

## 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 footnote citations and provides a properly formatted bibliography (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 e-resources 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- do not cite lectures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 20<sup>th</sup>. 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?**

# The Daily Standard.

Thursday, April 27, 1871.

## The Constitutional Objection.

In the debate on the admission of British Columbia, the construction of the railway in ten years was the chief objection urged by the Opposition. Their next objection was to the representation granted to this Province. It was maintained, and certainly with some show of plausibility, that it was a violation of the principle of representation recognized by the Quebec Conference, and established by the fifty-second section of the "British North American Act, 1867." This section says: "The number of members of the House of Commons may be from time to time increased by the Parliament of Canada, provided the proportionate representation of the Provinces prescribed by this Act are not thereby disturbed." Now, under this provision, each Province was allowed to send a member to the House of Commons for every 20,000 of its inhabitants. On that basis this Colony ought to have a population of 120,000, in order to be entitled to send six members. As it is, however, every 2,000 white inhabitants will send a representative to Ottawa. With the Indian population and all others, we could not count up more than five or six thousand inhabitants to each member. Hence, it is very apparent that the principle of representation established for the Eastern Provinces has been departed from—we will not say violated—in a very marked degree, in admitting this country. Last year, Manitoba was admitted with four members,—although its population would not have entitled that Province to one, if the rigid rule of the "British America Act, 1867," had been enforced. British Columbia could not have had a member either, or not more than one, if the same rule applied. Hence, it is very apparent that neither of these Provinces could have been admitted in accordance with the 146th section of the Union Act,—if the rigid rule of the 52d section were ap-

## CITY OF VICTORIA, B. C.

ANNO TRICESIMO QUARTO VICTORIA REGINÆ.

*Municipal By Law for Raising a Revenue Within the City of Victoria, B. C.*

**WE THE MAYOR AND COUNCILLORS** in Council convened by virtue of the power and authority by an Act entitled "The Victoria Municipal Amendment Ordinance, 1869."

Whereas, it is expedient for the good government of the City of Victoria that an Annual Revenue be raised for Municipal Purposes:

Be it therefore enacted by the Mayor and Councillors of the City of Victoria as follows:

1. That from and after the passage of this By Law, the general municipal revenue shall be raised, levied, and collected for the use of the Mayor and Council of the City of Victoria, from such sources as are hereinafter provided, viz.:

Owners of Real Estate in respect of such Estate including improvements thereon, within the city limits, Persons carrying on any trade or business by wholesale within the city limits.

Persons carrying on any other trade, business or calling within the city limits.

Persons keeping horses for private use within the city limits.

Owners of all dogs running at large within the city limits.

2. There shall be raised, levied and collected upon and from all owners of real estate, including improvements thereon, within the city limits, except the real Estate and improvements thereon, that are exempted by the "Victoria Municipal Ordinance, 1867," an annual rate of one-third of one per centum on the market value thereof.

3. There shall be levied on and from all persons carrying on any trade or business by wholesale, an annual rate of \$30.

4. There shall be levied on and from all persons carrying on any other trade, business or calling, an annual rate of \$5.

For the purposes of this By-law the term "Wholesale Trader" shall be held to mean Bankers, Proprietors of Express Offices, Auctioneers, Water Companies, Brewers, Gas Companies, Insurance Companies, Coal Merchants, and all persons who sell articles in bulk or unbracketed packages and liquors under a wholesale license.

And all persons selling goods, wares, merchandise or other chattels other than as a wholesale trader, within the city limits, shall be deemed liable to the payment of the annual rate of \$3; and all persons selling by wholesale and retail shall be liable to the payment of both rates.

5. There shall be levied upon and from the owners of all dogs running at large an annual rate of \$2 for each dog.

6. There shall be levied upon all persons keeping horses for their private use an annual rate of \$2.50 for each horse.

7. From and after the passing of this By-Law the Municipal Assessment Roll made by the Municipal Council 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 Roll of the said city, subject to be altered and amended from time to time as by law provided.

8. The Municipal Assessment Roll may be inspected by any person at all reasonable times free of any charge whatever.

9. Any notice under this By-law required to be served on any owner of Real Estate; or other person in respect of assessments, or money due on account of assessments under this By Law shall be served either personally or by leaving the same, or depositing it in the Post Office, in an enclosure, addressed to such owner or other person as aforesaid, at his or her last known place of abode; and in case such owners are unknown or cannot be found by affixing a copy thereof at or on some conspicuous part of each town lot or other piece of land or property in respect of which the assessment therein referred to shall have been made.

10. The person who, for the time being shall appear

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- PROGRAMME.
1. 100 yards flat,
  2. Blue Jackets and Marines, 200 yards, flat,
  3. High Jump,
  4. Quarter mile flat,
  5. Putting the shot
  6. Long Jump,
  7. 200 yards Hurdle Race, 8 flights,
  8. Throwing the Hammer,
  9. Blue Jackets and Marines, 1/2-mile flat,
  10. Mile Flat Race,
  11. Sack Race,
  12. Three-Legged Race,
  13. 200 yards flat,
  14. Blue Jackets and Marines 200 yards, Hurdle Race
  15. Consolation Stakes. ap25

## First Victoria Directory and B. C. Guide.

IN THE PRESS AND WILL SHORTLY APPEAR, the above work for 1871, containing, in addition to the usual matter, "Full Lists of every important Settlement in the Colony, Corrected till last April." Advertisements intended for the above or names for insertion, will be in time till 30th inst. In view of approaching political changes and increased demand for the work in business circles, its value as an advertising medium cannot be overrated. Subscriptions respectfully solicited.

