

### Debate on the Railway Bill

WOODSTOCK, N. B., SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1863.

NO. 17

The following Speeches of Mr. Smith, Mr. Boyd, and Mr. W. J. Gilbert, on the Railway, are from the *Head Quarters Report* :

MR. SMITH'S SPEECH

Mr. STURRI was at a loss whether to regard the matter as one of mere technicality or as one of principle. It might be considered unimportant, but one light it might be considered important, but he would not then so consider it, but regard it as one of most serious importance. The Provincial Secretary had told them that the result of the legislation of Canada on this subject depended on the course of their legislation. It was a very high position to take. He did not think they could do like Canada and hang upon the legislation of a small Province like New Brunswick. He did not believe that Canada would be influenced by any course they might take. The subject before them was one in which they all had a deep and common interest. It was a question superior to all politics, and one in which party and party spirit did not enter. They were to decide. They should regard it as practical men, and not look at it through a heated imagination. Though opposed to the railway policy of the Government, (and he had given the strongest proof of the sincerity of his opposition to that policy by his own action) he did not think they were influenced by any desire but to advance the interests of the Province. Adverting to the Bill, the hon. member said, though he had read it carefully, he had been quite unable to understand its provisions. He thought it one of the most extraordinary Bills ever introduced into a Legislature. He thought it would have induced some of our political friends to desert him, but he was utterly unable to understand whether, by it, the Provinces or the British Government were to have the selection of the route. Section 3d of the Bill said "the amount so borrowed shall be applied towards the completion of the railway from *any place to be approved*" by the Imperial Government. Now, what does *any place* mean? The wording of that section the British Government had not the power to select the route, the Province was left to fix or define it, subject to their approval; that was in direct contravention to the original agreement, by which the selection of the route was reserved to the Imperial Government. Again, in the 11th section of the Bill, the Government commissioners to build the road, &c., "upon the site that shall have been surveyed and approved by the Government of the three Provinces." What construction was to be put on the word "site"? It had an entirely different meaning from the word

... meant the location of the line, the particular spot where the rails were to be placed. Was it meant that the British Government were only to have the approval of the place where the rails were to be put? It was not for the Government, in my opinion, to have any say in the matter. It was for the Government to have so many different languages so capable of being misunderstood that it was impossible to understand what he said. He held also that there was no limitation to the amount of the liability to be incurred by the Province, put by the Government in the Bill. He thought this a strange and remarkable omission: it was not mistaken, but it seemed to him that the Bill had been framed in such a way that the Government had that design. (This is what we understood him to say.) Referring to the 13th section, (enacted on the 9th paragraph of the memorandum of the Colonial Secretary) he held that the British Government contemplated the possibility, nay, the probability, that there would be more than three millions of population, and required evidence that the Government would be able to raise the additional money necessary. Was the Provincial Secretary prepared to show how he could raise money for the railway, at night cost, instead of three millions, four or five millions? The circumstance made him believe that at the Government's expense there would be more than the three millions it was, (as he had discovered from certain records) that the Provincial Secretary had gone home prepared to pledge the credit of the country to the extent of three-and-a-half millions. The hon. member then commented on the 14th section of the Bill, did not contain in it within itself the means and necessary powers of its provisions, and asked why all this haste? Why not let all the three Provinces legislate together on the matter? Were the Government afraid that there would be a change of public sentiment? He asked the question. If they wanted the matter discussed, they might as well not have passed the Bill. He held that they wanted the Government to be made most unstatesmanlike. Were the Government defeated on the bill and a dissolution of the House to take place, would they be prepared to let this scheme to the country? But they had not done so. He held that the Government did not believe the House would pass the Bill, which there was no vitality. The hon. member went on to show how strong was the feeling in Canada against the measure, and that course of Government in repudiating it was in a line with the feeling of the people. He controverted the assertion of the Provincial Secretary that the Government had prepared to ask money for the survey, and to illustrate the folly of the Province embarking in a scheme alone, to carry out which the consent of all parties was required, binding itself to itself for years to pledge its revenues to an undertaking which it might never carry out. He thought the Government premature in legislating in this matter, and he did not think it fair for them to ask the House to mortgage the revenue of the Province for two years without their knowing that it would receive a *quid pro pro*, and that the House should consent to mortgage the Government to the Province. He said that they saw that something would grow out of this. The hon. speaker then adverted to the meeting held at Dorchester, alluded to by the Provincial Secretary, on the 4th January, 1849, and the resolutions passed then in favor of railways. He (Sir John) said that he would not say so done; it must have been for the purpose of mystifying the people. The Secretary had not read far enough that day. In the memoranda of that meeting there was the report of an engineer, that might have been a fiction, if he was capable of being grossly mistaken. It would not be by experience, as he said, the cost of building a railway from the Bend to Chesley might be £74,000, at £4,560 a mile, and it would yield in three years from its construction a clear profit of over £11,000. He then referred to the railway law of 1852, based on the above estimate, and he said that the Government had the ability of the Province for the completion of a line between Halifax and Quebec would be one-and-a-half millions! He thought it strange that the Secretary should refer to those old and obsolete laws, at that time, after the better and sad experience of the last year, and the cost of their construction. They now knew that it could not be constructed for less than £10,000 a mile.

