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COLLECTION  
NOT TO BE  
TAKEN

Life and Work of the Honorable

John Norquay

Margaret Elliot McBeth

Being a thesis submitted to the Department  
of History of the University of Manitoba in  
partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the Degree of Master of Arts.

May 1925



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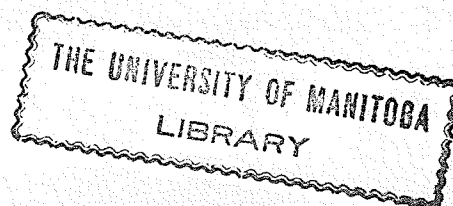




TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I. Biography

- (a) Ancestry
- (b) Childhood and Education
- (c) Experience as a teacher
- (d) Marriage
- (e) Farming
- (f) Election to first Manitoba Legislature
- (g) Premier of Manitoba 1878
- (h) Personal
- (i) Death 1889

Chapter II. Policy as Premier- Railway -

- (a) Manitoba's position 1878
- (b) Mr. Norquay and Dominion Government 1879.
- (c) Discussion of Monopoly Clause in C.P.R. contract.
- (d) Rise of political parties
- (e) Period of Disallowance
- (f) The Red River Valley Railway
- (g) Result of Dominion Railway Policy in Manitoba.

Chapter III. Hudson's Bay Railway.

- (a) Early attitude to Bay route
- (b) Petition for extension of
- (c) Province based on H.B. route
- (d) Dealings with Dominion Government.

Chapter IV. Policy - Drainage.

- (a) Conditions in Manitoba
- (b) Rapid action in securing drainage.
- (c) Arrangements re swamp lands with Dominion Government.
- (d) Value of work.

Chapter V. Policy - Boundary Extension.

- (a) The "Postage Stamp" 1870
- (b) Extension of 1881
- (c) Extension and the Hudson Bay Railway.

TABLE OF CONTENTS Cont'd

Chapter VI. Policy - Subsidy.

- (a) Conditions following 1870
- (b) Increases granted
- (c) Manitoba's position contrasted with that of other Provinces.
- (d) Subsidy and immigration.
- (e) Manitoba's contribution to Dominion revenue.

Chapter VII. Policy - Crown Lands

- (a) Manitoba's position after 1870
- (b) First acknowledgment from Dominion 1882.
- (c) Mr. Norquay's reply to Chapleau Report.
- (d) Crown Lands and the C.P.R.
- (e) Better terms - 1885.

Chapter VIII. Conclusion - General Estimate of Mr. Norquay's work.

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APPENDIX

- I. Speech delivered by Hon. John Norquay at Queen's Hotel, Winnipeg, March 29th, 1881, at banquet tendered to him in recognition of his successful efforts in securing an enlargement of the Provincial Boundaries.
- II. Budget Speech - 1884
- III. Speech made by Premier John Norquay before the House, March 26th, 1885, in moving the acceptance of "Better Terms" offered by Dominion Government.
- IV. Document forwarded by Norquay Government to the Queen, January 17th, 1888, setting forth the Railway situation in Manitoba.

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7. Manitoba Pamphlets
8. Pamphlets of Historical Society
9. Press - (a) Free Press  
(b) The Times  
(c) The Morning Call  
(d) The Sun  
(e) The Manitoban

Biography

Manitoba is proud to look back upon a goodly number of men who, in the field of politics, have devoted themselves to the advancement of the young Province. Among these, possibly no name is mentioned with greater regard than that of the Hon. John Horquay who was for nineteen years a member of the Provincial House, and for nine years of that period Premier of the Province.

On May 8th, 1841, John Horquay was born in the old parish of St. Andrews. Only a clump of trees, between St. Andrew's church and the Locks on the Red River, marks the spot where the old home stood. On his father's side the name may be found as early as 1714 in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company. His grandfather Omand Horquay with his wife Jane Morwick came from the Orkneys to Hudson's Bay in the service of the Company.

On his mother's side of the family his descent may be traced back three generations to Captain and Jane Vincent, who also came out from the Orkneys to Moose Factory on James Bay. Letters from Jane Vincent dating back as far as 1843 are now in

the possession of the Norquay family.

Mr. Norquay was the fourth child in a family of five. He had one brother and three sisters. When he was about two years of age his mother died and his grandmother, Mrs. Spence, took him in charge. Mrs. Spence was by her first marriage Mrs. Omand Norquay. Mr. James Spence owned property on the Red River where Burrows Avenue, Winnipeg, now intersects it.

It thus happened that when John was of school age he was able to attend the Parish School of St. John's. This was situated where the Drewry property, North Winnipeg now is. The school was for day students. It was run on old country lines, the boys wearing the uniform worn by the boys at Eton. Mr. Spence was a tailor by trade and made these suits for the boys. The teachers were supplied from the students of St. John's Academy and were of the best. Bishop Anderson was a regular visitor at the school and taught some of the higher classes himself. The school afforded no mean opportunities for education. The boys were taught Latin, French and Greek as well as the elementary branches. In his home John did his studying before the open fire-place.

When John was scarcely in his teens, Mr. Spence died and Bishop Anderson who had seen great promise in the young day student, asked Mrs. Spence for permission to put him in St. John's College. Mr. Thomas Cochrane,



a son of Archdeacon Cochrane, was his teacher and John took care of Mr. Cochrane's horses, in payment of board and tuition in the college.

In 1854 he won a scholarship for general proficiency. This enabled him to continue his studies for a longer period. As a young student he exhibited in a very marked degree, skill in oratory. "Even in these early days he would take the stump and startle his class-mates by his eloquence of diction".

"The Sun"  
July 8, 1889  
Mr. Nursey.

The time now came when he must choose some means of livelihood. Sheriff Inkster in writing for the St. John's College Journal at the time of Mr. Morquay's death, says: "In those days there were not many openings for men of Morquay's stamp. He must either be a clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company, a missionary, or a school teacher. In order to obtain a clerkship one must have some influence, as the clerks and officers of the Company are very exclusive, in fact were the aristocracy of the country. To our hero, not being born in the purple, the door of the Hudson's Bay Company was closed. Not having a liking for the work of a missionary, he adopted teaching as a profession".

At the age of seventeen he obtained a position in the parish school of St. James. He remained there one year and then went to the Park's Creek school, now spoken of as Parkdale, about ten miles north of Winnipeg on the Red River.

When he was still teaching in this district

in 1862, he was married to Elizabeth Setter, a daughter of George Setter of Portage La Prairie. For four years after his marriage he continued teaching in Parkdale and then left the profession to take up farming at High Bluff. (1866)

Owing to the grass-hopper plague his first years of farming were very discouraging and Mr. Norquay left the farm to engage with Mr. House of White Horse Plains, a free fur trader. He traded that season at Duck Lake, but found the work so uncongenial that he returned to the farm.

In the community in which he farmed, Mr. Norquay always took an active interest in local affairs. He was also keenly alive to matters of wider interest. He was a man of independent thought and had a keen grasp of every situation. He had a memory for people and facts which was marvellous. Combined with these qualities Mr. Norquay possessed a magnetic personality and a splendid command of the English tongue combined with great powers of oratory. He also spoke French, in its purity, as he had learned it from Bishop Anderson.

In addition to this he had the advantage of fluent use of the Cree and Salteaux, and could converse after a fashion in the Sioux. It was no wonder then, that he was a leader of men and had the honor of being the only member of the first Legislature of 1870 who was elected by acclamation for an English speaking



constituency, that of High Bluff.

From this date until the time of his death in 1889, Mr. Norquay's name is intertwined with the affairs of the Province. The first cabinet was sworn in on January 10th, 1871. This did not include Mr. Norquay, but in December of the same year, Mr. Alfred Boyd resigned his position to make way for Mr. Norquay who could more truly represent the people. He was made minister of Public Works, and to that was added later the office of Minister of Agriculture. These positions he held until July 8th, 1874, when he resigned with his colleagues. The reason for this was trouble between Premier Clarke and Mr. Royal, Provincial Secretary, each being anxious to gain French influence in the house.

Hon. M. A. Gerard formed a ministry which was short lived, lasting only until December 9th of the same year 1874.

From the resignation of the Clarke Cabinet in July 1874 until March 1875, Mr. Norquay was leader of the opposition. The Free Press of February 4th, 1875, refers to him at this time in words filled with praise yet remarkably true. "Mr. Norquay has fully justified the hopes entertained of him by his friends and has well earned the honorable position that he occupies to-day, that of leader of the English speaking elements of this Province. Of Mr. Norquay it may

be said that he never made an enemy or lost a friend, except those who were envious of his well earned popularity and it is a fact worthy of remark that even his bitterest enemies have never dared to charge Mr. Norquay with any of the many crimes so frequently charged upon political rivals. Ever Mr. Davis himself, was heard to remark on the floor of the House that there was one "honest man" in the Government that he was at the time denouncing, (Clark Gov.). The very fact of Mr. Norquay's election as leader of the opposition is a guarantee to the country of the sincerity of the members composing that body to work in the general interests of the country, for we can point to the leader and say that during the four years that he has been member of Parliament, no speech or act of his can be singled out, as savoring of sectionalism, and on the other hand his voice has always been raised in favor of justice to all parties, and while advocating the just claims of his own people, he has never tried to withhold from others, what was their just due. Acting from a sense of justice rather than from a desire to oppose, Mr. Norquay's speeches have always had a very marked effect, while the soundness of judgment and moderation that he displayed have frequently won from his opponents words of commendation, and have very materially tended to do away with the acerbity which has often disgraced public debates on the floor of the

House of Assembly".

In the early years in the House Mr. Norquay distinguished himself particularly by independence of thought. Twice he voted against his own party: on the Homestead Act and the Half Breed Land Act. He also opposed very strongly a clause in the School Act which proposed to limit school visitors to those of the religious belief of the school.

Free Press  
Feb. 10,  
1875

In 1872 Mr. Norquay moved from High Bluff to Parkdale where he built a home on the banks of the Red River near the Parkdale Chapel and school. Here he lived and farmed until 1885. During this period he represented South St. Andrews in the Legislature and was three times elected by acclamation.

In December 1874 Hon. R. A. Davis became Premier and in May 1876 Mr. Norquay became a member of his cabinet as Minister of Public Works. The policy of the Davis Cabinet was, of necessity, retrenchment. The cabinet at first consisted of three members and it was probably in the interest of "better terms" that Messrs. Norquay and Nolin were later added to it. It was considered necessary during this period to do away with the Upper House and it fell to Mr. Norquay to introduce this Bill in April, 1875. In speaking to his resolution he said: "This Bill is to diminish the expenditure of the Province by abolishing the Legislative Council and the last clause empowers

the Lieutenant Governor in Council to issue a commission to one or more of the Judges empowering them to report in respect of a certain class of measures that might come before the House at some future day. This Bill, if passed, would very greatly diminish the expenses of Legislation. It may be said that we are attempting to do away with a time-honored institution and one that prevails in England, Canada, the United States and elsewhere. When the Provinces were confederated, the system was retained in all except Ontario and there the single House has worked well. There may be some reason for two chambers where there are vested rights to be protected, but in this Province there are none. The constitution of this Province has provided safe-guards for the minority. Were there any attempts to over-ride the minority there is a chance for an appeal to the federal authorities". The Bill was defeated in 1875 by the vote of the Upper House but in 1876 was again introduced by Mr. Norquay and carried.

"Free Press"  
Apr. 30, 1875

Mr. Norquay's influence in the House for eight years was sufficient to justify the choice when he was called upon to be Premier in October, 1878. In the following chapters an attempt will be made to estimate in some degree the work of his ministry. A few personal facts in closing this section might be interesting.

Thirteen of the most important years of his life were spent in the Parkdale home, but in 1885, Mr. Norquay gave up the farm and moved to 18 Hallett Street, Winnipeg. At that time Point Douglas and the surrounding district formed the best residential section of the city.

During his residence in Parkdale he was an active member of old St. Andrews Anglican Church, but when he moved to Winnipeg he transferred his membership to Christ Church on Higgins Avenue West, another old landmark now gone.

His family consisted of five sons and three daughters. The deepest impression which Mr. Norquay made on those who knew him best, was in regard to his position in the home. Much of the success of his work may be attributed to his wife, who shared with him, his interest in the Province. It was she who clipped from every paper that was brought into the house the pieces which would be of value to him, in order that he might keep in touch with local and world affairs. A pile of scrap books in Mrs. Norquay's home in St. Andrews bear testimony to this labor of love.

In his busy life Mr. Norquay had little time for recreation, but in spirit he was as light-hearted as a boy. His favorite sport was hunting. Mr. Nursey, who was a very intimate friend of Mr. Norquay writing for "The Sun" says, "that he was a brilliant shot I can testify from experience. He

"The Sun"  
July 8, 1889



was as quick and sure as the Rev. Henry Cochrane of St. Peters and that represents the accomplishment almost of the impossible".

Mr. Nursey also speaks of his love of fun, "evidence of his activity and love for frolic stare me in the face, the transom of the door now opposite to me bears witness of a seven foot kick, which considering the weight of the man, some 350 pounds seems little short of marvellous, but those who have seen him dance the Red River Jig can appreciate the possibility of the fact I state".

Reference is also made in this article to the times in the dingy old offices on Lombard Street when Mr. Norquay sat chatting with old chums "his conversation pointed with quotation, anecdote and song," while he passed about the best brand of cigar that Prudhomme of the Hotel Du Canada could furnish.

Reference has already been made to his skill in languages. Mrs. Norquay tells how at the Conference of Premiers in Quebec in 1887, Mr. Norquay was the only representative, with the exception of the Premier of Quebec, who could speak French. He was consequently much lionized by all, "particularly the ladies" and spent a royal time in the old city.

Mr. Norquay's death, brought on by a sudden attack of appendicitis, occurred in the Hallet Street home on July 5th 1889. The body lay in state in the Legislative buildings and from there was removed

to St. John's cemetery where services were held. The address was made by the late Archbishop Machray and the present Archbishop, then Canon Matheson, read the lesson.

Sheriff Inkster, an intimate friend of Mr. Norquay from childhood says of him: "as a man he was honorable and kind-hearted to a fault, and a genial and entertaining friend. In his family circle he was seen at his best; as a husband he was everything that could be desired; with his children he was more like a companion than a father, and in every way encouraged them to treat him as such.

It was conceded that as a speaker he was second to none in Canada. He had a soft clear voice and could make himself heard in every corner of the largest hall. His English was perfect, he spoke French fluently, and always spoke in that language when addressing a French audience. He had a commanding appearance, being over six feet in height and weighing over three hundred pounds. Had he been spared he would easily have been among the leading statesmen of Canada".

Mr. Norquay was the only native son of the Province who came prominently to the front in the administration of affairs and because he was for many years at the head of the Government, he

was regarded by many of the old settlers as the "Father of Manitoba".

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The policy put forth by Mr. Norquay in 1876 was in every way practical. The following chapters contain a brief account of the effort to make good to the people of the Province what he and his colleagues had promised.

1. To encourage local effort in the direction of railway construction.
2. To provide an adequate system of drainage.
3. To endeavor to secure extension of boundaries.
4. To secure increase of subsidy for the Province.



Railways

Owing to Manitoba's geographical position, its very life depended on railway communication with outside points. Before the first Legislature met, notice was given through the Press, that application would be made for an Act to incorporate a Company for the construction of a railway from Lake Manitoba to pass through Winnipeg, and connect with Minnesota lines. Although this did not mature, it indicated that the people were keenly alive to their need. Following the agreement made between the Dominion Government and British Columbia, when the latter entered Confederation in 1871, Manitoba hoped for the fulfilment of the promise regarding a transcontinental line. In the meantime steamers plied up and down the Red River and Red River carts made their long trips from Winnipeg to St. Paul. In September, 1874 the first sod was turned for a railway which the Dominion Government decided to construct between Winnipeg and Pembina. In 1878 the first train ran over the line from Pembina, north to St. Boniface, where Manitoba's first railway station stood.

When John Norquay became Premier in 1878, he put first among the great needs of his time, the matter of railways. The clause ran as follows: "The lack of railway facilities being severely felt by the farmers

who have no means of conveying their surplus products to market, the Government will encourage local efforts in the direction of railway construction by granting power to municipalities to bonus such enterprises and by every other means in their power".

When the first session of the third Parliament of the Province met, February 1, 1879, this clause along with others was enthusiastically endorsed by the Legislature, and the House adjourned to permit Mr. Norquay and Mr. Joseph Royal, Provincial Treasurer, to go to Ottawa. A report was received later from the committee of the Dominion Government dealing with this matter, which read: "As respects the railway policy to be pursued in that Province, it has been decided that the line of the C.P.R. shall pass south of Lake Manitoba, in accordance with the suggestions of Messrs. Norquay and Royal. The Government will oppose the granting of a charter for the present, at least, for any railways in Manitoba, other than the one recommended by them, from Winnipeg, south westerly to Rock Lake. The Government think it very desirable that all Railway legislation should originate here, and that no charter for a line exclusively within the Province of Manitoba should be granted by its Legislature without the Dominion Government first assent thereto".

