



1865 – 1949

Confederation Debates

intermediate/senior
mini unit

<http://hcmc.uvic.ca/confederation/>



**Newfoundland
and Labrador
Provincial Edition**

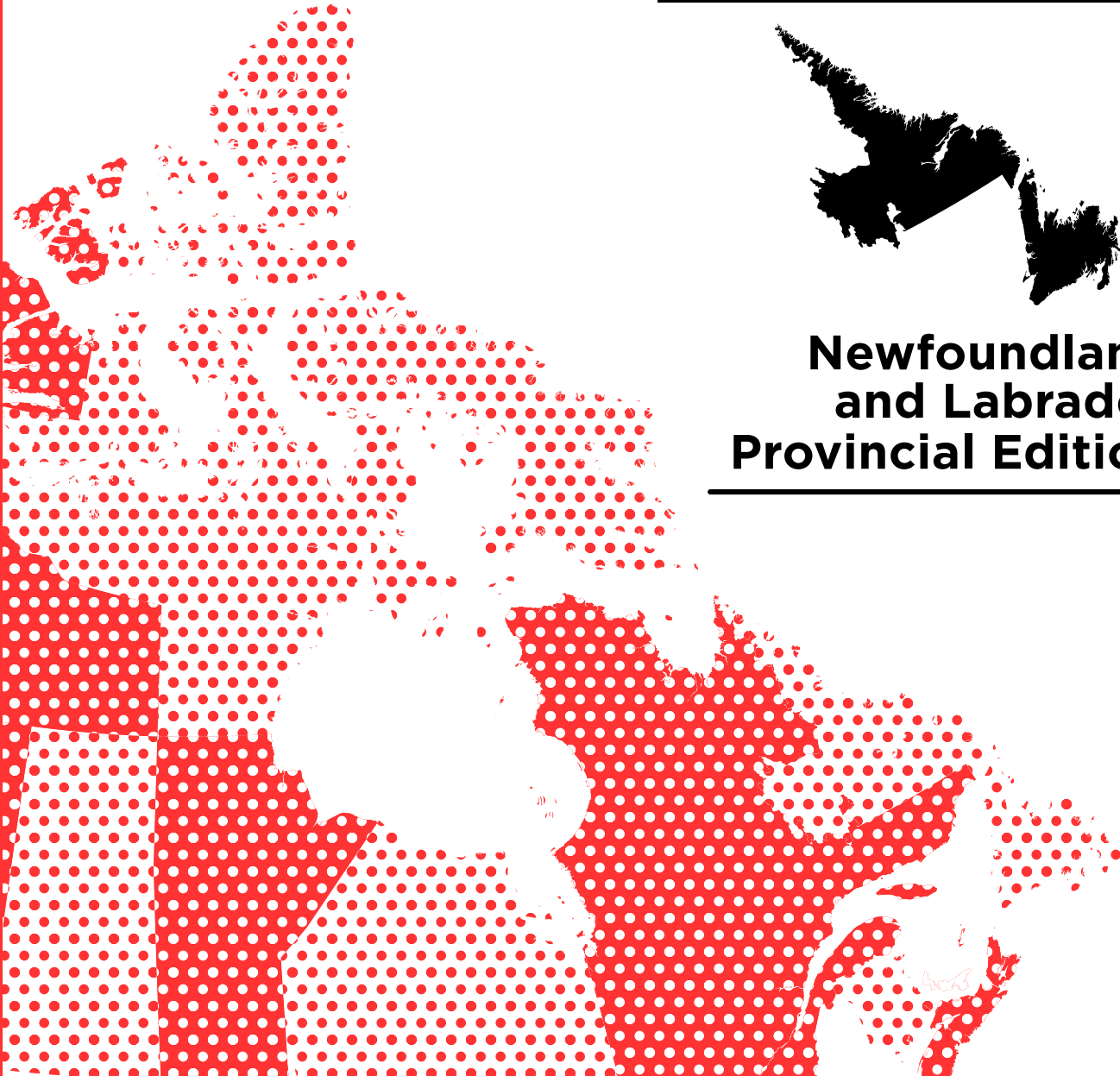





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ABOUT THE CONFEDERATION DEBATES MINI-UNIT

Before each province and territory became a part of Canada, their local legislatures (and the House of Commons after 1867) debated the extent, purposes and principles of political union between 1865 and 1949. In addition to creating provinces, the British Crown also negotiated a series of Treaties with Canada's Indigenous Peoples. Although these texts, and the records of their negotiation, are equally important to Canada's founding, as the Truth and Reconciliation Committee recently explained, "too many Canadians still do not know the history of Indigenous peoples' contributions to Canada, or understand that by virtue of the historical and modern Treaties negotiated by our government, we are all Treaty people."

The vast majority of these records, however, remain inaccessible and many can only be found in provincial archives. By bringing together these diverse colonial, federal and Indigenous records for the first time, and by embracing novel technologies and dissemination formats, *The Confederation Debates* (<http://hcmc.uvic.ca/confederation/>) encourages Canadians of all ages and walks of life to learn about past challenges, to increase political awareness of historical aspirations and grievances and engage present-day debates, as well as to contribute to local, regional and national understanding and reconciliation.

This mini-unit for intermediate/senior-level classes helps students to understand and analyze the key ideas and challenges that preceded Newfoundland and Labrador's entry into Confederation. The first section deals with the debates in the provincial and/or federal legislatures, while the second section addresses more specifically founding treaty negotiations with the First Nations. Each section can be taught independently.

The activities and attached materials will help students understand the diversity of ideas, commitments, successes and grievances that underlie Canada's founding.

By the end of this mini-unit, your students will have the opportunity to:

1. Use the historical inquiry process—gathering, interpreting and analyzing historical evidence and information from a variety of primary and secondary sources—in order to investigate and make judgements about issues, developments and events of historical importance.
2. Hone their historical thinking skills to identify historical significance, cause and consequence, continuity and change, and historical perspective.
3. Develop knowledge of their province/region within Canada, minority rights and democracy, and appreciate the need for reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples.



CURRICULUM OBJECTIVES

This mini-unit has been broadly designed for Newfoundland and Labrador intermediate/senior-level classes. The activities described in the pages, for example, fulfill the following outcomes listed in Newfoundland and Labrador’s “Social Studies Grade 7,” “Social Studies: Grade 8—Newfoundland and Labrador History” as well as “Social Studies: Canadian History 120” curriculum guides.

Social Studies Grade 7

UNIT THREE: POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

7.3.2 Analyse how the struggle for responsible government was an issue of political empowerment and disempowerment

- research the roles played by the churches, media, reformers, and oligarchies in the struggle for responsible government
- identify and assess the significance of reports and newspaper articles which impacted the creation of responsible government
- analyse the extent to which responsible government empowered the diverse peoples of the colonies

7.3.3 Identify, interpret, and analyse the internal and external factors that led to Confederation

- identify the British North American colonies’ perspectives on Confederation
- identify the key individuals with power and explain their involvement in making Confederation happen
- analyse factors affecting the Confederation debate (internal and external)
- determine if Confederation was a democratic process by today’s standards

7.3.4 Explain the political structure of Canada as a result of Confederation

- examine the concept of Federalism chart the structure of the Canadian government after Confederation
- compare and contrast the power given to the different levels of government by the BNA Act
- explain the democratic process in Canada (the role of the individual)

UNIT FOUR: CULTURAL EMPOWERMENT

7.4.3 Analyse the degree of empowerment and disempowerment for Aboriginal peoples in present day Atlantic Canada during this period

- identify the various Aboriginal groups in present day Atlantic Canada during this period
- describe the way of life of Aboriginal peoples in present day Atlantic Canada during this period
- explore how national policies, treaties and the Indian Act had an impact on the Aboriginal peoples of present day Atlantic Canada



UNIT FIVE: SOCIETAL EMPOWERMENT

7.5.1 Evaluate the conditions of everyday life for the peoples of Canada at the turn of the 20th century

- describe the geo-political make-up of Canada in the early 1900s research and describe Canadian society and the technological changes that were affecting it at the turn of the 20th Century
- compare and contrast the conditions of everyday life for Canadians at the turn of the 20th century based on the following criteria: socioeconomic status, geographic region, ethnic group, urban/rural, gender
- account for the disparities that were evident in society at this time

Social Studies: Grade 8—Newfoundland and Labrador History

UNIT 1: INTRODUCTION: HISTORY AS A LENS TO THE PAST

SCO 1.1 The student will be expected to demonstrate an understanding and appreciation of history:

- Identify historical sources (e.g., art, documents, photos, stories, artifacts, and music) in their own community. (K)
- Examine how historical sources (e.g., art, documents, photos, stories, artifacts, and music) are windows into the past. (A)
- Develop a working definition of history. (A)
- Distinguish between individual past and collective history. (K)
- Explain that history is open to interpretation. (K)
- Explain that historians are guided by rules of evidence. (K)
- Infer an historical condition (e.g., economic role, social more, lifestyle, living conditions) from an historical source. (I)
- Account for the differences among viewpoints on an issue. (I)
- Examine the role of historic sites, archives, and museums in interpreting and preserving history. (A)

SCO 1.2: The student will be expected to demonstrate an understanding of how to find out about the past:

- 1.2.1 Distinguish between a primary source and a secondary source. (K)
- 1.2.2 Distinguish between archival material and artifacts. (K)
- 1.2.3 Formulate a key question that is supported by a given source. (A)
- 1.2.4 Identify other sources that relate to the key question. (A)
- 1.2.5 Gather information that is significant for the question. (A)
- 1.2.6 Find patterns and trends in the information. (A)
- 1.2.7 Draw conclusions based on the patterns and trends in the information. (A)
- 1.2.8 Present explanations or arguments in support of the key question. (I)

UNIT 2: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR FROM THE TURN OF THE 19TH CENTURY THROUGH THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY: HISTORY AS A STORY OF PEOPLE

SCO 2.1: The student will be expected to demonstrate an understanding of the aboriginal peoples who lived in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 19th century:

- 2.1.1 Define the terms Innu, Inuit, Labrador Métis, and Mi'kmaq. (K)

- 2.1.2 Identify the areas settled by the Aboriginal groups. (K)
- 2.1.3 Discover reasons for the extinction of the Beothuk. (A)
- 2.1.4 Compare the life style of aboriginal peoples. (K)

SCO 2.4 The student will be expected to demonstrate an understanding of the political context and challenges in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 19th century:

- 2.4.2 Define the term “representative government”. (K)
- 2.4.3 Analyse the conditions that led to representative government. (A)
- 2.4.4 Compare representative government and responsible government. (A)
- 2.4.5 Summarize the conditions that led to the establishment of responsible government. (K)
- 2.4.7 Summarize the challenges that arose from relations among church groups during responsible government. (K)
- 2.4.8 Assess the debate in Newfoundland during the 1860s over whether or not to join the Dominion of Canada. (I)
- 2.4.13 Assess the contribution of key individuals to the constitutional development of Newfoundland in the 19th century. (I)

UNIT 3: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR FROM 1914 THROUGH 1949: HISTORY AS A STORY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

SCO 3.4: The student will be expected to demonstrate an understanding of the impact of political events of the 1930s:

- 3.4.2 Examine the conditions and events that led to the suspension of self-government. (A)
- 3.4.3 Assess your position on whether the Commission of Government should have been established. (I)
- 3.4.4 Describe the impact of the loss of responsible government on Newfoundland society. (K)
- 3.4.7 Compare educational conditions during this period with those that exist today. (A)

UNIT 4: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR THROUGH THE 2ND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY: HISTORY AS A STORY OF CHANGE

SCO 4.1: The student will be expected to demonstrate an understanding of the process whereby Newfoundland and Labrador entered into confederation with Canada,:

- 4.1.1 Define the term “referendum”. (K)
- 4.1.2 Describe the role of the National Convention. (K)
- 4.1.3 Identify the position of key political figures on union with Canada. (K)
- 4.1.4 Analyse the strategies used by confederates and anti-confederates to promote their agenda. (A)
- 4.1.5 Evaluate arguments in the debate for and against confederation with Canada. (I)
- 4.1.6 Describe the two referenda processes whereby Newfoundlanders and Labradorians chose confederation with Canada. (K)
- 4.1.7 Describe voting patterns across electoral districts. (K)
- 4.1.8 Analyze the Terms of Union with Canada. (A)



Social Studies: Canadian History 1201

6.6 NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR JOINS CANADA: ISSUES LEADING TO AND EFFECTS OF CONFEDERATION

- Make Comparisons — What are the pros and cons of Newfoundland joining Canada?
- Determine Significance — What were the most significant benefits, and losses, realized by Newfoundlanders and Labradorians under Confederation?
- Make Value Judgements — Should Newfoundland have joined Canada?



SECTION 1 | CREATING CANADA: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Prerequisite Skillset

- Word processing
- Web research
- Interpretation of primary sources
- Cooperative sharing
- Some familiarity with group debate

Background Knowledge

Students may need to be reminded of the following subjects from the preceding weeks.

SOCIAL

- Catholic/Protestant divisions in Newfoundland and Labrador during the first half of the 1860s

ECONOMIC

- Relations with the United States (and especially the American cancellation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866)
- The huge economic boom that American military bases brought to Newfoundland and how this impacted thinking within the colony on prosperity, trade with the United States, and the possibility of union with Canada

POLITICAL

- Widespread concern that Ontario-Quebec concerns do not match Newfoundland's
- The termination of responsible government in 1933, and the Commission of Government's rule
- The economic boom in Newfoundland brought by the American defence presence during the Second World War
- The difference between a legislative union (ex. Great Britain had a single legislature for England and Scotland) and a federal union (with federal and provincial legislatures that each have areas of exclusive jurisdiction)
- Charlottetown and Quebec constitutional conferences of 1864
- The concept of dividing powers between federal and provincial governments and the respective jurisdictions of each (ex. education, military)
- The longstanding dispute between Newfoundland and Quebec concerning Labrador's borders



Confederation Debates: Introductory Lesson

Lesson: Introduce Confederation and the concept of debate

Concepts Used: Brainstorming, concept map

Recommended Equipment: Computer(s) for viewing videos and reading *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entries

Materials Provided: Video, handouts

Time Needed: 2 x 40-minute classes

INTRODUCTION

The teacher will engage students in a brainstorming session with the suggested list of framing questions below.

BRAINSTORM SESSION

To help students recall background knowledge (see previous page), please discuss the following questions:


1. What was Confederation?
2. What were the most influential ideas in Newfoundland and Labrador's Confederation debates?
 - a. Point out that the arguments for and against Confederation from the 1860s and 1940s were remarkably similar. In the upcoming activity, we will therefore bring them together—even though they were from different periods.
3. Who was the most influential individual in the Confederation debates?
4. How did linguistic or ethnic tensions impact the debates and our constitution?
5. What are some areas of continuity and change between the Confederation period and today?

CONCEPT MAP

1. When the brainstorm session has been completed, the teacher will circle the most pertinent/important subjects and sub-subjects that resulted from the brainstorm session.
2. Teachers may add subjects or sub-subjects if important topics were missed during the brainstorm session.
3. Students will then develop a concept map to highlight the important subjects and sub-subjects.
4. A concept map will provide a visual aid for students to see the important subjects and sub-subjects throughout the unit.