hon. member then reviewed at great length the offers of the British Government in 1854, 1855 and 1858 to show that the last offer of 1862 was unprecedented, so great, generous, and liberal as to justify the Government in declaring it to be and to justify his hostile attitude towards it, and to the changed circumstances and terms, and to point out that in all former negotiations one thing always had been prominently forward, that the British Government should contribute to the scheme, they should inaugurate it, and the Province should be the subsidary party. Now, he said, he felt it his first duty to undertake the responsibility The Provincial Secretary had taken of the steamers that would be sent from London and to Halifax, to connect with the Railway, was a reason why it was most important that the British Government should have a stake in it, and that he would be their interest to send steamers, as the matter was not a Provincial one, but a member afterwards observed, on a statement made by the Provincial Secretary, that he received a private application for 500,000 acres for the pur-

pose of settlement, in view of the railway being built, that he was scarcely justified to refer to such things as a mere fancy. He had been in the House, when he (Smith) was in the Government scarcely a year passed without some similar application but in his zeal and enthusiasm he was apt to be too sanguine. He had not a gift of prophetic vision beyond other men. His predictions with respect to the North American Railway had not been verified. He had said that in three years of its working it would pay 3 per cent. (Provincial Secretary)—What he had said was, he would be satisfied if they got 2 per cent. at the end of ten years. Well, it had been running two years and half, and it paid no more than working expenses of the first year, and he had let it run down and exercised his imagination, and saw visions of thousands of industrious people settling along the line of railway, and computed how much each of them would pay a head to the revenue, and how the total amount would not only pay for the construction of the line, but leave a balance, he knew well it was all a creation of fancy. It was easy to sit down and sum up any number of figures, and indulge in visions of future greatness, but it would not do to legislate upon them. They could not legislate as if they had £300,000, instead of as many as £100,000, and regard the people coming into the Province as if they consisted of millions. He would ask if that portion already built had brought 50 permanent residents into the country. If it had, where did they live? That prediction had been false. He (Smith) then contrasted the rate of increase between New Brunswick and Maine. He had said that in the last year, that had had several lines of railroad intersecting, it had increased that the want of railways had not prevented New Brunswick increasing in prosperity, since if railways were the cause of prosperity, why had not Maine, that had so many, not grown greater than New Brunswick, that had so few? The Province was not standing still, it was increasing, and its increase was, it had spent its money within itself. But the fact weighed on his mind, that the subtraction of £70,000 from the revenue of the Province, to pay interest on the money already borrowed for public purposes, must be detrimental to its best interests. He did not think that the debt of England had to be paid to a foreign country it could not have a prejudicial effect on the greatness and wealth of England. That interest was little more than one third of the whole revenue of England and it was spent within itself, while the interest on the money of the Province paid out of it, was more than one half of its revenue of \$600,000.