Sessional  
Papers  
1879.  
P. 130

When this report reached Manitoba, the Legislature was much stirred up over the ministerial crisis between Messrs. Norquay and Royal. Alexander Begg claims that: "At any other time the arbitrary position assumed by the Dominion in the matter of Provincial railway charters might well have alarmed the members and have stimulated them to guard the future interests of the Province by a timely protest against this threatened invasion of its autonomy. But unhappily not a single voice was raised in disapproval of the establishment of a precedent which was destined to cause serious trouble in the future, and which was eventually the cause of the political downfall of Hon. John Norquay, who now accepted it with such unquestioning confidence".

Begg  
Vol. 2  
P. 362

The report of the Committee of the Executive Council of Manitoba, at that time, however, probably voiced the feeling of all in stating: "The pushing forward of the completion of the railroad between here and Lake Superior is of paramount importance, inasmuch as there are no facilities for exporting grain from the Province except through the United States. In the granting of railway charters affecting Manitoba, the completion of the above road, which is to ensure direct intercourse between the Northwest and Lake Superior will have to be kept in view as the main point".

Sessional  
Papers  
1879  
Appendix B  
P. 140

It is important, however, to note that, while

Mr. Herquey and his colleagues, felt it an all important matter that the above mentioned road should "be kept in view as the main point", it was not their intention that a monopoly lasting over years should be granted to the C.P.R. The "monopoly clause" in the C.P.R. contract, the discussion on the floor of the Dominion House when it was inserted, and the monopoly in Manitoba granted to the C.P.R. by a process of disallowance, are things hard to reconcile.

The clause, Number 15, commonly referred to as the "Monopoly Clause" in the contract drawn up between the C.P.R. and the Dominion Government in 1881, was only inserted "after both Sir John A. McDonald and the Hon. Thomas White had distinctly declared upon the floor of the House, when the terms were being discussed, that this did not create a monopoly in Manitoba. The clause reads as follows: "For twenty years from the date hereof no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the C.P.R. from any point at or near the C.P.R. except such line shall run South West or West of South West nor within fifteen miles of latitude 49°, and in the establishment of any new province in the North West Territories, provision shall be made for continuing such prohibition.

Manitoba  
Pamphlets  
Vol. 43  
No. 11  
F.B. Robert-  
son.

Contract  
Clause 15.

Mr. F. B. Robertson in his letters on Railway monopoly addressed to the Toronto Mail said, "Sir John A. Macdonald to-day admits in express terms - I have myself seen it in writing over his own signature within the past three months - that the monopoly clause in the C.P.R. contract does not affect the local Legislature of Manitoba". Mr. Robertson goes on to show that this refers to Manitoba as it was in 1880 before the extension. When territory was added to Manitoba in 1881 it was provided that "the said increased limits and the territory hereby added to the Province of Manitoba shall be subject to all such provisions as may have been or shall hereafter be enacted respecting the C.P.R. and the lands to be granted in aid thereof". The Act extending Manitoba's boundary (March 21 - 1881) passed one month after the ratification of terms made with the C.P.R. (Feb. 15-1881) made no attempt to impose restrictions on the old province in this matter.

Dominion  
Statutes  
1881  
44 Vic.  
Ch. 14  
Sec. 2

In document prepared by Mr. Horquay in 1887 for submission to the Queen in Council, the railway situation is reviewed carefully. He gives the resolutions passed in the Manitoba Legislature, Dec. 22, 1880, protesting against exclusive rights which appeared likely to be granted to the Company. He also quoted from the Hansard official documents of the debates of the House of Commons of Canada

"Morning  
Call" Jan.  
17, 1888.  
See appen-  
dix.



for 1881 to show that when objections were made on the floor of the House at Ottawa by certain members, on the ground that Clause 15 applied to Manitoba, that Sir John A. Macdonald said: "In order to give them a fair chance, we have provided that the Dominion Parliament - mind you the Dominion Parliament, we cannot check any other Parliament, we cannot check Ontario, we cannot check Manitoba - shall for the first ten years after the construction of the road, give their own road, into which they are putting so much money and so much land, a fair chance for existence".

Quoting again from the Hansard Mr. Horquay shows that Mr. Thomas White, then a leading supporter of the Premier said "But we are told now that because of the fifteen mile clause there never can be any other railways in this country. To what does that apply? Simply to the territories over which the Dominion Parliament has control. There is nothing to prevent Manitoba, now, if it thinks proper, granting a charter for a railway from Winnipeg to the boundary line. At this moment there is a Company in course of organisation to build a railway from Winnipeg to West Lynne on the boundary. And after this agreement is ratified, this provision does not take from Manitoba a single right it possesses; in fact Parliament could not take away those rights.

It has the same rights as the other Provinces for the incorporation of railway companies, within the boundaries of the Province itself, and there is nothing to prevent the Province of Manitoba from chartering a railway from Winnipeg to the boundary to connect with any southern railway. The only guarantee that this Company has under the contract is that traffic shall not be tapped in the prairie section, thus diverting the traffic away from the line to a foreign line, but there is nothing to prevent a railway being built in Manitoba within the Province that would carry the traffic to any railway that may tap it from the American side".

After this discussion and in the faith of these assurances, opposition from Manitoba was withdrawn. A careful study of this situation is needed that people may know that an effort was made "to guard the future interests of the Province by a timely protest".

The Company understood from the open discussion on the floor of the House that there was no monopoly within the old boundaries of Manitoba. Manitoba statesmen believed assurances of leading statesmen on the floor of the House at Ottawa, that railway legislation within the old boundaries of Manitoba would not be interfered with. The veto

from the Governor General in Council which followed all railway legislation in Manitoba for the next six years, may possibly be accounted for in the words of the Minister of Justice when interviewed by Manitoba delegates May 3rd, 1887. "There is no legal or constitutional reason to prevent the Province chartering railways to the boundary - it is a question simply of the Government's trade policy". The fact remained, whatever the inside workings, that the "monopoly" was to take effect in Manitoba within the "old boundaries".

From 1881 to 1898 the story of political life in Manitoba may be outlined as follows: (a) The struggle between the Province and Dominion - Railway enactment in Manitoba versus disallowance in Ottawa. (b) The rise of "Partyism" in Manitoba based for the time being largely on the question of Monopoly.

In 1881 the first test came when the Manitoba House passed an Act incorporating the Manitoba South Eastern Railway which was to run from Winnipeg, South East to the Boundary. This Act was disallowed by the Governor-General in-Council January 13th, 1882. The battle was on and from that time there existed in Manitoba "well defined political parties on the question of Monopoly". For the first time in Manitoba the public press arrayed itself for party politics: the "Free Press" attacked Mr. Norquay for maintaining the right of the Dominion

"Canada &  
Its Provinces,"  
Vol 19,  
C. Martin



to disallow this Act, "The Times" became the Government organ.

An opposition was formed in the House under the leadership of Mr. Greenway during the session of 1882 and for the first time in Mr. Norquay's regime he experienced opposition and severe criticism in the Legislature. As a matter of fact this was the first opportunity for open partyism on Federal lines.

Mr. Greenway moved during the Session of 1882 "That this House regrets that in a matter of such vital importance to this Province as the recent disallowance by the Dominion Government of the South East Railway Charter, granted by this Legislature at its last session, that his Honor, the Lieutenant Governor has not been advised to enter his protest against such an interference with our Provincial rights, and that in view of the great lack of railway facilities now afforded this City and Province, it is deeply to be regretted that the said legislation should have been disallowed, thereby indefinitely postponing the additional railway facilities so essential to the development of the country".

Mr. Norquay maintained the legal right of the Dominion Government in its action, by virtue of Clause 92 of the B.N.A. Act. Mr. Greenway's resolution was lost - 17 to 7.

During the session of 1882 three Railway Acts were passed. These were known as:

- (a) Emerson and North West Railway Act.
- (b) Manitoba Tramway Act.
- (c) General Railway Act of Manitoba.

These were all disallowed and in the storm which followed Mr. Norquay dissolved the Legislature and once more appealed to the country. The elections of 1883 were on Federal party lines and the majority, although reduced, remained at ten for the Government.

Throughout this early struggle Mr. Norquay maintained the legal right of the Dominion Government. Replying to Mr. Greenway in the House on this question, he said: "The member for Mountain maintains that we can charter a railway company to go to the boundary to connect with another railway on the other side. We contend that the Province has no such power. The moment it is shown that the railway company seeking incorporation purposes connecting with another beyond our bounds, then it is beyond the jurisdiction of this House to deal with that Charter. Referring to the Emerson and North West Railway he showed that the intention was to connect with the United States. He was willing to re-enact any Railway Bill as long as it was within the rights of the Province but he would "refuse to delude the people of Manitoba by clap-trap legislation such as clearly exceeds our

"Free  
Press"  
May 23,  
1883

"Free  
Press"  
May 23,  
1883

powers as a Province".

Mr. Horquay moved a resolution at this Session "that it is expedient in the best interests of the Province that a Convention of Delegates composed of members of the Executive Councils of the several provinces of Canada be asked to take into consideration the best means to be adopted to secure an equitable application of the general provisions of the B.N.A. Act, to the different provinces.

Feeling grew high throughout the Province. The formation of a "Farmer's Union" and meetings of clubs in various parts of the country kept the question a burning one. The Farmers' Convention which met December 20, 1883, sent delegates not only to the Provincial Government but to Ottawa to demand Manitoba's rights. The Provincial Government expressed its sympathy with railway construction but its inability to deal with any but branches from point to point within the Province.

In February 1884, Mr. Horquay visited Ottawa but the results of his mission were very meagre. On April 15th he laid the correspondence signed by Mr. Chapleau, Secretary of State, before the House. Only in the matter of the Hudson Bay Railway was there any promise made. In 1885 the Dominion Government completely shelved the question. In 1886 the "Manitoba Central" and the "Emerson & North West Railway Acts"

"Begg"  
Vol. 111.  
P. 86.

were disallowed. The indignation in Manitoba knew no bounds. Both parties set themselves to grapple with the situation. During the session of 1886, Mr. Greenway and his party moved "That the Dominion Government be requested to make arrangements with the C.P.R. Company to obtain an absolute and unconditional surrender of all rights and privileges in the matter of monopoly and thus secure to Manitoba and the future North West Provinces, similar powers to those enjoyed by the other Provinces of Confederation in respect to the chartering of lines of railway."

The Government moved in amendment "That the Government of Canada be asked to make such arrangements when the main line of the C.P.R. was completed and open for traffic through its entire length and that, in the meantime, companies desiring to construct railways should avail themselves of the provisions of existing railway acts, i.e. - the "Railway Act of Manitoba", and "An Act to encourage the building of railways in Manitoba". These acts provided for the building of railways from point to point within the old limits of the Province, not to connect with foreign lines". This amendment was carried.

In the prospect of an election the cry of "anti-disallowance", now filled the country. On March 4th, 1887, the Hon. Thomas White, Minister of the Interior, met a deputation of representative Conser-

vatives at the Dominion Land Office, Winnipeg. Messrs. Scarth, F. B. Robertson, R. J. Whitlaw and others, pointed out to him the need of competing lines of railway in the country, that it would cause confidence among the people and give renewed impetus to the various industries of the country. They pointed out that the time for the abolition of disallowance within the old boundaries of Manitoba had come. They intimated to him that the House would meet shortly, and that a Charter to build to the Southern boundary would be applied for and submitted at once to Ottawa. Mr. White gave them to understand that a reply would be forthcoming at once and that he thought that the Government intended to discontinue its policy of disallowance.

The result was that when the Legislature met April 14th, 1887, Mr. Norquay was prepared to meet the situation, in confidence of support from the Dominion Government. He introduced a Bill to incorporate the "Manitoba Central Railway", with power to build from Winnipeg to the 49th parallel and through to Portage La Prairie. A Bill was also passed to incorporate the "Winnipeg and Southern Railway Company" for a line from Winnipeg, South East to the Boundary. These were submitted to Ottawa with the request that they be passed upon immediately. No reply was received until August

"Daily  
Manitoban"  
March 5,  
1887.

9th, when they were disallowed.

In the meantime Mr. Norquay introduced a Bill to authorize the construction of the Red River Valley Railway by the Provincial Government. It was to run from Winnipeg to West Lynne and no company was to have any special rights over it for any line of business. Debentures to the extent of one million dollars were to be issued to defray the cost.

While the House was still in Session a threat came from George Stephen - President of the C.P.R. Company, that they would move their shops from Winnipeg to Fort William if the proposed railway legislation was carried out. Precautions were taken by Parliament to amend the Public Works Act of Manitoba, so that the Minister of Public Works was given authority to construct any public work at the expense of the Province under the authorization of the Lieutenant-Governor-in Council.

Tenders were received for constructing and equipping the road and the contract was let for \$782,340.00. The line was surveyed and on July 2nd Mr. Norquay turned the first sod and the work began. Opposition, however, came swiftly. On July 4th the Red River Valley Act was disallowed and on July 6th the amendment to the Public Works Act received the same fate. The message received from Ottawa stated that these "were in conflict with the policy of the

"Sessional  
Papers"  
1887.

"Begg"  
Vol. III.  
Page 147



Parliament and of the Government of Canada, by which it is sought to prevent the diversion of trade from the railway system of Canada to the railways of the United States."

"Morning  
Call"  
Jan. 17,  
1888.

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In the face of every difficulty the Government tried to carry on the work but funds were not available. Mr. Norquay and Mr. LaRiviere, Provincial Treasurer, in defending the charge laid against them by the succeeding Government, that they "did not put forth every effort to build the Red River Valley Railway", showed how they were "boycotted by the banking institutions of Canada".

Mr. LaRiviere says: "I interviewed managers and presidents of several of the banking institutions with a view to getting assistance, in order to help the Government out of their difficulty but there seems to have been a general feeling that they would be exposed to the wrath of the Federal Government or of the C. P. R., which they considered as strong a company as the Federal Government, should they assist us in any way in the construction of the Red River Valley Railway. We did not think then that the Act would be disallowed".

"Manitoba  
Pamphlets"  
Vol. 43,  
No. 17.

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He then went on to explain how they decided to make use of the Treasury Act which was in force and could not be disallowed, to issue Treasury bonds and borrow money under the provisions of that Act. He then told of their efforts to dispose of

these in New York, Chicago and cities in Eastern Canada, and their failure to do so.

Mr. Morquay, deserted by most of his former colleagues, also explained fully before the House the details of their efforts to finance the road; and how these efforts were frustrated owing to the antagonistic policy of the Dominion Government and the C.P.R. and opposing political forces in Manitoba. He told how, after failure to float the first bonds, they had resorted to the only alternative - the services of a Company organized under the General Railway Act of Manitoba. They had opened negotiations with the Manitoba Construction Company, represented by Mr. Holt, who was satisfied that they had ample means, and who had enlisted eight or ten of the wealthiest men of the United States in the enterprise. In this way the people would not be called upon for any large outlay. The Legislature had passed a Bill by which they guaranteed to buy bonds to the extent of \$550,000 at 5% from any company that would undertake the contract. The Government also guaranteed to protect any Company from expense incurred, should obstruction come from the Federal Government or the C.P.R. The Company would also be given the right of way.

"Manitoba  
Pamphlets"  
Vol. 43,  
No. 17.

The Government estimated that the cost to the Province would not exceed \$20,000 and that even if the worst came and the interest on \$550,000 bonds



had to be met, if the road did not pay, the amount would only be \$27,500. An Order-in-Council authorizing the issue of three million dollars, debentures of the Province, was passed and the City of Winnipeg was asked to purchase. Their refusal convinced Mr. Norquay "that the people were not so seriously in earnest about building the Red River Valley Railway as they were determined in trying to defeat the Government of the day". A committee, known as the "Citizens' Committee", had selected lawyers to pronounce upon the Holt contract. Every possible alteration to suit them was offered, but the contract was rejected.

Following the downfall of the Norquay Government the situation was completely smoothed out. The Dominion Government and the C.P.R. both altered their policy. In his communication to Mr. Greenway shortly after his rise to the position of Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald wrote that he "would not advise the disallowance of any Bill similar in principle to the Red River Valley Railway Act". The C.P.R. also offered to lease to the Government the Emerson, the Pembina and the Manitoba South West branches.

At the time that the fight was at its hottest the C.P.R. had been completed for over eighteen months and its success assured.

"Manitoba  
Pamphlets"  
Vol. 43,  
No. 17.

Hudson's Bay Railway

A review of the railway question during the Horquay period would not be complete without a word regarding the Hudson Bay scheme. To the people of that time difficulties which have since been alleged regarding the possibility of using such a route did not present themselves. They had in mind that many of their people had entered the country by that passage, that it was in constant use by the Company, and men such as Hackland, Kennedy and others could give abundant evidence on conditions there at all seasons of the year.

The desire for extension of the Province northward was then based entirely on the thought of having a port on Hudson Bay and a railway constructed and controlled by the Province. In 1884 Mr. Horquay urged at Ottawa the necessity of the extension of the northern boundary, from the standpoint of the railway situation. On his return to Winnipeg he spoke before a large audience in Victoria Hall, April 2nd, outlining the argument which he had brought to bear upon the question. "The Hudson Bay Railway, he urged, was an actual necessity to the people ----- In urging upon the authorities at Ottawa the extension of the limits

of Manitoba, he had done so on the ground that an enterprise of so much importance to the Province should be controlled by the local authorities and carried on subject to the will of the people ----- Bonds of the people could only be placed if they controlled the territory".

