necessity of organizing a Canadian administration for the Red River settlement and was willing to see the Manitoba bill pass

¹¹⁸ Canada. House of Commons, *Journals of the House of Commons* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1869), 145.

¹¹⁹ Nine Quebeckers, five Nova Scotians, and one New Brunswicker voted in favour of the amendment. All of the Quebeckers and the lone New Brunswicker were Liberals, while three of the Nova Scotians were former anti-Confederates who had joined the Liberals rather than follow Joseph Howe to the government benches.

¹²⁰ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1869 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975), 490-1.

¹²¹ Ibid., 492.

¹²² Canada. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1870 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975), 1305-6; Owram, *Promise of Eden*, 97-8.

without opposition. ¹²³ The cases of Rupert's Land and Manitoba demonstrate that opponents of the British Columbia Terms of Union were not motivated by a generalized antipathy toward territorial expansion, for they strongly supported the integration of the Prairie West into the Dominion.

It is not, of course, surprising that the agrarians supported the purchase of the Northwest. As Doug Owram has demonstrated, an old perception of the Prairie West as a desert was replaced by the 1860s with a vision of a fertile field for the settlement of Canada's surplus population. 124 The reformers dominated the emerging expansionist movement and hoped to replicate on the Prairies the virtuous yeoman society they believed existed in rural Ontario. "We hope to see a new Upper Canada in the North-west Territory," opined the Globe, "a new Upper Canada in its well-regulated society and government — in its education, morality, and religion."125 The Prairie West offered the promise of agrarian utopia, a utopia that Canada could refashion in her own image. The commercialists also supported the purchase of Rupert's Land, but for different reasons. Cartier shared the agrarians' view of the Prairies as an outlet for surplus population, but he also believed the acquisition would further Canada's commercial destiny. With the Northwest annexed to the Dominion, British Columbia's admission was imminent, and a Canadian transcontinental railway would soon carry "the trades of the east." 126 John Alexander Grant spoke of Canada's centrality in the new global system. "We here in Ottawa," he claimed, "are geographically and politically in the very heart of the world, equidistant from Europe on the one side, and Asia on the other; and the reasons why we should, and must, in the course of time, have a Pacific road of our own, are self-evident."127 Thus, the Northwest could be all things to all people; the Prairie West was both the passage to the Orient and the Garden of the World, and this explains the near-unanimity of Parliament regarding the desirability of its annexation. William McDougall had presented the acquisition of the Northwest as critical to the completion of Confederation, and promised that he and other reformers would remain in the coalition government "until the work they had undertaken was completed."128 Similarly, Timothy Anglin, the New Brunswick anti-Confederate,

¹²³ Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1870, 1504. The British Columbia Terms of Union debate was also considerably more contentious than the debate on the Prince Edward Island Terms two years later, in which speakers praised the Island's fertility and accepted the Terms unanimously. See F.W.P. Bolger, "The Coy Maiden Resists, 1867-1872," in F.W.P. Bolger, ed., *Canada's Smallest Province: A History of Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown, P.E.I.: Prince Edward Island 1973 Centennial Commission, 1973), 227.

¹²⁴ Owram, Promise of Eden, Chapter Two.

^{125 &}quot;Prospects in the West," Globe (Toronto) (2 June 1869), 2, col. 1.

¹²⁶ Canada. House of Commons, Debates, 1869, 484-5.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 500.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 486, 489, 491.

decided to make the most of the new order and supported the Rupert's Land purchase. Pritish Columbia presented no such imperative, and its admission appealed only to the commercial aspirations of the governing party. After the bi-partisanship of the Rupert's Land debate, the division on the British Columbia Terms reflected a hardening of party allegiances.