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Mr. Smith read this afternoon. His speech was a great part an application for aid from the Government. Then he showed that the predictions with regard to the European and North American Railway had not been verified. It had not led to emigration and a great increase in the population. Going further into the argument, he showed, supposing that the railway should lead to a great increase in the population, it would not be a benefit to people here, there would just be more money required to meet the wants of the country would keep pace with the increase of population; as the people grew in numbers and wealth, their requirements would be greater; they would want more by-roads; the jails would be enlarged and the roads would have to be enlarged; the expenses of the legislature would be increased. The speaker also. With regard to the railway leading to a commercial union (if it brought about that ultimate result would be a legislative union), he asked, supposing that were established, and they were allowed articles to come in duty free, would that be a benefit to the people? It being made greater, it would be made less by that free-trade. The Provincial Secretary had dwelt upon the immense benefits that such free trade would confer upon this province, and looked forward to the time when there would be 5,000,000 inhabitants in the British American Colonies, but it ought to be recollected that the population of the smaller country would be under a great disadvantage. The speaker was much so much the larger and richer country, and with, in a less degree, Nova Scotia also. Instead of New Brunswick supplying them, their greater facilities enabled them to manufacture at a cheaper rate than the Province. The Provincial Secretary had said (Mr. Smith) was always eager to expend public money on great roads and by-roads, and sought it strange he should oppose this railway. The object of which would be similar in kind but not in degree on the prosperity of the country. The speaker said that the railway was not absolutely necessary to carry on the business of the country, this railway was not, and until it was shown that the business of the country could not be carried on without it, the railway must be looked upon as a luxury, while the roads were an absolute necessity. The speaker then went into a narrative of the complaints of the people of New Brunswick, and to show how much the carrying of passengers and freight by the railway between St. John and Shediac, and by the subsidy steamers between Shediac and Quebec, cost the Province. Taking up the passenger statement in the Railway Commission report, he found the total number of passengers carried by the railway between St. John and Shediac, he would take 6000 as the average of passengers carried the entire length of the railway between St. John and Shediac. The way not having paid beyond working expenses, wear and tear into account, the Province had paid out of pocket, £300,000 for interest on the railway, applying £30,000 to the wages of the men, about carried in 1862, and he took 16,000 as, or about one-half, as the total carried between St. John and Shediac, it was proved that the Province paid £5 a head for every man, woman, and child, and length of the railway, the ordinary freight was 12s. 6d. per ton. With freight carried by the railway, the cost of carrying the ordinary freight would be willing to construct this railway, or were they prepared to do things on such a scale as that? (The speaker at this point expressed, excited by a question—"Had not Canada the right to build her own railways?") To the question of the extraordinary expense of the building of the work of the building of the Grand Trunk Railway, as capable of assuming the entire responsibility of the work as the people of New Brunswick, he assumed that of the railway under consideration, he would pay the cost of his railways, and how did he prosper? She had paid for the expenditure of 15 millions, only three-ninths of which she paid, while she got the benefit of 10 millions British sovereigns, and all the benefit of the railways but by their besides, without paying anything for nothing. If Canada had borrowed £100 millions, she would be obliged to pay £400,000 out of the country to meet the interest on the loan, she would have sunk under the burden. The Grand Trunk Railway made no return, and for the great length of its way ran through a howling wilderness. How then could it be expected, if a railway was built, running as it would also, that it would be a benefit to the country? It was not settled, that it would pay, and how could a railway in Canada did not pay, how could a railway pay here? That question ought to make us hesitate how they embarked in such a scheme without on to say, in reference to the railway not being a commercial speculation, were the people of this Province to build a railway, would it be a road? Were the people of this small and rich province, numbering 250,000 souls, besides providing for all their local wants, to spend money on a railway for military purposes? He was not prepared to contribute to it as such. If the British Government had such a railway, he thought—He said the people of this Province would be doing nothing to it—they should undertake the construction of it themselves.—He was as loyal in his