Mr. Norquay evidently had in mind as a beginning, a line from Fort Churchill to the north of Lake Winnipeg which would be brought from the seaboard in to the Lake at much less cost than from the interior. This, he said, "would satisfy the needs of the people for the present ----- It appears that Providence has placed this great inland sea in the heart of the great American continent to be taken advantage of by the people of Manitoba, and those of future provinces lying to the east of the Rocky Mountains, whose great traffic will make the cities to be built on the shores of Hudson Bay, rival in importance any port on the Atlantic Coast".

Mr. Chapleau, Secretary of State, replied later that the question of the Hudson Bay Railway had been favorably considered and that the Government had ordered the companies, squabbling over the Directorate, to amalgamate at once, and prepare for the work. Land to the extent of 6800 acres within the Province, valued at One Dollar per acre, and

"Free  
Press"  
April 3,  
1884.

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1884,  
Vol. 15,  
P. 305

12,800 acres without the Province, valued at Fifty Cents an acre, would be granted the Company and cash paid in lieu of land. The Government had also voted \$150,000 for the purpose of exploring the Straits.

Mr. Norquay, in replying to the report from Mr. Chapleau, said, "The reason that led the Province to request an extension was that she might be able to charter and control a railway to Hudson Bay, this being so essential to her fast increasing capacity to export grain. The inhabitants of Manitoba, especially the farming communities, have a more direct interest at stake in the opening up of communication via Hudson Bay than the people of any other Province, and it is for that reason the request was urged so strongly that control of the road should be vested in the Provincial Legislature, who are directly responsible to the people for the trust reposed in them".

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1884.  
Appendix  
32.

During the Session of 1885 Mr. Norquay brought in a resolution that "In the opinion of this House, aid should be given by the Province to encourage the construction of the Winnipeg and Hudson Bay Railway and Steamship Navigation Company, on the following conditions:

"Journals  
of the  
House"  
1885.

1. It should be an all rail route from Hudson Bay to connect with the C.P.R. within the Province of Manitoba.

4.

2. The standard of construction throughout should be up to the present.
3. It should be commenced within one year and finished within five.
4. No amendment was to be made to the charter with would be prejudicial to Manitoba and any amendment to present stipulations must be signed by the Lieutenant Governor.
5. The Government of the Province would place debentures to the extent of \$1,000,000 bearing interest at 4% running for twenty-five years from date of issue. These would be handed over on completion of the road.

In speaking to his resolution Mr. Norquay stated that the purpose of it was "to tell the people outside that the scheme was endorsed by the people of Manitoba who had the fullest confidence in its practicability; and to assist the promoters - not in the way asked by many to assist an enterprise, with the simple view of creating an excitement and getting charters to dispose of it to others - it is not contemplated to give assistance to any futile attempts such as these".

He showed that there had been presented to the Province, a proposition which could not be endorsed by the Province, "That the Government guarantee the interest on a sum sufficient to complete the road and put the steamship line into operation". This, he said, "would involve an expenditure of a million and a half a year and we decided that this would be paying too dearly for the benefits to be derived".

"The  
Times"  
Apr. 14,  
1885.

In 1886 the Legislature of Manitoba guaranteed bonds to the amount of \$256,000, provided forty miles of the road were built that year. After construction had been proceeded with the President of the Company wrote that Mann & Holt, contractors, were entitled to the \$256,000 having completed the required number of miles. Mr. Norquay recommended to the Council that half the bonds should be retained until the road was completed. The balance \$128,000 was ample to secure the compliance with the Act in order to secure the land grant from the Dominion Government. Mr. LaRiviere went to Ottawa with the request that the land grant be placed to the credit of the Province. He personally interviewed Sir John A. Macdonald and those concerned and was assured that the papers regarding the land grant were properly registered. He telegraphed to Mr. Norquay "Land grant settled" and again "you can safely pass order for delivery of bonds to Mann & Holt".

"Manitoba  
Pamphlets"  
Vol. 43,  
No. 7.

Once more Mr. Norquay was made the dupe of the Dominion Government. The lands were not made over in spite of the absolute assurance that Mr. LaRiviere had received. Mr. Norquay was left to face the charge that he had given over the bonds of the Province without in turn receiving the lands. The work did not continue, the Province was liable, for



the time being. Later the C.N.R. gave 256,000 acres to the Government to cover this liability. This was bought back by them in 1904 for \$400,000. This little episode in the end smoothed itself out, but not in the life time of the great man who had tried so hard to encourage the scheme, who was in fact the originator of the movement "On to the Bay".

#### IV.

##### Drainage

At the time in which Mr. Norquay came into power, the question of drainage had become a very vital one in the Province. A succession of wet seasons had brought the matter in a very personal way to the notice of settlers, trying to establish themselves in the Province. It was considered of sufficient interest to be placed as one of the five aims mentioned by Mr. Norquay and great credit is due to him and to his colleagues for their prompt action.

Much interesting information on this work is contained in a "Report of the Department of Public Works 1870 to 1890", showing that the first years of Mr. Norquay's regime were devoted very largely to drainage.

Mr. C. P. Brown, Minister of Public Works, in his report for 1880, reviews conditions as they existed in 1879. "The evils arising from a super-abundance of water caused by a succession of very wet seasons, could only be counteracted by an efficient system of drainage. Immigrants were either deterred from entering the Province, or were forced to pass through it and settle on the drier plains beyond. So apparent did this become that the Government made it an important part of its policy to inaugurate a comprehensive drainage system, and an Act to provide for the same was passed by the

Legislature for the relief of the over flooded districts. This flooding is largely due to streams and even small rivers which, after running for a time in well defined channels, lose themselves and spread over the more level parts of the country, forming extensive marshes". Mr. Brown then explains the system of drainage. Channels were formed in the streams from the points where they lost themselves above the marshes to the points where the channels were again well defined.

In 1879 Mr. Norquay took up this matter with the Dominion Government. In a letter to the Hon. A. Campbell, Receiver-General of Canada, he showed the inadequate treatment received by the Province of Manitoba, from the Dominion, in comparison with that accorded to other Provinces. He urged the need of public works, drainage and buildings, and requested that Manitoba might withdraw from the Capital on which she received interest at 5%, a sum sufficient for these works. The matter was deferred for one year, but in 1880 by Dominion Orders-in-Council dated April 6th, an advance of \$100,000 was made on the understanding that "as respects such lands so made available for cultivation and sale, a free grant would be made to the Province of the even numbered sections in the Townships concerned, with the exception of the sections belonging to the Hudson's

Bay Company, or those reserved for school endowment purposes.

This arrangement proved very satisfactory and the Province was able to reclaim at very little additional expense, large areas of land in the worst marsh areas. In 1884 by Dominion Orders-in-Council dated April 21st, a title to 116,420 acres was conveyed to the Province. In January 1885 the Dominion promised to transfer all reclaimed swamp lands to the Province.

Mr. Alexander Begg in his little book entitled "The Great Canadian North West" in referring to Mr. Norquay's progressive action, says, "The Province of Manitoba lay much lower than western portions of the territory and there were extensive swamps. ----- The drainage work of 1880 in Manitoba, has demonstrated the fact, that no wet lands in the great North West Prairies need to be allowed to go to waste when a system of drainage can so easily redeem it". It is easy now to forget or minimize work of this kind. In the early days of a Province such as Manitoba, with its people coming in by thousands every year, it was practical work of this kind done quickly, which really counted. Mr. Norquay was always keenly alive to the immediate needs of the people, the things that would

make the settlers contented and that would prevent dissention among them. He was the first man in the early 70's to urge the proper survey and registration of lands so that the old settlers might not feel their rights trampled upon and the new arrivals might feel that they were welcome and had rights in a new land. Mr. Norquay had the keen eye for the situation as it stood, as well as the prophetic vision for the Province that was to be.

### Extension of Boundaries

The third matter which Mr. Norquay laid before the people as essential to progress, was that of boundary extension. The despised "Postage Stamp", issued by the Dominion Government in 1870 would not do. The boundaries then passed through Whitemouth, on the East; Oak Point on the North and Austin on the West. About nine and a half million acres lay within these bounds. "It was felt by all who looked into the future that the dimensions were too circumscribed to continue for any length of time and the increase of the boundaries has been a subject that has occupied the attention of public men ever since 1870".

"Times"  
March 30,  
1881

Mr. Norquay,  
Victoria  
Hall,  
Winnipeg

The first request for enlargement came during the Clarke administration: "An Act to provide for the enlargement of the boundaries of Manitoba". The request was refused by the Dominion Government and the result published during the Girard period. The question again came up for discussion in the first session of the second Legislature, when Mr. Davis was Premier. The matter was urged at Ottawa by Mr. Davis and Mr. Royal but with no result.

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1873

"Begg"  
Vol. 11.  
P. 113

Before the elections of 1878 Mr. Norquay announced boundary extension as a part of his policy. In 1880 he appeared in Ottawa and pressed this question



very particularly. In the memorandum which he presented to the Government the history of the struggle for a larger province was reviewed. The first draft of the "Manitoba Act" had been insufficient to satisfy the delegates and when the Act was passed the Province was given nine and a half million acres. In 1874 and again in 1875 the question had been urged at Ottawa but without result. Mr. Norquay claimed that "it could not be considered in the interest of Canada to establish a number of small provinces, with at best very imperfect means of revenue from the area which might be included in one large province. The tendency should be rather towards a policy of Legislative union among the smaller provinces already established, than to extend the present system under circumstances less justifiable. If this is the case, then the sooner an amalgamation is made of the territory proposed to be included in Manitoba, the better for all parties concerned, for an immediate determination of the matter would prevent new interests arising prejudicial to the consummation thereof. In view of the approaching census of 1881, it is deemed that the present is a most fitting time to urge upon the Privy Council of Canada a favorable consideration of the question, that the province so enlarged might reap the benefits to be derived from the increased population. It would also make all

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1881.

Append.B  
P. 100

P. 103

future financial questions between the two Governments easy of solution, for it would afford a revenue sufficient for the public need of the Province in the clear and unmistakeable terms which are the bases of the subsidies accorded to the different Provinces of the Confederation".

In the reply to the above report the question of boundaries was postponed, but Mr. Norquay remained in Ottawa, determined if possible to get some result. After several interviews with the Government, a proposed basis for extension was mapped out, and Mr. Norquay was promised that the matter would be dealt with at the next session of the Legislature.

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1881.  
P. 105

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1881.  
P. 107

In March 1881 this promise was fulfilled although the extension was not all that had been hoped for. The boundaries were defined on the North and West but the Eastern line was not to be fixed until the dispute between the Dominion and Ontario regarding this territory was settled. The result was much difficulty and overlapping between Ontario and Manitoba in the administration of this territory. Many very ridiculous situations arose and continued to arise until the final settlement in 1884 which gave the disputed area to Ontario.

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1881.  
P. 126

In 1882, on his annual pilgrimage to Ottawa, Mr. Norquay asked for a further extension

west to the 102nd. Meridian, east to Lake Superior and north to the 60th parallel. This would give the Province outlets on Hudson's Bay and on Lake Superior. The matter was this time set aside by the Dominion, and Mr. Chapleau, Secretary of State, later reviewed the situation in an extensive report. He claimed that boundaries had been adjusted in 1870 to suit the delegates, giving Manitoba a territory of nine and a half million acres. In 1881 they had been extended north and west increasing this area to ninety-six million acres. The enlargement now asked for would add 180,000 square miles, which would increase the expense of government to too great an extent. Mr. Chapleau also stated that if the request for extension were based on the desire for a railway to Hudson's Bay, he could assure them that the Government already had the matter in hand and that the Hudson's Bay work would commence soon.

Mr. Horquay in his report on this correspondence, which was published, and copies sent to the Secretary of State said, "The reasons that led the Province to request an extension were that she might be able to charter and control a railway herself". He showed that the other provinces could not be interested in a scheme

"Sess.  
Papers"  
Vol. 15,  
No. 31,  
P. 305.

"Sess.  
Papers".  
Vol. 15.  
P. 311.

which would affect only the West. The only way that Provincial bonds could be used for such a purpose, would be by an extension of territory. "The inhabitants of Manitoba, especially the farming community, have a more direct interest at stake, in the opening up of communication, via Hudson's Bay, than the people of any other Province, and it is for that reason, the request was urged so strongly that control of the road should be vested in the Provincial Legislature who are directly responsible to the people for the trust reposed in them".

"Free  
Press"  
April 3,  
1884

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After 1884 for a period of years the question of boundaries, along with other very important questions, sank into the background in the general furore over railway monopoly. It was not until April 1st, 1912, that the present area was granted to Manitoba.

Subsidy

The measure of economy which had to be practised in Manitoba after its entrance into Confederation was indeed cruel. The problem of meeting the expenses of self government and rapidly increasing population, in a Province whose resources had been confiscated by the Dominion Government, was no easy one.

By Clause 24 of the Manitoba Act, Manitoba was to receive, by half yearly payments, interest at the rate of 5% on \$472,090. This was due to the fact that the Province entered without debt. The sum of \$20,000 was allowed yearly for the support of its Governor and Legislature. Also on the basis of population, which was then estimated at 17,000, the Province was to receive eighty cents per head. This would be increased in proportion according to a census taken every ten years until the population reached 400,000. On this basis then Manitoba received each year \$67,204.50.

This may have seemed a fabulous sum, as Mr. Norquay afterwards stated in his Budget Speech of 1884, "to a people used to maintaining a simple and efficient government on from £200 to £300 a year"; but it was not long until it became evident that the Province could not be financed on this sum, even with the greatest economy.

"In that year", Mr. Horquay says, referring to 1870, "we were placed financially in a position which might have appeared to be a good one in the eyes of those unacquainted with the responsibilities of self government, but it was an illusion soon to be dispelled". Mr. Horquay then went on to show how, in four years the expenditures exceeded the subsidy by \$150,000. This, he felt, was due largely to the policy of immigration brought about by the Dominion Government, along with the actual expense of representative institutions, while "the source of revenue which should have belonged to the Province with which to meet these emergencies, had, regardless of precedent in other Provinces, been snatched away".

In 1873 the first delegation consisting of Premier Clarke, and Messrs. Howard, Royal and Bird went to Ottawa. The result was that \$25,000 was advanced to meet pressing needs, but it was made to include \$10,000 already advanced on seed grain. In 1876, during the Davis administration the subsidy was increased to \$90,000, which was to be paid yearly until 1881. Every effort was made to curtail. Among other measures to this end was the abolition of the Upper House.

"Manitoba  
Pamphlets"  
Vol. 8

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"Budget  
Speech"  
1884.

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In October 1878, Mr. Horquay on coming into power, promised to do all in his power to have the subsidy from the Dominion increased. The first session of the third Parliament was adjourned from February to May (1879) in order that he and Mr. Royal might go to Ottawa. Their mission resulted in an increase from \$90,000 to \$105,650.00.

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1879.  
P. 112

"Journals  
of House"  
1879.  
          

In 1880 Mr. Horquay again made a strong appeal to Ottawa, but with no result. He expressed the need of the Province owing to the great influx of settlers, which was owing to the immigration policy of the Dominion. He also emphasized the unfair treatment accorded to Manitoba as compared with the other Provinces. "It is felt", he said, "that the position of Manitoba in reference to the statutory allowance of eighty cents per head of the population, is very exceptional; for, while the other Provinces of the Dominion reap yearly a revenue from the administration of their crown lands, they can well afford to abide a decennial census, whereas Manitoba with a large immigration yearly has her cost of Government increased without any corresponding elasticity of revenue. The Dominion reaps an annual return not only from the sale of Dominion

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1881.  
Page 103.

lands but from the larger consumption of dutiable goods, and such manufactures as are subject to excise. Were Manitoba thus to consider her interests solely from a Provincial standpoint, she would oppose rather than encourage immigration".

In 1881, a concession in the matter of boundaries was made but the ever pressing need of money was again ignored. In the following year Mr. Norquay and Mr. LaRiviere were successful in a small measure. Mr. Norquay pointed out that Manitoba received only \$30,000 for government, based on a population of 20,000, while British Columbia received \$35,000 on a population of 60,000. The committee then recommended that the subsidy be increased by \$20,000 for purposes of government. They also recommended that, in view of the rapidly increasing population, the amount of eighty cents per head be calculated then, on an assumed population of \$150,000.

"Begg"  
Vol. 11  
P. 375.

This was the first year in which Manitoba received money in lieu of crown lands, the amount being \$45,000. This made a total of \$215,000 yearly.

These concessions failed to conciliate the people of Manitoba who were now very keenly alive to the injustice of the treatment accorded to them in the matter of crown lands and railways. The Farmer's Union put its representations before

the Dominion in 1863 but with no result. In 1864 Mr. Norquay moved resolutions re subsidy and crown lands, which were forwarded to Ottawa.