E. MALLANDAINE,  
Compiler and Publisher.  
ap25

**TO LET.**  
A GOOD FAMILY RESIDENCE WITH A Garden of 1 1/2 Acres well stocked with Choice Fruit bearing trees, beautifully situated on Pemberton Street (at the head of Fort Street) at present in occupation of Wm. WILSON, Government Street, of whom particulars can be had upon application. ap25

**FARM FOR SALE.**  
100 ACRES OF GOOD LAND, OF WHICH Seven acres are cleared, with 5,000 rails split and a part raised. There are also a good Log House and a good well of water on the premises. Balance of land lightly timbered.  
For further particulars apply at STANDARD OFFICE. ap25

## VICTORIA FRENCH RELIEF FUND.

LIST OF DONATIONS.

Sir James Douglas.....	\$20 00	A Friend (W C).....	10 00
Begbie, Hon M. B.....	10 00	L.....	2 50
Croze, Hon H. P.....	5 00	Finlayson R.....	10 00
Eckstein, D. U. S. C.....	5 00	Garocho F.....	5 00
Herbert, Capt. R. N.....	10 00	Larbourne 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
Degrusse, E.....	5 00	Nathan H Jr.....	10 00
Cazaban H.....	10 00	Donnell A J M.....	2 50
Albion T.....	2 50	Cameron D.....	3 00
A French Lady.....	5 00	J G.....	5 00
Ruff J.....	10 00	Ferral P.....	2 00
Sayer M.....	11 00	Kwong Lew.....	5 00
Guchon.....	5 00	Tai Soong.....	5 00
Dassonville E.....	10 00	Graham J A.....	10 00
Reynolds F.....	20 00	Watson E.....	5 00
Strouss C.....	5 00	Strelle N.....	5 00
Strelley F.....	10 00	Lewis R.....	5 00
Mayerau B.....	10 00	Austin J J.....	10 00
Calmeut M.....	10 00	Raymond Capt.....	20 00
Truhart C.....	10 00	Lee Chs.....	1 00
Tisset P.....	10 00	Ward J.....	1 00
Valle J.....	1 00	Peron P.....	2 50

the 146th section of the Union Act,—if the rigid rule of the 52d section were applied. Happily, the rigid theoretical rule of representation has had to be relaxed before a practical difficulty—the deficiency of population to constitute even one electoral district for the House of Commons. Sir A. T. Galt, maintained that the Territorial system of the United States was much preferable to that of Canada, as the Territories were only admitted as States into the Union on an equality with other States when they had population enough to form a Congressional district. But whether better or worse, we question whether British Columbia would have been willing to accept any such vassalage. The Manitobans rebelled against it,—and were only pacified by being placed as nearly as possible on an equality with the other Provinces as circumstances admitted. In their case as well 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 applied to the Eastern Provinces,—in order to give such a necessary representation to the Western Provinces as would meet the practical difficulties presented either by extent of territory or deficiency of population. The Manitoba Act has had to be supplemented by an Imperial Act to remove all doubts as to the legal establishment of that Province, and to secure it in the possession of its exclusive rights against any legislation of the Dominion Parliament. Now, whether an Imperial Act will be necessary in our case to get over the constitutional question respecting representation we know not. We rather incline to the opinion that an order in Council, as provided in the 146th section of the Union Act will be sufficient, whichever course may be adopted, it is certain that our representation is secured; that it cannot be reduced by Canadian Parliament,—and can only be increased after the census of 1881. But no increase is likely to take place unless our population at that date shall at least number one hundred and forty thousand,—and it is not very probable that we shall attain to it in the next ten years.

of each town or other piece of land or property in respect of which the assessment therein referred to shall have been made.

10. The person who, for the time being shall appear on the Assessment Roll 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 aforesaid shall not be known, or cannot be found, then the affixing the notice aforesaid, in manner aforesaid, at or on the land or other property aforesaid, shall be deemed to be, and shall be used and sufficient service of such notice.

11. The rate or tax on real estate shall be deemed to be due on the 1st day of March, and shall be payable at the office of the Clerk of the Municipal Council on the fourteenth day after the final passage of the assessment roll.

12. All the moneys due under the provisions of this By-Law shall be deemed to be payable half yearly (in advance), except in the case of Rate payers, who shall be rated or assessed in a sum not exceeding two dollars and fifty cents, per annum, and in such case the rate for tax shall be deemed to be payable in full in advance.