feelings as any man, and he believed loyalty was as deeply rooted here as in any portion of the British Empire. He appreciated the advantages of British protection, but he did not think it fair that they should be extended to the railway and the military road. He had no apprehension of war between themselves and the United States. If it did arise, it would be because of its connection with Britain. He thought it was the interest of this Province to cherish intercourse with the United States. He then proceeded to inquire what amount of commerce was between Canada and New Brunswick, and if it was as much as to justify the building this road for commercial purposes.—The Government subsidized a steamer to ply between Shediac and Quebec, with £2,000 a year. How long did it last?—He did not know. It had done so for 4 years. What had been the amount of passengers carried from Shediac to Quebec?—Cuddey here put the returns in his hands.—\$19,675 for 1861, or £50,000, that was the whole amount, and that, instead of being an increase over 1860, was a decrease. Taking up the report of the Commissioner of Board of Works, he showed that the number of passengers carried from Shediac to Quebec was 19,675, and he referred to the different ports along the route. He showed 944. Taking 400 as the average of passengers carried the whole way, that would give £200 paid out of the public treasury for every person who travelled between Shediac and Quebec last year. (The Commissioner then informed that there were two steamers on the route, and that the average was the same average, that would give \$5 for every passenger. As to freight there had been over 9,500 barrels of flour carried, and on every barrel the Province had paid 1s. 6d.

MR. KEAR—The great bulk of the trade is still

Mr. SMITH would be continued to be carried on, for a barrel of flour can be brought from Quebec in those small craft for 18.5¢. Were the railroad built, the cost of freight would be 4s. or 5s. a barrel, while flour (and that was the staple article in trade between that Province and others) could be brought to Montreal for 10¢, or 12¢, or 13¢, or 14¢, or 15¢, or 16¢, or 17¢, or 18¢, or 19¢, or 20¢, or 21¢, or 22¢, or 23¢, or 24¢, or 25¢, or 26¢, or 27¢, or 28¢, or 29¢, or 30¢, or 31¢, or 32¢, or 33¢, or 34¢, or 35¢, or 36¢, or 37¢, or 38¢, or 39¢, or 40¢, or 41¢, or 42¢, or 43¢, or 44¢, or 45¢, or 46¢, or 47¢, or 48¢, or 49¢, or 50¢, or 51¢, or 52¢, or 53¢, or 54¢, or 55¢, or 56¢, or 57¢, or 58¢, or 59¢, or 60¢, or 61¢, or 62¢, or 63¢, or 64¢, or 65¢, or 66¢, or 67¢, or 68¢, or 69¢, or 70¢, or 71¢, or 72¢, or 73¢, or 74¢, or 75¢, or 76¢, or 77¢, or 78¢, or 79¢, or 80¢, or 81¢, or 82¢, or 83¢, or 84¢, or 85¢, or 86¢, or 87¢, or 88¢, or 89¢, or 90¢, or 91¢, or 92¢, or 93¢, or 94¢, or 95¢, or 96¢, or 97¢, or 98¢, or 99¢, or 100¢, or 101¢, or 102¢, or 103¢, or 104¢, or 105¢, or 106¢, or 107¢, or 108¢, or 109¢, or 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the hon. member then asked the Provincial Secretary whether the Provinces were to have the selection of the route? He ought to tell him—nothing ought to be concealed. He would ask the question again and again, was it because he (Mr. Smith) was known to be hostile to the line that he was asked to do so, as he was not acting fairly towards him, a representative of the people, and that he had a stake in the country, to refuse him the answer. [Attorney General]—The Provincial Secretary will answer by-and-by. Why not then? was surely strange doctrine that a member should be asked to go to a question on a matter in which he was opposed to the Government. If the Secretary would not answer him (Mr. Smith) he would assume that the British Government should have it. He indeed, had in 1851 been party to agreement that allowed them the selection, but the Government was entirely different, the investments were not the same. The British then was to have contributed £20,000 annually, and he was to have contributed now? Not a single shilling. He indeed believed that the British Government would never refuse such an offer as this proposed to give them a military railway without any cost of cost. Where has been their magnanimity, and generosity in allowing them the selection of the route, in allowing it a mortgage on the whole revenue of the country? Did not they expect that the money would be paid back, and did they not know that this Province was a mother country by moral and natural rights, and that it would have naturally rather than repudiate a just debt due to her? He weaker then went into details to show the difficulty amount of liabilities the three Provinces would incur by the contemplated railway. Taking the cost at £3 a mile, the whole amount would be £2,340,000. Brunswick, 10s. per mile, £24,148. In Nova Scotia, he thought it Canada hesitated to embark in this enterprise. New Brunswick might do so too. The interest at 4 per cent on the whole amount would be 2s. 9d. on Nova Brunswick, 5d. for Canada, and 2s. 2d. for Nova Scotia. His responsibility compared with theirs was a light matter. He went on to show how the money, principal and interest, would be paid outside the Province. For interest on the present railway they had paid £70,000 out of the country, equal to 6d. a head, and at the rate of a day. They were prepared to assume gratuity £2 a head. The railway would cost the Province \$659,000, which would leave them owing the other railway debt, \$49,000 for all the indentures of the country. The cause of their former prosperity has been they had spent their money they changed the country. They ought to pause before they changed the country. The hon. member then took up and read a course. The audience of the Canadian delegates. He had been struck with the malice of the tone of that document. He thought the manner in which countries, and that they were to be held in remembrance by future generations. He thought the length the attitude that Messrs. Howe and Scott had taken. He forcibly pointed out in the present negotiations the principle that stated all others had been ignored. Britain was the only borrower. The Colonies would be the lender. New Brunswick was pleased at the prospect of a railway for nothing, or that he was left at the abrupt breaking off of the negotiations. He then read from the memorandum an abstract of the speech of Lord Stanley (Earl Derby) in 1851, to show the sentiments of the land-owners of England had in the importance of the railway, and that the sound, and economical course of the British Government would be to aid the Colonies in the construction, even though it should be in the first instance refused to give any money. He then the proposals of the British Government (he commented upon them, (We cannot enter into it), but the pith of his remarks was, that proposals of the British Government in demanding a mortgage on the whole Province, the appointment of an engineer to select the route, and the selection of the route, (he held that was not a previous adequate proof that the Colonial route) were sufficient to meet the charges imposed on them, were most harsh, and rather insulting. The Colonies were merely borrowers, and the Imperial Government was the lender.