In speaking to his resolution on subsidy, Mr. Norquay said: "The debts of the other Provinces to the East had been assumed by the Dominion. When they considered the objects of these debts and why incurred, they were bound to conclude that they had been incurred in promoting their own interests. Did Nova Scotia or the other Provinces think when they incurred these debts that they were going to belong to Confederation or going to develop the North West? No, the debts were solely to develop themselves and they did not benefit us one iota. As an offset to this we have received a credit of about thirty-two dollars per head - a magnificent bequest to build up this isolated Province. If we take that money and apply it to the Province, it would build a few miles of railway or turnpike roads. If the Dominion assumed the cost of the improvements in the other Provinces, which were purely local, it was nothing but just and right that it should do so in this Province. If Provinces with small populations were not accorded equal rights, confederation would collapse. In ten years Manitoba will have 400,000 ----- As our population increases the Province would receive credit on her population equal to the

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1864  
No. 30,  
P. 304.

"The  
Times"  
March 20,  
1864

debt of which the Province of Ontario was relieved at Confederation. We are paying more in comparison than any other Province and are the most profitable to the Dominion and yet we receive the least consideration".

The report received by the Canadian Government in 1884 from Mr. Chapleau, Secretary of State, brought forth a very lengthy and exhaustive treatment of conditions from Mr. Norquay. In the section on Subsidy the Dominion offered to readjust the rate on a census taken every five years until 400,000 was reached.

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1884  
No. 31.

Mr. Norquay, in discussing this beggarly concession, drew a very scathing comparison between Manitoba's condition before and after Confederation. Manitoba had entered with a debt of less than half a million dollars, whereas the original four provinces carried a debt of \$90,000.00. Before Manitoba entered Confederation the low tariff of 4% was sufficient to meet the expenses of Government. Now the people paid from 15 to 35%. The burden of new settlers invited to Manitoba by the Dominion Government was great. When they came they expected the conveniences of other Provinces, which Manitoba could not give them". "The anomaly of Manitoba's position", he states, "is such as to create invidious comparisons of the state of affairs prior to Confederation, with that which has obtained subsequently, and the injustice of the

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1884.  
No. 32

treatment which she receives is aggravated by the heavy contributions which are exacted of her for Federal purposes ---- Manitoba should be allowed such an amount of capital as will enable her to attain the same position and prosecute the same class of improvements as the other Provinces had at Confederation, the cost of which was assumed by Canada."

Mr. Morquay knew whereof he spoke. He spent days in amassing facts and figures from the Dominion Blue Books from 1870 to 1884, and had at his finger tips the statistics, necessary for the defence of Manitoba's claims. Before a large audience in Victoria Hall, Winnipeg, in April 1884 he claimed that his greatest difficulty in the East was in combatting the idea that "this western country had been a great expense and had given no corresponding revenue. He had undertaken to analyse these statements and had found that "during the last years Manitoba had been the source of the greatest revenue according to population, of all the provinces. From 1874 to 1883 the amounts contributed by the different Provinces per head were:

Manitoba	\$107.62
British Columbia	102.76
Quebec	51.65
New Brunswick	42.10
Nova Scotia	54.89
Ontario	51.46
P.E.Island	24.14

"Free  
Press"  
Apr. 3,  
1884

Mr. Morquay also compared in detail the treatment accorded to British Columbia and Prince Edward Island with that given to Manitoba. British Columbia had been allowed a population of 80,000 on entering Confederation, whereas the white population was 10,000; Manitoba had been allowed 17,000. British Columbia had been given \$100,000 a year for the right of way for the C.P.R. while Manitoba lands had been used to pay for construction.

Prince Edward Island had been allowed a population of 94,000 at fifty dollars per head instead of thirty-three dollars as in Manitoba.

The Dominion took over the payment of a railway in Prince Edward Island which had since cost \$180,000 above the receipts of the road. Prince Edward Island had also been loaned \$8000,000 to buy the lands of British Capitalists who lived in England. In 1883 alone Prince Edward Island had received \$54,000 from the sale of these lands. During the ten years from 1874 to 1883 the clear contribution made by Manitoba to the Dominion was \$2,355,446.12 more than that of British Columbia and \$431,655.78 more than that of Prince Edward Island.

Mr. Morquay also referred to the debt taken over by the Dominion in order to make "Confederation palatable to the Statesmen of 1867". Ontario and Quebec carried \$70,000,000, Nova Scotia had \$8,000,000 and New Brunswick had \$7,000,000. The Dominion had



relieved these provinces at the rate of \$27.77 per head and had credited the provinces whose debt did not come up to this amount with a capital account. "Manitoba need not be ashamed to hold up her head and make a straight and honest demand on the Dominion Treasury for a larger subsidy".

In 1885 Messrs. Norquay and Murray were in Ottawa when the house was in session. They approached the Government with very definite suggestions for settlement. They were offered a Capital Account based on a population of 125,000 from which certain debts were to be deducted, also a per capita of eighty cents per head on a population of 150,000. This, along with the terms re crown lands were accepted by this Manitoba Legislature after a severe struggle in the house.

From 1885 to the end of Mr. Norquay's period as Premier, the questions of subsidy and boundaries, were completely submerged by the all important fight over railway monopoly. Mr. Norquay was never able to make Eastern Legislators see that Manitoba was not "Bought and Paid for". There are none so hard to convince as those who take a traditional stand which they will not establish upon facts. In the early days of the C.P.R. construction men of the East spoke in glowing terms of "the great band to cement

the provinces together". Mr. Norquay after his return from Ottawa in 1861 referring to this says: "The subject that most interests us and that will really cement with a band of union the different provinces is that justice and impartial dealings be extended toward Manitoba as towards the other provinces. This will more than all iron bands draw the inhabitants of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific as one homogeneous people. Until such time as the cause for grief and heart-burning in the minds of the people of this Province is removed, it is the duty of every public spirited man to agitate the question and never cease until we enjoy the same privileges as other portions of the Dominion".

"The Times"  
Mar. 30,  
1861.

Province who were here before Confederation. It shows that they were alive to the importance of these lands. It has been said that gentlemen here once took the same view in this matter as the people of Eastern Canada and that the present state of affairs was due to the action of some of our own legislators who placed this encumbrance on the lands. On this account it is a matter of importance that those here before Confederation did agitate this matter". To substantiate this Mr. Norquay went on to show that when Mr. D. A. Smith was Commissioner in 1870, this had been before his notice. Before the Province entered Confederation it had asked that the control of all lands with Fort Garry as a centre and extending in a circumference the limit of which was the International boundary, be given to this Province. "When we consider that the limits of Manitoba then corresponded with the extent of territory covered by this demand, it is clear that the people here then, asked for the full control of all lands then contemplated to be included in the Province of Manitoba".

What Mr. Norquay wished to make very clear was that the people did agitate and place on record that they wanted full control of public lands. (See appendix)

"Times"  
March 20,  
1884.  
See  
Appendix

With full realization of the justice of the claims of the Province to its lands, Mr. Norquay was unceasing in his efforts to secure for Manitoba what he believed to be its "heritage". In 1882 he

went to Ottawa with Mr. LaRiviere and that year the Province received \$45,000 per year from the Dominion Government in lieu of lands used for railway purposes. This they claimed was "the same sum that was allowed to Prince Edward Island in lieu of lands". This was the first acknowledgement of the kind but it was very different from the treatment accorded to Prince Edward Island, for the Island had received this grant from its entrance as a province while Manitoba was granted a subsidy, twelve years after entrance in Confederation, and at a time when the Dominion Government had decided to appropriate 100,000,000 acres of western lands for railway purposes. The legislators at Ottawa made it very clear that this was a concession not a duty which the Dominion owed to Manitoba as the lands were hers by right of purchase. In 1883 the claim was again pressed at Ottawa but with no result.

In February 1884 Mr. Norquay and Senator Sutherland made very definite propositions to the Dominion on behalf of Manitoba, in return for the control of waste lands. These were as follows:

1. To refund all expenses of past surveys, in consideration of said surveyed lands and present unsurveyed lands being handed over to the Province.
2. To give to the Dominion Manitoba's proportion of the \$300,000 which had been paid to the

"Sess.  
Papers"  
1884,  
Vol. 15,  
P. 97

Hudson's Bay Company.

3. To carry out any agreements made by the Dominion with any Railway Company, or with any association for the settlement of lands of the Province.

When the Provincial Legislature met later a resolution re public lands was forwarded to Ottawa. A lengthy report was received from Mr. Chapleau, Secretary of State, which has already been referred to in various chapters. He claimed that in the matter of lands the Canadian Government had followed the example of the United States, when in new territories, crown lands remained the property of the nation. The four older Provinces retained theirs by entering Confederation together, Manitoba, he said, had received treatment similar to Prince Edward Island which had received \$800,000 in lieu of lands. Manitoba had received \$900,000 or \$45,000 a year. Whether Mr. Chapleau was not himself informed on this matter or whether he considered Mr. Horquay and his colleagues from the West, sufficiently gullible to accept his statements, is a question, but he failed to explain that the \$800,000 loaned to Prince Edward Island was in lieu of lands held by Old Country proprietors which had been granted by the Crown years before Confederation. The Island was by means of this money able to appropriate these holdings, and in a period of about

"Sess.  
Papers"  
Vol. 15,  
P. 305,  
No. 31.



twenty years make more out of them than the Dominion had advanced.

In Mr. Norquay's report, which has already been quoted and is well worth studying, he replied that the Province had been led to believe by the assurances given by the late Joseph Howe in 1869, as Secretary of State for Canada, when on a visit to the Red River Settlement, as stated in his letter of December 11, 1869, to Hon. William Macdougall, "that the same constitution as the other Provinces possessed would ultimately be conferred upon the country". Mr. Norquay also referred to Mr. Chapleau's statement regarding treatment accorded the various states on entering the union. He showed the advantages enjoyed by our nearest neighbor Minnesota. "Over 20,000,000 acres had been allotted to the state, while in the case of Manitoba, a few sections of submerged land form as yet the only commission made by Canada to the Province and these only to be handed over after an amount exceeding their value shall have been expended in reclaiming them. -----" The position of the Province of Manitoba has been more like a colony of the Dominion than a member of Confederation, the only analogy being that of a uniform appreciation of the impost duties".

"Sess.  
Papers"  
Vol. 15.  
No. 32.  
P. 511.

In a reply letter from Ottawa, the Government once more asserted its right by purchase, and also stated



that Manitoba should remember that the Dominion had given her a road, the C.P.R. and also \$45,000 a year in lieu of lands. Such a reply could not be sufficient to satisfy a man of Mr. Norquay's knowledge of facts and figures. One is amazed in reading the correspondence of that period, that members of the Dominion Government could submit these generalities with no foundation in fact, to a man of the ability of Mr. Norquay, knowing him as they did. In the meeting held that month, April 3rd, 1884, in Victoria Hall, Mr. Norquay expressed his amazement at the idea current in the East that "the West had been a great expense and had given in return no corresponding revenue". Figures from his speech have already been given in the section on "Subsidy".

"Free  
Press"  
Apr. 3,  
1884

Referring to the idea that Manitoba had been "given a road", he showed how British Columbia had received \$100,000 a year for right of way for the same road while Manitoba lands were used to pay for its construction. It was a common boast among Eastern politicians that "Manitoba lands should pay for the C.P.R."

The other argument put forth was that the Dominion Government was pledged to the world in the matter of immigration and could not turn the matter over to the Province.

In December, 1884, Messrs. Norquay and Murray went to Toronto to be present at the

Conservative Convention which met to do honor to Sir. John A. Macdonald after forty years of public service. They remained for the meeting of the House in January 1885 and on their return made known to the Manitoba Legislature the plan for "Better Terms". By these Manitoba was offered \$100,000 a year in lieu of public lands, she was also to receive all lands reclaimed from marshes by drainage, and 150,000 acres of land of fair average quality as an endowment for the University. This, if accepted, was to be final in the case of lands.

Mr. Norquay urged the acceptance of these terms in one of his most eloquent speeches and the resolution was accepted after a struggle by a vote of seventeen to nine. He felt that Manitoba was offered all that she could possibly realize by administering these lands herself. The Province would be compelled to assume all obligations which the Dominion had taken on in matters of immigration. Also they would have to make the grants promised to half-breed children and to the C.P.R. Company. He arrayed before the house figures showing that the Province had given away or was liable for lands amounting to 13,385,859 acres out of a total area of 18,000,000 acres. Mr. Norquay evidently felt that the possibility of extension was very meagre and he felt also the great financial pressure close at hand. "It may be argued that we have a great area

"Times"  
March 27,  
1885.

to the North East, but I doubt if you or I, Mr. Speaker, will see that brought into the trouble. I think that when that time comes we will not trouble our heads about politics. In making this calculation we have taken the widest range possible. I now claim that a bargain which gives \$100,000 a year in perpetuity for our equitable claim to the lands - for they have never allowed that it is a legal claim - should be accepted by this House, an offer which is greater than the Province would realize were it to administer the lands itself".

"Times"  
March 26,  
1885.

In the light of to-day it is easy to criticise the lack of foresight in this matter. It would be assuming too much, also, to suggest that the Dominion Government had in mind extension in the future and were placing a safeguard on the great resources of the North. It is also needless to enlarge upon Manitoba's position to-day. Students of the future will no doubt write with pleasure on a subject which may be brought to a more satisfactory conclusion.

Conclusion - General Estimate

Mr. Daffoe, Editor of the Manitoba Free Press, in his sketches on Sir Wilfred Laurier, says: "There is always a temptation to a biographer of a Prime Minister to relate his hero to the events of his period as first cause and controlling spirit - the God of the storm; whereas Prime Ministers like individuals are the sports of destiny; things happen and they have to make the best of them".

So in Manitoba two Premiers before Mr. Norquay had tried to battle the whirlwind which was sown in 1870 by crafty statesmen and cunning churchmen. They tried to meet the expense of a new system of self government and a rapidly increasing population, with a subsidy far less in proportion than that received by any other province and with their natural heritage, the waste lands of the Province swept away.

Year after year it was Mr. Norquay's fate, as it had been that of his predecessors to beg at the door of the East for crumbs from the table. In reviewing the situation in his Budget Speech of 1884, Mr. Norquay says: "From 1871 until the present time, with the exception of one year, the people of this country have been obliged to send their representatives on annual pilgrimages to Ottawa, to insist on effecting such an adjustment of their position as would enable them to carry on the work

of self government".

An attempt has already been made to estimate Mr. Norquay's work along the lines to which he pledged himself in the policy that he put before his constituents in 1878. In spite of the financial handicap, he brought about many improvements, among these being a vast system of drainage and the erection of buildings suitable for purposes of government. He established, after very serious opposition, a system of Municipal control. He encouraged education by securing loans to carry on the work during the early part of his ministry, and also served, before he was Premier, on the first Protestant Board of Education. He secured for the Province from time to time, an increase in subsidy and also sums of money in lieu of crown lands. He saw the great need of the country in the matter of communication with outside points and went to his downfall in the struggle against the monopoly by which the Dominion Government bound the Province. He secured the first extension of Manitoba's boundaries and in connection with this was the father of the Hudson Bay Railway scheme.

In his public life Mr. Norquay was conservative in nature and loyal to the core. Confidence in those with whom he had to deal in Ottawa died a hard death. His sense of the injustice under which the Province struggled was very keen but he was affable, generous to a fault and unsuspecting of others. To him a "gentleman's word was his bond", and it did not enter his mind, as in the case of transfer of lands for Hudson's Bay railway, that it is well



to see such matters on paper. Possibly there was not ingrained in him enough political cunning to hold his own against the more experienced politicians of the East. His downfall was a tragedy which must be laid at the door of his own party in Ottawa, for from them came the occasion for so bitter opposition at home.

As a man Mr. Horquay was endowed with more gifts than is often the good fortune of one individual; magnetic personality, a persuasive voice, great powers of oratory, a remarkable memory for facts and faces, a keen sympathy and a strong sense of humor. To these gifts of nature he had added by his own efforts a mastery of five languages, all of which he had occasion to use, and a fund of knowledge regarding Provincial and Dominion affairs. The latter was no Divine gift of the Gods but something obtained by weary hours over Blue Books and other sources of information.

One could wish that Mr. Horquay had lived to see the turn of affairs in his beloved Province. It was the fate of the great founder of settlement here, Lord Selkirk, that his life should be worn in a weary struggle and that he should not live to see his cause vindicated; so was it with our greatest Premier. There is pathos in the position of a really great man who had spent himself in service for others and stood alone in the Parliament of 1898, deserted by those who should have been his defenders. It is sufficient however, that Mr. Horquay came through the struggle with the reputation which even his keenest political enemies could not tarnish and that his name is still coupled with the title which he justly earned, "Honest John".



Speech delivered by Premier Horquay  
Queen's Hotel, March 29th, 1881, at banquet  
tendered to him in recognition of his successful  
efforts in securing an enlargement of the Pro-  
vincial Boundaries.

Reported by "The Times", March 30,  
1881.

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Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen:

The usual feeling of pleasure that is felt on reaching home is one that was felt by me last Saturday when I arrived once again in your midst. Although I had a foreknowledge of your intentions towards me, and the great honor you were preparing, I really had no anticipation that the response to the call to do a bit of honor to the Premier of Manitoba would be made so heartily as has been done to-night. I think I may fairly claim that I address to-night the best assembly that has ever been gathered in the City of Winnipeg or in the Province of Manitoba to do honor to any public man. Before I go any further allow me to assure you that I heartily appreciate your kindness in all that you have done, and that it will be a stimulus to me in my public career to go on doing my duty in the future, as I have done in the past, as you have recognized to-night. I feel that words would fail to express my sentiments on an occasion of this kind.

