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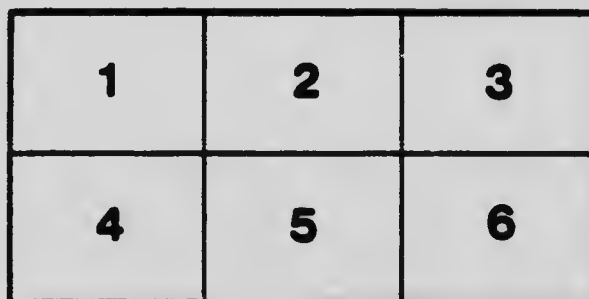
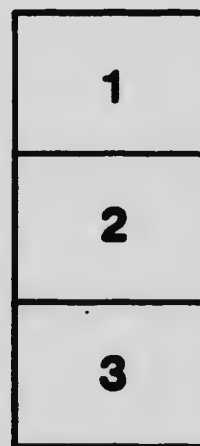
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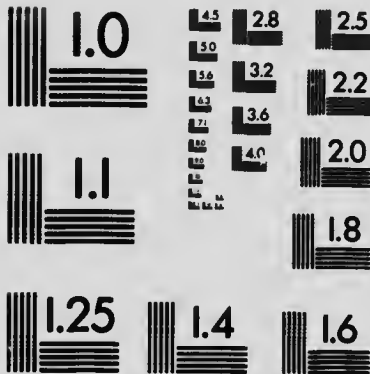
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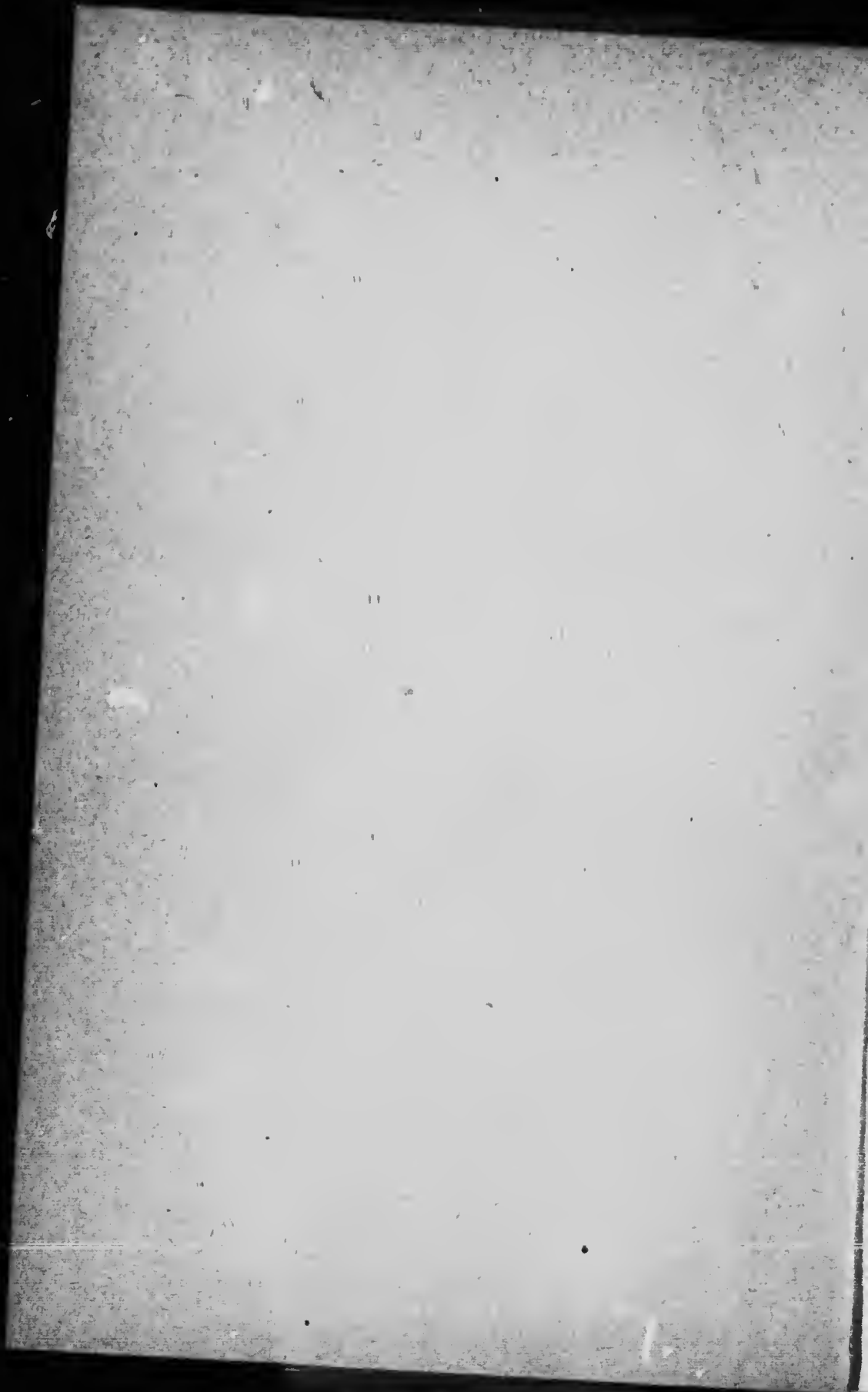
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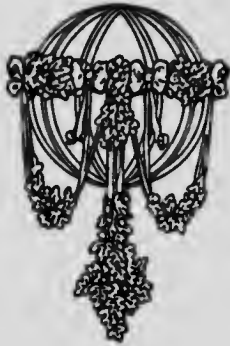
The Story
of
Confederation