13. The moneys to be collected in respect of the rates 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 payable at the Office of Clerk of the Municipal Council, half yearly in advance, on the first Monday in March and on the first Monday in September, in every year, and in the event of any such payment being in arrear for the space of Thirty days after it shall shall due, the person or persons failing to pay shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty dollars.

14. The moneys to be collected in respect of the rates or taxes levied under sections five and six of this By-Law, shall be deemed to be due on the 1st day of March, and shall be payable at the Office of the Clerk of the Municipal Council on the first Monday in March, in every year.

15. If the Municipal rates or taxes in respect of real estate hereby made payable, be not paid within, one calendar month after the day or days fixed for payment thereof as aforesaid, interest at the rate of twelve per centum per annum shall thereupon attach, and be payable until the amount due with such interest be registered as a charge against the property assessed.

16. On and after the expiration of one year from the day of default as aforesaid, the amount of such rate or tax, and also, the amount of any rate or tax now overdue for a like period, and interest and cost of registration may, on the application in writing, in the usual form of the Clerk of the Municipal Council, be registered as a charge against the land in respect of which such rate or tax was payable.

17. From and after the date of registration as aforesaid, the amount covered by any and every such charge shall bear interest at the rate of Eighteen per centum 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 public auction.

18. Any person or persons using any occupation, trade or business as specified above, and liable to pay a rate or tax in respect of the same shall, previously to entering upon such business occupation or trade, obtain from the Clerk of the Municipal Council a Receipt for the amount for which he or they shall have been assessed, such Receipt to be in the form marked "A" in the Schedule hereto annexed.

19. Every person keeping a Horse or Horses within the City limits for private use, who shall fail to pay to the Clerk of the Municipal Council yearly in advance, 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 by him.

20. The Owner of any Dog allowed to run at large failing to pay the Clerk of the Municipal Council yearly in advance as aforesaid, the sum of \$2 for each and every dog so owned by him, or permitting such dog to run at large without the collar and tag or mark hereinafter referred 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 dog or dogs in respect of which the rate or tax has been paid, with a receipt and, also, a tag or mark, which must be attached by the owner thereof to a collar placed around the neck of each dog.

22. The Harbinger of any dog for the space of one month shall be deemed the owner thereof.

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

Cannessa M.....	20 00	Hayman Capt.....	20 00
Treuhart O.....	10 00	Lee Chb.....	1 00
Tisbet P.....	10 00	Ward J.....	1 00
Felix J.....	1 00	Perow P.....	2 50
Sullivan H O.....	2 50	Fee.....	1 00
S.....	1 50	Paid G.....	1 00
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Hautier L.....	5 00	Sprung W.....	2 50
Cash.....	1 50	Graham J O.....	1 00
Felicion.....	2 50	Cosmopolitan.....	50
Kilroy P.....	5 00	Taylor H.....	1 50
Laclawax.....	5 00	Reid W.....	1 00
Todd J.....	10 00	King J.....	2 00
Hinton G.....	5 00	Eckstein L.....	20 00
Chair F.....	5 00	White E.....	5 00
Deatre.....	5 00	Coutlee A.....	10 00
Friend.....	5 00	Spence T.....	5 00
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Helmecken Dr.....	10 00	Bocherat.....	5 00
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Benjamin Dr, U S A.....	5 00	Pemberton A F.....	10 00
Leahley & Co.....	20 00	Trimbler Dr.....	5 00
Heywood J.....	20 00	McQuade J.....	5 00
Sprout & Co.....	10 00	Sayward.....	5 00
Curlat G.....	5 00	Nelson H, MLC.....	5 00
Davis J P.....	10 00	Bates Esq Nanaimo.....	5 00
Claverie.....	5 00	Bagnall.....	1 00
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Macdonald W J.....	10 00	Birdard S.....	10 00
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**MOUTHQUESNELLE.**

Guelion.....	\$50 00	Un enfant des veuges	2 50
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Brown & Gillis.....	20 00	Rambrot G.....	2 50
Pacy & Brown.....	10 00	Guelion L.....	2 50
Dunning T.....	5 00	Liquore.....	2 50
Kwong Lee & Co.....	10 00	Lang.....	5 00
Song Hop.....	2 50	Vignou.....	2 00
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Brown L B.....	5 00		

Proceeds of Concert given April 10, 1871.....\$324 00  
ap25

**Colony of British Columbia, Vancouver Island. To Wit:**

**A COURT OF ASSIZE AND GENERAL GAOL DELIVERY** is appointed to be held on Tuesday, 16th day of May, PROXIMO, at the Court House, Victoria, at the hour of ELEVEN in the forenoon, before the Hon Mathew Baillie Begbie and the Hon. Henry Perring Pellet Crease, Justices of Our Lady the Queen, assigned to enquire, hear and determine all treasons, misdemeanors, felonies, misdeeds, offences and injuries, whatsoever and wheresoever within the said island committed, and also to deliver all the Gaols and every the Gaol of Our Lady the Queen in the said island.

Proclamation is therefore hereby made in conformity to a precept directing as 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.  
ap24 A. C. ELLIOTT, High Sheriff.