It is one entirely different from those on which I am accustomed to meet the public. It is in the midst of political din and strife that I have to address meetings of this magnitude and on these occasions all things are generally different from what will occupy me to-night. Yet, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I must with you all appreciate the importance of the step lately taken as it effects the political position of Manitoba for the future.

"When eleven years ago, the Province of Manitoba, was created, it was felt by all the people who had taken any consideration of the matter, and who looked into the future, that the dimensions were too circumscribed to continue for any length of time, and the increase of the boundaries of the Province has been a subject that has occupied the attention of public men ever since; It has been hawked around, as it were, at the different hustings; it has been the theme upon which politicians have expatiated in public, and it has been the ambition of the leading men of the Province of Manitoba for the last seven or eight years. When the subject has engrossed the attention of those who do not look at it merely theoretically, but practically, it has been regarded as the basis upon which to lay the foundation of the future greatness of the Province, and as that which would in fact, place her in the position which she is intended by nature to occupy in giving laws to the other portions of the Dominion. Viewing it in this light, it was the ambition of every public man to try to do something towards the attainment of the universally coveted objects, which would be of so great benefit if once attained.

I stand before you to-night fully appreciating the honor you have done me and fully conscious of the importance that will attach to the Province, and fully realizing the share I have taken in promoting the achievement of the object so much desired by all.

It has been considered by some that the advantage of enlarged area is problematical but if we carefully consider

the effects upon us as a commercial community, we shall find that the advantages are appreciated and looked forward to eagerly by the business men of the community. It does not require to be explained to anyone present that with the circumscribed area it was difficult for business men to enlarge the circle of their business, seeing that any defaulting debtor who got beyond the limits of the Province of Manitoba could snap his fingers at his creditors.

This state of affairs will be entirely removed immediately when the laws of the Province are extended to those portions of the territory that have been added to Manitoba by the Act passed in the session of the Parliament of Canada just closed.

While it has been stated by some that the advantage of increased area would be more than counterbalanced by the increase of responsibilities, I think we may fairly look forward to a larger revenue from the increased territory than we could have expected to realize from Manitoba in its circumscribed area.

While Manitoba remained as it was the only source of revenue that belonged to us was the school lands. These were set apart when our constitution was framed. Though that might be considered a magnificent donation yet when the country of which we form a part becomes thickly settled, it will be no great consideration upon which to found the educational interests of this Province. But with a larger area of what may be productive in mineral wealth, in school lands we will unquestionably be gainers.

As the lands develop their mineral wealth and yield their timber productions, we must naturally receive our quota of revenue derived therefrom and I do not believe that the Government at Ottawa will refuse to Manitoba the portion which she ought to derive from the lands set apart for educational purposes. I believe that this is a reasonable conclusion to arrive at, that while additional responsibility will devolve upon us in the management of a much larger area, yet the advantage we will secure from the additional revenue that must accrue will more than counter-balance our responsibility. While I believe that this will be the case, we must not forget what is the inevitable future which must be ours from this increased area. From the rapid development of the Province of Manitoba, it is not unreasonable to suppose that within half a century, or as some more sanguine ones would say, within a quarter of a century, the portion of the Dominion lying west of Lake Superior will give laws to the Dominion of Canada. While in our contracted state we could not look forward to any such condition of affairs, even if the country were settled to its utmost capacity, but now as a portion of the Dominion with representation based on population we shall be enabled to exercise no mean influence through our representatives at Ottawa, when the country is populated in its enlarged state.

While it is asserted by some that we shall have the disadvantage of having a hard struggle to get our eastern boundary determined, I do not consider that in this

matter a very serious difficulty is to be apprehended. I believe that the difficulty will be very easily overcome with the two parties willing to come to a settlement and without estrangement of the feelings of amity and mutual confidence. I do not believe that the boundary question is going to involve Manitoba in any serious difficulty as it is a question of law and fact.

One consideration which ought to excite in Manitoba feelings of pride is the universal attention which is drawn to this portion of the Dominion.

Not only are the efforts of the immigration officers directed towards Manitoba but we find that the greater portion of the Legislative attention during the session of Parliament is taken up in dealing with Manitoba affairs. While Manitoba in her enlarged area, and especially as lying contiguous to the Northwest Territory, is engrossing all attention, one thing I regret to see is that Manitoba is not represented in the Government of the Dominion, because if we look at legislation, all the practical portions of the policy, all the characteristic actions of the Government, we find that they begin, go on and end in Manitoba. The great factor that occupied the attention of the Public men during the last session of Parliament was in regard to the development of Manitoba and the Northwest. The reason why I say I regret that Manitoba is not represented in the Dominion Government is that there are many very grave questions that remained in abeyance and unsettled when we became part of confederation that are likely to continue unsettled until



we can bring immediate influence to bear by our representatives upon the policy of the governing body of the Dominion.

I do not wish to speak disparagingly of any party, but I contrast the position Manitoba holds toward the Dominion of Canada with the position occupied by other Provinces of the Dominion. Where the other Provinces have full control and power of settlement of all their vexed questions affecting titles to lands, we find that there is no occasion to leave any question lying for two or three years in abeyance. Manitoba however had commission after commission appointed to settle vexed questions and we do not know where the end will be. With a country possessing the importance that the North West does in its relation to the Federal Government, it is nothing but reasonable that we should have a direct voice to influence the actions of the Government that formulates the policy that is going to act on us either for weal or for woe.

One fact that I found it difficult to cope with during my mission to Ottawa was the ignorance that prevailed in regard to the real state of our relations toward the Federal Government. When I was doing my little best to promote the cause of extension, I had to interview many members on that question and found that such lamentable ignorance prevailed among the public men of Canada that it was very seldom indeed that I met any man who did not know that we did not possess the control of our public lands. When I did come across one who knew the fact, he possessed

the additional knowledge that the Dominion had purchased these lands, and consequently that Manitoba had nothing at all to do with them.

When confederation was projected fourteen years ago it was by universal consent allowed by the different Provinces that direct taxation should be kept as far as possible from the political exigencies that might arise. We want to obviate such a necessity from our Province, and if allowed full control of our domains we should realize such an amount of revenue as would enable us to carry on the affairs of Government and discharge the responsibilities exacted from us by the Federal authorities. Public men in Ottawa only look to the fact that \$1,500,000 was paid to the Hudson Bay Company for the right to the public lands in Manitoba and the North West, and they entirely ignore the fact that that amount was paid by the public of Canada, and that you, Gentlemen and I are equally responsible for the account which we have assumed by being citizens of the Dominion, equally with the people of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island or British Columbia.

While we as loyal citizens are willing to assume our responsibilities for the discharge of our national debt it is manifestly unfair and unjust that resources should be allowed to the other Provinces, received from our hands and applied to the construction of roads for purely national purposes.

The Government could with as much justice go to

Ontario and say "You must contribute 10,000,000 acres of land for the construction of the C.P.R.", or say to Quebec, "You must contribute an equal amount", or say to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick that they must do so out of their local resources, as to appropriate the patrimony of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory which might be created in the future for national purposes and say to them, "You must join in and bear your share of the cost". It is manifestly unjust and unfair that we should be saddled with equal responsibilities with the citizens of other Provinces in discharging the debt created by the Intercolonial Railway and the canal system of Canada, as that the citizens of Manitoba and the North West should be saddled with the construction of the national highway and not relieved of their share of the national debt accumulated in carrying these works successfully to completion.

True, there are no people who look upon the construction of the C.P.R. with more pleasure than we. I believe there is none of us who is not immensely interested in the success of that scheme which has been euphoniously termed "the great band to cement the Provinces together". It will be a mighty cement uniting the different Provinces together commercially and facilitating intercourse between the Pacific and the Atlantic, giving farmers facilities in exporting their grain and importing their goods. But the subject that most interests us and that will really cement with a band of union the different Provinces is, that justice and impartial dealing towards Manitoba as towards

the other Provinces. This will more than all iron bands draw the inhabitants of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific as one homogeneous people together. Until such time as the cause for grief and heart-burning in the minds of the people of this Province is removed, it is the duty of every public-spirited man to agitate the question and bring the matter constitutionally before the people and urge it forcibly and constitutionally upon the authorities at Ottawa, and never cease until we enjoy the same privileges as the other portions of the Dominion. Then we shall have loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Constitution built on justice and impartiality. More than this no one asks and less than that I hope no citizen of Manitoba will ever be satisfied with".

BUDGET SPEECH DELIVERED BY

HON. JOHN NORQUAY, APRIL 16th, 1894

"In order to realize thoroughly our position to-day as a Province in Confederation, it will be necessary for us to take a retrospective view of events. It will be necessary to look back to a time when we became confederated and were started into political existence in 1870 by investment with the constitution given us known as the Manitoba Act. In that we were placed financially in a position which might have appeared to be a good one in the eyes of those unacquainted with the responsibilities of self-government, but it was an illusion soon to be dispelled. We find by reference to the terms for which we entered Confederation in 1870 that the financial position accorded us was such that our revenue when all its sources were reckoned up reached \$67,204.50. To a community accustomed to meet all its necessities out of a much smaller sum, this appeared to be a very extravagant and generous provision made by the Parliament of Canada. Innocent as they were of the complications and cost of responsible Government the people who received this subsidy for the first time might well be excused for thinking it a handsome one. They were, it is true, accustomed to a Government and had to pay for it too; but it was a government as simple as it was effective and inexpensive.

By reference to the early records of the old colony of Assiniboia, we find that, as far back as 1835

government obtained in the country to an extent not generally known. In that year the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, Sir George Simpson, calling to his aid some of the most influential settlers to assist more fully in carrying out the object of government here, made them a speech, which, in the light of present events, has a good deal of interest for us. It appears to have been the first of the kind ever delivered here of which any record is handed down to us, and its tenor indicates unmistakably that these old colonists understood and were resolved to maintain good government. Here is the speech, which corresponds to that delivered at the opening of each session of the Legislative Assembly now-a-days.

"Gentlemen: In order to guard as much as possible against misapprehension out of doors, I shall briefly notice the subject which I am now to bring under your consideration.

From the deep and timely interest you will feel in the welfare and prosperity of the colony, I am satisfied you will afford me the benefit of your assistance and support towards carrying into effect such measures as may appear to you best calculated under existing circumstances, to answer every desirable object.

The population of this colony is becoming so great, amounting to about five thousand souls, that the personal influence of the governor and the little more than nominal support afforded by the police - which together with the good feelings of the people have heretofore been its principal safe-guard - are no longer sufficient to maintain the tranquillity and good government of the settlement;



so that although rights of property have of late been invaded and other serious offences been committed, I am concerned to say we are under the necessity of allowing them to pass unnoticed, because we have not the means at command of enforcing obedience and due respect according to the existing order of things.

Under such circumstances it must be evident to one and all of you that it is quite impossible that society can hold together, and that the time has at length arrived when it becomes necessary to put the administration of justice on a more firm and regular footing than heretofore. Immediate steps must be taken to guard against dangers from abroad and difficulties at home, and to provide for the maintenance of good order and tranquillity, and for the securing and protection of lives and property".

Here is evidence to show, that, long anterior to Confederation a community existed on the banks of the Red River, in which obtained the regular forms of government, not generally known, such as they were. They might have been wanting in some particulars; but we are not left in any doubt of the fact, that, such as they were they served their purpose admirably. Law and order were maintained and the interests of the community generally were subserved. As British subjects they had the enjoyment of their rights - they enjoyed in a measure every right outside those guaranteed by elective and representative institutions and in pressing as we have done, and as we will continue to do that we too, as British subjects should be allowed the full enjoyment of our rights,

we call the attention of the Federal authorities to the fact I have just noted, and ask that the precedent established in Eastern Provinces be followed now - we are pressing for that which was ours in the olden time and which will be ours again. It has been clearly established that nearly fifty years ago, law and order were maintained here on a firm basis; and the rights accorded to all civilized communities had been already enjoyed by those resident in the heart of the continent here, although they were then cut off from almost all communication with the outside world. I have pointed out that on entering Confederation, the financial condition of the little community then established here, might have appeared to be a good one under the change. The exigencies of government up to that time had been met by an expenditure of £200 or £300 at the utmost; and hence the allowance with which we set out on our career as a Province - seemed a generous and extravagant one, the effect of which was to subdue alarm and take away all scruples to entering Confederation. Experience, as I have said, soon dispelled the illusion. We had not been confederated four years until our expenditures were \$150,000 ahead of our subsidies; and then the exigencies of responsible government began to manifest themselves very fully. In the beginning the improvement of highways along the river banks - then the main arteries of travel - might be said to be the principal item of expenditure. But with the increase of immigration, with

settlement radiating from Fort Garry in all directions, attention had to be paid to highways and bridges in the interior of the Province, stretching far away from the old lines of travel. The expenditure, as a matter of course, grew rapidly and increased far beyond the income, a state of affairs necessitating frequent visits to Ottawa in order to find a remedy for an evil, which, in the long run, only grew worse.

From 1871 to the present time, with the exception, perhaps, of one year, the people of this country had been obliged to send their representatives on their annual pilgrimage to Ottawa, to insist on effecting such an adjustment of their position as would enable them to carry on the work of self-government. They made their wants fully known at Ottawa, and over and over again pressed for the settlement to which they were fairly entitled. And if these representatives had not been met in the spirit in which, on entering Confederation, the people had every reason to believe they would be met - if there had been no full concession of the claim frequently and fully urged - it was because the Ottawa authorities took their stand and refused to go farther. But the people here, having determined that they would not abandon their cause have maintained that stand to the present day.

Of the frequent journeyings to Ottawa the result was the increase of the subsidy by something like \$5000 a year in 1873, so that thereafter our annual subsidy rose to \$72,000. In 1875 owing to withdrawals from capital account

our allowance shrank to \$65,000 a year and the necessity of another appeal to Ottawa became at once apparent. An appeal was made by my predecessor, Hon. Mr. Davis, and thereupon there was a readjustment which gave us a subsidy of \$90,000 per annum. These various increases of subsidy, I may add, were made on the constant and reiterated complaints of the people; and the amounts so doled out were in fact, so many acknowledgments of the justice of these claims. It is evident from a glance at the estimates brought down to the House to-day, that the end of these visitations to the Capital is not yet. But now as then we are determined to stand by our cause as a just one - one that we must press not only with all the executive force the Government has, but with all the Legislative authority that this House can convey. And should we fail to obtain from the authorities at Ottawa that full measure of justice to which we are entitled - in other words, should our rights as British subjects be denied - we intend to ask that an appeal be next made direct from this House to the foot of the throne.

The Federal authorities have already taken notice of the resolutions of the House in reference to the discriminating policy pursued towards this Province, to the injury of its best interests - and they can be approached again by the Legislature.

In 1880 the subsidy went from \$90,000 to \$105,000 and again in 1882 there was an increase to \$227,153.04.

I had occasion, as one of the delegates representing Manitoba, to urge her claims when the last two increases were asked and given. In fact, occupying my present position in the Ministry, the responsibility of pressing these questions on the Federal authorities - urging Provincial claims - devolved largely on me. And I will now take the opportunity of asking from the House a vindication of what I often asserted - that the terms made by the Executive of the day, in accepting \$227,000 were only temporary - and were not at all in the nature of a permanent arrangement.

I claim it on the authority of one of the Ministers at Ottawa who, discussing the situation as a Minister, said that the terms made between the Province of Manitoba and the Federal authorities were only temporary in their character. The old colony of Assiniboia - the parent, as we may term it, of the Province of Manitoba, - prior to entering into the Dominion, enjoyed all the privileges that the other Provinces of Canada enjoyed before they entered Confederation - minus elective institutions and responsible Government. The four Provinces relinquished some of their privileges, on forming the confederacy. In the Colony of Assiniboia the authorities had power to levy customs and excise duties; and on reference to early history we find these imposts to have been very light, a 4% duty having been found sufficient for all the requirements of Government, such as it was.



You know, yourself, Mr. Speaker, that the Government was not one indifferent to the wants of the people, for it can be said truthfully, that justice was then administered with as strong and impartial a hand as it has ever been administered since. The necessary improvements conducive to the interests of the settlers in the old colony were attended to as promptly and efficiently by its Government - and perhaps ever more efficiently than similar wants have ever been attended to by succeeding Governments. The early history of the country was in fact one of contentment. The requirements of the day were all fully met by the then rulers. What do we find now? Instead of a low tariff of 4% the people here are subjected to a high tariff, ranging all the way from 15 to 35% and in many instances, with the addition of a specific duty, reaching even to more than 100%. Was that tremendous addition to the burdens of our people, imposed to meet their wants? No - decidedly not - It was imposed to meet the wants of the larger community called the Dominion of Canada - and more especially the wants of the eastern end of that Dominion.

We have but to consider the application of the proceeds of the revenue to see how unfair our treatment has been, and that there is ample cause for the dissatisfaction throughout the Province with the small pittance allowed us for development.

Before entering Confederation the four Provinces originally forming the union had full possession of all



revenues as sovereign Provinces - the right of levying customs and excise - the rights of revenue accruing from the possession of lands, lumber, mines and minerals. All the revenues coming from these sources were their's. As I have said, some of these sovereign powers were relinquished when the confederacy was formed and were vested in the Dominion. Up to that date the four Provinces had incurred liabilities to the extent of \$90,000,000 or more. This debt had been created in the development of the Provinces and any advantages resulting from the expenditure remained with them on becoming confederated. They had the full benefit of them, - the public works thus secured being as much the property of these Provinces to-day as they were before Confederation.