R. E. Gosnell

90-2



THE STORY
—OF—
CONFEDERATION
WITH
POSTSCRIPT ON QUEBEC
SITUATION



-BY-

R. E. GOSNELL

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FOREWORD

THIS being the fiftieth year of Confederation it is fitting and most timely that, in addition to the ceremonies incident to the celebration of the fiftieth birthday on the last First of July, there should be a book published in which are summarized and explained the conditions on account of which Union was evolved; in which events and personalities are clearly indicated, and not only general principles and vital issues are dealt with but in which local and provincial considerations and relations have due prominence, and the very widest possible aspects of British federation in North America are set forth. It is not even untimely at this critical stage of our history that we should speculate somewhat on the future.

Two books, which I might term by-products of Confederation sentiment, were published this year, one didactic in its treatment and the other biographical, both excellent books, but neither making claims to being at all comprehensive in its scope. The first referred to is a symposium of four lectures delivered at the Toronto University. The other is entitled "Confederation and its Leaders," and is written by Mr. M. O. Hammond of Toronto. Sir Joseph Pope, some years secretary to my late father, Sir John Macdonald, has given to us what is known as "Confederation Documents," to the archives of which he had free access. This volume, as its name implies, is not intended for popular consumption, and its contents are confined to basic facts. There were no regular minutes of the Charlottetown, Quebec and London conferences kept, and Sir Joseph's book, highly valuable for its purpose, is largely made up of notes made by my father and the texts of

resolutions relating to the general principles upon which Union was based. Col. the Hon. J. Hamilton Gray, one of the Fathers and a former Premier of New Brunswick, may be regarded as the official historian of Confederation, but it is ever to be regretted that only his first volume was published and the manuscript of the second was lost. The published volume is extremely valuable as a record and for certain observations by one of the makers of Confederation, but it covers only the organic stage of Union--from the Charlotte-town conferences to the actual culmination in 1867, and Confederation is still in the making. It has had treatment in the magazines and in several small volumes not purporting to be more than readable reviews of the bringing about of the B.N.A. Act, the Magna Charta of Canada as a dominion, but none of the publications to which I have referred covers the wide field which Mr. Gosnell has surveyed in his book to which this is a foreword. There have, of course, been several useful and able commentaries upon Confederation from the constitutional point of view, largely based upon judicial interpretation and particularly upon decisions of the Privy Council. With fifty years of perspective, we should now be in a position to judge more or less accurately of the merits of the work of the architects of the federal structure, and to view successfully federal relations under a variety of trying strains and over a wide extent of territory. It is true that as a result of conditions arising out of this war Confederation has yet to stand its severest test, but there is every hope that sectional and racial considerations, which are the lions in the pathway, will not be permitted to prevail.

Mr. Gosnell modestly claims to have written only a journalistic review of Confederation. This may be true, but it is the kind of review which appeals to the ordinary reader who wishes to arrive at a serviceable knowledge of the subject, and in that, I think, consists its merits. Mr. Gosnell, though I judge him to have political leanings, has endeavored, and I think with success, to be impartial in his judgments and

estimates of men and in his conclusions in respect of their policies.