INTRODUCTION TO PARLIAMENT

1. Distribute the “72 Resolutions Handout” to the students and highlight and discuss:
 - a. The fact that representation in the House of Commons is representation by population, and representation in the Senate is by region (ex. the Prairies)

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- b. The division of powers between federal and provincial governments (note that one focuses on national issues like banking, while the other focuses on local concerns like hospitals).
 2. Distribute “Introduction to Parliament: The Question Period” handout and review the questions with the class.
 3. Show the class any Question Period video posted to <http://www.cpac.ca/en/programs/question-period/>.
 4. Pause the video at the start and point out the government side (left), the opposition side (right) and the Speaker of the House (centre).
 5. Play several minutes of the video and ask students to fill out and submit the handout for teacher evaluation.
 6. When the video is complete and the handouts are submitted, discuss the following points with the class:
 - a. Note that different parties form the government and opposition, and that each take opposite sides on issues
 - b. During Question Period, one person asks questions; the other side answers/rebuts
 - c. The Speaker of the House controls the discussion
 - d. The classroom debate will not have any:
 - i. Yelling
 - ii. Talking over one another

Confederation Debates: Biographical Research

Lesson: Introduce the key historical figures in the Confederation debates

Concepts Used: Critical thinking, historical inquiry process, historical thinking, online research

Materials Used: Computers

Materials Provided: List of biographies, biography handout, primary document handouts, self-evaluation for jigsaw activity


Time Needed: 3 x 40-minute classes

HISTORICAL FIGURE COMPUTER RESEARCH

1. Teachers may wish to familiarize themselves with the key details listed in the historical figure briefs (see appendices) before beginning this activity.
2. Ideally, each student should do the research using their own computer. If there are no computers available, the teacher may wish to print off the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entries described below. Alternatively, if all students have access to a computer and internet access at home, this activity could be assigned for homework.
3. Divide the students into six equal-sized groups.
4. Assign each group one of the major historical figures listed below. Alternatively, teachers may allow students to choose their historical figure.
 - a. Charles James Fox Bennett
 - b. Peter Cashin (strong students should be assigned to this historical figure)
 - c. Louis St. Laurent
 - d. Ambrose Shea
 - e. Joseph “Joey” Smallwood (strong students should be assigned to this historical figure)
5. Distribute copies of the “Biography Activity Handout” (see appendices) to all of the students.
6. Tell students to use Google to search for their historical figure and to find their listing on the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* website as listed (see appendices).
7. Tell the students to read their respective *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entries and record their answers in the blanks on the “Biography Activity Handout.”

GROUP DISCUSSION

1. After students have completed their research—in the computer lab or at home—the students should rejoin their groups (see 3 above) in the classroom.
2. Distribute the “Primary Source” handouts (see appendices) to the groups. (Each student should have their own copy.)
3. Each student will be given a task: reader, writer and discussant. (The reader will read the source to the group, the discussants will contribute to the discussion and the writer will record the group’s ideas on a separate sheet of paper.) There can be more than one student assigned to each role.
4. The teacher will encourage each group to decide which statements were most important, and to discuss the possible historical significance of these statements. (ex. the debate



about whether Newfoundland would retain local autonomy in a federal parliament dominated by representatives from other parts of the country).

5. When this work is complete, the students will compare and share these reflections with their group members and determine what facts and ideas they think will be important for their peers to know. Each group member will add these notes to their “Biography Activity Handout.”

JIGSAW

1. When all students have shared information with their group, they will separate into a jigsaw activity. The goal of this activity is for all students to learn about every historical figure from their peers.
2. The teacher will assign the students in each group a number between 1 and 5. (ex. Students researching Ambrose Shea will be labelled number 4.)
3. All number 1s, 2s, 3s, 4s, and 5s will then gather together. Each student should have at least one person from every group to share their information.
4. If there are too many students in the historical figure groups, each member should share a portion of what they learned with the jigsaw group. If there are too few students to divide the historical figure groups among each of the jigsaw groups, one student can present their information to more than one group.

EXIT CARD

1. Students will fill out the exit card (see appendices) and hand it in to the teacher for evaluation.
2. An exit card is an exercise designed to engage students with the material learned in class at the end of a lesson. All students will answer questions before leaving class. Exit cards allow teachers to assess the class’s understanding of the day’s material in preparation for the next lesson.
3. Students will answer the questions and will hand in the exit card to the teacher at the end of the lesson.
4. The exit card questions found in the appendices satisfy the requirements for three historical thinking concepts: historical significance, cause and consequence and historical perspective.
5. The teacher has discretion on whether to mark the exit cards to ensure understanding.



Culminating Activity: The Debate

Culminating Activity: This culminating activity will introduce students to the basics of debate within a historical context and give them an opportunity to compare different historical positions on key issues from the 1860s to 1870s, and 1940s.

Concepts Used: Critical thinking, primary sources, debate, using appropriate vocabulary, historical inquiry process, historical thinking concepts

Time Needed: 2 x 40-minute classes

Students/teacher will choose which figure they want to represent, which may be the same as or different than the historical figure they researched.

MATERIALS (ENCLOSED)


- Mock ballots for optional voting activity, to be printed or photocopied in advance of the lesson (See appendices; the ballot's text is loosely based on the motion that all of the Province of Canada's representatives debated in 1865.)
- Script for teachers to use as "Speaker of the House" (See "Culminating Activity Script" below.)

OPTIONAL MATERIALS (NOT ENCLOSED)

- Voting booth (set up before the debate begins for optional voting activity)
- Voting box (if the class is also going to do the voting activity)
- Costumes (ex. The teacher may borrow a graduation robe to wear while acting as "Speaker of the House," or find a white wig)

DEBATE PREPARATION

1. If possible, rearrange the classroom desks to resemble parliament (i.e., the pro-Confederation and anti-Confederation groups will sit across from each other, with teacher standing in between at the front of the room).
2. Students will gather in their historical figure groups and prepare for the debate by composing short answers to the following questions that will be posed during the debate. Each student in the group will write an answer to one of the questions. If fewer than five students are in a group, one or more students may answer two questions.
 - a. What are the benefits of union?
 - b. What are the drawbacks of union?
 - c. Will Newfoundland and Labrador have sufficient influence within Confederation?
 - d. Local autonomy, or the ability to run things like schools without interference from the rest of the country, was very important to most of Canada's founders. Will the division of powers between federal and provincial governments protect local autonomy?
 - e. Will Newfoundland and Labrador's economy benefit from Confederation?
 - f. Should Newfoundland and Labrador seek responsible government instead of Confederation?

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3. Students should practice their speech in front of the other members of their group to remain within a two-minute time constraint.

DEBATE

1. The Speaker of the House (the teacher) will stand at the front of the classroom (between the pro- and anti-Confederation sides of the room if the classroom desks have been moved to either side of the classroom). The Speaker of the House will then read from the script enclosed below to bring the debate to order, and will pose important questions.
2. Students will be given the opportunity, after everyone has shared, to offer a direct rebuttal to another student's statement. The Speaker of the House may allow students to rebut a particular point.
3. Once each theme has been addressed and all students have had the opportunity to make their case, the Speaker of the House will motion for adjournment.
4. After the debate is finished, teachers may hold the optional voting activity (below).

OPTIONAL VOTING ACTIVITY

1. Students should fill out the "Post-Debate Self-Evaluation" handout (see appendices) and submit it to the teacher during the voting activity. If you chose to skip this activity, please proceed to the "Reflection Activity" below.
2. The teacher will invite each student to the front of the classroom to vote.
3. Each student will go to the voting booth, make their mark for or against joining Confederation based on the debates they have just heard, and deposit the ballot into the box or bucket.
4. When every student has voted, the teacher will collect the ballots, count them, and announce the outcome to the class.


REFLECTION ACTIVITY

1. Debrief session on how the Confederation debates are important today. Guiding questions for students can include:
 - a. Why was their historical figure important in the Confederation debates?
 - b. What are some ways in which each historical figure responded to challenges and/or created change?
 - c. Was the language in the materials hard to understand? Imagine if, as was the case for the Indigenous Peoples of Canada, English was not your first language.



Culminating Activity Script

1. To bring the House to order, the Speaker will say, “This meeting will come to order.”
2. The Speaker of the House will then conduct roll call for the six historical representatives. As each representative is named, students from that historical figure’s group will say, “Present.”
3. The Speaker will remind the House of the following: “the historical figures gathered here today did not live at the same time. Yet their arguments for, and against, joining Canada were very similar. We have therefore gathered them all together here today to discuss the merits of political union.”
4. The Speaker will then recite the House rules:
 - a. The Speaker of the House has ultimate power while Parliament is in session.
 - b. All representatives must stand to make their statements but will not leave their desk.
 - c. The Speaker will ask individual students to rise and sit as if they were debating in Parliament.
 - d. No name-calling or insults will be tolerated.
 - e. Representatives may ask to interrupt the current speaker with a question or counter point by raising their hand. The Speaker of the House will decide whether to ask the current speaker to pause.
 - f. Arguments must remain relevant to the subject of the debate. The Speaker of the House has the right to move to another speaker if anyone goes off-topic.
 - g. Students should write down any personal questions or comments for the debrief after the debate.
 - h. Optional: The Speaker may limit the amount of time Representatives are allowed to speak (ex. two minutes)
5. The Speaker of the House will then introduce the first main question: “What are the benefits of union?” The groups representing Ambrose Shea and Louis St. Laurent will be asked to speak. Each group will be limited to a two-minute opening statement.
6. The Speaker will then introduce the second main question: “What are the drawbacks of union?” The groups representing Charles Bennett and Peter Cashin will be asked to speak. Each group will be limited to a two-minute opening statement.
7. The Speaker will then introduce the third main question: “Will Newfoundland have sufficient influence within Confederation?” Prompting questions for students may include:
 - a. Is it fair for some provinces to have more representatives than other provinces? Why?
 - b. Should Newfoundlanders worry about Quebec trying to take Labrador if it joined Confederation?
 - c. Could the federal government interfere with Newfoundland’s autonomy in local matters such as education?
8. Before introducing the next main question, the Speaker of the House will say, “Is everyone ready for the next question?” Additional discussion/debate may ensue.
9. The Speaker of the House will then introduce the fourth main question: “Local autonomy, or the ability to run things like schools without interference from the rest of the country, was very important to most of Canada’s founders. Will the division of powers between federal and provincial governments protect local autonomy?” Prompting questions for students may include:
 - a. What powers does the Constitution give to the federal government?
 - b. What powers does the Constitution give to provincial governments?
 - c. Did the founders worry that the federal government would interfere in provincial affairs?
 - d. How did the founders try to minimize and alleviate these concerns about provincial autonomy?

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10. Before introducing the next main question, the Speaker of the House will say, “Is everyone ready for the next question?” Additional discussion/debate may ensue.
 11. The Speaker of the House will then introduce the fifth main question: “Will Newfoundland and Labrador’s economy benefit from Confederation?” Prompting questions for students may include:
 - a. Will Newfoundland and Labrador’s trade increase or decrease if it joins Canada?
 - b. Should Newfoundland and Labrador focus on trading with the United States or with Britain and Canada?
 - c. Will Newfoundland and Labrador taxes go up or down if the colony joins Canada?
 - d. Will Newfoundlanders benefit from the Canadian welfare state?
 12. Before introducing the next main question, the Speaker of the House will say, “Is everyone ready for the next question?” Additional discussion/debate may ensue.
 13. The Speaker will then introduce the sixth main question: “Should Newfoundland and Labrador seek responsible government instead of Confederation?” Prompting questions for students may include:
 - a. Is Newfoundland and Labrador ready for a return to responsible government instead of Confederation?
 - b. Would Newfoundlanders receive the same welfare state supports (ex. pensions) if their colony returned to responsible government instead of joining Confederation?
 - c. Would union with Canada aid railways and other transportation systems in Newfoundland?
 14. When everyone has had the opportunity to state their case, the Speaker will say, “I move for the adjournment of this session of Parliament.”



SECTION 2 | CREATING CANADA: FURTHERING INDIGENOUS-CROWN RELATIONSHIPS

Prerequisite Skillset

- Word processing
- Interpretation of primary sources
- Cooperative sharing

Background Knowledge

Based on the background information provided (see appendices), teachers should familiarize themselves with the following ideas and consider how they will be discussed with students. These ideas will help the students think about treaties and the treaty relationship as important parts of Confederation and as founding documents of Canada's constitutional order. Understanding the treaties as important parts of Canada's constitutional architecture demonstrates the role Indigenous Peoples played in shaping the country. Important learning outcomes include:

- Nation-to-Nation relationship
- The Royal Proclamation, 1763 and the Treaty relationship
- The British North America Act, 1867
- The Indian Act, and how it was used to exercise jurisdiction *over* Indigenous Peoples
- The Treaties of Peace and Friendship
- Historical background on the signing of the Treaties and their main clauses

“I Left a Trace”: Lesson 1

Lesson: Introduce oral tradition, negotiations with the Indigenous Peoples; discuss the possibility of cultural/linguistic misunderstanding

Concepts Used: Brainstorming, historical significance, written response log

Materials Enclosed: Handouts (see appendices)

Time Needed: 1 x 40-minute class

THINK, PAIR, SHARE

To introduce students to the idea that history is constructed from traces of the past (see list of examples below), we suggest this introductory activity. The two activities and the follow-up response log engage students by having them analyze their personal experience.

1. After describing what a trace is, ask students to take 10 minutes to record everything that they have done in the last 24 hours (and that would be appropriate for classroom discussion) on a blank sheet of paper. They must draw their reflections. Examples of traces include:
 - a. Telling your parent you loved her/him
 - b. Telling someone you know a story about your past
 - c. Bringing mud into the house
 - d. Things you created with your hands
 - e. Actions that influenced others
 - f. Digital traces
2. Ask the class to identify:
 - a. Which traces were purposeful and which were accidental by marking them with a “P” and an “A.”
 - b. How would someone who is not from Canada interpret your traces? Would they be the same or different?
 - c. Would an historian working 100 years from now be able to interpret your traces the same way you would today? Students should also mark traces that they believe historians would correctly interpret with an “H.”
3. Ask the students to find a partner.
4. The partners will then, without saying a word, exchange their drawings.
5. Tell the students that they are now historians, and instruct them take 5 minutes to examine each drawing and write down observations like:
 - a. What do they believe the drawing describes?
 - b. What is the drawing used for?
 - c. Why do they think the individual thought the drawing was important?
 - d. What does each trace mean?
6. Ask the students to pass the drawings back to their author.
7. Have the class discuss how many items their partners correctly identified. Did they correctly interpret the significance of the “H” items?
8. How many of the “P” items were interpreted correctly? Is the class surprised that their purposeful traces were not always the ones that were interpreted correctly?

RESPONSE LOG

1. Hand out the “Response Log Handout.” (See appendices.) Students should answer one of the five questions to reflect on the topic. Recommended reflection time is half an hour.
2. If the students do not have time to finish their response, the teacher can assign it as homework.

**VIDEO DEBRIEF**

Debrief the class with one or both of these Indigenous “Trace” videos.

- “Wab Kinew — Heroes” (song about Indigenous heroes). <https://youtu.be/3U14KmHlzMc>.
- “The Ballad of Crowfoot,” which examines the situation of Aboriginal people in North America through the figure of Crowfoot, the legendary nineteenth-century Blackfoot leader of the Plains Cree. <https://youtu.be/l-32jc58bgI>.



Introducing the Indigenous-Crown Relationship: Lesson 2

Lesson: Introduce negotiations with the Indigenous Peoples; discuss the possibility of cultural/linguistic misunderstanding, nation-to-nation relationships and museum curation techniques

Concepts Used: Historical significance, flow charts

Materials Enclosed: Handouts (see appendices)

Time Needed: 2 x 40-minute classes

Note: Teachers may wish to invite an Indigenous leader into the classroom to tour the exhibit that the students will produce, comment on their interpretations of the “artifacts,” and share their own experiences with the Canadian state and/or reconciliation.