**HARNESSES! HARNESSES!**

**H. T. MANN & CO'S**

**PRICE LIST.**

1 Double Set best Concord Harness Complete.....	\$65 00
made out of California Leather.....	.....
Second Quality.....	60 00
Third Quality.....	55 00
Best Quality Manufactured out of Island Leather.....	50 00

**TO TRO**

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**Grocers,**

**SPIRIT**

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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 they can get on without it. They will soon be found suing for a union they have thoughtlessly 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 southward—how 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 honor 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 divorce of the former from the parent empire, and this feeling may tend to damp the enthusiasm of such as are the subjects of it; and we readily confess that, did any ground for the idea exist, we would sympathize 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 union 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 seeling-wax 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 brotherhood and beget a national sentiment, 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 harmonizing and a nationalizing of all those sometime discordant elements which have culminated in local feuds; 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 ourselves in a friendly but firm resolve to begin our new political life a united and harmonious band for the purpose of making British Columbia—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 fictions of the past.

New Advertisements. NOTICE. MEMBERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA LODGE, No. 2, are hereby summoned to an emergency meeting at 1 p.m. on Friday, 21st inst., at Masonic Hall, to attend the funeral of our deceased brother James Orr. Members of sister lodges and sojourning brethren in good standing are cordially invited to attend. J. J. AUSTIN, Sec'y.

SOAP AGENCY. 500 BOXES Smith, Lucy & Co's CELEBRATED PALE SOAP, 20 lbs and 50 lbs each. FOR SALE LOW BY R. F. PICKETT & CO. AGENTS. 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 PICNIC. Will take place on SATURDAY, the 12th of AUGUST. Particulars will appear in a few days.

St. Nicholas Hotel, GOVERNMENT STREET, VICTORIA, V.I. This Establishment is now Open for the Reception of Guests and is recommended to the Travelling Public as a FIRST-CLASS HOTEL. THE ROOMS HAVE ALL BEEN REFURNISHED, and particular attention is paid to CLEANLINESS AND GOOD ORDER.

J. FRIED, Proprietor. JEAL'S CIRCUS Is Coming!! AND WILL EXHIBIT AT VICTORIA. Friday and Saturday, July 28th and 29th. Particulars to-morrow.

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 per 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 Advertisements. CONFEDERATION DAY. THE Mechanics Institute WILL HOLD A PICNIC AT MEDANA'S GROVE, Thursday, 20th July. Variety of Amusements IN HONOR OF THE OCCASION. PROGRAMME: Salute at 1 p.m., Address on Confederation at 1.30, 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 to be in attendance. Grand display of Fireworks at 9 p.m. Ballon ascent—the largest ever seen in the Province—at 10 p.m. The Piano will be ruffled at 10 o'clock if all the tickets are disposed of. Tickets for sale on the grounds. ADMISSION—\$1; Boys, 50 cts; Ladies, free. Tickets to be had at Hibben & Co's, or from any member of the Committee.

Desirable Investment for a Business Man. AN HOTEL AND GENERAL STORE. A doing excellent business within an easy distance of the City, in one of the best farming districts of the Island, is offered for sale at a bargain, owing to the proprietor having to leave for Europe. The Hotel has every accommodation, and the Stock of Goods can be had, if desired, at a fair discount. Possession can be given at any time. For particulars apply to H. F. HESTERMAN, Land Agent, Langley St.

ALL PERSONS HAVING CLAIMS against the Land and Works Department for Goods supplied on account of Lighthouses, Public Works or surveys, are requested to furnish same on or before the 10th instant or they will be subject to disallowance. L. W. FEARSE, Lands and Works Department, Victoria, July 14th, 1871.

Bank of British Columbia [Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1862] CAPITAL - \$2,500,000 WITH POWER TO INCREASE. DIRECTORS—T. W. L. MACKENZIE, Esq., (Director London and South African Bank) CHAIRMAN, ROBERT GILLESPIE, Esq., (London Director of the Bank of Montreal) DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, JAMES ANDERSON, Esq., (Messrs. Anderson Anderson & Co.), EDWIN COVILL, Esq., (Director Hudson's Bay Co.) MORRIS R. SMITH, Esq., (Messrs. Smith, Payne & Smith).

THE CELEBRATED STRAWBERRIES from the well known Gardens of Mr Wm. Clark, New Westminster, received by every steamer and for sale in 4, 5, 6, 8 and 10 lb boxes by WM GIBSON, Family Grocer, cor. of Yates and Douglas sts.

Mule Team for Sale. TEN OR TWELVE MULES WITH WAGON or three Wagons will be sold cheap for cash, or on time by giving good security. Apply to P. MOREN, spence's Bridge, my 28 2nd & w. MONEY TO LOAN AT LOW RATES ON FIRST CLASS Security, repayable by instalments. Houses and Farms to be Let. Town and Country Property for Sale on easy Terms. THOS. ALFRED, Land Agent, 415 3rd St. Government Street near F.

GENERAL ABSTRACT Showing 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 30th June, 1871.