advantage from the railway, and considering the knowledge they had of the resources of the Colonies from the blue books, and from what the Duke of Newcastle had seen personally of them. He asked, under the circumstances, could any credit be ordered of more exacting than the British Government? He argued, at length on the 9th section of the British Government's guarantee, and a dissentient note to be asked for the guarantee until the line and surveys shall have been submitted to the approval of by Her Majesty's Government, and until it shall have been shown to the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government that the line can be constructed without the application for an Imperial guarantee." He considered by way of proof of it, it was clearly shown that the British Government thought the sum of three millions would not be sufficient, (nor did he think the Government would alter its view) and that, in short, they said they would, after all, raise the money by way of the Provinces to repay the loan, trust them, and that, as they did not think the sum would be sufficient, they would require preliminary evidence that the Provinces would be able to raise the money beyond the £3 millions before they lent it at all. The hon. member, in speaking of the route, which he held would be selected by the British Government, who would certainly be influenced by military considerations in the choice, asked, would the North Shore people be justified in voting for the way if it took the Western route? He thought not. Would it be worth while for it? Or would the people in the Western side be justified in voting if they were justified in supporting it, should it go by the North Shore? He thought not. Then how was the question to be settled? Speaking of the survey, and the impossibility of constructing the railway for more than £3 millions, was impossible for the most scientific engineer to estimate a quarter of a million what the railway would cost. From what they knew, they might be sure that the engineers, who would naturally be anxious to get employment, (and he did not seek to impute any gain to those gentlemen) would be disposed to cut down the estimates. They would be to go by these surveys, and they ought to come to an understanding how they were to raise the money if it cost more than three millions. He then referred to Mr. Light's report, who, he held, was as anxious as anybody that the railway should go on, but whose report they knew, and who had all been under the mark, to show that that gentleman estimated that the North Shore line, 470 miles, £3,286,000; the Central route 418 miles, £3,286,000; Douglas Valley or western route, 370 miles, £3,286,000. They would be perfectly justified to add £150,000 to each of these estimates. He held they had no guarantee that the road would be made for less than £3,000,000. The hon. member concluded, but reserved to himself the right of reply.