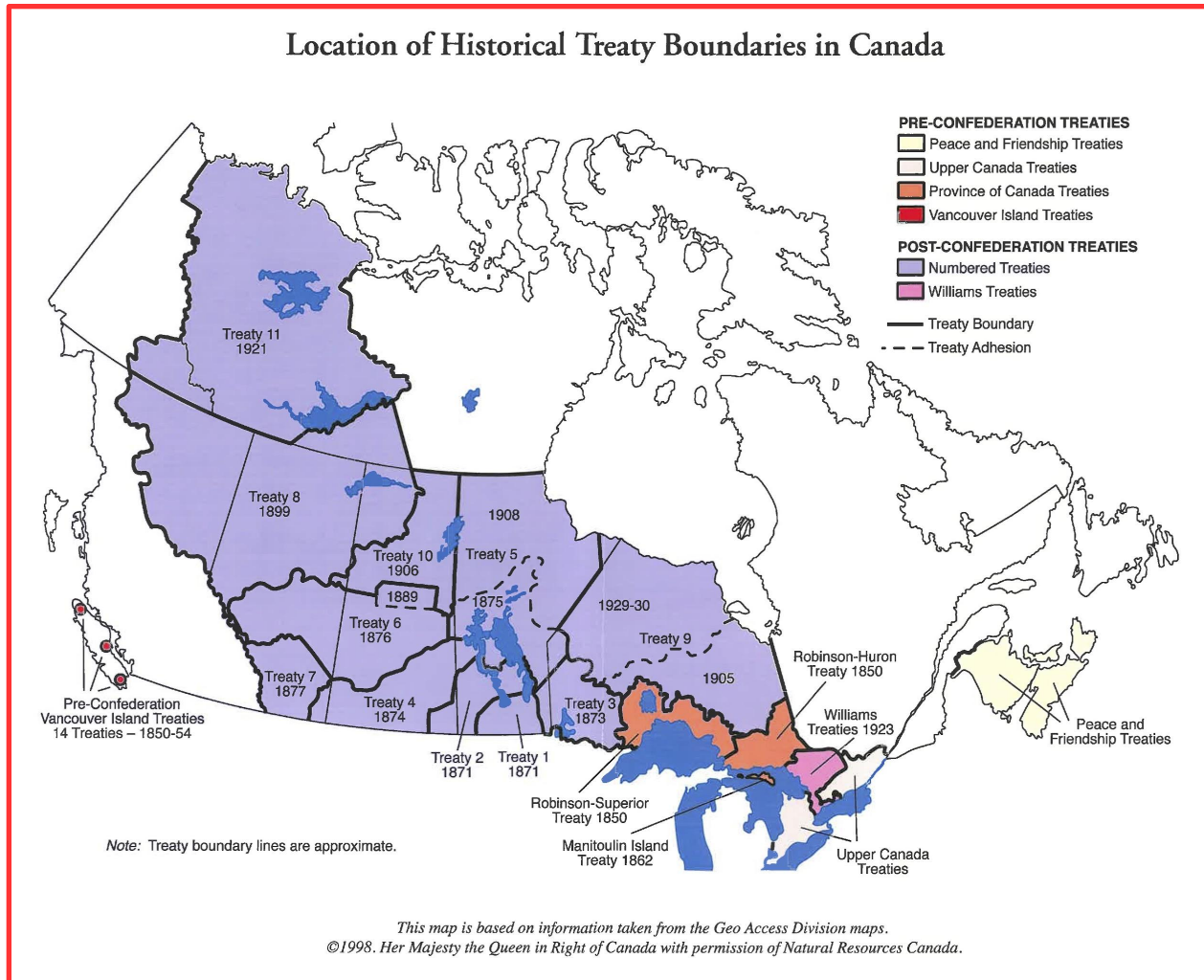
INTRO/BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR TEACHER TO PREPARE FOR THE MUSEUM CURATION ACTIVITY

Introducing the Treaty Relationship:

There are two very distinct stories we can tell about Confederation and Canada’s Indigenous Peoples. In one story, Indigenous Peoples are largely invisible. Here, their only presence is found in s.91(24) of the British North America Act, 1867, where “Indians, and lands reserved for the Indians” were deemed to be federal, as opposed to provincial, jurisdiction. This has subsequently been interpreted as providing the federal government with a power *over* Indigenous Peoples and their lands. The Indian Act of 1876, which is largely still with us today, was passed on this basis. This created what political philosopher James Tully has called an “administrative dictatorship” which governs many aspects of Indigenous life in Canada. Many of the most profoundly upsetting consequences of colonialism are traceable in large part to the imposition of colonial authority through s.91(24) and the Indian Act of 1876.

But there is another story as well. Canada did not become a country in single moment. Though the British North America Act, 1867, created much of the framework for the government of Canada, Canada’s full independence was not gained until nearly a century later. Similarly, the century preceding 1867 saw significant political developments that would shape the future country. Canada’s Constitution is both written and unwritten. Its written elements include over 60 Acts and amendments, several of which were written prior to 1867. The Royal Proclamation, 1763, for example, is a foundational constitutional document, the importance of which is reflected by its inclusion in s.25 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Royal Proclamation, 1763, established a basis for the relationship between the British Crown and Indigenous Peoples in North America. By establishing a procedure for the purchase and sale of Indigenous lands, the proclamation recognized the land rights of Indigenous Peoples and their political autonomy.

Both the pre-Confederation and post-Confederation treaties form an important part of this history and what legal scholar Brian Slattery calls Canada’s “constitutional foundation.” It is through Treaties such as these that the government opened lands for resource development and westward expansion. It is also through the treaty relationship that Indigenous Peoples became partners in Confederation and helped construct Canada’s constitutional foundations.



For a detailed discussion/background information, and a detailed version of what you will present to the class, consider watching “Legal Fictions of the Indian Act”: <https://youtu.be/PBXnjBX7j3c>.

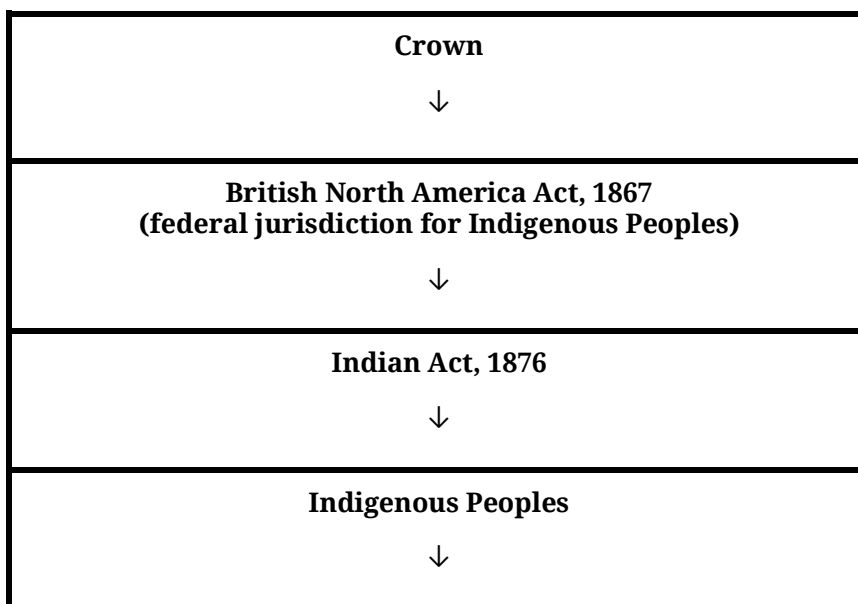
If you want to present a video to the class on this, consider “Nation to Nation: Honouring the Royal Proclamation of 1763”: https://youtu.be/eFyuI7gzy_0.

This helpful article outlines the Crown-Indigenous relationship and the importance of the Treaties: “Why It’s Time to Clearly Define the Crown’s Role with First Nations,” <http://www.macleans.ca/society/why-its-time-to-define-the-crowns-role-with-first-nations/>.

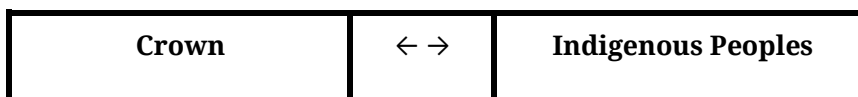
INTRODUCING THE INDIGENOUS-CROWN RELATIONSHIP: HOW TO PRESENT THIS INFORMATION TO THE CLASS

To present these messages in an accessible way to the class:

1. The teacher will write all of the keywords on the board before the students enter the classroom:
 - a. Royal Proclamation, 1763
 - b. British North America Act, 1867 (remind students that they have a handout on this from the parliamentary activities)
 - c. Indian Act, 1876
 - d. Treaty Relationship
 - e. The Crown
1. The teacher will discuss the keywords by mapping out the relationship on their own flow chart at the front of the class visually linking these points as the federal government has traditionally seen it. (i.e., Indigenous Peoples are a jurisdiction of the Crown, wards of the state who needed to be assimilated into dominant Canadian society.) The drawing will be hierarchical:



3. The teacher will then ask the class to draw a second flow chart, and follow the teacher as they describe and link these ideas again according to a nation-to-nation relationship. (i.e., the Crown and Indigenous Peoples have a long pre-Confederation history as co-equal, non-hierarchical partners that was continued after Confederation.) The flow chart will emphasize equality:



Additional Recommended Resources and Lesson Plans

The Confederation Debates produced numerous lesson plans concerning the Treaties of Peace and Friendship, the Robinson Treaties, and many of the Numbered Treaties. These can be accessed in the provincially-focused lesson plans available at hcmc.uvic.ca/confederation/en/education.html. The project however, was unable to complete a comparable lesson plan concerning a treaty in Newfoundland & Labrador. Efforts to fill this gap are ongoing and, in the meantime, we recommend the following resources:

Collishaw, Rachel. "Thinking Historically about 20th Century Canada." *Canada's History*. <http://www.canadashistory.ca/Education/Lesson-Plans/Thinking-Historically-about-20th-Century-Canada>.

"Education." *Legacy of Hope Foundation*. <http://legacyofhope.ca/education/>.

Harvey McCue and Associates for Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. "The Learning Circle: Classroom Activities on First Nations in Canada — A Learning Resource for Ages 12 to 14." *Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada*. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1331134511189/1331134588218>.

"Indian Residential Schools and Reconciliation Resources." *First Nations Education Steering Committee*. <http://www.fnesc.ca/irsr/>.

Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. "The Learning Circle: Five Voices of Aboriginal Youth in Canada — A Learning Resource for Ages 14 to 16." *Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada*. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1329333584407/1329333802557>.

Project of the Heart. <http://projectofheart.ca/>.

Sadowsky, Kim. "We Are All Treaty People." *Canada's History*. <http://www.canadashistory.ca/Education/Lesson-Plans/We-Are-All-Treaty-People>.

Tenning, Anne. "Walking on the Lands of Our Ancestors." *Canada's History*. <http://www.canadashistory.ca/Education/Lesson-Plans/Walking-on-the-Lands-of-Our-Ancestors>.

"White Paper | Red Paper: Debating Indian Policy, 1969-1970." *Open History Seminar*. <https://ecampusontario.pressbooks.pub/chotr/chapter/introduction/>.



APPENDICES



SECTION 1: MATERIALS AND HANDOUTS FOR CREATING CANADA: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR AND CONFEDERATION



Handout: Introduction to Parliament

THE QUESTION PERIOD

What were the main topics discussed in the video?

/5

List the political parties of the different politicians who spoke in the video (ex. “Conservative”).

/5

Do the politicians address each other directly? Explain.

/5

How do members of the Parliament behave during Question Period?

/5

Total: /20



Biography Activity Handout



Your Name: _____

Name of Historical Figure: _____

Birth and Death Dates: _____

Family Members:

Where were they born? _____

Where did they live? _____

Pro- or anti-Confederation? _____

Reason(s) for pro-Confederation or anti-Confederation position:

Exit Card



Your Name: _____ Date: _____

Historical significance: Name the three historical figures you think had the biggest impact on Confederation and write a sentence about each explaining why. (You should have at least one figure from pro- and one from anti-Confederation.)

Cause and consequence: Name one way that Canada would be different if we didn't have Confederation.

Historical perspective: Name one person and one reason they were anti-Confederation.

If you were to select a new national capital, what city would you choose? Why did you choose this location? Do you think your choice would be different if you lived in a province other than Newfoundland and Labrador?

Charles James Fox Bennett in Brief



This summary borrows from the Dictionary of Canadian Biography entry listed in the “Additional Resources” section of this mini-unit.

Born in 1793, Charles James Fox Bennett was born in England and came to St. John’s in 1808—likely working as a clerk. Charles and his elder brother Thomas subsequently operated the C. F. Bennett and Company that engaged in general trade. Their business thrived, and Bennett was elected president of the Chamber of Commerce in 1836. Charles Bennett believed that Newfoundland had unexplored economic potential and invested in mining, agriculture, and fishing.

In 1842, Bennett announced his candidacy for St. John’s in the Amalgamated Legislature but, on the advice of Governor Sir John Harvey, instead ran for a seat in the Legislative Council. Bennett was a member of the Conservatives and, in 1846, he voted against resolutions for responsible government. Bennett lost his seat in 1848, but received a position in the Executive Council in 1850. In this latter office, he continued to passionately oppose responsible government, claiming that it would allow Newfoundland Catholics to consolidate their interests. As a staunch Anglican, Bennett found this possibility unacceptable, and he instead advocated for Anglican separate school rights. Bennett and his allies ultimately lost their battle against responsible government, which was granted to the colony in 1854. In the years that immediately followed, Bennett suffered for his outspoken opposition to responsible government. He lost his seat in the Legislative Council, and refocused on his business affairs.

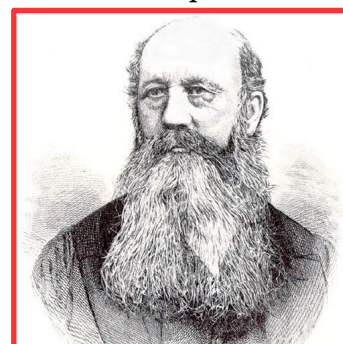


Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

Bennett subsequently returned to the political spotlight when the Quebec resolutions were published in St. John’s. Between 1864 and 1865, Bennett wrote a series of letters opposing the proposed terms of union, asserting that Canadian tariffs would damage Newfoundland’s trade. He also claimed that the new country would conscript Newfoundlanders to protect Canada’s mainland boundaries. Finding the union abhorrent, he even suggested returning to crown colony status over joining Canada. When Premier F. B. T. Carter announced the 1869 general election, Bennett used the summer to emerge as the leading anti-Confederate, purchasing the *Morning Chronicle* to spread his views. In these editorials, he persuaded many Newfoundlanders to believe that prosperous times were ahead and that they could remain independent without suffering financial consequences if they carefully managed their fishing, mineral and land resources. In fall of 1869, Bennett was elected for the Catholic district of Placentia-St. Mary’s and, in February of 1870, became Newfoundland’s premier.

The economic prosperity that Newfoundland experienced in the late 1860s allowed Bennett to reduce taxes, avoid borrowing and increase expenditure, which all worked to undermine the pro-Confederation position. Bennett’s policies were progressive, but his Anti-Confederate Party was a loose alliance, held together by their resistance to union. This alliance ultimately collapsed and Bennett resigned as Premier in 1874.

Once again out of public office, Bennett refocused on his businesses. He died in St. John’s in December 1883.



Peter Cashin in Brief

This summary borrows from the sources listed in the “Additional Resources” section of this mini-unit.

Peter Cashin was born in March 1890. He joined the Newfoundland Regiment in 1915, served overseas during the First World War, and was promoted to Major in command of the British Machine Gun Corp in March of 1918. He returned to Newfoundland after the war and joined his family business.

In 1923, Cashin was elected to the Newfoundland House of Assembly as a Liberal-Labour-Progressive. He subsequently joined the Liberal party in 1925 and served as the Minister of Finance from 1928 to 1932. Cashin was one of the harshest critics of the Newfoundland Commission of Government—an unelected British body that governed Newfoundland from 1934 to 1949—because he believed that Newfoundlanders had a right to self-government.

In 1946, Cashin was elected one of St. John’s West’s three delegates for the National Convention where he emerged as a strong anti-Confederate voice. Preferring a return to Responsible Government, he led this main alternative to Confederation. Despite being an exceptional orator, his quick temper led many of his followers to mistrust his judgement, and Cashin was not able to gather the same sort of following as Joey Smallwood.

After Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949, Cashin was elected as an Independent to the provincial legislature. He eventually joined the Progressive Conservative Party and served as the Leader of the Opposition until 1953. Thereafter, Cashin retired from politics and served as the Director of Civil Defence for Newfoundland until his retirement in 1965.



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Elisabeth II Library
Memorial University



Louis St. Laurent in Brief

This summary borrows from the Dictionary of Canadian Biography entry listed in the “Additional Resources” section of this mini-unit.

Born in Compton, Quebec in 1882, Louis-Stephen St. Laurent grew up in a family that could trace its roots back to 1660 New France. Fluent in both national languages because his mother refused to speak French, Louis St. Laurent entered the legal profession in 1905. His father, Jean-Baptiste, was a committed member of the Liberal Party who unsuccessfully ran for provincial office on more than one occasion. Louis quickly became a successful lawyer, and the Canadian and Quebec governments regularly retained his services for constitutional cases.

Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King asked St. Laurent to become the Minister of Justice and, after accepting, St. Laurent won a by-election for Quebec East in 1942. St. Laurent frequently gave speeches on the war effort and national unity during World War II. In 1944, he attended the Bretton Woods Conference that led to the creation of the International Monetary Fund and in 1945, alongside King, participated in the founding conference of the United Nations. In 1946, St. Laurent became the Minister of External Affairs after King separated the position from the Prime Minister’s duties.