NOTICE—DENTISTRY. DR. J. MILLS BOWDEN WILL leave for the Enterprise on Thursday next and will be absent several weeks. C. FRANCIS BARNARD, M. D. SURGEON DENTIST. DR. BARNARD WILL HAVE opened his new Dental Office in Victoria Five Years next August, and humbly solicits a portion of the public patronage for the coming season.

FOR WHOLESALE TRADE. MANIFEST OF BARK ROBERT JONES. J. H. TURNER & CO. Wharf and Government streets.

FOR SALE BY THE UNDERSIGNED, Ex Late Arrivals Robert Jones. IRON, in bars, rods, sheets, hoops, &c, all sizes. HORSE SHOE IRON, best brands. STEEL, toe, cock, pick, &c. TINNED & ENAMELED SAUCEPANS. HORSE and MULE SHOES. FILES, BORAX, ANVILS, VICES. AXLES, all sizes. BRUSHWARE. SPRINGS, elliptic and side. SPADES & FORKS. TIN PLATE & ZINC. MANILLA ROPE. BEAVER TRAPS. GALVANIZED IRON. LEAD PIPE. WHITE LEAD.

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St Nicholas Skating Rink. AFTERNOON SESSIONS. WILL BE HELD APART EXCLUSIVELY FOR LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. Accompanying them. INSTRUCTIONS will be given by Mr Ames to new beginners. Hours—From 2 to 6 p.m.

LEGAL TENDER COIN IN GOLD AND SILVER. Legal Tender Coin in Gold and Silver..... \$10,108 00 Gold and Silver Bullion..... 55,882 78 Landed and other Property..... 48,800 68 Balances due from other Banks and Branches..... 50,712 05 A/c debts due to the Bank, including Notes, Bills of Exchange and all Stock and Funds. Debts of every description, excepting Notes, Bills, and Balances due from other Banks and Branches..... 307,574 66 Total amount of Assets..... \$674,988 11

FOR SALE. THAT WELL-SITUATED BUSINESS Property known as the Bee Hive, having a frontage of about 51 feet on Braid street, by 75 feet on Port street, comprising a two-story frame house and two one-story brick stores, with the lot on which they stand, now occupied by J. Weiler at a rental of \$30 per month. This property offers a fine opportunity for private seeking an investment. Apply to L. LOWENBERG, Real Estate Agent, Government street.

FOR SALE OR TO LET. THE COMMERCIAL FAMILY RESIDENCE known as "Hess Bay Cottage," and in the occupation of J. L. Wood, Esq., containing large Dining and Drawing Rooms, Library, Bed Room and Dressing Rooms. With two good Kitchens and Store Closets on the ground floor, six Bed Rooms and three Dressing Rooms on the second floor, with useful and spacious out building, two good wells of water, garden well stocked with bearing fruit trees and just planted for the summer crop, the whole embracing about five acres of land adjoining the sea shore, with an excellent road to town. For particulars apply to ROBERT BURNABY, Government street, Victoria.

FOR SALE. THAT EXCELLENT AND COMMODIOUS two-story Dwelling House situated on Bird Cage Walk, James Bay, late in the occupation of Capt. Cooper with good well of water, stable, cow house and conveniences. The property is freehold, having a frontage of 80 feet on Bird Cage Walk with a depth of 110 feet. For particulars apply to ROBERT BURNABY, Land Agent, Government street.

TO BE LET, FURNISHED. A GOOD HOUSE ON PANDORA STREET. Apply to T. ALFORD, Land Agent, Government street near Fort.

NOTICE. WANTED TO PURCHASE FOR CASH. OLD IRON HORSE SHOES & NAILS. OLD TIRE & TRACK IRON. OLD RAILS & BARS. BLACKSMITH'S SCRAPS. OLD BOILERS & PLATES. OLD ANCHORS & CHAINS. ALSO—OLD HEMP ROBES. OLD COPPER, &c. Enquire of J. T. GREENMAN, at the office of J. P. Davis & Co., Wharf street, Victoria, B.C.

New Advertisements. HO! FOR CARIBOO! SUMMER ARRANGEMENT! Barnard's STAGES. Make the Best Time! Drive the Best Stock! Use the Best Coaches! Have Most Competent Drivers! Carry Most Passengers!!! Do the Largest Business!!! AND GUARANTEE TO CONNECT WITHOUT LOSS OF TIME WITH THE STEAMERS AT EACH END.

Leave Victoria - - Fridays - - 10 a.m. Yale - - - Mondays - - 6 a.m. Arrive at Barkerville on Friday following at - - - - - 6 p.m. RETURNING. Leave Barkerville, Mondays - - 6 a.m. Arrive at Yale, Thursdays - - - 6 p.m. Arrive at Victoria, Saturdays - - 4 p.m.

Four Days Ahead. H. M. MAILS. REMEMBER THIS. Travelers by the Fast Line save from \$10 to \$20 Expenses by not loitering on the road as others do.

EX "CAMDEN," FROM HONOLULU. Lowe Stahlschmidt & Co OFFER FOR SALE THE FOLLOWING SUGARS. IN BOND OR DUTY PAID. Waihee, No 1 in kegs. Wailuku do do. Libue do do. Wailuku, No 2 do. East Maui, No 2, in bags. Koloa, Nos 2 & 3, in bags and mats. 4 Commercial Row, July 10, 1871.