I should be less than human if I were not pleased that Mr. Gosnell gives to my father, Sir John Macdonald, a prominent place among those who accomplished the federation of the British North American Provinces, and acknowledges that he had very definite aims and high ideals in respect of Union in Canada and beyond Canada as it affected the Empire. His dominating idea was the co-operation of Canada in maintaining inviolate an Empire in which the well-tried principles and traditions of British institutions should always prevail and that whatever form ultimate British federation, of which he thought Canada would be a happy partner, might take, British sovereignty of the people as represented in the King should be the cardinal feature. Hence he believed in calling it the "Kingdom of Canada," instead of the "Dominion of Canada," the King being the connecting constitutional link between all parts of the Empire, and allegiance to the Empire being the vital principle of all his politics. War has in a wonderful way cemented Empire sentiment which has hitherto been more or less nebulous. It is for this reason that we regret the attitude of Quebec which is the only doubtful factor in the wider solution we have to face after the war, because not much longer can we dally with the problems which persistently force themselves on us for final consideration. We must either be an Empire united in some form with constitutional bulwarks or a series of independent nations whose interests will become more and more diverse and unrelated. There is the much talked of kinship which counts for a good deal while it is young but grows cold and indifferent with age. It is now Teutonic ambitions for world supremacy as against British traditions in favor of a free world working out its own destiny untrammelled by dynastic complications. The key to the future liberty of nations is in the consolidation of the British Empire, with sympathetic alliances strong enough to

ensure peace and prevent tyrannous domination by one country over another.

There is another feature of the story of Confederation which I did not fully realize until I read the manuscript. It is the extent to which railways and transportation generally have entered into and influenced that great national movement and undertaking.

We find at the very outset in the Maritime Provinces a strong desire for the facilities of transportation afforded by railways and that only a few years after the first line in Great Britain had been laid down and its usefulness demonstrated. Isolated as the Maritime Provinces were people naturally wished to have communication with the outside world. They wanted connection by rail with the adjoining states of the Union and they wanted to get into commercial touch with the Canada of that day.

So far as either the people of the United States or the people of Canada were concerned there was no sentiment in the Atlantic Provinces at all. They knew the people of Canada scarcely as well as we know the people of Australia today and for practical purposes were farther away from them. The Maritime Provinces did not know Canada at all and their only interest in it—I speak of the people as a whole—was the possibility of an extension of trade and a wider outlook upon the world, an interest somewhat similar to what we feel in Newfoundland and the West Indies. Of course, we have the wider interest now in rounding out our Confederation on its broadest possible basis, the appeal to what I am pleased to feel is our strong national pride. But essentially sentiment in national affairs builds itself up and feeds upon material interests and material expansion. There was no Canadian sentiment, as such, and no Canadian national pride—quite the opposite—in 1864, as we know and feel it today. Our limits of vision were narrow and provincial. The glory of the United States is in the extent and resource of its great domain. That of the British is in the Empire upon which

the sun never sets. Germany has developed a pride in and love for Fatherland as the result of consolidation of a number of Teutonic states in which one hundred years ago such sentiments were unknown.

But at the bottom of it all has been the extension of the facilities of inter-communication—at first, for centuries, ships, and then railways, and now a combination in system of both ships and railways. So in Canada the desire for railway communication and connection evolved the Intercolonial, which was the *sine qua non* of Confederation so far as the Maritime Provinces were concerned.

We have an interesting analogue, though an illustration of the principle on a much bigger scale, of the Canadian Pacific railway, the *sine qua non* of British Columbia's entry into Union—the joining of the east and west—and perhaps in a more important sense the development of the entire West, whose marvellous expansion in three decades is wholly due, as a first cause, to that great national enterprise.

As an example of the weight of considerations of political and material interest versus sentiment in national affairs—although sentiment in the last analysis must be the binding cement—we have the original proposal of the Hon. George Brown. The genesis of Confederation, so far as he was concerned, was a railway into the Middle West to develop that country and create a population which in voting power would offset and overcome "French-Canadian domination," against which he waged relentless warfare. It was not a political possibility in its original form, but it secured his assent to the Union of all the Provinces which would break the deadlock between Upper and Lower Canada and possibly achieve his object in another way.

And just here permit me to interject this observation, Railways were the original problem of Confederation. They have remained the great problem of Canada since Confederation, not only in the Dominion as a whole, but in the Provinces, and if Newfoundland were added tomorrow to the

sisterhood we should have an extension of the problem there. Governments have been made by their railway policies and more have been wrecked by them. In this way our railway problems are among the fruits of Confederation, and these problems are not less now than before, although our financial ability to cope with them is greater than ever. There have been big mistakes made in our railway policies from the very beginning and for the reason that in one sense and in many localities their prospective benefits were greatly magnified, and in another sense their importance as factors of local development have not been sufficiently appreciated. As a consequence we have too many railways for one purpose and not enough for another. A railway is an uncertain quantity from start to finish. It may, as in the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway, exceed in its success all anticipations, or it may, as in the case of some others, be very disappointing in results; but as the Monetary Times, I think, suggested, we have this hope, even as to what we regard as mistakes for the present, they may in the years to come be new conditions and new developments be galvanized into successes. I feel, however, and have always felt since I have begun to make a study of the railway problem that, as a corollary of Confederation, based as it was largely on railway considerations, the policies of the Dominion and of the Provinces should have been made to co-ordinate as to general and local requirements, so as to have avoided overlapping activities and jurisdictions. Thus we would have had a logical and comprehensive system, not as at present, one disjointed and duplicated in many parts.