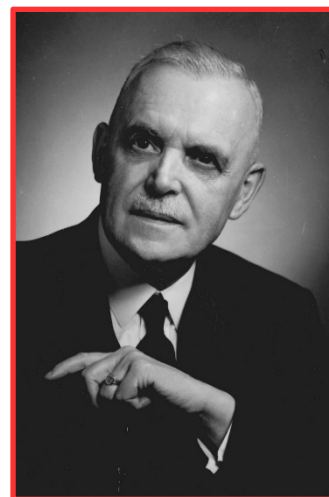


Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

After the war, St. Laurent was in favour of Newfoundland joining Confederation and advocated for strong federal powers by ignoring Quebec’s territorial claims against Newfoundland as well as its demand for the right to veto the admission of any new province into Confederation. St. Laurent led the federal representatives who discussed union with Newfoundland during the summer of 1947 and the fall of 1948. In November of 1948, St. Laurent was elected Prime Minister of Canada and presided over the national ceremonies celebrating Newfoundland’s final steps into Confederation on March 31st 1949.

After Newfoundland’s entry into Confederation, St. Laurent presided over a heyday of Liberal rule in Canada. St. Laurent was the Prime Minister of Canada until 1957. After losing to Conservative John Diefenbaker in the 1957 general election, St. Laurent became the leader of the opposition, but began suffering from depression and old age and, after consulting with Lester B. Pearson, St. Laurent resigned the leadership of the Liberal Party. After returning to his legal practice for some time, Louis St. Laurent died in July of 1973.



Ambrose Shea in Brief

This summary borrows from the Dictionary of Canadian Biography entry listed in the “Additional Resources” section of this mini-unit.

Born in 1815, Sir Ambrose Shea was born to Henry and Eleanor Shea where he was one of ten children. His father was a respected merchant and, though of somewhat modest means, the family provided each child with a decent education. A few years after his father’s death, Ambrose inherited the family newspaper, the *Newfoundlander*, but subsequently handed it over to one of his younger brothers 1846.

Shea then left Newfoundland to do business in Liverpool as a shipbroker and commission merchant. By 1848, his continued close ties to the island led to his election to the House of Assembly as a member for Placentia-St Mary’s. Despite his party’s close allegiance with the Catholic Church, Shea opposed clerical interference in public life and consequently welcomed the founding of the non-sectarian Newfoundland Natives’ Society in 1840, acting as its president in 1846. Members of the Native’s Society faced fierce attacks and one of Shea’s brothers actually left the colony because of this violence.

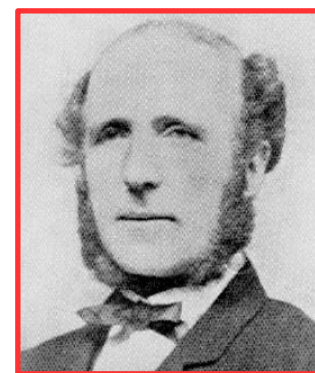


Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

By 1852, Shea was the liberal spokesman for reciprocity with the United States, believing that it would ensure prosperity for the colony. His party won the 1859 election, but subsequently suffered from internal pro-clerical and native divisions. Shea did little to address these divisions and he became a leading voice within a demoralized Liberal opposition after the May 1861 election.

The Hugh Williams Hoyles Conservative government was invited to the 1864 Quebec conference to discuss Confederation and Shea was sent to represent Liberals and Catholics. Shea quickly became a strong supporter of Confederation, believing that the island would suffer if it remained outside of the new union. Both Shea and Frederic B. T. Carter, the Conservative and Protestant Newfoundland delegate, subsequently signed a formal report declaring their support for Confederation. When he returned to Newfoundland and the Liberal government fell in 1865, Shea joined Carter’s Conservative pro-Confederation government. This partisan shift, as well as his position as chief Catholic spokesperson for Confederation, led many to deride him as a political opportunist since few Liberals or Catholics supported the union scheme.

During the 1869 election campaign, few Newfoundlanders supported Confederation and Shea faced considerable hostility. Shea lost his riding to Charles James Fox Bennett, the leader of the anti-Confederate coalition. Carter’s pro-Confederation party left the election with only nine seats.

Badly defeated, Shea left politics for a time, only to be returned to political office in 1874 in Harbour Grace, which he would hold until 1885. He represented Newfoundland during several trade negotiations, but never fully regained his political stature. From 1887 to 1894, Shea became the governor of the Bahamas, but Imperial authorities consistently rejected his pleas to become the governor of home colony—deeming him too controversial for the office. His passing in London, England during 1905 provided Newfoundland with one last chance to make amends. His body was laid to rest in state at the colony’s Legislative Council chamber and he was given a state funeral—he was the first Newfoundlander to receive these elaborate honours.



Joseph “Joey” Smallwood in Brief

This summary borrows from the Dictionary of Canadian Biography entry listed in the “Additional Resources” section of this mini-unit.

Born in 1900, Joseph “Joey” Roberts Smallwood is considered by some to be the “Last Father of Confederation.” After enrolling in local schools and enrolling for a time as a boarder at Bishop Field College, Smallwood worked as a journalist, writing mainly for left wing publications and publicly identifying himself as a socialist. He subsequently moved to New York, he wrote for a series of left-wing dailies, as well as *The New York Times*.

In 1926, upon returning to Newfoundland, Smallwood founded the *Humber Herald* and entered politics as a campaign manager for Sir Richard Squires in 1928. His first attempt to win office failed in 1932. He ran a pig farm near the American air base at Gander Newfoundland, and was then elected to the 1946 National Convention as a delegate for Newfoundland’s Bonavista Centre.

Smallwood soon dominated the National Convention debates by lobbying hard for Confederation. Smallwood believed that union with Canada would create the economic prosperity and bring social welfare and public services to Newfoundland. His frequent domination of the National Convention’s debates drew the ire of St. John’s merchants, who claimed Smallwood was betraying Newfoundland’s independence.



Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

After the convention’s first delegation to Ottawa—which went to Ottawa in 1947—Smallwood ensured that the option to join Canada as a tenth province was included in a referendum that also included options to maintain Newfoundland’s governance under the Commission of Government as well as a return to responsible government.

Beginning on 21 February 1948, Smallwood worked as the campaign manager for the Confederate Association and edited the association’s newspaper: *The Confederate*. The association promised that joining Canada would bring employment insurance, family allowances (also known as the “baby bonus”), stronger pensions, and a lower cost of living to the colony. Smallwood and the Confederation cause won the second of two referenda on 22 July 22 1948. Given his leadership of the Confederation cause, his inclusion in the final delegation to negotiate the terms of union with Canada was a forgone conclusion.

On 1 April 1949, Smallwood was appointed as the premier of Newfoundland’s interim provincial government. He was subsequently elected the leader of the Liberal Party and the party won its first election in May of 1949. He would not be seriously challenged as premier for the next two decades. During his nearly 23 years in power, his government improved roads and social services in Newfoundland and Labrador. Smallwood also tried to promote industrialization by seeking foreign investment. It largely failed at accomplishing this latter goal, and his increasingly autocratic control of Newfoundland’s politics drew the ire of many rivals. He resigned as Liberal leader in 1972 and, after a couple of failed attempts to regain his leadership of politics in Newfoundland, he retired from politics in 1977. He later became an author of several books, and passed away in St. John’s just days before turning 91.

Ballots



BALLOT

Be it resolved that Newfoundland and Labrador should join Confederation as a province of Canada according to the negotiated terms of union.

Yes

No

BALLOT

Be it resolved that Newfoundland and Labrador should join Confederation as a province of Canada according to the negotiated terms of union.

Yes

No

BALLOT

Be it resolved that Newfoundland and Labrador should join Confederation as a province of Canada according to the negotiated terms of union.

Yes

No

Teacher's Rubric for Evaluation of Confederation Debates

	4	3	2	1	Points
Factual Information	<p>Significant contribution to the debate.</p> <p>Student was able to provide historical information relating to their character.</p>	<p>Reasonable contribution to the debate.</p> <p>Student missed a few crucial elements of historical information about their character.</p>	<p>Minimal contribution to the debate.</p> <p>Student missed a significant number of crucial elements during the debate.</p>	<p>Unsatisfactory contribution to the debate.</p> <p>Student did not provide enough crucial pieces of historical information about their character.</p>	
Comprehension	<p>Student fully understands the historical content and significance of the debate. Speech is well prepared and all questions are answered during the debate.</p>	<p>Student somewhat understands the historical content and significance of the debate. Speech is prepared and major concepts are understood.</p>	<p>Student vaguely understands the historical content and significance of the debate. Speech is somewhat prepared but major concepts are missed or misunderstood.</p>	<p>Student does not understand the historical content and significance of the debate. Speech is not well prepared and student has not contributed significantly to the debate.</p>	
Delivery	<p>Student clearly articulates during the jigsaw and debate. All questions are answered and delivered articulately.</p>	<p>Student reasonably articulates during the jigsaw and debate and questions are reasonably answered.</p>	<p>Student sometimes articulates during the jigsaw and debate but there are a few misunderstandings.</p>	<p>Student does not articulate during the jigsaw and debate and does not deliver the speech well and there are many misunderstandings.</p>	
Rebuttal	<p>Student can effectively rebut during the debate.</p>	<p>Student can adequately rebut during the debate.</p>	<p>Student has limited rebuttal during the debate.</p>	<p>Student is not able to rebut during the debate.</p>	
Historical Thinking	<p>Student shows significant understanding of historical thinking concepts and uses them throughout the debate (e.g., speaking as their historical figure would as opposed to giving their own views).</p>	<p>Student shows a general understanding of historical thinking concepts and uses some throughout the debate (e.g., can somewhat speak as their historical figure would).</p>	<p>Student shows some understanding of historical thinking concepts and uses a few throughout the debate (perhaps with some misunderstanding or citing their own views).</p>	<p>Student shows little understanding of historical thinking concepts (e.g., not speaking as their historical figure would or giving irrelevant arguments).</p>	
Total					



Post-Debate Self-Evaluation



Name: _____

Your self-grade: _____

Describe your contribution to the group:

What would you do to improve your group work next time?

What would you do to improve your debating skills next time?

How could your team improve next time?

Teacher comments:

Teacher grade:



Additional Resources

GENERAL RESOURCES

“The Confederation Debates.” <http://hcmc.uvic.ca/confederation/>.

“Confederation.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.
http://biographi.ca/en/theme_confederation.html.

Hall, Anthony J. “Indigenous Peoples: Treaties.” *Canadian Encyclopedia*.
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/aboriginal-treaties/>.

Tidridge, Nathan. “Why It’s Time to Clearly Define the Crown’s Role with First Nations.” *Macleans*.
<http://www.macleans.ca/society/why-its-time-to-define-the-crowns-role-with-first-nations/>.

Waite, Peter B. “Confederation.” *Canadian Encyclopedia*.
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/confederation/>.

Waite, Peter B. *The Life and Times of Confederation, 1864–1867*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.

VIDEO LINK

Question Period. <http://www.cpac.ca/en/programs/question-period>.

Biography. http://biographi.ca/en/bio/tupper_charles_14E.html.

BENNETT, CHARLES JAMES FOX

Hiller, James K. “Bennett, Charles James Fox.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bennett_charles_james_fox_11E.html.

CASHIN, PETER

“Peter Cashin.” *Heritage Newfoundland & Labrador*.
<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/biography-peter-cashin.php>.

“Peter J. Cashin.” *Canadian Encyclopedia*.
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/peter-j-cashin/>.

ST. LAURENT, LOUIS

Bothwell, Robert. “St-Laurent, Louis-Stephen.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/st_laurent_louis_stephen_20E.html.

Thomson, Dale C. *Louis St. Laurent: Canadian*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968.

Pickersgill, John Whitney. *My Years with Louis St. Laurent: A Political Memoir*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

SHEA, AMBROSE

Hiller, J. K. “Shea, Sir Ambrose.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/shea_ambrose_13E.html.

**SMALLWOOD, JOSEPH**

Gwyn, Richard J. Leanne Fond, and Nathan Coschi. "Joey Smallwood." *Canadian Encyclopedia*.
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/joey-smallwood/>.

Gwyn, Richard J. *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968.



Charles James Fox Bennett's Views on Confederation

Although Charles Bennett did not sit in Newfoundland's legislatures when the colony debate Confederation during the late 1860s, his newspaper, the Morning Chronicle, printed the editorial reproduced in nearly every one of its issues during the two months that preceded the 1869 election.

NO CONFEDERATION !

Reduced (not Increased) Taxation !!

Let us keep our Fisheries to Ourselves ! – Let us keep our Lands,
Mines and Minerals to Ourselves !! – Let us keep Our Revenue to Ourselves !!!

Newfoundland for the Newfoundlanders.

NO REWARDS FOR TRAITORS.

No Militia Laws for Our Young Men

NO DRAFTING FOR OUR SAILORS.

Let us Stick to our Old Mother Country, Great Britain, the TRUE Land of The Brave and Home of
the Free! !

LET US NEVER CHANGE THE UNION JACK¹ FOR THE CANADIAN BEAVER !!

NEVER GIVE TO CANADA THE RIGHT OF TAXING US.

WHAT IS CONFEDERATION?

It is Taxation without limit upon our imports, our Exports, and upon all kinds of property, to be levied—not by our own people, but—by Canadians, residing more than a thousand miles from us, and who know nothing of our resources or requirements, and care less.

It is the giving up of all control over our valuable Fisheries, vesting² the management of them in the hands of the Canadians to be disposed of as they deem proper.

It is the giving up to Canada all our Lands, our Timber, our Mines and our Minerals, for a paltry³ and insufficient consideration.

It is the sending of our Revenue to Canada to aid people of that country in paying the interest of their Debt, in building Railroads,




Image held by Library
and Archives Canada.

¹ Union Jack = the British flag, which was also used by Newfoundland and Labrador at the time

² Vesting = entrusting

³ Paltry = meager



Canals, and other Public Works,⁴ from which Newfoundland can drive no benefit. We should spend our money amongst ourselves, in giving employment to our people, in the making and repairing of our own roads, and other necessary improvements.

It is the appointment of Canadians to our public offices, instead of the people of the country.

It is the giving good fat berths⁵ to a few Lawyers and many loafers,⁶ who have by their bad Governments brought the people to the verge of starvation, and their children to nakedness and want.

It is the giving of fat offices, under the Canadian Government, to those who are endeavoring to sell the country and its people.

Under the Canadian Government the young men of the country will be subject to the Militia Laws of the Dominion, and our young Fishermen will be pressed to man their Ships of War.

It is the serving of our connection with Great Britain—the strongest, the most prosperous and most generous nation in the world. And for what? To join an incongruous⁷ and hybrid people, in whom we have no interests whatever, and never can have.

Under Confederation our shipping would have to hand down the proud old British Ensign⁸, and sail under the hybrid flag of Canada.

If the people of this Colony join the Dominion, they give to Canada the power of taxing them “by all and every mode or system of taxation.” [These are the words of the Act of Union.] Will our people consent to this?

Let it be understood that the ANTI-CONFEDERATES of the country are strong and mean to contest every District. Messrs.⁹ C. F. BENNETT, WALTER GRIEVE, and other Gentlemen, have been North and will shortly visit the South and Western Districts. Let the people make no promises until they hear what these gentlemen have to say on the subject.

The Elections will be held November 13th next and the people should remember that if the measure of Confederation be carried, they can NEVER afterwards retrace the step they take. If we go into Confederation, we go in not for one, ten, or a hundred years, but—FOREVER ! No matter to what extent we may be taxed—once in we must stay.

It is the duty therefore of ever man to consider this matter carefully. If he values his liberty he will vote with the Anti-Confederates, against Increased Taxes and Irresponsible Government.

The price fixed by the Confederates on the people is four schillings per head—the price of a sheepskin—at which price they have offered to sell them to Canada. Are our people willing to be sold, with their Lands and Privilege of Self-Government, like the Negro or Russian serf, to their inferior neighbours the unprincipled and reckless political gamblers who conduct the government of Canada, and who have within the last ten years increased the debt of that country from Fifteen to One Hundred Millions of Dollars?