FRUIT! FRUIT! To Arrive Per North Pacific, 25 BOXES. APPLES, PINE APPLES, BANNANAS, PEARS, PEACHES, PLUMS. FOR SALE BY P. CRANOVELLI, Johnson Street.

EX "CAMDEN," FROM HONOLULU. SUGARS, VARIOUS GRADES; MOLASSES, BEST QUALITY. For sale in lots to suit Purchasers by J. ROBERTSON STEWART, Wharf street. Ex Bark CAMDEN AND BRIG ROBERT COWAN. SUGARS & MOLASSES NOS. 1 AND 2, For sale by JANION, RHODES & CO. MRS. E. W. TURNER MILLINER AND DRESSMAKER. North Park street near the Catholic Church. CUTTING AND FITTING DONE on the most reasonable terms. Instructions given in Cutting and Fitting Dresses, Skirts, Bagnettes, &c, by the latest improved and best Diagrams now in use. Ladies wishing to have the art would do well to call and see the diagrams by which means they can be taught in a week the work of months. Special attention paid to bleaching and dressing straw goods. North Park street, near the Catholic Church, Victoria, B.C.

Advertisement for 'The Globe' newspaper, including subscription rates and contact information.

INCORPORATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The Government scheme for the admission of British Columbia into the Canadian Dominion was pronounced last night in the House of Commons.

There are in British Columbia from 50,000 to 60,000 souls—composed, as Sir George Carter naively remarked, of "whites, Chinese, and Indians."

Now, it is hardly necessary for us to say that we desire as much as any one the incorporation of British Columbia as a member of the Canadian Confederation.

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.

Now, 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 traffic—whether the country is found practicable for a railway or not—whether the cost shall be one hundred or two hundred millions—

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 VOLUNTEERS.

Mr. Royal and the conductors of Le Nouveau Monde 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 is in the time-honoured phrase, "it was then a crime, it has been a blunder," and accordingly those who were most active in the whole proceeding are now ready to repent of their own handwork.

The latter remarks in Le Nouveau Monde have brought this matter to the attention of the public, and it is to be regretted that the moderate men among the English who had declared in favour of the Metis, have become so indignant at the conduct of those who have decided to support the Metis.

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resolutions asserting the constitutional principle which had been violated by the Manitoba Act; and, on Thursday last, Mr. Blake brought the question before the House in a practical form.

These letters and discussions in the Quebec papers had never been laid before the people of this Province, the volunteers might have been condemned and abandoned and brought back to Canada, without the people of Ontario having any opportunity of knowing the reason why, or expressing an opinion on the subject.

It is just as well that our French friends, from Le Nouveau Monde to Le Monde, should understand at once that the English-speaking portion of the inhabitants of Ontario are not going to stand the offensive manœuvres very many of them have been indulging in about this North-Western business for the past eight months.

There are no special favours to any, all we have ever insisted upon, and that we stand by, have, whatever Messrs. Royal, Clarke, LePage, &c., may say to the contrary.

ANOTHER HUMILIATION.

If the great North-West had been created for the simple purpose of punishing the Macdonald-Carter Administration for their ill, it could hardly have brought down upon them a more humiliating and degrading humiliation in connection with the transfer of the Territory to British rule and its incorporation in the Dominion.

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which should prevail under our Parliamentary system. Nothing can more clearly prove the total absence of all principle in the present Government than its cool rejection of whatever the Opposition forces upon it.

Several lines of the intended for the traffic between Chicago and Omaha, on the Missouri, the initial point of the Union Pacific Railway, the Chicago and North-Western claims to the title of Illinois from East to west across the Mississippi as Ontario, Iowa, and across the Missouri to the Pacific.

On the morning of the 10th of March, the 32nd, we were in the Chicago station-house of this road, one of the largest and most substantial edifices of the West.

But when the resolution so amended at their instance was put, they turned round and voted against it. A week before this game might have succeeded, but the manœuvre came too late.

STRAWS SHOWING THE CURRENT.

Mr. Blake's Bill to secure the independence of the Senate by making every member of that body ineligible for any public office, has been rejected, but by its very narrow majority of 56 to 57.

When such men as Messrs. AULT, BOWEN, GIBB, LAYTON, LITTON, MERRITT and MORSON are found, we may be sure in this case, in the ranks of the Opposition on any question whatever, the Government position must be gladly "too bad" altogether; for these men and others have shown themselves courageously able for anything almost that their masters could propose.

Some of our Ontario representatives, however, could go all lengths; and accordingly, among those who thought it dignified to make the Senate of the Dominion a refuge for worn-out politicians and unscrupulous pliers, who would "take the money and go as they were 'taught,' we find the following:

Forasmuch among the first and faithful among the faithful there was of course, Mr. JAMES BEATTY, the representative of EAST TORONTO; after Mr. JAMES OSWALD, of BROOKVILLE; Mr. FRANK HURDON, of SOUTH YORK; Mr. A. P. MORSON, of WEST MIDDLESEX; Mr. ARNOLD MORRISON, of NIAGARA; Mr. W. MARK STURGEON, of MISSISSAUGA; Mr. STEPHENSON, of KING; Mr. ALBERT WALTON, of NORFOLK; and Mr. OSWALD WALTON, of WEST MIDDLESEX.