Notwithstanding this fact, when eastern statesmen are approached as to the policy of discrimination against this Province - and when it is shown that we have to bear a full share of that huge debt without deriving the least benefit therefrom, but being treated on the contrary with the grossest injustice by these very Provinces, when that is pointed out, we are told - Oh! yes; Canada did assume these debts, but then these are assets. Well, Mr. Speaker, we are willing to give them assets, too, if they will furnish us with the money to create them, or pay for them after they are created as was done in the case of the other Provinces. Do they mean to say that there is any fairness or equity in the present arrangement under which we are heavily taxed for the Intercolonial railway, the Welland

Canal, the Lachine Canal, the Grand Trunk Railway and all those other improvements and expenditures made and kept by the Eastern Provinces for their own special benefit - used by them for their development - an arrangement by which while bearing a full share of the \$90,000,000 of the debt thus incurred, this Province is absolutely denied by these Eastern Provinces the power of inaugurating similar public works for the development of this country?

Is the arrangement to be, that we must contribute to their benefit while at the same time they will not allow us to contribute to our own development, but keep a firm hold on these resources, our own resources - which would enable us to promote that development?

Were we to be dealt with on the basis of a population of only 17,000 souls, while other Provinces were credited with having one million? Is that to be our position? Is this to be our status for years? If that is to be the position of Manitoba in Confederation, I am afraid that Confederation will soon be a thing of the past as far as Manitoba is concerned. It is impossible that Confederation can exist unless the Provinces generally are placed in a more uniform position. If it is a partnership at all - and I always understood it was - we have been always led to understand that our great national highway was being built as a bond of union between the Provinces - if, I say, there is any partnership at all, it must be one in which the Provinces are all dealt with fairly. In my innocence I believed that the object of the framers of Confederation was

to preserve and extend the rights of all; to accord to all the same treatment; that there should be nothing like allowing one of the sisters of Confederation to eat in the dining room of the establishment and fare sumptuously, while another sister was confined to the kitchen, without being able to procure enough to eat even there.

We are told in the despatch sent in answer to the resolutions of this House in reference to our school lands, that, -

"These lands form the subject of a special trust, for which they were set apart immediately after the acquisition of the country. The trust is one which His Excellency is advised, considering its object and character, this Government cannot in good faith toward the settler in Manitoba and the other Provinces which may be constituted out of the N. W. T. part with or be relieved from. This Government is therefore unable to advise a compliance with the request of your ministers that these lands should be conveyed to Manitoba".

Reciprocity in compliments being in order, sometimes, I suppose I may say that I can interpret that statement as nothing short of a want of confidence in the Ministry and Legislature of this Province being able to properly administer these school lands - which of right belonged to us, which I reciprocate most heartily, insofar as regards the Federal Ministry. Now in demanding these lands from the authorities at Ottawa, it was not on the ground of mal - administration - but because they have not

been administered at all. And the Government at Ottawa seems powerless to remedy the evil. Instead of being administered wisely and judiciously parties were allowed to settle on them without undertaking permanent improvements. Actuated only by the motive of getting all they could out of the land, such people used it without paying any rent, and never built on it but allowed it to be overrun with weeds. Of course in the case of the bona fide settlers - and there were such, they ought to get a title from the Government on payment of a fair price for the land; while in the other cases he had mentioned, it was an injustice to allow such persons to go upon the lands and impoverish them. Taking everything into consideration, I will venture to say that we have as little confidence that the lands will be administered to the best advantage by the Federal authorities as they seem to have in our administration of them. And so far as that goes, although we do not want to have the last word and cry "scissors", we feel that we are on an equal footing with them.

In answer to the demand made by this House for the control of the public lands of the Province, we are told from Ottawa that -

"The free homestead and pre-emption policy of the Dominion has been proclaimed throughout Europe and carried out with advantage to Manitoba, and this Government is of the opinion that the faith of the Dominion, as well as the best interests of Manitoba, are pledged to its being permanently adhered to. Beyond this and how far it may be

expedient to change the arrangement existing between Manitoba and the Dominion in respect of the lands of the Dominion situated within the Province is one of those questions involving financial considerations which His Excellency is advised could advantageously be enquired into in the manner contemplated by the Legislature of Manitoba in the first of the resolutions above referred to in regard to the financial relations of the Province with the Dominion".

I need scarcely say that under any circumstances, we would not deem it a disadvantage to this Province to receive a large accession to its population. We are sufficiently patriotic, I hope, to receive cordially all good settlers coming here, and while, as a member of the Dominion, we feel a pride in seeing her swell into larger proportions, we cannot at the same time avoid looking carefully into the effect that increase has on the internal economy of this Province. Nobody welcomes more heartily than I do, the settler coming here, but it is obvious that this increase of numbers entails increased responsibility - increased outlay on our part. Additional road-making and repairing are incurred - educational institutions must be furnished the new-comers, the maintenance of law and order has to be extended to them. Our wants are increased at an alarming rate. Are the ways and means increased also? This is the question which must force itself on the attention of every member. And I say here from my place in the House, as Leader of the Government, that we do not receive that consideration from the Federal



authorities to which we are entitled. Their immigration policy, while tending to build up the Dominion does so in an especial way at the expense of this Province. Each new settler within our limits becomes at once a revenue producer for Canada and a tax on the resources of Manitoba which has not been enabled to carry out the objects of Government as the other Provinces are enabled by the assistance of the Federal authorities, to carry out.

Who gets the fees from the sale of our land? The Federal Government. Who pockets the customs and excise duties raised by the Province, duties largely increased as I have said, by every additional settler? The Federal Government. We bear the burden - They draw the revenue - an arrangement altogether too one-sided for us.

There should, surely, be some sort of proportion between our revenue and our responsibilities - as our population increased so should our power for providing for the wants of that population. That is one of the objects for which the resolutions brought down to this House in the early part of the Session were submitted - to elicit from the Legislature a full expression of opinion as to the policy that should be adopted in dealing with this Province. We ask that we should be dealt with as the other Provinces were on entering Confederation. We ask no extraordinary privileges. Were we to seek for more than the other Provinces the demand might be refused. But we are doing nothing of the kind. All we request is



fair play. We are Canadians and as such we require that we should be placed on an equality with the other Provinces. Give us equality - fair play - and we will work out our own destiny. It may not, perhaps, be out of place to remark here on some of the projects that engaged the attention of the four Provinces originally confederated, to show how they expended pretty largely their revenues and for which they obtained their credits. In Quebec the abolition of Seigniorial Tenure was accomplished at a cost of \$5,000,000. But this outlay being of no material interest to Ontario she had to get from the General Government, as a quid pro quo \$5,000,000 also, which constituted what is generally known as Municipal Loan Fund. This represents \$10,000,000 of the debt assumed by Canada on which we are taxed. Besides this, the ambition of Ontario led her to undertake the construction of important public works. There was the Welland Canal, costing \$50,000,00, which canal cost the Dominion annually \$16,000 beyond the receipts. These properties defined by the term assets, should yield a revenue, were assumed by the Dominion and all put into a common pot, as it were. I might go on to include the Grand Trunk Railway which cost the Dominion in the neighborhood of \$25,000,000, and also the Intercolonial. We have to bear a full and large share of this burden. Swelled from the sources I have enumerated, the debt of Canada to-day ranges between \$150,000,000 and 250,000,000. Taking it at the latter figure it would represent \$50.00

a head on the whole population of Canada. This is a matter that will strike every member of the House very seriously - even though we should be told that we have no business to discuss federal matters. Again what do we find latterly? By recent legislation another \$9,000,000 has been added to the public debt of Canada to subsidize roads in the Eastern Provinces. Innocently enough, we believed at one time that the C.P.R. being a national institution would be the only railway to be subsidised by the nation and it is often cast up to us that it was built directly in the interests of this Province, and that we ought to be very thankful for the boon. Now a new theory prevails down East. When the idea was broached as to Manitoba's share of this \$9,000,000 the public prints are the authority for the statement that the Minister of Railways said that Manitoba's share of this great railway grant consisted in the construction of the C.P.R. and in the aid granted to the H. R. Railway. Verily we are a highly favored community. I have before stated that a continuance of the present Dominion policy must compel a resort to direct taxation - not a very pleasant prospect by any means. Looking ahead we feel it to be our duty, by every means in our power to prevent the Province from drifting into such a state of circumstances.

We have to enquire what sources of revenue will remain to Manitoba when the public lands within her borders are all disposed of? When we look to the large sums

realized from mines, minerals, timber and land sales yearly by the other Provinces, we cannot doubt that their rights were duly conserved when they cast in their lot with the Dominion. Manitoba, unluckily, found herself in far different circumstances - a state of things for which the people of this Province cannot be blamed if the truth must be told - Manitoba was forced into Confederation, figuratively speaking, at the point of the Bayonet - the people submitted to the conditions imposed upon them, not knowing the extent of the responsibilities they were assuming, and confident that in any event they would be treated with full and impartial British justice in dealing with the Federal authorities. They knew that as the last resort there was the appeal to the foot of the Throne; and if that step has not yet been taken, it is because of the reluctance of the people to take that final step in order to assert their rights. They believed that on becoming part of Confederation, the utmost justice would be conceded to them; and that belief was justified by the utterances of a prominent statesman of the day, the late Hon. Jas. Howe, who at that time was visiting the Provinces, and said:- "I have conversed freely with all classes of the community, from Gov. McTavish, downwards, and to all held the same language "that the same constitution as the other Provinces possessed would ultimately be conferred upon the country". They expect to enjoy the same constitution as the four Provinces already in confederation. All we desire now is full completion of the promises then and since held out to

us. That is the position we are striving to attain. It is, I honestly believe, the aim and ambition of every man in Manitoba to have this Province placed - not in an inferior position - but on a footing of equality with the other Provinces in Confederation. It is often urged by persons in the East that Manitoba and the Northwest are a heavy burden on Canada, - that, in fact, we would soon ruin the Dominion. Talk to an Eastern man to-day and he immediately tells you - "You are a discontented lot - a 'spoon fed' lot. "Look", they tell us, "at the G.P.R. to be built at a cost of \$120,000,000 - all for you". Those who argue in this fashion never stop to consider that they entered Confederation with \$90,000,000 of a debt, whereas Manitoba has always had a full treasury and had no debt. They forget too, that they have taken away our means of revenue to a large extent. Had we the enjoyment of our local resources to-day, very few of us, I am sure, would be found to grumble.

One of the questions frequently brought before the Privy Council was "the control of our public lands", and latterly, I observe the Federal authorities have taken to shielding themselves by reference to the policy obtaining in the United States. This had been pleaded as a justification of the Dominion's policy towards us. They say:- "Following in this respect the example of the United States, where all public lands in new territories remain the property of the nation, the crown lands in Manitoba are vested in Her Majesty, as represented by

the Government of the Dominion. They have been freely granted in aid of the C.P. and other railways, of colonization companies, actual settlers, and towards other objects calculated to develop and augment its population".

If the Federal authorities really desire to follow the example of the United States in this respect, by all means let them do so. Let them adopt in dealing with us as liberal a policy as Congress adopted towards at least some of the states and we will be satisfied. Take as an example which we may urge on the Federal authorities, of the adjoining State of Minnesota. Situated immediately to the south of us, occupying a large and fertile prairie territory and lying contiguous to Lake Superior, Minnesota occupies a position corresponding to that occupied by Manitoba north of the International boundary. Her physical features and mode of development are similar and she offers, too, similar facilities for railroad construction. Taking these things into account, we may fairly conclude that the policy under which her development was effected, would if tried here, produce like results. We find Congress granting that State 11,699,200 acres to aid in railway construction. In the United States the State Governments possess chartering powers similar to those supposed to be conferred on Canadian Provinces. Minnesota, exercising this privilege, has chartered railways and granted them aid (under a regular system of State railway aid within her limits) to

the extent of 11,699,200 acres. This grant has been given towards the construction of 1,828 miles of railways. In fact the state invested the congressional grant in companies organized under State Charters. These companies are superintended by a State railway commissioner and the State exacts from them 3% of their gross earnings, yielding a revenue of \$614,000 in 1882 and \$622,000 in 1883 which is increasing every year. So that the Congressional land grant has been so judiciously applied as to be a yearly increasing source of revenue to the State, until, within a few years it may be that all the State institutions will be supported by the revenue derived from the railway companies, based on the grant originally obtained from the Federal authorities.

I say that if the Dominion Government will carry out in Manitoba the application of the same principle such as I have illustrated - even if we are not placed on the same footing as our sisters of Confederation, we will not be disposed to grumble very loudly. If they will only adopt towards us a liberal generous policy like that adopted by the American Federal authorities towards the State adjoining our borders, we would not only be gainers as a Province but the whole Dominion would eventually be the gainers also. We are a large profit to the Dominion now, but, less hampered and with full opportunity for development, our worth to the Dominion would be greatly enhanced. Or, if they will only leave off meddling with the charters granted by this House for the promotion of local railways,



we might reasonably expect in a few years to be deriving a large revenue from these sources. The railway might be made to contribute towards the expense of Government as had been done in the case of the railways south of the line. In addition to the liberal gift just mentioned, Congress has granted 5,000,000 acres of swamp lands - not needing a large expenditure for their reclamation. This grant is given towards the support of State institutions such as asylums, with an occasional grant in aid of railways. In addition they have from Congress a grant of 6,400 acres in aid of public buildings. They have also one eighteenth of the State lands for the purposes of Education; for University purposes they get 92,160 acres, towards the maintenance of an Agricultural College 150,000 acres and 46,000 acres of salt lands are handed over to the State, and for internal improvements other than railways they have 500,000 acres of the choicest lands that can be selected by the Government of the State, worth probably \$8.00 to \$10.00 an acre. So that we find Congress allowing the state of Minnesota over 17,000,000 acres, exclusive of the grants in aid of the Northern Pacific Railway and the Educational grant. If a similar policy were pursued towards us by the Federal authorities, how would the case stand? We would be in possession of public lands to the extent of over 36 million acres. Certainly, if Minnesota, with an area of 53 million acres has been granted 23 million of them for public improvements, Manitoba with an area nearly double, or 96 million acres might, in like ratio,

expect to receive from the Federal authorities for similar purposes, at least \$6 million - and this, exclusive of her grant for schools or the C.P.R. subsidy. Here then is the comparison fairly worked out, and if, as they profess, the Federal authorities are willing to give us bounties for local objects, similar to those given by Congress, here is an illustration, drawn from parallel cases to which they themselves have specially called our attention. If, as I said, they will not accord us the status given the other Provinces, let them treat us as Congress treats the neighboring State of Minnesota. If they want to go back on that arrangement although held up to us as an example fit for imitation, by themselves, then let them give us the status which is ours by right.

At this stage, perhaps it would be as well that we should look back and try to acquaint ourselves with some of the causes that led to the with-holding from the people of the Province the control of the public lands. On a reference back to the commencement of Provincial history the following demands will be found embodied in the Bill of Rights presented to the Federal authorities by delegates from the old Red River settlement, or colony of Assiniboia, - in two of the clauses, I and XI.

Clause I - That the Territories heretofore known as Ruperts' Land and the Northwest shall not enter into the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada except as a Province, to be styled and known as the Province of Assiniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different

Provinces of the Dominion.

Clause XI - That the Local Legislature of the Province of Assiniboia shall have full control over all the public lands of the Province and the right to annul all acts or arrangements made, or entered into with reference to the public lands of Ruperts' Land, and the Northwest now called the Province of Assiniboia.

It is apparent from this that the people then, and their representative had a very fair conception of at least one thing: that on coming into Confederation they were entitled to privileges such as the other Provinces of Canada enjoyed. The 11th clause of the Bill of Rights is an extraordinary demand and shows that it was intended that the Local Legislature should have full control over all the lands not only of the Province but also the right to annul arrangement that may have been made or entered into with reference to the public lands of Ruperts' Land. The two clauses I have were, I find specially referred to by Sir. Clinton Murdock, then acting as mediator between the Federal authorities and the people of Red River; and he held and rightly too, I think, that as the latter clause particularly covered a very wide stretch of territory, there would at that stage, be some danger in giving up the control of the public lands to the Province as the land included in the Bill of Rights would extend into the Territories; and having control of these, the Provincial authorities might thereby be enabled to hinder, if not prevent immigration into the country, and stop the building of railroads.

Whatever reasons could be advanced for holding these views then, could not, certainly, be brought forward now. The C.P.R. has been already built beyond the limits of the Province and immigration to a large extent has flowed into and beyond our bounds. Thus these old reasons, - whatever their value - for with-holding the public lands of the Province, cannot obtain now and in insisting on our right to get possession of these lands, we can amongst other things, point to the fact that these objections have faded out of sight.

In discussing our position as a Province, I have endeavored to show that we never acquiesced in the partial measures of relief accorded to us, but from the very outset we indicated plainly that our position was at once unfortunate and eminently unsatisfactory - a state of affairs resulting from our not having got a fair start in the Provincial race. The earliest opportunity offered the people of this Province was taken advantage of by them to represent the true state of affairs and endeavor to set them right.