Returning to the main thought which I had in view, our transcontinental system of communication assisted materially in achieving another object of Confederation, and that is of extending our outlook beyond continental shores. We have had afforded us through our own territory outlets to the Orient and to Dominions of the Southern Seas by lines of steamships whose importance has been augmented by the logic of a Pacific cable. We have thus by these complements

to Atlantic services virtually established the All Red Route, a material and substantial binder of Empire, for which sentiment and large political considerations may some day find suitable constitutional habiliments.

I have been induced to attach this Foreword to Mr. Gosnell's Story of Confederation because of the important and peculiar relation which transportation bears to the whole subject in regard to both the narrower and wider aspects of Union. One of the features of interest to me in the story of the author is the manner in which, not obtrusively, however, and perhaps not intentionally, this relation has been traced from an obscure commencement to a splendid and logical conclusion. Mr. Gosnell, as he says in his Introduction, has not indulged in attempted rhetorical flights or served up literary garnishings to his readers—although the subject is full of temptations in that respect—but, in my opinion, he has succeeded in representing a plain and interesting narrative of events and exposition of conditions which have led up to our present proud position as a Dominion, now almost conspicuous in world affairs. His book is also suggestive of much greater things yet to come. As Mr. Gosnell suggests, Confederation is still in the making and the resources of statesmanship have not yet been exhausted, or indeed have they yet come up to the mark of determining the possibilities of the future. These shall be requisitioned to the full in "The Work of Big Men After the War."

Hugh J. Macdonald



THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE first of July of the present year having been the Fiftieth Anniversary of Canadian Federation, I was induced to write a series of articles for the Victoria Daily Colonist, entitled "The Story of Confederation." These met with a good deal of favour from readers, and as a result of requests from numerous sources, I have undertaken their publication in book form.

I have dealt with the subject from the time of the first suggestions in the direction of the consolidation of the various parts of British North America up to the present time, and in some measure prospectively as well. Confederation is yet in the making, and I have endeavoured to deal with it not only in the general and wider aspects as relates to the consummation of union in 1867, but to the subsequent incorporation of Provinces from time to time, with some reference to the conditions which governed the entry of each, and to sundry modification of terms and readjustment of financial relations.

I have dealt with British Columbia at greater length than with any of the other Provinces, for several reasons, one being the natural inclination to be more liberal in attention to one's own Province; another being that in its federal relations it has a history peculiarly its own; and still another being that that history is least known and least understood in Canada. I have had occasion, and perhaps more favourable opportunities than most persons, to study federation from the British Columbia point of view, and I trust that my treatment of the subject will in that respect be somewhat illuminating.

The endeavour has been throughout to give a plain, journalistic statement of events and conditions associated with the evolution of Canada's nationhood. The subject lends itself to fine writing and the temptation to grandiose rhetoric and literary garnishings is very great, a temptation I would have resisted, even if I had possessed these accomplishments. Had it not been for a natural indolence and lack of time I might have rewritten the articles to harmonize the style with the greater dignity of the book. With a few alterations and slight editorial revision, however, the Story of Confederation is here printed as it originally appeared, and its merits must be judged from a journalistic rather than from the bibliographic point of view.

Speaking prospectively, the future of Canada is, in the opinion of many of our leading publicists, still a serious problem, rendered not the less perplexing on account of the War, which has given to our federation and all the federations of the Empire a new significance and a newer outlook. Personally, although I may fall within the category of those who venture where angels fear to tread, I have no doubts about the final solution and have no fears of the lions in the pathway.

In the concluding remarks of the volume I have, at least, indicated possibilities, possibilities made brighter and more certain on account of the success achieved by the lesser federation whose steady development and splendid prosperity exemplify in a remarkable way the truth of the old saw, "great oaks from little acorns grow."

THE STORY OF CONFEDERATION

ARTICLE I.