Are the[y] willing that any portion of their Revenue should be sent to Canada to be spent in that country, when it is so badly wanted here to feed our own poor, to provide for Education and our present half paid schoolmasters, to make and repair our own Roads and to encourage our own Agriculture? Let those who pay the taxes, our Fishermen and Planters, decide this question—for it

⁴ Public works = construction completed and owned by the government


⁵ Fat berths = exorbitant amounts of money

⁶ Loafers = lazy people

⁷ Incongruous = incompatible

⁸ British Ensign = British flag (the Union Jack)

⁹ Messrs. = misters



is the Fish which the fishermen catch and the planters cure that pay all the Taxes, and not the Lawyers and those other bloodsuckers who have been so long living and fattening on the vitals of the people. Their interest lies in completing the bargain sought to be made, so that they may pocket the price to be paid for them for their perfidy.¹⁰

Let the Electors remember the fact that should we go into Confederation, the act of Union gives the privilege to the Dominion Governments to alter any stipulations they may have made with us and the other Provinces; and that however disadvantageous those arrangements may be, we shall not have the power of releasing ourselves from them. Once is, as we before said, we are in for ever.

At this time there is scarcely one individual among us who cannot exercise some influence over the taxation, its approbation¹¹ and other Legislative affairs of the Colony, but when our Legislature has gone from us, and we are ruled by the Canadian Parliament let the people ask themselves what influence the most influential man among them could exercise over the Parliament of Canada, and what chance any Newfoundlander would have of filling any public office in it.

¹⁰ Perfidy = deceitfulness

¹¹ Approbation = approval or praise



Peter Cashin's Views on Confederation

When Newfoundland and Labrador's National Convention debated Confederation between 1946 and 1948, Peter Cashin said the following points:

SUMMARY STATEMENTS

“All I ask you then to do in the present instance, is to watch events develop in the coming two months, then pass your judgement on the statements I make today. Watch in particular the attractive bait which will be held out to lure our country into the Canadian mouse-trap. Listen to the flowery sales talk which will be offered you, telling Newfoundlanders they are a lost people, that our only hope, our only salvation, lies in following a new Moses¹ into the promised land across the Cabot Strait. By the way, I note by recent papers, that there are 30,000 men unemployed in the Maritimes alone. Can it be that things are so wonderful in this Paradise that men don't need to work? Gentlemen, before leaving this matter I would say just this, look out for those amongst us who would take ourselves and our country on a one-way ride.”

National Convention, 19 May 1947, pg. 534.

“There is a lot of talk about this affair of submerging² our century-old nationhood with another country, and I expect we shall hear more, much more of it in the future. For the present I merely say this: if Canada is prepared to accept us in confederation, then be assured it is only because she wants something we have, and that she wants it very much. If she wants us, she wants us for her benefit, not for ours. And if she offers us one dollar, you can be certain that she counts on getting two or three of ours in return. Remember this, to any such deal Great Britain must be a party, and so it would all boil down to a clever game between Canada and Great Britain in which they would take the winnings and Newfoundland would be the pawn. As common sense people, I ask you to remember this when you are being deluged³ with the gilded⁴ story of the lovely things Canada is going to do for us, of how grand we will live with two chickens in every pot and every man a millionaire. Let us remember that this is simply a repetition of the siren song⁵ that has lured many an unlucky country to its doom. It is the sugar on the pill, the bait



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¹ A reference to Moses, a Biblical figure who led the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt

² Submerging = subordinating

³ Deluged = a great quantity of something arriving at the same time

⁴ Gilded = covered thinly with gold leaf or gold paint to make it appear that an object is more valuable than it may otherwise be

⁵ Siren song = a reference to half-bird and half-woman beings in ancient Greek mythology who sang beautiful songs that lured sailors to their deaths

in the trap. Such was the method used in luring us into Commission government and the valley of the dole⁶ in 1933.”

National Convention, 3 February 1947, pg. 273.

“The Canadian government knows that if and when we enter union with them, we can never recover our former status. The British government knows this also. Everyone knows the result of investigations by royal commissions in this country, and for that matter in Canada. New arrangements would have to be made so that Newfoundland would be able to carry on. Either the people would have to find additional revenue in the form of direct taxation,⁷ or a deal would have to be made, possibly forced upon us, whereby the 110,000 square miles of our Labrador possession would be mortgaged or taken over on a rental basis by the Canadian federal government or by the French Province of Quebec.”

National Convention, 8 January 1948, pg. 1082.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

“All of us who have given any thought to the matter, all of us who have approached the question in a spirit of sincerity and patriotism, will realise that once we get the control of our own affairs, the financial and economic doors of the world will be open to us. But without self-government, all doors but one will close in our faces. And if we enter that one door, which Heaven forbid, it will clang behind us with the awful finality of the prison portals which closes behind him who has said goodbye to freedom forever. Whether Newfoundland enters that dungeon cell to serve a life sentence, or whether she takes her place as a proud dominion amongst the free peoples of the world, is for our people to say. And knowing them as I do, I am convinced that we can safely leave the final verdict in their hands.”

National Convention, 21 January 1948, pg. 1290.

“We, the people of Newfoundland, are told that the Dominions Office will not allow us to make any attempt to better our national conditions by opening negotiations with the United States. When the people of this country, through their appointed representatives are prevented from exercising the ordinary freedom of bargaining with another country, what name are we to put on this sort of thing? Could there ever be presented to us a stronger justification for having control of our own country? Imagine the position, if the British government tried to prevent Canada or Australia or any other colony or dominion from doing business with the United States. Would not the thing be regarded as so outrageous and improper.”


National Convention, 26 February 1947, pg. 313.

“If we are to unite with Canada, we must do it like men who believe we have something to contribute to the partnership and, mind you, we have confederation if the people of this country say so, and *only if they say so*. How may they say so? I submit there is only one way, and that is under section 146 of the BNA Act⁸ and the doctrine of mandate and that is embodied in the truth that Parliament ought not to adopt any far-reaching measure without a mandate from the country. But you say, ‘We have no parliament.’ Ah yes, we have, for as soon as our constitution comes out of its state of suspended animation, the voice of the people can be heard on the issue.. The process of entering into federal union is clear cut. First you have to have two self-governing

⁶ Dole = welfare

⁷ Direct taxation = property taxes

⁸ Section 146 of the British North America Act (Canada’s Constitution) stated that Newfoundland’s legislature needed to ask to join Confederation. Here, Cashin is suggesting that Newfoundland and Labrador need to have responsible government before it would even be legal for its citizens to consider joining Canada.



entities; second they must have much in common, and each must have something to offer the other. One may be wealthy, but lacking something which she needs and which the other, who may not be so wealthy, possesses. Third, the people of both countries must be made duly aware of the situation. In the fourth place, the people of both countries must authorise their respective governments to explore the possibilities of a fair partnership. Fifth, each government must then report back to its people and get their final approval, by way of the referendum or otherwise. There is no other way, except by coercion⁹ or trickery. Either of these latter methods is likely to prove disastrous. Witness the case of PEI, a separate geographical unit like ourselves, whose prime minister, 72 years after union with Canada, publicly declared a few years ago, ‘The real trouble is, we shouldn’t be part of Canada at all.’”

National Convention, 26 February 1947, pgs. 318–319.

“To me, an open mind is like an open mouth. It catches all sorts of flies, and the owner sometimes does not know when to shut it up. I did not have to wait for the opening of this Convention to give thought and study to the political situation of our country. Indeed, for nearly a year previous to the Convention election, I had been broadcasting my political doctrine to all who cared to hear me. The conclusions which I voiced were arrived at for the simple reason that the bare facts and the truth of things left no other course open to me, that for Newfoundland, the proper, logical, only course open to her was as a first step, to recover that former status and political position which was hers previous to the loss of her political freedom in 1933.”

National Convention, 21 January 1948, pg. 1282.

TRADE

“I am an unreformed, unregenerate¹⁰ and unrepentant free trader. If this country could have free trade with the United States, it would be a great thing. If we could have free trade with the Dominion of Canada, it would be a great thing. If we could have free trade with every country in the world, it would be a great thing for the people of this country. I believe in abolishing every single cent of customs duties. I am a believer in bringing down the cost of living. The only way I can see to do that is by absolutely free trade.”

National Convention, 22 May 1947, pg. 572.

“We have to develop a fresh and frozen fish market in the United States if this country is going to live. We do not know whether we are going to sell a ton of iron ore to Great Britain or a pound of fish. They tell us they cannot approach the United States. If they cannot do their job, then let them get out of here and let someone else do it...”


National Convention, 22 May 1947, pg. 575.

“For myself, I can see as far through a stonewall as Mr. Bradley [another member of the National Convention], and I expressed my firm belief that there is every reason to believe that we will be able to make satisfactory arrangements with the United States, provided we have the proper form of government in this country. I would remind Mr. Bradley of another interesting event which took place in his 50 year period. I refer to the Bond-Blaine treaty.¹¹ At that time America had no bases in Newfoundland. We had nothing to give her by way of a *quid pro quo*, and she was prepared to accept our product, she was prepared to do business with us on favourable terms, but what happened? Canada interfered, she killed the deal, she destroyed our high hopes. I ask Mr.

⁹ Coercion = force

¹⁰ Unregenerate = unapologetic

¹¹ Bond-Blaine treaty = A reciprocity deal negotiated between the Newfoundland and American governments in 1890. The Imperial government, however, did not ratify the deal due to Canadian objections about potential American expansionism.



Bradley how this deal would have compelled him to change his economic picture, and what this country would have been like today, particularly for our fishermen in every section of the country if this deal had not been deliberately sabotaged by the interference of the Canadian government.”

National Convention, 20 November 1947, pg. 787.

TAXATION

“The first point is that, under confederation, this particular field of taxation would be far larger than it is now. Also, the Canadian rate of taxation would be higher. Just consider, for instance, the matter of Newfoundland income tax. With us, this tax applies to single persons earning over \$1,000 yearly. But in Canada it takes in everyone who is single and not married, earning over \$750 yearly...”

“Will not then this increase in the income tax brackets place hundreds, and possibly thousands of Newfoundlanders under taxation who are now free? This means that under Canadian income tax laws, all fishermen, loggers, farmers, miners, longshoremen, labourers, stenographers,¹² nurses and clerks who are single and earn over \$750 annually will be subject to income tax, and will not this increase the amount of taxes collected?”

National Convention, 7 January 1948, pg. 1063.

“Some weeks ago I told this Convention that in the event of confederation with Canada the people of Newfoundland had better get out of their heads any idea that we were going to get lower taxation. I went further, and I said that instead of any decrease in taxation we would suffer from even a higher and much more oppressive burden under confederation. We have all witnessed Mr. Smallwood’s failure to satisfactorily balance the budget which he brought in here some weeks ago—his own personal budget, made to order, which contains his own chosen figures. Now I ask you, when this budget could not be balanced even in theory, how can we expect to measure up when the real thing comes along? And remember too, that in addition to this provincial budget we will have to pay, I say *have to pay*, our definite share of taxation to the federal government.”

National Convention, 26 January 1948, pg. 1368.


PROSPERITY

“Therefore our total assets are approximately, and I say approximately, \$107 million. Now if we deduct that \$35 million which we owe, we have a definite surplus left (on paper, mind you) of \$70 million in round figures. That is the position as far as the Government of Newfoundland is concerned today. Now if we take, on top of that, the other hundred-odd million dollars in the bank, and we add our life insurance, our securities and all else, I hold today that this country is in an outstanding financial position—unequalled by any country in the world. True we have gloomy days coming before us. So has every other country. Why, the mother country that is supposed to be backing our note, so to say, what financial position is Great Britain in? What financial position is Canada in? Today in Canada they are having great difficulty in making some arrangement to offset the dollar trade with the United States of America.”

National Convention, 20 October 1947, pg. 620.

“This delegation went to Ottawa to get terms, or what would be a good base to go into confederation. If you and I are going into partnership, the first thing I will say to you is, “Now what have you got?” And you will say, “Cashin, I owe \$100”; I will say, “I owe \$50”, consequently I

¹² Stenographers = a person whose job it is to transcribe shorthand often dictated by someone who could not type



am \$50 better off than you. Now Canada owes roughly \$1,300 or \$1,400 per head, and Newfoundland owes \$150 per head. Now we are going into business with Canada, and according to this thing here, we are going to forget our indebtedness of \$150 a head and take on an indebtedness of \$1,300 or \$1,400 a head. That does not sound like good business to me.”

National Convention, 26 November 1947, pg. 864.

“Now, anyone who knows anything about the history of the Canadian National Railway system, operated by the Canadian government, knows that they have been a continual political headache. They have lost and cost Canada not millions, but billions of dollars. True, the Newfoundland Railway has cost the country a deficit each year since it was taken over by the government in 1923 at a cost of \$2 million. Now, when the Ottawa delegation were discussing this railway matter with the Canadian government, it would appear that they did not ask any embarrassing questions about the Canadian National Railways—what they had cost the taxpayers of Canada, or what was the average annual loss sustained. Although we have not this information officially, it is general knowledge that the Canadian National Railways originally cost the Canadian government in the vicinity of \$1 billion and they have cost the Canadian taxpayer uncounted millions since it came under government control.”

National Convention, 6 January 1948, pg. 1059.

THE PROMISE OF THE CANADIAN WELFARE STATE

“Also, with respect to the unemployment insurance scheme now in force in Canada, it is proper that our people should know that those affected or those eligible for recompense under this particular plan, in the event of union with Canada, would not be our primary producers. It does not affect our fishermen, our loggers, our miners, our farmers, our longshoremens or others of the labouring class, and consequently would be of little help to the employed of Newfoundland.”

National Convention, 7 January 1948, pg. 1065.

“The prize bait seems to be that a certain number of our people will get this thing called the baby bonus.¹³ But do they tell us that this bonus is an unsubstantial thing, that it is something that we cannot depend upon? That it may vanish overnight, and that in the event of a depression in Canada it will die a quick death? Indeed, my own personal opinion is that it will not exist longer than two years. Do they tell us that when our babies reach the age of 16 they will spend the rest of their lives paying back to the Canadian government the amount of their bonus?”

National Convention, 23 January 1948, pg. 1371.


PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“With us, the matter of our educational system is one of great importance, and we have evolved our own system of denominational schools, which time has found to be most suitable to the wishes and requirements of Newfoundlanders. In the event of confederation there is a threat that, as Mr. Crummey¹⁴ has pointed out to this Convention, is a most serious threat to the destruction and overthrow of that system. He has pointed out to us that if Canadians take charge of our country in every probability we will have imposed on us, even forced on us, the adoption of non-denominational schools. What right have we to jeopardise the moral and religious lives of the coming generations in this matter?”

National Convention, 26 January 1948, pg. 1371.

¹³ Baby bonus = payments made by the federal government to parents of children

¹⁴ Mr. Crummey = another delegate of the National Convention.



“We are not interested so much in how much the federal government is going to collect, as how we are going to run the province when she goes into confederation. Ottawa should prepare a proper report. This report is incomplete. It does not point out the sources of revenue we are going to collect taxes from. It does not point out the expenditures we are going to have as a province. And until such time as we know from a provincial standpoint where we are going, we cannot intelligently discuss the whole situation. We ought to defer discussion on these figures.”

National Convention, 2 December 1947, pg. 935.

NEWFOUNDLAND'S POTENTIAL INFLUENCE WITHIN CONFEDERATION

“Mr. Chairman, I have repeatedly stated that the only interest from an economic standpoint that Canada has in Newfoundland is to obtain by either fair means or foul our Labrador possession. Proof of this statement has been frequently given by both Premier Duplessis of Quebec, and former Premier Godbout of the same province. When I brought this matter up sometime ago, Mr. Smallwood got up and abused Premier Duplessis.¹⁵ He termed him a Nazi and a Fascist, and I don't know what else. Well I have just come from Canada, and I venture the opinion that the provincial election in Quebec will return Duplessis by a larger majority than ever, and that there is a great probability of the reform of the Liberal party in Ottawa. Prime Minister King¹⁶ is about to retire, and his successor is very difficult to find. I predict that you will find in 18 months or two years another leader of the federal opposition in Ottawa, and I think Colonel George Drew¹⁷ will head the Conservative party, and together with Duplessis will lead the party at the next general election. Mr. Smallwood laughs and thinks he knows all about it!”

National Convention, 8 January 1948, pg. 1083.