Few more indefensible votes have been cast in the present Parliament, and that is saying a great deal, than the resolutions of these gentlemen take a number of it and show very practically what they think of it when the elections come on.

MR. FURSTON'S EXPEDITION TO THE PACIFIC. (Correspondence of the Globe.) On the morning of the 10th of March, the 32nd, we were in the Chicago station-house of this road, one of the largest and most substantial edifices of the West.

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Advertisement for 'MARQUIS OF LORNE TWEEDS' and 'M'EACHREN'S' clothing.

Advertisement for 'BONUS YEAR!' and 'LIFE ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND'.

Advertisement for 'CANADA LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY'.

Advertisement for 'ROYAL LYON' and 'SEA OIL'.

Advertisement for 'MONEY TO LOAN' and 'THE COLONIAL SECURITIES COMPANY'.

Advertisement for 'NEW 7-30 GOLD LOAN' and 'JAY COOKE & CO.'.

Advertisement for 'WATCHES AND JEWELRY' and 'DIAMOND HALL'.

Advertisement for 'NICKELITE SILVER' and 'SPOONS AND FORK'.

Advertisement for 'TAILORING BUSINESS FOR SALE' and 'SPECIAL ADVERTISEMENTS'.

Advertisement for 'TAILORING BUSINESS FOR SALE' and 'SPECIAL ADVERTISEMENTS'.

Advertisement for 'Montreal Auction Sales' and 'VALUABLE'.

Advertisement for 'AGENTS WANTED - BY THE PHENIX MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.'.

Advertisement for 'DR. WHEELER'S COMPOUND' and 'THE "CANADA" BRICK MACHINE'.

Advertisement for 'OTTAWA HOTEL' and 'MONTREAL'.

Advertisement for 'Pillow, Hersey & Co.' and 'MONTREAL'.

Advertisement for 'LOANS ON CITY PROPERTY' and 'MONEY TO LOAN'.

Advertisement for 'NEW 7-30 GOLD LOAN' and 'JAY COOKE & CO.'.

Advertisement for 'WATCHES AND JEWELRY' and 'DIAMOND HALL'.

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WONTAGAL AGENCY-Samuel J. Bush... THE GLOBE. TORONTO, THURSDAY, MARCH 30. THE BRITISH COLUMBIA REVOLUTIONS.

The Hon. of Commons list, for two nights, debated the resolutions embodying the terms agreed upon between the Government and the delegates from British Columbia for the admission of that Colony into the Dominion.

It does not seem possible for the present Government to accomplish any important stroke of policy without subjecting the country to humiliation and themselves to ridicule.

The national spirit, and the belief that 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.

Well, having thus opened the national purse and set aside the national conscience, we are to be asked to contribute to the Dominion and the British Columbia to the Dominion.

Without plans, without survey, without 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 as soon as uttered to be erroneous.

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here, it would have to be admitted that we had not been liberal on our side of the bargain. Beyond this point the British Columbia 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.

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CUR STREET. Some time ago we discussed the question of paving our streets with wooden blocks instead of the miserable macadam, which has been tried so long, and has been found to be unsatisfactory.

When our new Council has got fully to work we trust that it will also take measures to have our city thoroughly cleaned. The amount of filth accumulated in the back streets and lanes of our city is positively frightful.

And surely our Aldermen will do something to remove the plague of cows, horses, geese, and swine, that has so long filled the hearts of those who have a taste for gardens and clean sidewalks with despair.

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MR. FURBER'S EXPEDITION TO THE PACIFIC. (Continued from The Globe.)

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THE TORONTO TEA COY. ARE NOW SELLING Pure Black Teas. Pure Green Teas. Pure Japan Teas. Pure Java and Mocha Coffees.

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TENISON & HUNTER. HAVE OPENED THIS DAY. A splendid lot of LADIES' SKIRTS.

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Now, supposing our constituents stopped

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Now, supposing our constituents stopped

## RECAPITULATION

	Acres
Northern Department, Rupert's Land .....	42,170
Southern       "       " .....	1,085
Montreal       "       " .....	400
Northern Department, Northwest Territory .....	1,505
	45,160

## 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.	Lord Chamberlain.
Earl Cowper.	Mr. Secretary Cardwell.
Earl of Kimberley.	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 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 pre-emption 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 construction 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 be 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," and "Metchosin 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 set 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 &amp; 35 Victoria, c. 28.)

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

29th June, 1871.

Whereas doubts <sup>1</sup> 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. 1871.

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

Parliament of Canada may establish new Provinces and provide for the constitution etc., thereof.

3. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time, with the consent of the Legislature of any Province of the said Dominion, increase, diminish, or otherwise 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.

Alteration of limits of Provinces.

4. The Parliament of Canada may from time to time make provision for the administration, peace, order and good government of any territory not for the time being included in any Province.