In the first session of the Legislature of Manitoba there was a motion brought forward by the minority of the House, taking exception to the speech then delivered because it contained no assurance that a promise of the restoration of the public lands was held out to the people. So that from the very inception of representative institutions here, down to the present time it is clear that this question was never lost sight of. There is no missing link in that chain. And for my part I believe that the justice of our cause is such that

we will be invested with the full control of the lands not disposed of and also that there will be full recognition of our right to that which has been already parted with. That, I believe to be the claim the Province makes; she will be satisfied with no less; and until her reasonable demands in this respect have been complied with, the present discontent in the Province will go on increasing.

As British subjects we know and cherish our rights, and we believe in the end, right must prevail. We are not different from other British subjects in believing that in the end our rights cannot be withheld from us. On the contrary did we tamely submit to wrong - did we abandon our rights - we would be less than British subjects.

Perhaps, in proportion to our population we have in Manitoba as many, if not more men of talent, business enterprise and solid worth than they have in any other Province of the Dominion; and these are not the men to tamely suffer wrong. Did we do so, we would, in all probability, injure others as well as ourselves. The action taken towards Manitoba, it must be remembered, may be duplicated in the case of the remaining Province to be carved out of the great Northwest: the course we take will be to some extent a precedent for them. All the more need then for a firm hand on the Provincial rights. All the more need that we should be careful so to conserve and maintain our powers and privileges as a Province, that we will not endanger in any way, by a bad precedent or otherwise the future of the

Provinces to be created there. We have, as it were, not only to maintain firmly our own position for ourselves, but also one which is very likely to influence the future of other Provinces yet to be called into existence in this land. We have, so to speak, to stand in the front of the battle, and to fight not only for ourselves but for the other Provinces yet to be created.



SPEECH MADE BY  
PREMIER JOHN HURQUAY  
BEFORE THE HOUSE  
MARCH 26th, 1885.

IN MOVING THE ACCEPTANCE OF TERMS  
OFFERED BY THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT  
TO MANITOBA (\$100,000 PER ANNUM)  
IN LIEU OF CROWN LANDS

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Report from "The Times"

1.

In dealing with the public affairs of Manitoba, I must deal in a spirit of comparison with the policy which has obtained with respect to the other Provinces, and from the standpoint that we must receive equal attention from the Authorities at Ottawa as the other Provinces, and when I speak of equal attention I mean financial attention. In 1867 when Confederation was consummated a general basis was laid down on which the different provinces should be admitted. It was a basis of co-partnership and as far as the light, the knowledge, and the intelligence of the statesmen of the day could adjust terms, should be equal and just to all. We find that that basis was one of population. Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had a certain amount of population. When Confederation first became a moot subject with the people of Canada, the Maritime Provinces had been considering whether it was not their interest to form a Confederation of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. At that time the subject was also mooted in Upper and Lower Canada, and their delegates waited upon those assembled at Charlottetown and submitted the greater scheme of confederation. They had to devise a common basis on which the Union was to be affected. These Provinces had assumed liabilities which were to be considered common to all, where they united, whereas there were others of a local nature which would be dealt with by the Province separately. It was agreed between the delegates that the basis of subsidies allowed

the different Provinces should be that of population. At that time the population of Nova Scotia was about 300,000; New Brunswick 237,000; Ontario 1,360,000; Quebec 1,100,000; However, it was arranged that the cost of those works of a general character which had prosecuted by the Provinces should be assumed by the general Government. It was also decided that certain subsidies to the Provinces should be granted in order to furnish means by which they might properly discharge their duties in matters of provincial character. In order that the provinces might have fair play at the hands of Confederation, the Dominion assumed control of Railways, piers, wharves, harbors, customs and excise, while they left to the provinces the control of the Crown Lands in the various provinces and matters not coming under the direct purview of the general Government and allowed them interest on a certain amount of population, Ontario and Quebec were relieved from their debt account on the basis of \$27.70 per head of population. Old Canada was relieved of a debt of twelve and a half millions; Nova Scotia nine millions; New Brunswick eight millions; and if they exceeded these amounts then they were to pay interest at 5% on the amount by which they exceeded the debt allowed.

On this basis being made a test question, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island refused to enter the union. When we entered the Confederation in 1870, in order to equalize our position with the other provinces relieved

of a certain amount of debt, Manitoba was allowed a debt of \$429,000. In 1873 Manitoba was credited with an additional sum in order to equalize her position with Ontario and Quebec, which had been relieved in the meantime of twelve and a half millions, so that we find that no injustice was done us on the basis of population on which we entered Confederation.

But we have always contended that that was too low a basis on which to base the subsidy of a province, and that our development was of an exceptionally rapid character which had not been taken sufficiently into account by the Federal Government.

We were then entitled to \$551,407, on which we were allowed 5% interest, with an allowance of \$30,000 for Government and legislation and 80¢ per head of the population. This only went to make a subsidy of \$73,000 which was inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of this Province. Representation was made to the Federal authorities to increase, not only the specific grant for Government and Legislation, but to place to our credit a certain sum in lieu of lands, which we had not. This representation was made by me and my Government and every possible feature of the arguments in support of our claim was advocated. Mr. Speaker, some advance was made in 1876, when my former colleague, Hon. R.H. Davis secured an increase of \$26,000 - granted, not on any general basis, but an acknowledgment on the part of the Federal Authorities that we had not enough funds to run

4.

the Government here. It was more like doling out charity than a recognition of our position as a Province of the Dominion. But this was done under the late Reform Government in 1876. This pittance as I have said, was doled out more as an act of charity. It was a mere recognition on their part that the Province must have more money to carry on the Government.

More representations were made and in 1879 a representation was made by which the revenue of the province was increased from \$90,000 to \$105,000. This was under the Federal Government as represented to-day - a Conservative Government - and yet this was given, like the previous donation, as an act of charity given to needy Premier.

Now Mr. Speaker, we claimed that this was not the position which Manitoba should occupy. We wanted an actual recognition paid to us by the Federal authorities. In 1881 the extension of the boundaries of the Province was made, and it was urged by the people of this Province with a view to securing a recognition of our status as a Province. We find that we then had the area of the Province increased from eleven to ninety-six millions as it was then supposed to be. Since then we find that a certain portion has been decided by the Privy Council to be in Ontario. I am only making reference to these matters to show the different stages of Manitoba's attempts to secure recognition so as to properly carry on the affairs of Government, but I can never believe that she will refuse to accept the offer of the Dominion, by which she is at last placed upon the same

equality as the other Provinces. Our subsidy then was \$227,000 and the consequence was that the same dissatisfaction prevailed. They got, it is true, \$45,000 a year in lieu of lands. They had always claimed the lands within the Province.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I was one of those who always took that position, and I may fairly claim that the arguments were irrefutable, and it was impossible to deny recognition of the claims of Manitoba. As she did not control her lands, I did not deem the grant of \$45,000 sufficient and I contended that there should be given something for our claim that we would feel we were getting as much as we would derive from the administration of lands ourselves and I claim, Sir, that the offer now made is such as to justify the people of Manitoba in accepting all we could hope to realize if we ourselves administered the lands. When we pressed on the Federal authorities the expediency of placing the control of the lands under the local authorities, they said they would have to exact as a pledge the same liberal homesteading privileges which are now granted. If I mistake not in a reply to the memorandum by this House, it was said Manitoba agreed to redeem every pledge of the homesteading conditions and grants to railways made by the Dominion. Under these circumstances, and as a matter of policy it would have been to the interest of Manitoba to carry out the same policy, else what position would we have been in? We would simply have had thousands of acres of lands un-



settled within the Province, while settlers would have passed through and peopled those to the West. We would have been obliged to grant to immigrants who came to this Province the same acreage as that given by the Dominion and I find that amount down to the close of 1883 was 3,744,159 acres. We would have been obliged to carry out the same inducements offered to immigrants as by the Dominion.

Now, Sir, for the privilege of this country becoming part of the Dominion, there were granted to the children of half-breeds 1,400,000 acres which we would have to carry out. Then we wanted to build a railway through the north-western part of the Province and there is not a man, I am sure, but is anxious to advance railway construction. The Dominion has given to that railway 429,440 acres in Manitoba and there was not within this Province sufficient land to give the Company the amount to which it was entitled. The land grant to the road is 6,400 acres per mile and there is about 175 miles of the line within Manitoba, so that in addition to this grant which the local authorities would have given, there has been granted 1,120,000 acres out of lands over which this Province would not have had control to complete the construction of these 175 miles, so that it is better than we could possibly have given.

The Dominion has pursued a policy we would have to endorse and we are exactly the gainers by 1,120,000 acres. For the purpose of education I put the lands at

1,000,000 acres. Taking from the boundary to township 22, - there are 29 ranges west of the meridian and 7 to the east where settlements exist - I find there are 792 townships or 18,247,680 acres in this area available for settlement and not granted to railways. There we find that the C.P.R. grant is 1,395,200 acres, Hudson Bay Company lands 912,384, forest tree culture 7,597. Then the old settlers whose ancestors came here under Lord Selkirk and have been here since 1812, received a grant from the Federal authorities and unquestionably the province would have acted in like manner. That grant amounted to 326,400 acres. Then there was reserved for the Indians 430,720 acres and 1,280,000 to the Manitoba Southwestern Railway Company. Then there is the C.P.R. Southwestern to which was given 640,000 and then there were the old parishes such as St. John, St. Norbert, etc. whose area is 700,000. I claim that if Manitoba had control of the Crown Lands she must have made all these grants which amount to 15,385,859 acres out of 18,000,000, the total are of that which is available for settlement and much of which is not. It may be argued that we have a great area to the North east, but I doubt if you or I, Mr. Speaker, will see that brought into the trouble. I think that when that time comes we will not trouble our heads about politics.

This leaves 4,861,783 acres unused between townships 1 and 22, and ranges 21 west and 7 east, in which settlements have existed, and in making this

calculation we have taken the widest range possible. I now claim that a bargain which gives \$100,000 a year in perpetuity for our equitable claim to the lands - for they have never allowed that it is a legal claim - should be accepted by this House, an offer which is greater than the province would realize were it to administer the lands itself.

Following an all night session the question was put at 6 o'clock March 27/65 and terms accepted by vote of 17 to 9.

order-in-council in that behalf admit Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory into the union or Dominion of Canada and there was formed out of the same the Province of Manitoba, which thenceforth became one of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, which Province of Manitoba was then bounded as follows: that is to say: Commencing at the point where the meridian of  $96^{\circ}$  west longitude from Greenwich intersects the parallel of  $49^{\circ}$  north latitude, thence due west along the said parallel of  $49^{\circ}$  north latitude (which forms a portion of the boundary line between the U.S. of America and the said Northwest Territory) to the meridian of  $99^{\circ}$  west longitude to the intersection of the same with the parallel of  $50^{\circ}$  and  $30'$  north latitude; thence due east along the said parallel of  $50^{\circ}$   $30'$  north latitude to its intersection with the before mentioned meridian of  $96^{\circ}$  west longitude; thence due south along the said meridian of  $96^{\circ}$  west longitude to the place of beginning.

3. That the terms and conditions on which Manitoba was admitted into the union and became one of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada are set forth in the Act of Parliament of Canada 32 and 33 Victoria, Chapter 3 and amending Acts - which Acts are styled and known as the Manitoba Act.

4. That it is provided by the second section of the Manitoba Act that on, from and after the said day on which the order of the Queen-in-Council shall take effect as aforesaid, the provisions of the B.N.A. Act 1867 shall, except those parts thereof which are in terms made, or by reasonable intendment, may be held to be specially applicable to, or only

to affect one or more, but not the whole of the Provinces now composing the Dominion and except so far as the same may be varied by this Act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province of Manitoba had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act.

5. That it is, amongst other things provided by the 92nd section of the B.N.A. Act that in each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to matters coming within the class of subjects therein enumerated and sub sections 10, 11 and 16 of said section 92 are in the words following:

(10) Local works and undertakings other than such as are of the following classes:

(a) Lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs and other works and undertakings connecting the Province with any other or others of the Provinces, or extending beyond the limits of the Province.

(b) Lines of steamship between the Province and any British or foreign country.

(c) Such works, as though wholly situate within the Province are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada, or for the advantage of two or more of the Provinces.

(11) The incorporation of Companies with Provincial objects.



(16) Generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the Province.

6. That the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba by the said in part recited acts, acquired and ever since has had the undoubted and exclusive power to charter and construct lines of railway wholly situate within the boundaries of Manitoba as above defined, and from any one point to any other point within the Province.

7. That by an Act of the Parliament of Canada 44 Victoria, Chapter 1, entitled "An Act respecting the C.P.R.", a charter of incorporation was granted to the C.P.R. on the terms and conditions in said Act fully set forth.

8. That the 15th clause of the said charter is in the words and figures following: " 15. For 20 years from the date hereof, no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the C.P.R. from any point at or near the C.P.R. except such line as shall run South West or to the West of South West, nor to within 15 miles of Latitude 49. And in the establishment of any new Province in the Northwest Territory provision shall be made for continuing such prohibition after such establishment until the expiration of the said period".

9. That while said C.P.R. charter was being discussed as aforesaid in the Dominion Parliament, much alarm was occasioned in this Province and public meetings were held protesting against the granting of a monopoly in the Province of Manitoba to the C.P.R. and the Legislature of this Province being then in session, the matter occupied



much attention, and the following resolutions were introduced to the Legislature on the subject.

Wednesday, Dec. 22nd, 1880.

"The Hon. Mr. Norquay, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Gerard, moved the following:

"Whereas it appears from a telegram dated 18th December 1880, addressed by the Right Hon. John A. Macdonald, Premier of the Government of Canada, to Thomas Scott, M.P. for Selkirk.

"That the C.P.R. will have power to build branch lines anywhere.

"And wheress it is further intended as appears from the publication of the terms on which the C.P.R. syndicate have agreed to construct, equip, maintain and operate the said C.P.R. to grant to the said company the exclusive right of building and operating branch lines of railway to the international boundary between Canada and the United States.

"And wheress it appears further that the said Company have the right of accepting only such alternate sections of land as they may think proper, and it is deemed that the powers intended to be granted to the Company would be detrimental to the best interests of the Province of Manitoba.

"And while this House is of opinion that the construction of the C.P.R. should be entrusted to a private Company, it views with alarm some of the terms of agreement between the Government and the Syndicate.

"Therefore be it resolved -

"Whereas it appears etc. that for the present the C.P.R. Syndicate should have given to them power to build only the main

line of the C.P.R. and that any other line or branch line should be built by the Syndicate or other Company only after their obtaining power from time to time from the Parliament of Canada to build such line or branch line, and that the main line of the C.P.R. shall not be allowed to approach at any point within 15 miles of the international boundary line, and that Parliament should not abandon its right of authorizing the construction of railways in any direction by other companies.

"That the Syndicate shall not have the option of choosing and selecting their own lands, but shall be compelled to take alternate sections or townships for their land grant in aid of the construction of the railway irrespective of the quality of the same".

Thursday 23rd Dec. 1880.

On motion of Mr. Ross, seconded by Mr. Drummond "Resolved that in the resolution passed by this House, in reference to the terms of agreement between the Dominion Government and the C.P.R. Syndicate it did not commit itself to a limitation of the objectionable terms in the clauses of said contract".

10. That as fully appear from the Hansard official documents of the Debates of the House of Commons of Canada for the years 1880 and 1881, when the said last named Act was being discussed in the said Parliament of Canada, it was strongly urged on the floor of the House by way of objection to said clause 15 by certain members that it applied to Manitoba and would prevent the building of railways in Manitoba; and to such objection the Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, then and

still Premier of Canada and the Leader of the Government, among other things, said as follows:

"There will be room for as many railways in that country bye and bye as there are in Europe, and if there be any attempt - the attempt would be futile - on the part of the C.P.R. to impose excessive prices and rates, it is folly that would soon be exposed by the construction of rival lines east and west which would open up our country in all directions and prove amply sufficient to prevent the possibility of a monopoly which has been made such a bugbear of by the Honorable gentlemen opposite. In order to give them a chance, we have provided that the Dominion Parliament - mind you the Dominion Parliament; we cannot check any other Parliament; we cannot check Ontario, we cannot check Manitoba - shall for the first ten years after the construction of the road, give their own road into which they are putting so much money and so much land a fair chance of existence".

And the Hon. Thomas White, then a leading follower and supporter of the Premier and now a member of said Premier's Cabinet and Minister of the Interior, among other things said as follows: "But we are told now that because of the fifteen mile clause there never can be any other railways into this country. To what does that apply? Simply to the territories over which the Dominion Parliament has control. There is nothing to prevent Manitoba now, if it thinks proper, granting a charter for a railway from Winnipeg to the boundary line. At this very moment there is a Company in course of organization to build a railway from Winnipeg to West Lynne on the

boundary. And after this agreement is ratified this provision does not take from Manitoba a single right it possesses; in fact this Parliament could not take away those rights. It has the same rights as the other Provinces for the incorporation of Railway Companies within the boundaries of the Province itself, and there is nothing to prevent the Province of Manitoba from chartering a railway from Winnipeg to the boundary to connect with any southern railway. The only guarantee which this Company has under the contract is that traffic shall not be tapped in the prairie section, thus diverting the traffic away from the line to a foreign line, but there is nothing to prevent a railway being built in Manitoba within the Province that would carry the traffic to any railway that may tap it from the American side. That is the position with respect to this matter".