“Canada today, even though she is in serious financial straits, has great national ambitions for the future. Canada is struggling to be one of the future powers of the world. Canada is sparsely populated. Her per capita population per square mile is less than that of our country. Canada carries a huge national debt, far too great for its present population of something over 12 million people. There is only one redemption for this Dominion to the west of us, and that is increased population. In order that Canada may continue to expand, and equitably place the cost, she must increase her population to not less than 20 million. That is necessary if Canada hopes to survive and develop as a nation. By the inclusion of Newfoundland in the Canadian federation, Canada would be in the position of controlling the steel production of the entire North American continent. This would be her salvation from an economic standpoint. I say that our Labrador possession must be guarded for the future generations of Newfoundland. I realise that strong influences are at work, both governmental and financial, to rob from Newfoundland her God-given rights. We, as a people, owe it to the future generations yet unborn, to guard those interests handed to us by a kindly Providence.¹⁸”


“This whole Labrador business looks to me something like the deal made between Russia and the United States... when Russia sold Alaska for about \$7 million. Like Labrador, Alaska was considered a barren wasteland, and the Russians thought they were making a good deal; but hardly was the ink dry on the contract when Russia had the bitter experience of seeing their former territory becoming a land worth billions. Will we, by accepting these proposals made to us by the Canadian government, be guilty of a similar folly? Will we grasp at a few dollars and live to

¹⁵ Maurice Duplessis was known for corrupt political practices.

¹⁶ Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King retired from politics in November 1948, making way for Louis St. Laurent to become Canada's 11th Prime Minister and welcome Newfoundland into Confederation.

¹⁷ George Drew, then Premier of Ontario, became leader of the federal Progressive Conservative party later in 1948.

¹⁸ Providence = the protective care of God or of nature as a spiritual power



see French Canada take to herself the millions which should be coming to us—and which would have made us one of the richest little countries in the world? What a bitter pill that would be for our children to swallow—what a remorse to carry to our graves—to sacrifice hundreds of millions for a baby bonus!”

National Convention, 8 January 1948, pg. 1085.



Louis St. Laurent's Views on Confederation

When the House of Commons debated allowing Newfoundland and Labrador to join Confederation during the late 1940s, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent said the following points:

SUMMARY STATEMENTS

“We have maintained and are maintaining the attitude that, after having made what we consider is a fair offer, it is exclusively the right of the people of Newfoundland to express their acceptance or rejection of that offer. We have been most careful to avoid doing anything that either party might regard as an attempt to influence the votes of the inhabitants of Newfoundland.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 19 June 1948, pg. 5544.

“My own personal view with respect to these negotiations has been that it would be a serious responsibility to do or say anything which would prevent the entry of Newfoundland into Canada. I may be an optimist, but I do believe that the Canadian nation is destined to occupy an important place in world affairs. I do believe, further, that that place in world affairs would be better preserved by a territory which extended right out to the broad ocean and if access there to was not closed to Canada by another sovereignty over the territories of Newfoundland and Labrador.

“Because of that attitude, we made offers which would involve quite costly requirements from the Canadian people at the present time. But I think we would have been remiss¹ in our duty to future generations of Canadians not to have done so. That offer having been made, if there is a desire on the part of the people of Newfoundland to accept it, I think the government will be disposed to recommend to parliament that it be implemented.”²

Canada, *House of Commons*, 19 June 1948, pg. 5550.

“From what I have been able to read in the press since the agreement was signed, there appears to be almost complete unanimity³ on the part of the Canadian public that this was a good arrangement to make, and that it is a good thing in this year 1949 to complete the original project envisaged⁴ by the fathers of confederation in 1864. From what I have seen of the editorial comment in the newspapers of the island, there are still those who would prefer to have had responsible government re-established and the terms of confederation discussed by and through that responsible government. In the referendum the majority decided otherwise, however; and even among the objectors I think there are now large numbers who feel there has been a sincere attempt to make a fair proposal, and that confederation with Canada has been made inevitable

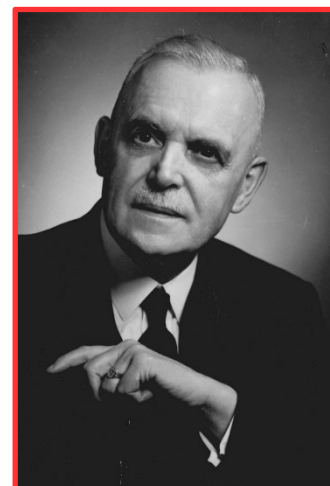



Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

¹ Remiss = negligent

² Implemented = done

³ Unanimity = agreement

⁴ Envisaged = hoped for



both by the Almighty in the distribution of the lands and waters of this northern half of the North American continent, and by the historic development of the people who have inhabited these two parts. They are not strangers to each other. They come from the same stocks. They have developed under the same system of responsible government, of love of individual freedom, of respect for the human being as more important than the state. They have developed in the view that the state exists for the individual, and not the individual for the state. It is my hope that this arrangement will commend⁵ itself to the Canadian parliament, to the vast majority of the Canadian people and also to the vast majority of the people of Newfoundland. We are here now considering a matter of great moment. In the last two wars⁶ we realized how close we were to each other and how close we had to be in order to survive. In this troubled world I think we, both in Newfoundland and in Canada, feel that in this way our risks are more apt⁷ to be successfully met and any dangers overcome than was possible even with the non-constitutional union of spirits and hearts that united us during the last two wars. I earnestly hope it will be the view of this house that this union of Canada and Newfoundland is desirable in the interests of the people of these two lands, and as a lesson to the whole world of what can be accomplished by men of good will.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 7 February 1949, pg. 290.

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION

“The British North America Act provides that, in the event of Newfoundland becoming a province of Canada, it would be entitled to six senators. In 1867 the act provided for four senators, but by virtue of an amendment which was made, I think in 1915, it was provided that the number would be six instead of four. This provision⁸ has existed in the British North America Act for over thirty years.

“With respect to representation in the House of Commons, if and when the terms of union are ratified⁹ here and approved by the parliament of the United Kingdom, provision will automatically be made for seven members additional to the representation in the house.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 8 February 1949, pg. 355.

“... because of the general mentality¹⁰ of the people of Newfoundland, it would be wise if it were possible to have two of the six senators chosen from the Anglican denomination which represents about a third of the population...

“Two chosen from members of the Anglican denomination; two chosen from the Roman Catholic denomination and two chosen from the United church or other denominations which make up the remainder of the population.

“I inquired how soon after the entry of Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Manitoba and the setting-up of Alberta and Saskatchewan appointments had been made to the Senate. To my surprise I was informed it was about five months... This point was discussed with those from whom we were seeking to be enlightened¹¹ about the situation in Newfoundland. We were told it would be unwise to proceed otherwise than by threes, if we could not make six appointments. If we made the six appointments, it would be all right provided they were distributed according to religious denominations, as I have described. But if we did not do that we should make at least

⁵ Commend = to be viewed favourably

⁶ Last two wars = the First and Second World Wars


⁷ More apt = more likely

⁸ Provision = measure

⁹ Ratified = confirmed

¹⁰ Mentality = beliefs

¹¹ Seeking to be enlightened = seeking to learn



three appointments at a time, because it would be unsatisfactory if any one of these three groups was preferred to the other two. We were told we should be careful to avoid offending the susceptibilities of these three separate religious groups in the island.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 8 February 1949, pg. 356.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“The constitution of the province of Newfoundland will be subject to amendment by the legislature of Newfoundland under the first subsection of section 92 of the British North America Act. They will have the right to amend their constitution in every respect save in respect of the office of lieutenant governor, just as every other Canadian province has that right...”

“The delegation from Newfoundland and its law officers insisted that they did not want the province of Newfoundland to get a new constitution out of the union. They wanted to be in the position of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which had constitutions before union and retained all the powers of their constitutions, except those given to the central authority.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 8 February 1949, pgs. 363–364.

EDUCATION

“But with respect to Newfoundland, they had at the time of the negotiations, and they have today in their legislative body, full and exclusive control over their educational system. But we said to them, ‘If, for the satisfaction of your own people, you do wish to have constitutional safeguards¹² written into the terms of union, we will be quite prepared to consider those you will suggest.’ The treatment they suggested was constitutional safeguards, but constitutional safeguards the application of which will be left to the courts of justice.

“It is provided that the legislature will have exclusive control over all educational matters, but must not make any laws that would prejudice¹³ what is described in the terms of union as the rights of the denominations which comprise¹⁴ the people of Newfoundland. The legislature has no power to do anything prejudicial. Review will be a matter for the courts. If there ever should be an attempt by the legislature to do anything that would contravene the terms of the union it will not be a matter of appeal to His Excellency the governor in council. It will be a matter for resort to the courts of justice of the island of Newfoundland in the first instance, and then to the ordinary courts administering the laws of the country.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 7 February 1949, pg. 288.

“The hon. member says the effect is to fix the status quo for all time, but that is subject to some modification.¹⁵ I understand the schools in Newfoundland are denominational schools, but under

¹² Constitutional safeguards = extra constitutional guarantees to protect minority denomination education rights. During the 1890s, Manitoba’s legislature changed the school laws to effectively end the French-Catholic population’s traditional access in that province to public funds. For the next several years, Canada was caught up in a heated national debate about whether the federal government had the right or obligation to overrule Manitoba’s legislation and protect the French-Catholics’ access to provincial funds for its schools. As St. Laurent subsequently explains in this speech, the Prime Minister reminded Parliament of this dispute to help everyone understand that Newfoundland and the federal government both wanted to avoid this sort of dispute from happening again.

¹³ Prejudice = harm

¹⁴ Comprise = make up

¹⁵ Modification = change

the present practice different denominations can amalgamate for a school district. The right to do that is preserved. Moreover, there is a right in the legislature to set up other schools than those which exist at the present time, but it is provided that if they do set up other schools they must not discriminate against the denominational schools in the districts. Such was the desire of the delegates from Newfoundland; and, as the hon. member has indicated, the sanction was to be an appeal to the courts, not an appeal to a political body.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 8 February 1949, pg. 365.

FINANCIAL TERMS OF UNION

“I come now to the matter of financial terms.¹⁶ That was a tough one. The people of Newfoundland did not want to become a province of Canada under conditions which would not make it reasonably probable that they could carry on successfully, and participate in the advantages which appertain¹⁷ to Canadians generally. We on our side wanted to provide financial terms which would make it reasonably probable, if not certain, that the addition of Newfoundland to the economy of Canada would ultimately prove to be beneficial to both partners, to the older Canadians and to the newer arrivals. It was found, after more precise and careful study of the administrative problems that would be faced by the government of the province of Newfoundland, that the terms suggested in the offer submitted in October, 1947, would not be sufficient at the start to enable the provincial government to provide for its people on a basis comparable to that which is provided by the other Canadian provinces. It was felt there had to be quite substantial provisional¹⁸ grants, extending over a period of twelve years on a diminishing¹⁹ scale, to bridge the transition from the present economy of the island to the kind of economy which would make it possible for the provincial government to provide the people of Newfoundland with substantially²⁰ the services that are provided for the rest of the Canadian people by their provincial governments, without resorting to a burden of taxation heavier, having regard to capacity to pay, than that which bears upon the people of the maritime region. The section of the Canadian economy generally described as the maritimes was felt to be the one which would be most nearly comparable to the situation which would be apt²¹ to develop in Newfoundland. It was felt that for a transitional term²² the government of Newfoundland had to be provided with sufficient funds to establish and develop services comparable to those available to the people of the maritime region, and that it had to be able to do so without imposing upon the people of Newfoundland a burden of taxation heavier than that prevailing²³ in the maritime region.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 7 February 1949, pg. 289.

NATURAL RESOURCES

“All the natural resources of the territory included in the island, and that part of the Labrador coast which forms part of Newfoundland, remain with the provincial government.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 10 February 1949, pg. 440.

¹⁶ Terms = the rules that will govern the union of Newfoundland and Labrador and Canada

¹⁷ Appertain = relate to

¹⁸ Provisional = temporary

¹⁹ Diminishing = lessening

²⁰ Substantially = generally

²¹ Apt = likely

²² Transitional term = the first few years after union when Newfoundland and Labrador adjusted to being a province

²³ Prevailing = common



THE PROMISE OF THE CANADIAN WELFARE STATE

“That matter [old age pensions]²⁴ was carefully considered for a considerable period of time, but it was not found possible to devise any way in which the old age pension could be paid before there was in existence in Newfoundland a provincial government responsible to a legislature. The act²⁵ requires the making by a provincial government of a contract with the federal government, in order to recoup²⁶ three-quarters of what it pays out for old age pensions, under its provincial law, up to a maximum of \$30 a month. Suggestions were made that, if the legislature elected in Newfoundland passed a law of that kind, it might be made retroactive.²⁷ It was desired to give the people of Newfoundland treatment as good as that which was given to Canadians of the other provinces. As the hon. member knows, in my province it was a matter of several years, after the dominion old age pension legislation was passed, before the provincial government passed its statute and took advantage of it; and there were no retroactive payments to the old people of my province at that time. It was felt that it would not do to be treating the people of Newfoundland in a manner different from that in which Canadians of the other provinces had been treated. The delegation from Newfoundland, therefore, finally but most reluctantly came to the conclusion that the best thing to do would be to proceed as expeditiously²⁸ as possible to elect their legislature, enact their old age pension legislation, and make their contract which would become effective as soon as it was made.”

Canada, *House of Commons*, 10 February 1949, pg. 449.

²⁴ Old age pensions = money paid by the federal government to senior citizens every month

²⁵ Act = legislation

²⁶ Recoup = get back

²⁷ Retroactive = taking effect from a date in the past and paying back the money that would have been paid previously

²⁸ Expeditiously = quickly



Ambrose Shea's Views on Confederation

When Newfoundland and Labrador debated Confederation between 1865 and 1869, Ambrose Shea made the following points:

SUMMARY STATEMENTS

“His (Mr. Shea’s) belief was that the question of Confederation would sooner or later be forced upon us. We might stave it off for a time. But the tendency of the age was for the union of small states into larger ones. It was said we proposed to give up our self government. We gave up nothing worth retaining. Self-government was the best system we could have, but it would not make up for short fisheries and a starving population. We would still have self-government on a larger scale, for we were to have a voice in the General Government¹ and Legislature of the union in proportion to our population, while our local government for merely local affairs was to be as much our own as now.”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 16 February 1865.

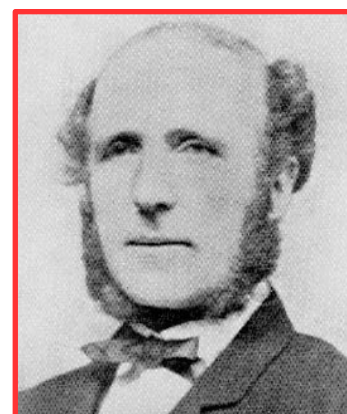


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PROSPERITY

“Are we in that palmy state at the present moment, or are our prospects so bright and our general condition so independent, that we may not find it good to inquire whether the necessity of Canada may not be our opportunity of escaping from the deprivations² of our isolated and powerless state?”


Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 13 February 1865.

“Hon. gentlemen seem content with opposing this scheme, implying that, in the state of things now staring us in the face, we should stand still. Look abroad over the face of the country, and let us ask ourselves if the present condition of the people can safely continue? Large numbers of our industrious population are, at the present moment, not half fed. And this, under varying circumstances as to localities, has been their lot for many years past, as the amount given for poor relief³ abundantly testified. We see the population decaying from this cause; and, while numbers of those who can, resort to emigration, to seek elsewhere the reward which here they cannot get for their labor. And yet, in presence of these facts, it is said we should wait idly by, and live in hopes of better times. We all hope, of course, for these better times, but experience teaches us the true nature of that reliance. Let us look back over the past twenty years. In that time we have had as large a share of prosperous seasons as we can reasonably look for in any corresponding future period. And yet what are its results, as disclosed in the present condition of the country? We

¹ General Government = federal government

² Deprivations = disadvantages

³ Poor relief = welfare



believe we have resources that, if brought to light, would provide that further employment for want of which our people now suffer. But what are the existing agencies by which these means of employment can be effectively brought out? The Legislature has tried its powers in many ways, but to little purpose...⁴ What, then, can our Legislature do—this “independent” Legislature, the powers of which hon. gentlemen seem so unwilling to abridge?⁵ It was evident that its powers were unequal⁶ to the emergency that we have had to deal with for past years... He indulged in no Utopian⁷ views of the results of confederation, but all history and experience gave evidence of the general beneficial tendency of such combinations... The effects are strikingly shown in the case of the Canadas, which have more than doubled in wealth and population since their union. Does any rational man believe that the United States could have become what they now are, had they remained so many political fragments since the time of their separation from the mother country?... Are we not justified then, looking at the progress of the United States, in believing that a union of these Provinces would lead to at least somewhat similar results?”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 13 February 1865.