MR. BOYD'S SPEECH

Mr. Boyd died, at his advanced age, with his past experience floating before him, and feeling the great responsibility attached to his position, he might well pause and ponder before he lent himself to aid so vast an undertaking as that now submitted. No question of such magnitude had ever been presented to the public mind, and there was no child's play. The question was, "How could we get the money?" "The game of blind man's bluff" had been played long enough, and follow my leader was a game they could not afford to play at. When the delegates met at Quebec and talked the matter over, they concluded that instead of proposing any particular plan, they would propose that the money they would dipose of should be placed in the hands of the Government, the Imperial Government, and the Government of the Province, and let them make their own route to them. They knew the strong prejudice of the Imperial Government had for a military road, and the most remote from the frontier, and by conceding the choice, they knew, therefore, they would not more readily get the Imperial guarantee. "Go, sell your guineas, and get the glittering gold," possessed the extraordinary charm of the word, and the effect it had when the Hon. Joseph Howe went uttering through the Province, enlisted the people in favor of the European and North American railway. Millions of sovereigns were in the grasp of the people, and if they would only put forth their hands to take them, they would be in their hands. The question between the projectors and the Government, the whole affair ended in smoke; and now, another attempt was made to dupe John Bull at his guineas. The question had been asked of the province able to bear the expense of con-

provided a route was defined which would be a safe commercial paying line, but in the absence of a defined route it would be like taking a leap in the dark. For one he would never commit himself to entail upon the people of the Province an enormous expenditure for any return. The statement submitted by the Provincial Secretary was not believed reliable, but for all that they did not seem to him a sufficient inducement to go blindly into it was matter, without knowing how much the line would cost, or where it would be located, more to the people of the Province laboring under an enormous debt already. The cost of the line would be the taxation per head did not exceed 13s. 6d. and the Postmaster General said the railway would impose more than 25 cents additional per head. They looked all very well, but these were only the estimated taxes and the revenue purposes, they had other local taxes and the revenue purposes. As to the calculation, every family averaging seven persons, man, wife, and five children, had to pay 8-10 years, including the revenue taxes. It was all very well to say that the people only paid 13s. 6d. a year, and to keep the local taxes in the shade, — but what would be the cost of the maintenance of the route to the Imperial Government. Why should the people be made to do then? Was it not quite sufficient at the Province gave ample security for the money granted? Let them look at the composition of the Government, and they might easily conceive that the Government would not be so stupid as Mr. Albert, who were ready to go for the route, would make no odds to them which way the man after it left their locality, as they still could be in the midst of the traffic and nothing could divert it from them. Then they had two more members from the mainland, one from Restigouche, also a member in the Government, and one in Sunbury, all of whom were willing to vote for the North Shore Line. Again, who were the choice of the Commissioners? They were appointed by the Government. And the engineers were appointed by the Government to the Imperial Government, and they knew its policies and its interests. It was not presumptuous in them to attempt to legislate on a question of such magnitude without Canada and Nova Scotia? Did the motives of this bill appear that their legislation was for the benefit of Canada or Nova Scotia? They thought not. Canada would not be any more fully. There was no expectation that Canada had more in the matter, and Nova Scotia dared not, for there it was made a party question; here, he was happy to say, it was not. The only difficulty in opinion was to the risk they were going to take by any money to the Imperial Government which was not defined. As the representative of the interests of 250,000 people, he did not consent to do so. The Postmaster General told them that they, as loyal men, should build the route at their own expense, and show the Imperial Government that they were willing to stand the defence of their country. (Mr. Mac-Bryd) did not allow his attachment to Her Majesty and Government to be impugned. He was as loyal as any loyalist member in the Assembly, but he did not think it strange to hold that they ought to consider the route to be put in the hands of the Imperial Government as well as to hold that they ought to have all the forts for the defence of the Province equipped them. No, the Province was not their country; it was a British dependency. All that could be done of them was that they should assist the Imperial Government in the defence of the Province, understanding it, ever it was assailed by a foe. He said they would not even do that, but he be-

[illegible]