FIFTY years ago, on the first of July of this year, which has ever since been known as Dominion Day, the principle of Confederation had concrete expression in the British North America Act, then brought into effect. The old colonies of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were brought together under the terms of a written constitution, but one in which was contained and continued intact the best of free, expanding and traditional institutions of British government. The B. N. A. Act, as it is more commonly termed, made provision for the inclusion of the other colonies of British North America whenever they chose to come in, and for the organization of the other Provinces in the Middle West as the territory developed and became sufficiently populated. Newfoundland is now the only colony of British North America which is not represented in the sisterhood of

J. S. Ewart, the well known constitutional lawyer and the author of "Kingdom Papers," has taken serious exception to the use of the term "Confederation" as applying to the Dominion. As a matter of exact terminology the exception is well taken. Canada is not a confederation but a federation, although from the point of derivation, apart from the recognized meaning, the use of "Confederation" could be justified.

Murray's Oxford Dictionary gives the following definition of Confederation:

"1. * * * * * A league, an alliance (between persons or states), in modern use only the latter. * * * * *

"2. A number of states (or formerly of persons) united by a league; a body of states united for certain common purposes.

"In modern common use 'Confederation' is usually limited to a permanent union of sovereign states for common action in relation to external affairs. Such were the following: Germanic Confederation, the union of the German States under the presidency of the Emperor of Austria from 1815 to 1866; Confederation of the Rhine, the union of certain German States under the protection of Napoleon Bonaparte from 1806 to 1873; New England Confederation, the union of four New England Colonies for common defence against the Dutch and the Indians, 1643-84. The United States are commonly described as a confederation (or confederacy) from 1777 to 1789; but from 1780 their closer union has been considered a 'federation' or federal republic."

There is no question that the Canadian union cannot be strictly regarded as a confederation, which involves a compact or alliance by treaty among sovereign powers for some common purpose, but without reference to the direction of local affairs; but the term has been so persistently and invariably used in Canada from the very outset that it may be said to have become authorized by general consent and constant usage. If I were to give to this book the title of "The Story of Federation," the majority of readers would have to read the contents to gather the purport of the phrase. One might almost as well try to give a new name to Canada itself.

provinces. That ancient colony had representatives at the celebrated conference of 1864, but the scheme as submitted to the people subsequently was voted down by a large majority, and they have never evinced any disposition to join Canada since. It is not necessary here to discuss the reasons, but as the war has changed everything it is likely to be followed by the complete rounding out of Confederation by the addition of Newfoundland.

Perhaps nothing affecting the destinies of the British Empire has been so significant as the consolidation of the British possessions in North America under the title of the Dominion of Canada. It has had a far-reaching effect in stimulating similar consolidations in Australasia and in Southern Africa, and it may well be that the example set by Canada in 1867 will be followed in that wider and closer consolidation of the Empire, which it is predicted will come after the war.

Claims have been made for Joseph Howe, Sir. Chas. Tupper, George Brown and Sir John Macdonald as having first advocated Confederation, and having promoted the movement. None of these can be established. As a matter of fact, the first proposal dates as far back as 1690, the idea being to unite Anglo-American colonies for purposes of defence against the French and hostile Indians. The second proposal was in 1754-55, and originated with no less a personage than Benjamin Franklin himself. In 1775 Wm. Smith, who was afterwards a chief justice, proposed a plan of union, but was banished to Canada, and one authority refers to him as "the grandfather of Confederation." And so from that time at frequent intervals it was advocated and supported by prominent men, in the newspapers and magazines, in books and pamphlets and by legislative resolutions. I can give you a list of over fifty of the times and occasions, and these could no doubt be greatly multiplied; but the four men referred to were certainly early and strong advocates. Sir John A. Macdonald attended a meeting in Montreal in 1849, at which a

resolution in favour of union was passed, and in the same year the British North American League, which, according to the Hon. Alexander Morris, was composed of the advanced wing of the Conservative party "that rallied around the banner of John A. Macdonald." Sir Charles Tupper in his reminiscences does not claim to go back of 1860, when he delivered a lecture in St. John, New Brunswick, on the subject. Of Joseph Howe, his biographer, Hon. J. W. Longley, has said: "When Johnston, in 1854, moved a resolution and made an eloquent speech in favour of union of the British North American provinces, Howe had spoken in anything but enthusiastic terms in support of Johnston's resolution. On the contrary, he pitted against this proposition a wider and more dazzling prospect of Imperial Union. It is just to affirm that while Howe recognized the value and importance of Canadian Confederation, he always cherished a lurking fear that the Maritime Provinces would be completely overshadowed and absorbed by the Upper Provinces by such a union." Of the Hon. George Brown's share in bringing about Confederation reference will be made later.