Parliament of Canada may legislate for any territory not included in a Province.

5. The following Acts passed by the said Parliament of Canada, and intituled respectively:

“An Act for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada”; and

Confirmation of Acts of Parliament of Canada.

<sup>1</sup> See lord Kimberley's speech in Hansard, vol. ccvi, 3rd ser., p. 1171, for the reasons which led to the 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*

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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 sous-tend 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 XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.*

“**A**ll 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!<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

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."<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> The authors of the national surveys have presented

2 "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](http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=41353.htm)>, (viewed 16 January 2007).

4 "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.”<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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

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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 “The resolutions to admit British Columbia ...” *Sun* (Orangeville) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

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.<sup>12</sup> 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.”<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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?<sup>16</sup> 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

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14 Peter J. Smith, "The Ideological Origins of Canadian Confederation," in Janet Aizenstat 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 Aizenstat, 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.

favourable to union.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> Macdonald's Quebec 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> If a trans-continental 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.<sup>25</sup>

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."<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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:

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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.<sup>28</sup>

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.<sup>29</sup> *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."<sup>30</sup>

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."<sup>31</sup> 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."<sup>32</sup> The national prosperity that Oriental trade would bring was worth the price the British Columbians

28 "La Colombie et le chemin du Pacifique," *La Minerve* (Montreal) (29 March 1871), 2, col. 2-5.

29 Ibid.

30 "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 "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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.”<sup>39</sup> 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.”<sup>40</sup>

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.”<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup>

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.<sup>43</sup> *La Minerve* had also cited Bury, but the Montreal paper recognized the necessity of making the prospect of a transcontinental empire

39 “Marching On,” *Daily Reporter and Times* (Halifax) (1 April 1871), 2, col. 1.

40 “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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> Cartier himself linked the admission of British Columbia with the national aspirations of French Canada in a speech at a banquet for Joseph Trutch.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> He ridiculed in particular the

44 “La Colombie et le chemin du Pacifique,” *La Minerve* (Montreal) (29 March 1871), 2, col. 2-5.

45 “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 “‘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."<sup>50</sup>

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.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> 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."<sup>55</sup> In Loyalist Ontario, no

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

51 "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 "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 resistance 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.<sup>56</sup> David Mills, the Liberal member for Bothwell, Ontario, raised the same objection, as did the secessionist Halifax *Morning Chronicle*.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> 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

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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 "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.

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

class on national political life.<sup>59</sup> 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.”<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> Nova Scotia senator Frank Smith contended that the colony was as fertile as Ireland, though he did not provide a source.<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> The *Ottawa Free Press* wrote of British Columbia’s “fertile valleys,” but also predicted that the new province

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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.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> 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."<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> 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."<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup>

65 "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

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."<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup> 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."<sup>77</sup> 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

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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."<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup>

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.<sup>80</sup> The British Columbia government was most concerned about the population estimate as it affected the subsidy.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> The Goderich

78 "The Admission of British Columbia," *Canadian Gleaner* (Huntingdon) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 5-6.

79 "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

*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.<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> In Parliament, member after member rose to challenge the representation formula.<sup>86</sup> 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.<sup>87</sup>

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

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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 "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 "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."<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup>

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.<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> 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 "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.<sup>94</sup> 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."<sup>95</sup> 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."<sup>96</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup>

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?<sup>99</sup> 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.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup> 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."<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> 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'."<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup> 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.<sup>107</sup> In Canada, the distance between the Aboriginal peoples of the east and the Diggers was illus-

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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 "The Commons," *Ottawa Citizen* (29 March 1871), 2, col. 3; Canada. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1871, 700.

103 "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 "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.”<sup>108</sup> 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.”<sup>109</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup> 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.”<sup>111</sup> 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.”<sup>112</sup>

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](http://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 “The Admission of British Columbia,” *Canadian Gleaner* (Huntingdon) (6 April 1871), 2, col. 5-6.

112 “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.<sup>113</sup> 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.<sup>114</sup> 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!”<sup>115</sup> 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.<sup>116</sup> 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.<sup>117</sup>

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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.

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."<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> 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.<sup>120</sup> Alexander Tilloch Galt noted the "new field of duty" that the cession of the Hudson's Bay territories opened for Canada.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup> 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

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

119 Nine Quebecers, five Nova Scotians, and one New Brunswicker voted in favour of the amendment. All of the Quebecers 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; Owrarn, *Promise of Eden*, 97-8.

without opposition.<sup>123</sup> 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 Owrarn 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.<sup>124</sup> 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."<sup>125</sup> 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."<sup>126</sup> 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."<sup>127</sup> 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."<sup>128</sup> Similarly, Timothy Anglin, the New Brunswick anti-Confederate,

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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 Owrarn, *Promise of Eden*, Chapter Two.

125 "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.<sup>129</sup> British 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 transshipment 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.<sup>130</sup> 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.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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.<sup>133</sup> 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.”<sup>134</sup> 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 transshipment 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 long-standing conflict over Canada’s character and future remained unresolved.

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134 “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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