MR. W. J. GILBERT'S SPEECH

Mr. W. J. J. GOSSET said he would not occupy the attention of the committee long after the able and eloquent speeches (to which he had listened with a great deal of pleasure), and in which so much had been said pro and con, that they left him little to say particularly new on the subject. But as he had the honor to be one of the largest industrial countries of the province, and of the largest number of mill-owners in the country, he felt it incumbent on him to express an opinion on the matter before them, and in doing so he would express the opinion of a large majority of his constituents. His colleague (Mr. Smith) had made an excellent speech against the Bill; in doing so he knew that the members of the Legislature in the House by his argument and his eloquence were speaking therefore he must have had distant generations in view, and, while laying his views before the House, was, in fact, addressing posterity. It would it happen that all his evil forebodings regarding the Bill would come to pass, and ruin would befall the Province, and the Province would be of every luxury, and the Province be obliged to economise on account of the extravagance in the past, and be left "to feed on the cold meat of yesterday," his colleague, should his memory and his courage as long, would be looked upon as a prophet. He then said that the resolutions he had presented against legislating the route would be carried without the co-operation of Canada, while the route was undefined. He then thought it very politic in New Brunswick to move in the matter that Canada and Nova Scotia, but when he moved the amendment of the Bill there was a limitation to the time. He then said that if Canada and Nova Scotia did not legislate, the Bill, if it was passed in New Brunswick, would become null, and therefore the question before them was a mere matter of time, and the Bill if passed, would not bind them beyond two years, one of the objections urged in opposition to the route. As to the question of the route, at the railway committee, when the route, as he represented, it was a matter of little moment to him that the route was not defined in the Bill. In a Provincial point of view, however, it was necessary that the route should be defined in the Bill, to the extent of the liability might be incurred. He then said that he was in favor of his plan, the Bill, that was also a response to his obligation. Being thus satisfied on these two points, he had not pressed his resolution. Referring to the subject under discussion, the hon. mem-

to refer to the Provincial Secretary had been done in order to facilitate the legislation. It was a matter of fact, ground to take, an argument of the past—the unanimous and concurrent opinion of past houses in favor of the great importance of the road. Allusion had been made to a meeting in Dorchester in 1845, on the question of whether it was not a question at all stagnant in the Province, and that there was no more to be said forward with a great deal of interest to the question on the question. Alluding to the negotiations of last year, he said that there was little excitement in the Province about the conference in 1846. Nobody seemed to know any thing about the rumors were heard that some of the delegates were not present, and the speech which he held was objectionable, if it did not appear of the Province. But there soon afterwards appeared the memorandum of his colleague, whom he would say that he had been divorced from the bed and board of the Government without any other reasons for his resignation. He said, his all credit for his courtesy, he (Gilbert) said, that he (Smith) was

proposition was quite as fair and reasonable as the one he was willing to renew in 1859. His colleague had said that the first road the Province wished to construct was connecting New Brunswick with the United States. If he were to neglect the interest of his constituents, he should have said between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It had been urged as an objection against building the railway for military purposes, that it would be impossible to work it on account of the snow, but he had some persons present who had seen the road, and had himself been snowed up in a railway in Michigan, and had conversed with persons there on the subject, and such objections were universally considered momentary things. They were never looked upon as serious barriers against building three distinct Provinces into one railway from a broad point of view. He thought it was a grand project of view. Now, if the Legislature of the three Provinces together, and bring them into close political and commercial relations, and lead to the three Provinces adopting one political arrangement, one tariff, one currency, and eventually raise these three distinct Provinces into a great country, inhabited by a great people, possessing the prestige and a scientific reputation of its own, and having a Legislature that would command the respect of the world Mr. G. then proceeded to speak of the Government and its antecedents with regard to the question of the railway. He was willing to forget some of their short comings, but he could not profess if this railway were to be built, he would like to see the management placed in more economical hands. He showed how far the expense per mile, under their hands, had exceeded what had been laid out by the Government that preceded them. A portion of the railway at either end had been built under that Government for £6,500, but when the new Government came into power, estimates were made that it could be finished for £8,500 per mile, but instead of that, it had cost £11,000. He did not say that this Province's Commissioner, but he would say that this Province's Government made a school for Engineers, and that £300,000 was expended on engineers, and that £300,000 was thrown away on their tuition. He hoped the Government, should it fall to their lot to build it, if it ever was built, would be cautious how they expended the money. If they could bring from England labour, machinery, tools, money, and lay it out economically and with care, so as to do credit to the lasting benefit of the Province, but if they proceeded in the same course as had been pursued during the building of the Shediac Road, they would squander it. Everything in this life was shrouded in mystery, and accompanied with difficulty. Doubts might arise as to the wisdom of building, and its effect on the future welfare of the country, but never was any great work accomplished without risk. For himself he felt justified in voting against the resolution for postponement, as his constituents

MR. MUNRO'S SPEECH ON THE RAILWAY.