The leading Canadians who supported the movement were Chief Justice Sewell (1814 and 1822), William Lyon Mackenzie (1831), Bishop Strachan (1838), Hon. Hamilton Merritt (1851), Colonel Rankin (1851), Hon. J. W. Johnston, in the legislature of Nova Scotia (1854), R. S. Hamilton, Nova Scotia (1855), Hon. J. H. Gray, in New Brunswick legislature (1856), J. C. Tache, Quebec (1857), Hon. A. T. Galt, Toronto (1857), and in the Canadian Legislature, supported by the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, in 1859; at later dates Sir George E. Carter, Sir John Rose, Hon. Alexander Morris, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir John A. Macdonald, Hon. Joseph Howe, Hon. George Brown, and, of course, we have others who were delegates at the Charlottetown Conference of 1864, which included William Macdougall, Alexander Campbell, Oliver Mowat, H. L. Langevin (of Old Canada), A. G. Archibald and R. B. Dickie, of Nova Scotia; Sir Leonard Tilley, Hon. Charles Mitchell and J. H. Gray, New Brunswick; the



EARL OF CARNARVON
Colonial Secretary when Confederation was an issue and a factor in the framing of the terms of Union.



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD
A great Father of Confederation, and Canada's first Prime Minister after Union.

Hon. Colonel Gray, E. Palmer, W. H. Pope (father of Sir Joseph Pope), and A. A. McDonald, Prince Edward Island. These were not all the most prominent after Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper and George Brown.*

But in any review of the persons who are deserving of credit is included the late Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, famous in Canadian literature as the creator of the character of "Sam Slick," whose vision of Empire, as revealed in his writings was greater, wider and farther in the future than that of any other Canadian, not even excepting Joseph Howe. He was the first and the best of Canadian humorists. It will be seen, therefore, from this cursory outline of the movement in its inception that confederation of the British possessions in North America is something which was for a long time in the air for many years and to whom to attach some special credit on its account as the originator would be most difficult. Before leaving this phase of the subject it would be well to remember the celebrated report of Lord Durham in 1839, in which there was the first definite and official recommendations in regard to union of all the Canadian colonies and parts of British North America. Without any doubt that report, whether written by himself or his secretary, had much to do with formulating opinion on the subject.

* On Wednesday, August 8th, of this year, Sir James Grant, in replying to an address of the City of St. Catharines, the freedom of which had been extended to him, after referring to the Welland Canal constructed in 1824, he said:

"Near reference to the C. P. R. recalls a period almost of ancient history. In 1849 and 1850 I entered the medical department of McGill University, guest of the late Allen McDonald, ex-Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. During my college term frequent conferences were held on the Great West, at which Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and ex-chief factors resident in Montreal, took an active interest. I thus obtained valuable information in spare hours on this great and unknown territory in the residence of Mr. McDonald. In 1854, at graduation, I located at Bytown, afterwards Ottawa City. In 1862 I delivered a lecture on the union of the different parts of Canada and binding together by an iron splint, a railway to promote trade and commerce.

"The following day Sir John invited me to Earncliffe, and enquired where I obtained the facts for the lecture. 'From Sir George Simpson and ex-chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company,' I replied. 'You must come into parliament,' said Sir John, and in 1871 I was elected for the county of Russell at Confederation. Some time afterward I was summoned to Stadacona Hall, where Sir John had a slight cold. He was seated in an arm chair in his studio reading a book, in which was a yellow marker, which he withdrew and asked me to read, a cable received the night previous from Grenfell, London, announcing arrangements had been completed for the construction of the C. P. R."

ARTICLE II.

In a previous article I gave what might be termed the genesis of Confederation. Reference has been made to the Conference of Charlottetown in 1864, which was adjourned to Quebec in the same year, where a basis of Confederation was arrived at and presented in a series of resolutions, seventy-two in number. It is not the intention here to give the history of that conference, or outline its discussions, or describe its personnel. These are matters which will form the subjects of a separate article. I shall rather anticipate the results and refer to the attitude of mind in which they were received in the various provinces and colonies affected by the proposals.

Railways and Confederation are so closely associated that they could not be considered apart. They were complementary in their relations to each other. The Maritime Provinces were sequestered from Canada, with which they had not even a nodding acquaintance. Before Confederation railways in New Brunswick occupied the attention of its people. Ten years after the first railway was in operation in England an agitation was started in that province, and it is stated, by the way, that New Brunswick today has more railways in proportion to its population than any other country in the world, except British Columbia, something over 2,000 miles. A meeting was held in St. Andrew's in 1853 to discuss a railway to Quebec, the line of which was surveyed the following year. It was not until 1858 that it was completed as far as Canterbury and not until 1868 as far as Woodstock.