And after these assurances from the Government and on the faith of these assurances, further opposition was withdrawn and the said Clause 15 passed the House in the form in which it had been introduced as herebefore set forth.

11. That for upwards of 5 years after the passing of said C.P.R. Act the Legislature of this Province did according to the undoubted right, (as hereinbefore referred to) by acts of said Legislature, charter divers railway companies for the purpose of constructing, maintaining and operating lines of railway wholly situate within the Province as before defined, yet all of such acts as chartered a line of railway to be constructed or operated to any point within fifteen miles of the international boundary line (including the railway line

from Winnipeg to West Lynne in said speech of the Hon. Thomas White referred to) have been disallowed and vetoed by the Governor General of Canada in Council and as the said C.P.R. was then incomplete such disallowance was submitted to (though in violation of the rights of this Province) rather than in any way impede the completion and rendering permanent of the C.P.R. the same being a national railway.

That as appears from the official reports of the debates of the House of Commons of Canada for the year 1884 Sir Chas. Tupper, Minister of Railways, when urging on the Parliament of Canada the granting to the C.P.R. Company of a loan of thirty million dollars, which loan was granted among other things, said as follows:

"I showed that the present Government had adopted the policy of their predecessors in regard to what is called the monopoly in the Province of Manitoba; that when the late Government undertook to carry on the construction of the C.P.R. as a Government work, they felt bound to protect the traffic of the road from being drawn off to lines to the south of us in the adjoining republic, and had consequently refused to issue a proclamation which would charter lines within the Province of Manitoba to connect with American lines to the South. I said that the present Government when we came into power adopted that policy; that we felt as our predecessors did, that grappling with so gigantic a work as the construction of the C.P.R. we were bound to adopt every possible means of protecting our own



line against having its traffic drawn to lines to the southward, mark you, this was at a time when we did not contemplate at any day carrying the C.P.R. further than Fort Arthur. I said further that when we made it obligatory upon the C.P.R. Company to extend at once to line north of Lake Superior, giving us an all rail route from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, or from Callander to the Pacific Ocean, we feel obliged to give to that company upon which we have imposed such onerous obligations all the security that we had considered necessary and that our predecessors in the Government had considered necessary, for the protection of the C.P.R.

But I am glad to be able to state to the House, that true to the policy the Government refused to give assent to the construction of lines within the Province of Manitoba to connect with American railways to the south. Such is the evidence presented by the operation of the line so far as it has gone, such is the conclusion arrived at by the C.P.R. Company itself in regard to the ability of a through line of the C.P.R. to take care of itself, and by the inherent power of its own advantages to maintain its position notwithstanding any competition to which it may be subjected. Although we have no power under the contract to touch any portion of the country in the Northwest Territory, we are now in a position to review and to reconsider the policy of the late Government, and the present Government as to the continued necessity for any long period of protecting the C.P.R. against competition. I am glad to be able to state



to the House that such is the confidence of the C.P.R. Company in the power of the C.P.R. to protect itself, that when the line is constructed north of Lake Superior the Government feel that it will not be incumbent upon them to preserve the position they have hitherto felt bound to preserve, that of refusing to consent to the construction of lines within the Province of Manitoba connecting it with American railways to the South. I can give no better evidence to the House and country of the advanced position which we consider this great enterprise of the C.P.R. has attained than when I say that I feel it is consistent with what we owe to the people of this country and to that great national work, that the Government should not deem it incumbent on themselves to pursue the restrictive policy within the Province of Manitoba which we have hitherto been obliged to maintain".

12. That the said C.P.R. has been completed for upwards of 18 months and has become permanent and probably the strongest railway corporation on the continent.

13. That the Province of Manitoba is separated from the markets of Eastern Canada by a distance of from 1200 to 1400 miles and the Province has only two outlets, namely, one north of the chain of lakes by way of the main line of the C.P.R., via Thunder Bay and the other south of Lakes Superior and Huron by way of branches of the C.P.R. to Gretna and Emerson and thence by the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba railway, south and east, with which last mentioned railway the C.P.R. is in close alliance and consequently no relief can be expected therefrom.

14. That there is no railway competition in the Province,

the C.P.R. having a monopoly of the carrying trade of this Province.

15. That the depression and discontent arising from lack of railway competition has become so great throughout the entire Province that the population almost unanimously demand that railway competition must be procured by the construction of an independent line of railway running from Winnipeg to the southern limit of Manitoba within the Province as defined in the "Manitoba Act" where freight can be transferred to an independent line of railway and thus competition procured.

16. That through an interview had with the Hon. Thomas White, then and now Minister of the Interior, on the 4th of March A.D. 1887, in the City of Winnipeg, which is reported in the Daily "Manitoban" of the 5th of March as follows:

"A deputation of representative Conservative citizens waited on the Hon. Thomas White, Minister of the Interior, at the Dominion Lands Office yesterday afternoon and had a conference with him on the question of disallowance. Among the gentlemen composing the deputation were: G. F. Galt, R. J. Whittle, F. B. Robertson, W. B. Scarth, M.P. E. P. Leacock, M.P.P., A. V. McLennaghan, J. S. Aikens, G. F. Carruthers, J. B. Mathers, J.A. Brock, J. Cosgrove, J.B. McKilligan, F.B. Ross, W. Hespeler, G. J. Manson, C. Glass, T. Gilroy, H. S. Crotty, J. R. O'Loughlin. Mr. Scarth introduced the deputation to Mr. White, and in doing so urged the discontinuance of the Government's disallowance policy and

dwelt strongly on the fact that he had been elected on a pledge to vote against the Government on this question.

A desultory conversation then ensued during which the sentiments of the deputation were expressed clearly to Mr. White. Mr. Whitla and Mr. Robertson were the principal spokesmen, and they pointed out how highly beneficial it would be to have competing lines of railway running in the country, that a more rapid development of the country would follow, that it would cause a confidence among the people and give a renewed impetus to the various industries of the country.

All present agreed that the time had arrived for the abolishment of disallowance within the old boundaries of Manitoba.

Mr. White pointed out that when the Act was passed and sent to Ottawa he had no doubt that the Government would give it their attention, and that from the strong expression of opinion from Manitoba and the Northwest, in which friends of the Government were found to be most emphatic, the probabilities were that the law would be allowed to take its course. He quite appreciated the urgency of the case and had no doubt that the Government would act promptly when a measure, in the event of one being passed, was submitted to them so that in the event of the policy of disallowance being abandoned there may be no delay in making the financial arrangements for carrying out the enterprise".

Mr. Carruthers said that it was expected the

local Legislature would meet about the 17th of the month, when a charter to build a line of railway to the boundary would be applied for, and as soon as it passed the House the special assent of the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council would be requested. The charter would then be immediately transmitted to Ottawa with the request that the Government would reply whether or not it would be allowed. Mr. Carruthers asked Mr. White how soon a reply might be expected if this was done. Mr. White replied that a reply would be given without delay. He thought that if the Government intended to continue their disallowance policy the people should know at once.

The deputation then withdrew feeling satisfied from the manner in which Mr. White expressed himself that no farther opposition may be apprehended from the Government in respect to allowing a railway to be built to the boundary.

And also through a speech delivered by the said Hon. Thomas White, in the City of Winnipeg on the 7th day of March 1887, in reply to an address presented to him by the Jr. Conservative Association in which amongst other things he said as follows:

"Your address refers to the question of disallowance and the elections which have recently occurred, and the discussions to which they have given rise have added additional interest to the question. As you are aware, the contract with the C.P.R. in no way interferes with the right of the Legislature of Manitoba to grant charters within the boundaries of the Province as they existed at that time.

This was very clearly pointed out during the debates in Parliament, when the contract with the Syndicate and the charter to the Company was granted. It was important, however, on every ground, commercial as well as national that the C.P.R. should be an all through line on Canadian Territory and that we should not be dependent in any way upon American lines for our traffic with Manitoba and the Northwest. The question now is, has the time arrived when the policy of disallowance may be safely abandoned? You will not, I am sure, as an individual minister, expect me to answer that question. No decision upon it has been arrived at by the Government, that I am aware of, and until that decision has been arrived at it would be unfair to you and improper on my part to express a definite opinion. I have always regarded the policy as a temporary one. I have always regarded the statement of Sir. Chas. Tupper, when Minister of Railways and when urging the 30 million dollar loan upon the acceptance of Parliament as embodying the views of the Government. That statement was that the granting of that loan would secure the completion of the railway some four or five years before the time fixed in the original contract and thus render possible the abandonment of the policy of disallowance at an earlier period. But whether that period has yet arrived must be left for the determination of the Government when the question comes formally before it. This I think I have a right to ask you to assume that the decision will be come to not in the interests of any railway corporation but in the interests



of the country including those of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory.

Should the decision of the Government be in the sense that the people of Manitoba evidently hope it may be, I am quite sure that the C.P.R. will be able to hold its own in the competition to which it may be subjected. It occupies a position of special advantage over any other possible line to the south of it. It is shorter in mileage and it is for its entire length under one management, an advantage the influence of which can hardly be over-estimated. Moreover, competition resulting in creating a new interest in the development of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory would soon create new and enlarged trade. That has been the result everywhere. In Ontario, for instance where the C.P.R. has invaded territory which the Grand Trunk Railway Company was disposed to regard as its exclusive possession, the result has been to enormously increase the general traffic, an increase in which the Grand Trunk has become a sharer. Everyone must rejoice to see that the traffic returns of that railway to which Canada has been so much indebted in the past are showing a steady weekly increase and I think I am right in saying that the increase has come chiefly from Canadian freight and passengers. There will be trade enough in Manitoba and the Northwest to afford profitable returns for both the C.P.R. and the Grand Trunk Railway if the latter finds its entrance here, and it would be no small advantage to the country as a whole to have the large interests connected with these two great corporations enlisted in the work of developing the Great West, instead of, as there is too much reason to



believe has been the case in the past, as to one of them, devoted rather to the prevention of that development". The people of Manitoba were led to believe that the policy of disallowance of Manitoba railway legislation would not be further continued.

17. That the Legislature of Manitoba passed at the last session thereof, "An Act to incorporate the Manitoba Central Railway Company" and "An Act to incorporate the Winnipeg and S.W. Railway Company" which was assented to on 19th day of April 1887, and was transmitted to the Secretary of State forthwith thereafter with the request that the Governor General-in-Council would pass upon them immediately, yet the Governor General-in-Council did not pass upon said Acts until the 9th day of August 1887.

18. That the Legislative Assembly of this Province as a consequence was in the meantime led to believe that the representations made by the said Hon. Thomas White in Winnipeg, as aforesaid, were being adopted by the Dominion Executive and that the rights of the Province to charter lines of railway within the old Province of Manitoba would not in future be interfered with.

19. That the Legislature of this Province in that belief and in compliance with the urgent desire of the people throughout the Province for the purpose of procuring railway competition by the construction of an independent line of railway did, at said last session of the said Legislature (which session was held in the months of April, May and June 1887) unanimously pass an act entitled "An Act respecting the

construction of the Red River Valley Railway" and being Chapter 4 of the Acts of this Province passed in the 50th year of Her Majesty's reign, for the purpose of constructing and maintaining and operating a Government line of railway from a point within the city of Winnipeg to a point within or near the town of West Lynne within the Province of Manitoba, such railway to be known as the "Red River Valley Railway" and to be a public work belonging to the Province of Manitoba and the construction of the railway and its management to be under the charge of the Railway Commissioner of Manitoba; and the said act was assented to by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor and became law on the 1st day of June A.D. 1887.

20. That in the pursuance of and under the authority of the "Red River Valley Railway Act" the railway commissioner for Manitoba did advertise for tenders for the construction and equipping of said railway, and on the 29th day of June A.D. 1887 did enter into a contract for the construction and equipping of said railway whereby the contractors became and are bound to construct and equip the said railway and whereby the Province of Manitoba became and is bound to pay to the said contractors the sum of \$782,340.00 therefor.

21. That in pursuance of said "Red River Valley Railway Act" and of said contract and prior to the 6th day of July 1887, the said railway commissioner for Manitoba had the line of said railway surveyed and a large part of the right of way therefor purchased and the contractors had sublet by contract the greater part of the work of construction and equipping of said railway and the contractors and sub-contractors at once

entered upon their work and prosecuted, and were on and prior to the 6th of July 1887 and still are prosecuting the same vigorously.

22. That the Legislature of this Province did at its last session pass a certain other act entitled an act to amend the public works Act of Manitoba by which the Minister of Public Works of the Province was given authority to construct any public work at the expense of the Province of which construction is assigned to him by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council.

23. That the Governor General-in-Council did by order in Council and proclamation dated respectively the 4th and 6th days of July 1887 disallow the said Act entitled "An Act respecting the construction of the Red River Valley Railway," and the said act entitled an act to amend the Public Works Act of Manitoba on the general ground that each of the acts referred to was in conflict with the policy of the Parliament and of the Government of Canada by which it is sought to prevent the diversion of trade from the railway system of Canada to the railways of the United States.

24. That the Legislature of this Province did at its last session pass certain other acts granting charters to railway companies and among them an Act entitled "An Act to incorporate the Winnipeg and Southern Railway Company" by which Act the Company was given authority to construct a line of railway commencing at Winnipeg and running South or South East to the international boundary of Canada and not extending beyond the Province of Manitoba; and an Act entitled

"An Act to incorporate the Emerson and North West Railway Company" by which Act the Company is given authority to construct a line from a point on the Red River at or near St. Jean Baptiste in a north westerly direction to the town of Portage La Prairie and also a branch line from some point on the said line of railway in a westerly or north westerly direction to a point on the Western boundary of the Province of Manitoba; and altho' the Legislature had full power and authority to pass last mentioned Acts yet the Governor General-in-Council did by orders-in-Council dated the 9th day of August 1887 disallow the said last two mentioned Acts on the ground that the general objections in regard to "Act respecting the Construction of the Red River Valley Railway" and the Act to amend the Public works Act of Manitoba applied equally to the Acts then under consideration.

25. That the right of deciding what railway or other local public work should in the interests of the Province be built or constructed is exclusively within the Local Legislature, and the interference with the right by disallowance of the Legislature is a violation of the spirit of the British North American Act and an arbitrary exercise of the veto power.

26. That the Legislature of this Province has decided that in the interests of the Province the Red River Valley Railway should be constructed, and to that end unanimously passed the said Act and authorized the construction of said railway as a public work of the



Province.

27. That during said last session of the Legislature of this Province, to wit, on the 9th day of June 1887, the following resolution was unanimously passed by the Legislative Assembly:

"On motion of the Hon. Mr. Norquay seconded by the Hon. Mr. Harrison,

Resolved - Whereas it is the avowed policy of the Government of the Dominion to continue to advise the disallowance of railway charters granted by the Legislature for the construction and operation of a line of Railway to the southern boundary of the Province:

And whereas it is of the utmost importance to the people of the Province that a charter for such a line of railway should be left to its operation whereby they would be able to secure competing rates with the C.P.R. and obtain access to the markets of the world for their surplus produce by other than one channel.

And whereas the rates charged by the C.P.R. Company are so excessive that the energies of this Province are crippled to an unwarrantable extent.

And whereas the continuance of such a policy on the part of the Federal Government is calculated to deter immigrants from settling in the Province and to prevent the investment of Capital therein.

And whereas it is claimed on behalf of the Province that in chartering a line of railway wholly within the limits of the old Province as defined by 33 Victoria

Chapter 3 the Legislature acts within its legal and constitutional right. Therefore be it resolved, that should the power of disallowance be further exercised in reference to charters granted by this Legislature for the construction and operation of a line or lines of railway wholly within the limits of the old Province of Manitoba the Government is hereby authorized to submit the case of the Province appealing from the action of the Federal Government and praying that Her Majesty may be pleased to order that in future the Province may be allowed to exercise in this respect her Constitutional rights".

28. That the will of the people has been attempted to be set aside by the exercise of the power of disallowance, in disallowing the said Red River Valley Railway Act and said other railway charters.

29. That by reason of said policy of disallowance of Provincial railway charters all classes of our people have suffered loss; distrust has been created where trust and confidence should have been inspired, trade and commerce have been mischievously unsettled and disturbed; immigration has been retarded; the progress of the Province has been seriously checked; and our people feel that in being deprived of their undoubted rights under the British North American Act they have not the full freedom of British subjects.

Your Memorialists would, therefore, respectfully pray:

That they may be heard before your Majesty-in-Council through the Hon. John Norquay, 1st Minister and Provincial Secretary; the Hon. C.E. Hamilton, Attorney General



of the Province of Manitoba; and such counsel as may be retained to further explain the injurious effects of such interference with the Legislative powers of the Province, and that an early day be appointed for such hearing; and further, that the practice of disallowing Acts clearly within the power of the Local Legislature may be discontinued; and that in future the Province may be allowed to exercise in this respect her constitutional rights.

And for such further or other relief as your Memorialists may appear entitled to

And, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Council of  
the Province of Manitoba.

J. Norquay

President Executive Council.