[From the Reporter.]

Mr. Moxon said that on this important question he wished to give some reason for the hope that was in him and approached the subject with a sense of its vastness and importance, and his own inability to do it. The subject presented itself in a military and commercial point of view. A new military road it would tend to the defence of the Colonies, and by affording the means of speedy transit in winter, allow the Imperial Government to disperse the Canadas, as well as the United States, on this railway in winter, troops can in the summer and autumn be conveyed in the most rapid manner, and be clearly conveyed on any occasion upon which war might be considered as imminent. For conveyance the Railway would offer many advantages—much more rapidity of transit, saving the expense of messengers for the Canadas and the United States, and the lighter and more valuable dry goods now sent by Windsor and Portland, would come by this route. The Provinces had made many efforts to accomplish this great undertaking, had striven since 1846—how many years ago it was—had striven to enable them to build the Inter-Colonial Railway, and now, when it seems within our grasp, it would be very foolish to throw it away. He was astonished at the opposition of three members from the Province of New Brunswick, who were the pioneer in railways, for in 1837 we find him proposing to build 300 miles from St. Andrews to Quebec, which was surveyed by Major Lyle, and it is curious to observe the ideas of Railways then. 300 miles were to be built for £1,000,000 sterling, on a roadway raised 4 feet above the level of the sea, Pine rails covered with a coat of red lead each year, and to last for 10 to 13 years. In 1843 the Imperial Government announced it to be surveyed for a military road from Quebec by River de Loup, Grand Falls, Tobique Boistown, New Canaan and the Bend, when it was suspended by the request of the Colonies, and the order that a Railway might be substituted. From that time to this, either the three colonies have kept the Bill motion by resolutions, addresses and delegations until now when as the result of so much labor and expense the Roadway under consideration is introduced, and which the Colonies have agreed to be postponed for 2 months, thus, by allowing away all our past toil and trouble, and presently causing a loss of 10 or 12 years ere the former state of the matter can be again attained. He would not say that the Colonies were not important (Mr. Smith), that we attach no more importance to our Legislation in advance of Canadas and Nova Scotia. Our geographical position warrants us as the greater part of the Railroad will be in the Province, and the passage of Bills in this Province will be of more assistance to Nova Scotia, where there is a majority for the Railway, than it will strengthen the hands of the Ministry in Canada, and expedite the passage of the Bill there.

the opponents of the Bill, except the Hon. ex-Lieutenant-General (Mr. Smith) seen opposed to the Bill because the particular "route" is defined—now only one of the three routes has been completely surveyed, and how could the Government at a route in the Bill except this one, when neither the distance or cost is known of the other two, had no doubt the Valley of the St. John route would be preferred. A change had come over the opinions of military engineers as regard to Railways as a means of attack or defence. The battles of Agincourt in Italy and the first Bull Run in Virginia demonstrated the utility of railways even in the case of battle. This country was now better known to England. In summer steam transports could convey troops from Quebec to Montreal, and this was done in winter, being on the eastern shore of the St. John, when our river was frozen and offered an obstacle to the passage of an enemy, being like vast bridges, was not now considered essential, but might instance the Grand Trunk Road from our river, where only the frozen St. Lawrence in winter, divides it from the American territory.

In our Journals of 1859, Messrs. McDonald and the Canadian delegates state "it to be understood in objection that the Valley of the St. John is not considered by Military men competent judge objectionable as a military road, may that there are strong reasons for this objection, and that at all events no difficulty is apprehended in finishing a line combining the requisites of a military and commercial road."

Besides the advantage of population along a water route, our experience has shown that in England and Scotland, the people are necessary to heavy snow storms to aid the snow ploughes, and, more especially will be the case here, particularly pointing out the Valley route for Inter-Colonial Line—neither the Imperial Government nor Canada object, and Major Robinson now holds the importance of a line via St. John to the United States, which this Valley route by its extension will give, and which may be achieved by the means proposed in this Bill. Major Robinson says "If a line be drawn from Cape Breton in Ireland, to New York, it will cut through