The first sod of a railway from St. John to Shediac, on the Straits of Northumberland, was turned in 1853, and it was on this occasion that the conception of Confederation had its first definite and specific expression in that province. In the address presented to Sir Edmund Head, Lieutenant-Governor, this appeared: "Our sister colonies and ourselves, though under the same flag and enjoying the same free

institutions, are comparatively strangers to each other, our interests disunited, our feelings estranged, our objects divided. From this work, from this time, a more intimate union, a more lasting intercourse must arise, and the British provinces become a powerful and united portion of the British Empire." It would be hardly possible to frame a better description of the situation or one that could have proved more prophetic. His Excellency in replying cordially endorsed the sentiment, and expressed the hope that the people of Canada (Ontario and Quebec of today, then called Upper and Lower Canada), Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island would speedily realize that their interests were identical and be inspired with a unity of purpose and of action such as had not yet existed, and he added: "If these sentiments prevail I have no fear for the future greatness of British North America." Unfortunately, when the sentiment was put to test after the conference of 1864, the only opposition, and in Nova Scotia it was very bitter, came from the Maritime Provinces, where the idea of Confederation was practically first conceived.

The new railway was called the European & North American Railway, and was part of a plan to connect the great cities of the United States with an eastern port in the Atlantic provinces, in order to shorten the voyage to Europe. It was not until 1871 that, with great eclat, the President of the United States honoring the occasion with his presence, was the last spike driven to complete the connection. Conditions governing railway and ocean transportation since that time have greatly changed. The Canadian Pacific Railway built a short line through Maine, and the slow passage across the Atlantic is now a thing of the past. The conditions which prompted building the European & North American Railway no longer exist. The Intercolonial Railway, however, from Halifax to Quebec first gave the connection in Canada desired and anticipated, and as a railway of national importance it was essentially a part of the Confederation scheme so far as

the Maritime Provinces were concerned, just as the C.P.R. was part of Confederation so far as British Columbia was concerned. A delegation of influential men, which included representatives from Canada, went to England in 1861 to press upon the authorities there the importance of aiding in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. Curiously enough just at that time the Trent affair occurred, and with the intense excitement which followed war was all but declared between Great Britain and the United States. Troops were hurriedly sent to Canada, and as winter was at hand they had to be sent to Quebec through New Brunswick. The difficulty and delay attending transportation by sleds, as a writer puts it, served as an object lesson to statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic, and led the Home Government to more seriously consider the construction of a railway for military purposes, as they did later on consider the C.P.R. in a similar connection. The building of the Intercolonial was the price paid for the entrance of the Maritime Provinces into Confederation. It was carried out as a Government enterprise, and from the first was regarded, as it was, as a political rather than a commercial undertaking. The present, what was known as the "northern route," was selected out of deference to the judgment of the Imperial authorities for military reasons. Sir Sandford Fleming, who later distinguished himself as a great Imperialist, not only in theory but in constructive policy, and who wrote a history of the Intercolonial, had charge of surveys and construction. As a political factor it paid Canada, but as a commercial venture it has been a loss. Railways, therefore, have cemented the political structure of Canada in a manner which otherwise would not have been possible. The Intercolonial brought in the Maritime Provinces, the C.P.R. made the West; the Grand Trunk, the Great Western and the Northern energized and along with the canals developed the trade of Quebec and Ontario, and, essentially, the basis of Confederation and its chief incentive was interprovincial trade. Sentiment was the

least important factor, although it fed the imagination of the earliest promoters.

Confederation began with the desire of the Maritime Provinces for a Maritime union, and the movement was followed closely by Canadian statesmen. The British Government took very little interest in the initiation. There was a section of British politicians and economists, whose mouth-piece for the time being was *The London Times*, who regarded the "colonies" as an incubus rather than as a benefit. At no time I think did this attitude represent the feelings of the bulk of the people of Great Britain; but having in mind the events in America which followed on after the Boston "tea party" they refrained from bringing pressure to bear upon the colonies, and this was wise as the sequence of events in Canada and in the Empire has shown.

In 1864, the Maritime Provinces held a convention for the purpose of negotiating a union among themselves. It so happened that about that very time a memorable meeting was being held in the St. Louis Hotel, Quebec, where Sir John Macdonald, Sir Alexander Galt and the Hon. George Brown met to endeavor to compose the differences between Upper and Lower Canada, which had resulted in a deadlock in which no political progress seemed to be possible. Brown, perhaps, more than any other person, was responsible for this condition of affairs, and having his eyes opened to the consequences of such a situation, through the mediation of Lord Monck, held out the olive leaf to Sir John, and together they agreed at this meeting that the Government should negotiate for a Confederation of all the provinces. If this failed, as Sir Joseph Pope puts it, they should then introduce the federal principle in Canada alone, while providing for the future incorporation of the Maritime Provinces and the West. On this understanding, says Pope, Oliver Mowat, Brown and William McDougall entered the Cabinet. William McDougall was afterwards more familiarly known as "Wandering Willie" from his proclivity to shift party allegiance.