“One consequence of our isolation was that in this crisis we had to depend on our own resources, as we had no legitimate claim on any other people. If we were united to the Dominion, we could make an appeal⁸ to the people there. When the Nova Scotia fisheries failed,⁹ last year, and great distress consequently prevailed amongst the fisherman, they were not left to ask for relief, but the Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec and the corporations of different cities, forwarded £10,000 to relieve them. That was a practical proof of the benefit of Union. They had a claim, and they were recognized, and funds were sent them, until the Committees of distribution telegraphed that no more was required. No doubt some would call that a bribe;¹⁰ but call it what you will, would not such relief be welcome here now?”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 13 February 1865.

“...if, on the other hand, we combined with Canada, we would instantly possess these commercial advantages; bread, flour, pork, butter, and all the Canadian manufactures would be admitted duty free.¹¹ Besides this, with a creditable liberality, they had agreed to allow breadstuffs from the United States to come in free. These advantage comprehend what no more commercial treaty could obtain for us.”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 19 February 1869.

“If we have Confederation, we will have regular Steamers¹² with Quebec and Montreal, which would enable the people to go away in bad times. In this country the labor question underlies all others, and anything which tended to advance the interests of the laboring classes also tended to the advance of the interests of the country at large. All that was needed was a well employed people, and then the country would be contented and happy. He did not look on it as at all

⁴ To little purpose = with little effect

⁵ Abridge = cut short

⁶ Unequal = inadequate

⁷ Utopian = unrealistic

⁸ Appeal = request

⁹ Failed = yielded insufficient income

¹⁰ Bribe = to buy a favour from someone

¹¹ Duty free = imported into the country without paying any taxes

¹² Steamers = ships

desirable that the people should leave the country, but he did think it desirable that when they were so badly off they should have some backdoors [sic].”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 19 February 1869.

“What we required here was employment, and the opening up¹³ of the resources of the country, and commercial union¹⁴ would not do that for us. We hoped to have our mining interests brought into life and activity, and no commercial union would do that. He hoped the day was not far distant when the Bay of Islands, Port-au-Port, and the other parts of the Western Shore will be filled with flourishing settlements. Commercial union would not do that, but political union would, for it would give us that which is now so much needed, steam communication with these extern[al] Districts.”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 19 February 1869.

TAXATION

“There appeared to be much anxiety¹⁵ in this country as respects the taxation under the Confederation. He (Mr. Shea)... denied the statements that had been made as to the amount of the increase of our burthens,¹⁶ and would be prepared to show, at least, that if there was any increase under the change, the most full and intelligible¹⁷ equivalent would be given for it. That is not taxation, in the sense in which this cry is raised, where the Colony receives a value for the outlay.¹⁸ The taxation of Canada had been referred to as excessive; but then he saw what had been accomplished in that country, its Railways, Canals and other extended means of communication, adding to its wealth and population and increasing the value of the labour of the people, he felt with how much reason we should rejoice, if by means of increased taxation, we could be made to realise similar results. The mere cry of taxation can be made to serve the purpose of stirring up thoughtless public feeling; but no intelligent man will fail to see that taxation, well applied, is necessary to enhance the value of labour, by opening up the sources of a people’s industry.”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 13 February 1865.

“It was also said that we give up the control of our fisheries to Canada, which was a most unfair mode of putting the case. Whatever we gave up, it was to the Government of which Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, P. E. Island and ourselves were to form parts, as well as Canada. These Colonies at present have equal rights with our own in the fisheries, and have all a large direct interest in their protection. Where then might the power be more wisely placed than in the hands of a Government that represented the whole people whose property these fisheries are? But it was not entirely so placed, for a concurrent authority is reserved to our own Local Government to protect the fisheries; and who can suppose this local right can ever be injuriously interfered with? The British Government now exercise sovereign control, and we saw in 1857 how that might be employed to our great detriment.¹⁹ The fisheries of Maine and Massachusetts are under Federal

¹³ Opening up = harvesting

¹⁴ Commercial union = an economic union without a political union. In other words, two colonies would remain independent, but they would charge no duties on goods that they imported from each other.

¹⁵ Anxiety = nervousness

¹⁶ Burthens = burdens

¹⁷ Intelligible = discernable

¹⁸ Outlay = expense

¹⁹ Detriment = damage

control, being general property, as the fisheries of these colonies are general property also, and would be rightly amenable to the supervision of the Central Government.”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 13 February 1865.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“He [another politician who had spoken before Shea] objects to a federal union, as proposed by the Conference, because it abstracts from the authority of our present Legislature, though he avows himself favorable to a Legislative union, which would annihilate our local constitution. Can anything more illogical or untenable be imagined? He objects strongly to the loss of a part, but is quite willing that our Local Institutions should be entirely swept away! This is the position, the honorable gentleman places himself in by his attempt to escape from the conspicuous inconsistency of his conduct... [The Quebec Resolutions] proposes a constitution based as nearly as circumstances would permit, on the principles of the British constitution, and while of the Federal character, avoids the prominent causes of weakness and failure which the working of the American system has disclosed.²⁰ It contemplates²¹ a General Government, and a Legislature of two Houses, the Upper²² nominated for life by the General Government and composed of 76 members, and the Lower House²³ composed of 196 members, based on the principle of population, to be elected by the several Colonies forming parts of the Confederation. To this General Government and Legislature will be confided²⁴ the larger powers now possessed by the several local Governments, conferring²⁵ on it the amount of authority necessary for the due conservation and protection of the interests of the several communities whose guardianship it would assume... The Local²⁶ Government would be retained, with smaller powers, having under its control the expenditure of eighty thousand pound stg.²⁷ per annum,²⁸ and the management of peculiarly local affairs. The roads, public Institutions, and other kindred matters would be in the hands of the Local Legislature; but the operations of the General Government would be entirely independent of the action of the Local Bodies.²⁹ The modifications of the present Local Governmental machinery are left to the several Bodies themselves, to determine according to the peculiar circumstances of each Colony; but the necessity of reducing them, in one shape or another, to meet the altered condition of affairs, and lessen the expenses would not be a matter of question.”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 13 February 1865.

NEWFOUNDLAND'S POTENTIAL INFLUENCE WITHIN CONFEDERATION

“It had been stated among the objections to this scheme, that we should be at the mercy of Canada, with our small representation of eight members in the General Assembly. Canada is regarded as a large mammoth state, intent only on devouring all its smaller associates. We do not find in the history of combinations like this, that the smaller states have causes of complaint from the exercise of undue influence on the part of the larger. It has never been found that the little

²⁰ Disclosed = proven to be the case

²¹ Contemplates = proposes

²² Upper = Senate

²³ Lower House = House of Commons

²⁴ Confided = given


²⁵ Conferring = giving

²⁶ Local = provincial

²⁷ Stg. = sterling (British money)

²⁸ Per annum = each year

²⁹ Local Bodies = local legislatures



state of Rhode Island³⁰ suffers aggression at the hands of the American union. If Canada had the power, it would not be her interest to pursue any unjust or injurious policy towards the lesser confederates.³¹ In our case she would desire to be our supplier of the greater part of what we consume, and this would give her a direct interest in our well-being and advancement. But would the power lie with Canada to tax or otherwise oppress us? Hon. gentlemen seem to forget that Canada is two provinces, not much in accord³² in feeling, or sentiment, or interest. These provinces are separated by causes of the most abiding³³ nature—differences of race, religion, language, traditory antagonisms,³⁴ which have now brought the Government of the country to a dead lock, and which bar all prospect of their becoming a homogeneous³⁵ people. In the Upper Province,³⁶ the population is British and Protestant. In the Lower Province,³⁷ French and Catholic; and it is remarkable how little the races have mingled, though living side by side for generations past... Between these Provinces—Upper Canada with her 82 members, and Lower Canada with 65—the 47 members from the Lower Provinces would necessarily, in any intelligent view of the case, exercise a power almost of commanding influence, and the common interest of the Lower Provinces³⁸ would always join them together whenever the occasion was of adequate importance. The safety of our position in this respect will be easily understood by any one commonly observant of the working of the British Parliament, and the influence of even smaller relative combinations in affecting and controlling the decisions of that great body.”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 13 February 1865.

RAILWAYS

“It is constantly being asserted, with the air of unanswerable argument, that in the railways and public works of Canada we have no interest. The objection takes that special view that characterises so much of the argument offered against the whole measure. In every improvement that facilitates trade and cheapens the means of transport in those countries we are connected with by commercial relations, we have an interest. We have an interest in the railways of Spain, which have improved the means of communication in that country, and which have done more than all other causes to sustain the high prices of our staple produce for the past few years. We have an interest in the railways in the United States, which lessen the cost of carriage from the interior to the seaboard, of those articles of commerce which we import from that country. The railways in Brazil are also of consequence to us in increasing the means of transporting our fish to parts of that country that were before inaccessible, and enhancing its consumption and value. But in the proposed Intercolonial Railway to Halifax we have interests of a more direct and significant kind. The present state of our relations with America is not so satisfactory as to render a rupture with that country a very improbable contingency. It is most wise then for all, circumstanced as we are to consider the position in which we should be placed in that event. At present we receive nearly all our supplies of food from the States, and for five months of the year the river of St. Lawrence is frozen. War with the States during this time when navigation is suspended would cut us off from all our ordinary supplies of food. It is in this view that the Railway to Halifax becomes so important and gives an answer to those who ask us what interest

³⁰ Rhode Island is the smallest state in the United States and sent very few representatives to Congress.

³¹ Confederates = other states in the United States

³² In accord = in agreement

³³ Abiding = enduring


³⁴ Antagonisms = conflicts

³⁵ Homogeneous = likeminded

³⁶ Upper Province = Upper Canada, present-day Ontario

³⁷ Lower Province = Lower Canada, present-day Quebec

³⁸ Lower Provinces = the provinces that together make up Atlantic Canada



we have in its construction. It would be the means³⁹ of saving us from want if England and the United States were at war, by establishing a communication between Canada and the seaboard through British Territory. The people of this country might be starving, while the granaries of Western Canada were full-stored with wheat, unless the Railway communication with Halifax were established. This is no new view of the subject, for it was urged by Mr. Howe,⁴⁰ in 1862, when he said that ‘the Intercolonial Railway being finished, we shall not only control the telegraphic and postal communication of the Western States, but secure to the people of Great Britain at all seasons a steady supply of breadstuffs, should unhappily the ports of the United States, in war, be closed against them.’”

Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, speech reproduced by the *Newfoundlander*, 222 March 1865.

³⁹ Means = method

⁴⁰ Mr. Howe = Joseph Howe, a former Premier of Nova Scotia who subsequently led the anti-Confederation movement in that province



Joseph “Joey” Smallwood’s Views on Confederation

When Newfoundland and Labrador’s National Convention debated Confederation between 1946 and 1948, Joey Smallwood said the following points:

SUMMARY STATEMENTS

“For the people of Newfoundland these confederation terms would mean a happier land, a land of hope and progress. The people would come at last into their own. For the country in general, these terms would mean hitching Newfoundland’s wagon to the rising, shining star that we call the great British nation of Canada. It would mean linking our own dear Newfoundland to the third largest land in the world—a land where the common people get a break, where they get a decent chance to live and rear their families. For Newfoundland these terms mean security and political freedom. I support them with all my heart. I commend them to my fellow Newfoundlanders for their serious and solemn consideration. God guard thee Newfoundland.”

National Convention, 14 January 1948, pg. 1187.

“We can, of course, persist in isolation, a dot on the shore of North America, the Funks¹ of the North American continent, struggling vainly to support ourselves and our greatly expanded public services. Reminded continually by radio, movie and visitor of greatly higher standards of living across the Gulf, we can shrug incredulously or dope ourselves into the hopeless belief that such things are not for us. By our isolation from the throbbing vitality and expansion of the continent we have been left far behind in the march of time, the ‘sport of historic misfortune,’ the ‘Cinderella of the Empire.’ Our choice now is to continue in blighting² isolation or seize the opportunity that may beckon us to the wider horizons and higher standards of unity with the progressive mainland of America.



Image held by Library and Archives Canada.


“Confederation I will support if it means a lower cost of living for our people. Confederation I will support if it means a higher standard of life for our people. Confederation I will support if it means strength, stability and security for Newfoundland. I will support confederation if it gives us democratic government. I will support confederation if it rids us of Commission government. I will support confederation if it gives us responsible government under conditions that will give responsible government a real chance to succeed. Confederation I will support if it makes us a province enjoying privileges and rights no lower than any other province.”

National Convention, 28 October 1946, pg. 95.

“Sir, you could bring Winston Churchill and Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison to Newfoundland, and along with them Mackenzie King and Franklin D. Roosevelt if he were alive,

¹ the Funks = a depressed area

² Blighting= sickening



and Lloyd George³ too if he were alive, and you could put those men at the head of affairs in Newfoundland, They could do their best, and their best would not be good enough. They would fail. They would be licked⁴ before they started, because it's impossible to make things right for the people of this country so long as we hold out stubbornly against the one thing that can make a prosperous Newfoundland really possible. They would fail so long as they tried to run Newfoundland as a separate independent country pretending that it was a nation. They would fail so long as they failed to link Newfoundland onto a much greater, at much larger, a much more stable unit."

National Convention, 14 January 1948, pg. 1181.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

"The general principle of responsible government is plain and simple. If a British colony is self-supporting,⁵ then it's entitled to responsible government if it wants it. But the very fact that a British colony has responsible government is taken as meaning that it is not entitled to financial help from the British government. If the colony gets financial help from the British government it has to give up responsible government, because no colony is supposed to have responsible government unless and until it is fully self-supporting; and if it is fully self-supporting then it does not need financial help from the British government. Financial help and responsible government are like oil and water—they just don't mix, and so it is not surprising that the British government tells us that you can have responsible government if the people vote for it, but if you have it don't count on financial help from us."

National Convention, 19 May 1947, pg. 537.

"Sir, I am against responsible government coming back to Newfoundland. In principle, I think responsible government is right, but in practice, I think it is wrong. I think if we went back to responsible government we would bring misery and suffering on our people. I think it would be a terrible gamble to take. When I say that responsible government is all right in principle,⁶ I mean that all people should have the right of self-government, all people should have power over the government—the power to elect it, and the power to put them out if they don't do right. But when I say that responsible government is all wrong in practice, what I mean is that I see no chance whatever that responsible government would be any better for us than it was those last 20 years that we had it."

National Convention, 19 January 1948, pg. 1245.

PROSPERITY

"Major Cashin says if we go into confederation, within three years our surplus will all be gone. No, it will not. It will not be gone within twice three years. But let me ask this question: if we do not go into confederation, how long will the surplus last? And especially, how long will it last if we should get the kind of government that the majority in this Convention want to get?..."

"Major Cashin tells us that under confederation if the people want work they will have to get out of the country to get it. What he forgot to tell us is where the people will get work if we do not have confederation. We have not got confederation now, but we have got 15,000-20,000 people on

³ Winston Churchill, Erbest Bevin and Herbert Morrison, Mackenzie King, Franklin D. Roosevelt = British, Canadian and American Prime Ministers, leading politicians and Presidents who were all considered successful.

⁴ Licked = beaten

⁵ Self-supporting = a colony that can raise enough tax revenues to pay for its government and public services (ex. road construction, schools)

⁶ In principle = a good idea

the dole.⁷ We have many hundreds of veterans of the late war⁸ out of work. Without confederation, where will these men get jobs? Major Cashin forgot to tell us. He tells us that with confederation they have to go out of the country to find jobs, but what our thousands of unemployed men would like to know is, where they are going to find jobs if we do not have confederation?”

National Convention, 28 January 1948, pgs. 1141–1142.

“Canada today is one of the two or three countries in the whole world that has a stable and sound economy. Her banking system is the soundest in the world. Her insurance companies are, to say the least, as sound as any in the world. Her industries are booming, her trade is increasing every day, employment is growing every day.”

National Convention, 14 January 1948, pg. 1167.