In 1871, the commercialists' conception of Canada carried the day, and British Columbia was admitted to Confederation with the hope that the barques of "the gorgeous East" would soon ply the province's harbours and the transhipment of their wares would enrich the entire nation. Since Confederation, the dichotomy between agriculture and commerce has underpinned not only eastern perceptions of British Columbia, but also the province's own process of self-definition. As Daniel Marshall has suggested, the division between city and countryside, between commercial and agrarian interests, was a defining conflict in British Columbia's post-Confederation legislature. 130 When relations between Ottawa and Victoria reached a nadir during the Mackenzie administration, the opposition between agriculture and commerce continued to set the terms of the debate. Liberal Edward Blake, in his 1874 speech to the Reformers of North York, reiterated the conception of British Columbia as "that inhospitable country, that 'sea of mountains'," while singing the praises of the fertile Northwest. 131 Meanwhile Malcolm Macleod, writing in the Ottawa Citizen under the pseudonym "Britannicus," continued to press the Canadian Pacific Railway as a route to the Orient, and presented the mountainous landscape as a defensive asset rather than an agricultural liability. 132 In the twentieth century, Duff Pattullo's Liberal government lamented that Musgrave's argument about per capita revenue had not been accepted by Canada, while a popular British Columbia historian of the inter-war period, Bruce McKelvie, re-envisioned the construction of an imperial route to the Orient as the true purpose of Confederation. 133 As late as 2005, Prime Minister Paul Martin sought to improve his political fortunes in the west by promoting his government's

¹²⁹ Quoted in Baker, *Timothy Warren Anglin*, 137. Baker believes Anglin's opposition to the British Columbia Terms demonstrated his complete acceptance of Confederation in that it indicated his concern for the country's fiscal stability, 138.

¹³⁰ Daniel P. Marshall, "An Early Rural Revolt: The Introduction of the Canadian System of Tariffs to British Columbia, 1871-4," in Ruth Sandwell, ed., *Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 47-61.

¹³¹ Blake, Speech at Aurora Delivered October 3rd, 1874, 7, 9.

¹³² Britannicus, *The Pacific Railway: Britannicus' Letters from the Ottawa Citizen* (Ottawa: Citizen Printing and Publishing Co., 1875), 34-5, 39-40.

¹³³ BCA, K/A/B77, British Columbia. Information Bureau, "British Columbia's Claim for Equality of Treatment in the Confederation of the Provinces" (unpublished typescript, c.1935, n.p.); Bruce A. McKelvie Fonds, MS-0001, Box 3, File A, "Speaking Notes for Leon Ladner, MP," 21 October 1928, 1; Box 4, File E, "Led Way to Confederation" (typescript, c. 1958).

"Pacific Gateway Strategy," a program of infrastructure development with a view of encouraging Asian trade to pass through British Columbia ports, as "a great national undertaking," capitalizing on the "great strength of western Canada... the opening up to Asia-Pacific." In hindsight, the Terms of Union debate may be read as an early Canadian discussion of the desirability of globalization. It is, of course, overly anachronistic to see Alexander Mackenzie or Timothy Anglin as an ideological forefather of David Orchard or Maude Barlow, yet the issues the opponents of the Terms raised in 1871 seem strangely familiar. Is the transhipment of international commodities a viable basis for a national economy? How sustainable is a country that relies on a foreign country for its food supply? Should large corporations have a controlling interest in Canada's natural resources and transportation networks? Should political influence be predicated upon residency and citizenship, or upon consumption and contribution to GNP?

The parliamentary and press debates on the British Columbia Terms of Union were about much more than the future of British Columbia. For the government and its supporters, swift extension of the Dominion's boundaries to the Pacific promised to make the new country the centre of international commerce, with the Canadian Pacific Railway cutting thousands of miles off the voyage between Asian and European ports. For the opposition, however, the extravagant promises made to secure the admission of a barren, under-populated colony threatened Canada's future as a nation of virtuous, self-governing yeoman farmers. Thus, Canadian politicians used the proposed admission of British Columbia as an opportunity to rearticulate their visions of Canada's future, and in its ideological underpinnings the Terms of Union debate represents a continuity from earlier discussions on British North American union, and a foreshadowing of discussions yet to come. This analysis of the Terms of Union discussions suggests we must expand our definition of what constitutes the "Confederation Debates" to include the parliamentary discussions about the admission of the late-comer provinces, for it is in the significances Canadians attached to territorial expansion that their aspirations and anxieties concerning their new nation were most evident. Pitting the opposition's conception of Canada as an agrarian commonwealth against the government's dream of becoming the entrepôt of the Orient, the debate on the admission of British Columbia clearly demonstrated that, in the first years of Confederation, a longstanding conflict over Canada's character and future remained unresolved.

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^{134 &}quot;Leaders' Debate," CBC Television, 16 December 2005, 6:30 p.m., Pacific Standard Time.

AGRARIAN COMMONWEALTH OR ENTREPÔT OF THE ORIENT? COMPETING CONCEPTIONS OF CANADA AND THE BC TERMS OF UNION DEBATE OF 1871

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