“The answer is this: at the very time that Newfoundland went on the rocks the Province of Saskatchewan also went broke, just about as badly as this country did. Newfoundland, as we all know, lost self-government because we went broke. Great Britain stepped in and took our government from us. In Saskatchewan the Government of Canada loaned the Government of Saskatchewan I think \$90 million. That was in the depression days of 1929–31. This year, in 1947, the federal government made a deal with Saskatchewan... They signed a deal giving them some 20-odd years to pay half of it, and the other half the federal government has forgiven altogether...⁹ Saskatchewan came out of it very well, and they did not lose their government as we did.”

National Convention, 20 October 1947, pg. 619.

“If we don’t get confederation, if our transportation system is not taken over by the Canadian National Railways, then hundreds of railroaders are doomed to layoffs and wage cuts. Confederation is their only hope of security, stability, steady wages and expanding opportunities.”

National Convention, 13 January 1948, pg. 1155.

THE PROMISE OF THE CANADIAN WELFARE STATE

“The first is clear enough. Special grant of \$3.5 million a year for the first three years; after that dropping by 10% each year. I would ask you to note why that grant is offered. It is in order to facilitate the adjustment of Newfoundland to the status of a province and to facilitate the development by Newfoundland of revenue producing services... But it is the next clause that is really important, because as they say there, it is a difficult thing to foretell with enough accuracy just what the financial consequences would be to Newfoundland in adjusting herself to the status of a province of Canada. So these subsidies¹⁰ offered, including the \$3.5 million may or may not be enough. Therefore the Government of Canada... says within eight years of our becoming a province they would appoint a royal commission¹¹ to review our financial position as it appeared at that time. In doing that, the royal commission would be bound to take two things into account in deciding whether we need a bigger subsidy or not. It would have to take into account whether the province at that time was taking in enough to pay its way — taking it in two cases, first, subsidies from the Government of Canada and taxes on the people of Newfoundland. Was it breaking even? Was it paying its way? Was it balancing its budget? Was the Government of


⁷ The dole = welfare

⁸ The late war = the Second World War

⁹ Altogether = entirely

¹⁰ Subsidies = money paid each year by the federal government to Newfoundland and Labrador’s provincial government

¹¹ Royal commission = a group of experts, appointed by a government, to study a problem and make recommendations on how to solve it



Newfoundland getting enough subsidy to enable it to keep up its services to the public? And secondly, they have to have a yardstick¹² to measure that by, and the yardstick is the rate of provincial taxation in the Maritime Provinces, those provinces being most nearly similar to the conditions in Newfoundland. These would be the yardstick. However, it is agreed here that the Government of Canada in deciding whether to give more subsidy or not, and if so how much, would have to take into account what we were doing for ourselves; were we collecting a fair amount of taxes?... The yardstick is how would taxation in Newfoundland six or seven years from now compare with taxation in the Maritime Provinces. That is not all. They do not say you have to have the same burden of taxation in Newfoundland as in the Maritime Provinces. What they say is, having regard to your ability to pay..."

National Convention, 27 November 1947, pgs. 878–879.

"I will give Mr. Butt [another member of the National Convention] his point, I will keep him a bit ahead. If he wants to content himself to believe that even proportionately the Government of Newfoundland provides public services to the people of Newfoundland as Canada does for her people, he is entirely welcome to believe it. If he thinks for a moment that the people of Newfoundland will believe it, then he is welcome to his belief. I say now that if he has been in the government civil service for 18 years, for almost twice 18 years I have made a very close study of public and governmental affairs in this country, and I have travelled throughout the length and breadth of this island, and I know what the public services are in Newfoundland. I know what the government does for the people, few know it better, and anyone who is going to set out to persuade me that the Government of Canada does not provide far better and far more public services for its people than our government does for ours is tackling a job that is going to take him a long time to accomplish."

National Convention, 21 November, pg. 809.


"National Health and Welfare. Treatment of sick and injured mariners. We may treat them as citizens, but we have no particular scheme for treating sick and injured mariners in Newfoundland as in Canada. We will find out more about that as we go through these discussions. Food and Drug Standards—we have that. Public Health Engineering—I don't think we have much of that..."

"Oh no, it's more than a big word. Public health engineering means this: a government department that goes into a city or a farm area, or a fishing area, and plans out the actual engineering problems involved in controlling public health, and to prevent all infectious and contagious disease. It is a matter of placing central water supply in places that need it, disposal of sewage, and general public engineering in matters of public health. We have no such department in Newfoundland..."

"I will tell you the service and we will see if the Newfoundland government does for the Newfoundland people what the Canadian government does for the Canadian people. I will not say whether they have got a department, or a division, or a board, or a committee; we will just take the function. It is the Government of Canada that does it..."

National Convention, 21 November 1947, pgs. 808–809.

¹² Yardstick = an example to compare Newfoundland and Labrador to



“In Newfoundland they have to live to be 75 before they get the pension, in Canada 70. In Newfoundland we pay two persons \$30 a quarter between them, in Canada they pay \$30 a month to each of them. What’s the difference? The old people in Canada get \$60 a month between them, whereas two old people in Newfoundland get \$10 a month between them. The old couple in Canada are \$50 a month better off than our old couple, and that’s \$600 a year.”

National Convention, 14 January 1948, pg. 1183.

TRADE

“...If it [Confederation] means anything, it means this, a government that will give us free trade, take off customs duties on things going into basic industry, bring down cost of production and bring down cost of living. That is what that means. The kind of government that will give us free trade and thereby help, not hinder sound development.”

National Convention, 20 November 1947, pg. 798.

“If we become a province of Canada, our trade is going to be different from what it is now and from what it has been in the past, as regards the source of our goods. We have imported in the past from the United Kingdom, from Canada, from the United States and roughly speaking, take the years 1900–1938... on the average this country imported roughly one-third of its goods from each of them. That is in normal times and under normal conditions, Newfoundland having her own customs tariffs¹³ and running her own affairs. Newfoundland as a province becomes an entirely different country from the standpoint of tariffs and consequently from the standpoint of where she buys her goods. With free trade between the mainland and Newfoundland, we will naturally buy from Canada duty free all that we need that she has to spare... If Newfoundland were a province and any importer... bought goods from the United Kingdom or the United States, he would pay the current rate of duty on them, if there was a Canadian rate of duty. If there was no duty, they would come into Newfoundland free of duty.”


National Convention, 2 December 1947, pgs. 935–936.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“The first point is this: that confederation does not mean that Canada would take Newfoundland over and run it, because Canada is a federal union of nine provinces—Newfoundland would make the tenth. A federal union, wherever it does exist in this world, means only a sharing or dividing of responsibilities and powers; so that confederation would mean that the powers which our government now has would be divided. We would have some powers, and the Government of Canada would have some, and the responsibilities and burdens our government now has would be divided. Our government would carry some of the burdens and the Government of Canada would carry some.”

National Convention, 8 December 1947, pg. 960.

¹³ Tariffs = taxes charged by the government on goods imported into the colony or country



“...from the time we would become part of the Canadian union, we would have the status of a province with all the rights, powers and privileges and responsibilities of a province. That means this: as I see it, Canada is a union of countries called provinces—there are nine of them. If we became a province, there would be ten provinces. Canada is a union of provinces or of countries. Each of these provinces has its own legislature which it elects itself. That House of Assembly or legislature governs the province in all matters that are laid down for it to govern it. The other matters are handled, of course, by the government of the whole union, that is the federal government.”

National Convention, 20 November 1947, pg. 793.

EDUCATION

“There are two points that seemed and seem to be highly desirable in this country today. One point is this: any denomination that has its own schools must be guaranteed the right to have their schools as long as ever they want them to be so; all the rights they have now must be guaranteed to last forever— to have separate denominational schools and to have them paid for out of the public chest...¹⁵ On the other hand, if any two denominations who want to unite their two systems of schools... the right to do that is also in these terms, so that all rights are protected; to stay as they are or to go on to something else. That is left entirely to Newfoundland. The Government of Canada does not want to interfere in the matter.”

National Convention, 28 November 1947, pg. 893.

“Major Cashin tells us that confederation would be a threat to our educational system and that we would have non-denominational schools forced on us. Now, nothing said in this Convention since the first day it opened is so untrue as that one. There is not one single word of truth in it, not a syllable, not even a letter of truth in it. It is completely and utterly false, definitely and finally false, wholly and undeniably false. I challenge any man in Newfoundland—do you understand, sir?—any man in Newfoundland to show that our school system, our denominational school system, is in the slightest danger from confederation. I challenge any man in this island to show that all existing rights of all denominations are not absolutely safeguarded and protected under the terms of confederation. I say here and now that no denomination, not one denomination, has the slightest reason for uneasiness on this point. All existing rights have been fully guaranteed and protected, just exactly as they stand today. Any denomination that wishes to go right on with its own separate denominational schools, paid for out of public funds, can do so under confederation, exactly as it can without confederation. Confederation will not make a particle of difference in our school system, and it is false and unworthy and mischievous to say it will, or even hint that it will.”


National Convention, 27–28 November 1947, pg. 1142.

NEWFOUNDLAND'S POTENTIAL INFLUENCE WITHIN CONFEDERATION

“Newfoundland would be entitled to full representation in the Senate by six senators who are appointed by the Governor-General of Canada for life...

“In the House of Commons there would be seven members. These are not appointed. They are elected by the people and for that purpose Newfoundland would be divided into seven districts; they will be big districts, of course... If the government of the day in Canada happened to be Conservative, and if at least one man elected from Newfoundland was a Conservative, he would

¹⁵ Public chest = paid from tax revenues



be a member of the cabinet.¹⁶ If the Government of Canada happened to be Liberal, and there was one elected Liberal from Newfoundland, he would be a member of the cabinet. It is an understood thing, it is not in the bond. As Newfoundland is such an important fishing country, the most important fishing country in the Canadian union, Newfoundland would automatically fall in for the job of Minister of Fisheries. I do not expect to be Minister of Fisheries.”

National Convention, 27 November 1947, pg. 879.

“The Province of Quebec elects 65 members to the House of Commons. Ontario elects 96. A good many more than the Province of Quebec. Let me tell you something: there was a time when Quebec was not as big as it is now. At that same time, Ontario was not as big as it is now. What happened?... Quebec was pushed north to the sea as far as she could go; Ontario was pushed north to the ocean as far as it could go. The last thing that can happen is that Quebec can be made bigger, because Ontario controls the government more than does Quebec. Quebec has 65 members whom she elects; Ontario has, I think, 80-odd. Look in the Black Book and you will find the number. If you say Quebec controls the Parliament, why not say Ontario controls it still more? Do you think Ontario is going to sit by and allow Quebec to be made bigger? No. It cannot be done.”

National Convention, 20 November 1947, pg. 801.

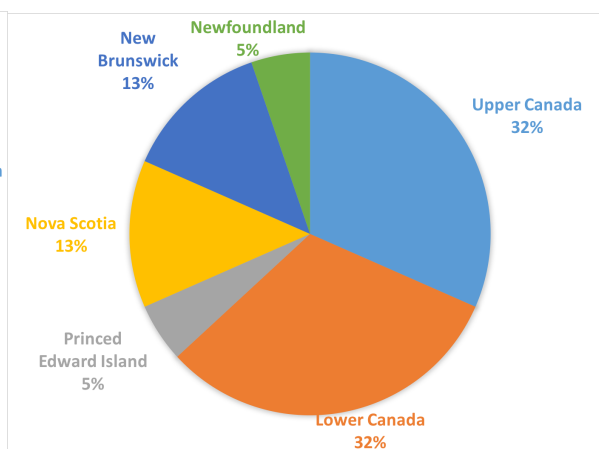
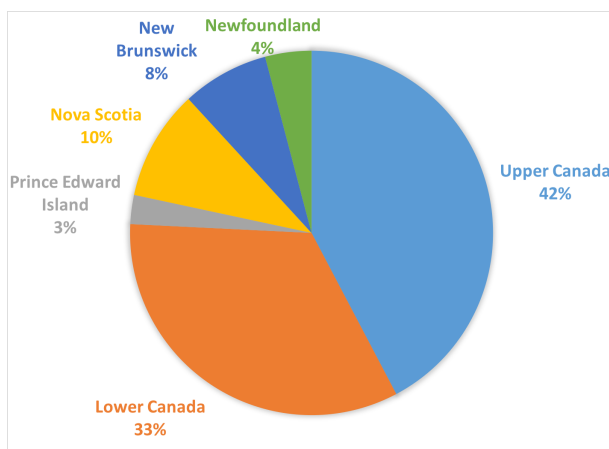
¹⁶ The cabinet is where many of the government’s most important decisions are made. It is traditional for every federal government to appoint at least one cabinet minister from every province. Smallwood is stating that this tradition will ensure that Newfoundland will have input into major federal policies.




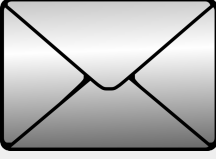
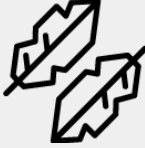

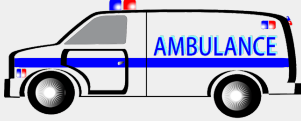

72 Resolutions Handout

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

House of Commons Senate



DIVISION OF POWERS

Federal Powers	 Military	 Postal Service	 Indigenous Peoples
Provincial Powers	 School	 Health Care	 Prisons



SECTION 2: MATERIALS AND HANDOUTS FOR CREATING CANADA: FURTHERING INDIGENOUS-CROWN RELATIONSHIPS



Response Log Handout

Name: Date:
Answer one of the five questions below: Mark out of 5
Questions I have: Mark out of 5

Please answer **ONE** of the following questions:

- Were there any things you did that left no trace or that left only traces that would not be preserved? What does this suggest about the historical record?
- What might future historians think about you if they were able to study your traces?
- If the historian was from a difficult culture or language, would they understand your trace?
- What if historians only examined traces that you left purposefully? How much of a trace would you have left?
- What other kinds of traces, relics, testimony and records would help historians learn about our society?
- Would it have been easier if you had recorded your traces with words? What if these words were in another language?

THE CONFEDERATION DEBATES

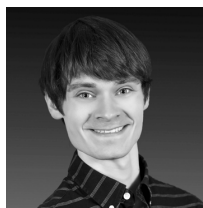
EDUCATION TEAM



Jennifer Thiverge led *The Confederation Debates* education committee. She is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Ottawa and has a Masters of Education and a Bachelor of Education in Voice, Drama, and History. Her research interests are interdisciplinary, ranging from using drama to teach about World War One, Dark Heritage and Collective Memory in the Museums, to how gender plays a role in the History of Computer Science. As an active historian and educator, Jennifer has extensive experience in both fields.



Daniel Heidt, PhD is *The Confederation Debates* project manager. His doctoral research on Canadian politics and Ontario federalism during the nineteenth century demonstrated that asymmetrical political influence does not necessary destabilize national unity. He also has a strong background in digital humanities and co-owns Waterloo Innovations, a company dedicated to working with researchers to improve digital workflows.



Bobby Cole is an MA student in Canadian and Indigenous Commemorative History at the University of Ottawa. His research focuses on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada's representation of Indigenous history in the 30 years following the Second World War.



Robert Hamilton is a PhD student at the University of Victoria Faculty of Law. His research focuses on Aboriginal law in Canada, with a specific focus on Aboriginal and Treaty rights in Canada's Maritime Provinces. Robert holds a B.A. (Hons) in Philosophy from St. Thomas University, a J.D. from University of New Brunswick Law School, and an LL.M. from Osgoode Hall Law School. He has published in the area of Aboriginal land rights in the Maritime Provinces and has presented his research at numerous academic conferences.



Elisa Sance is a PhD student in Canadian-American history at the University of Maine. Her doctoral research focuses on language, citizenship and identity in teacher training in Maine and New Brunswick during the twentieth century. As part of her training, Sance studied the teaching of modern languages, the teaching of children with learning and behavior problems in the regular classroom, and feminist pedagogy. She regularly attends professional development events on related topics and participates in outreach programs benefitting high schools and middle schools in Maine.

Varun Joshi composed biography briefs for the historical figures included in this package.

In addition to the quotes identified by volunteer transcribers, Michael Davis canvassed the records for many of the quotes found in in the primary document handouts and transcribed the quotes from the *Morning Chronicle*. Beth Graham kindly reviewed the entire lesson plan for typos and various inconsistencies.

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CANADA RESEARCH CHAIR IN INDIGENOUS LAW



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