HON. GEORGE BROWN

Who joined hands with Sir John Macdonald to bring about Confederation.



LORD MONCK

Governor-General of Canada at time of Confederation, and assisted materially in bringing it about.

As already stated, steps were being taken for a maritime union and a conference had been called to be held in Charlottetown. The Canadian Government at once appointed a delegation of twelve to seek admission to the conference to discuss the question of including all the British provinces in North America. The whole history of events in Canada was changed by the momentous decision to admit them, and the masterful mind of Sir John Macdonald dominated the proceedings. If he did not initiate the movement, or take the first step, his genius and organization of men and practical measures caused him to emerge as the greatest of the Fathers of Confederation in solving its problems.

ARTICLE III.

The immediate causes of Confederation are now so remote that they are largely forgotten by the older generation and not understood by the younger generations, who have grown up under conditions wholly unlike those which existed sixty or seventy years ago in Canada. Confederation was not, as in Germany, the result of a definite, determined policy, but of political and physical exigencies. By a fortunate conjunction of political causes as they affected Canada and those which affected the Maritime Provinces, quite different in each case, there was afforded the solution of several difficult problems. We had no Bismarck in British North America in those days and no Hohenzollern dynasty whose ambitions for consolidation and a dominant Prussia had to be satisfied. As provinces we were brought together by pure force of circumstances.

I have already pointed out that the Confederation movement had its nucleus in a practical way in the desire of the Maritime Provinces for a Maritime union. There arose from the isolation of their position the needs of communication with the outside world much greater than they possessed, and their inability as individual units to satisfy those needs. Had Canada depended upon a national policy

and a Bismarck to carry it to a successful consummation the Provinces of Canada would in all probability now have been states of an American union. At the time I refer to, the old "Family Compact" everywhere was a thing of the past, and the fight for responsible government had been ended. In Canada, however, as the result of the union of Quebec and Ontario in 1841, the basis of which was illogical and unworkable, government had come to a deadlock, and in order to make this quite plain I shall have to be somewhat retrospective, as history enters very largely into a situation which became intolerable. As I have said, the bitter struggle against the Family Compact was ended, but, as nails driven into a wall after being extracted leave their scars, so the fight left its acrid memories. The Family Compact, though a regrettable factor in Canadian history, represented the aristocracy of the country, and also unswerving loyalty to Great Britain and British institutions, then not quite so enlightened in relation to the common people and not so democratic as they are today, and very naturally those who desired a change associated the two facts in their minds. The politics of the country ranged itself on the sides of Reformers and Tories, in the first instance, and afterwards of Clear Grits, led by George Brown, and the Conservatives, whose virtual leader after he joined the Draper administration in 1847, was John Macdonald. All the old bitterness of the Family Compact days was imported into the new order of affairs, and few at the present time can realize the venom which was displayed in politics then and for over forty years after. While the people of Canada were at all times as a body loyal to the core to Great Britain and the Sovereign, not unnaturally some of the leaders of the radical party and many of their followers were regarded as rebels by the other side, and so bitterness was always being intensified.

The Union of Upper and Lower Canada was a step toward Confederation, but a very imperfect one. In 1840 the basis of union was provided for. It involved equal represen-

tation from the two provinces, dual leadership, and double majority. Although Quebec at the time of the union had more than half the population of Canada, Upper and Lower Canada were each given forty-two representatives, and that was a solemn and fixed agreement, which could not be altered without mutual consent. Here was the seed of trouble, because Ontario developed much more rapidly than Quebec, and soon outstripped the latter in population and production. The Hon. George Brown, who had become a power in Upper Canada as editor of *The Globe*, which he established in 1844, and who was a fervid and forceful speaker, attacked this principle and advocated what was known as "rep" by "pop," or representation by population, not in constituencies, but as between the two provinces. Dual leadership meant that there should be two premiers or leaders, one from each province, and so without reference to order there was a succession of administrations known as Morin-McNab, Tache-Macdonald, Hincks-Morin, Brown-Dorion, Macdonald-Sicotte, Cartier-Macdonald, Macdonald-Cartier, Baldwin-Lafontaine, and so on, all of which were short-lived, and had to depend upon a double majority of votes in Parliament. That is, every measure or resolution had to be carried by a majority in both provinces, and, considering the number of controversial questions, sectional, religious and racial, which were constantly being intruded into the arena by, particularly, George Brown, leader of the Clear Grits in Ontario, Protestant, English-speaking and radical, as opposed to Quebec, Catholic, French and essentially Conservative, it is no wonder that in time there came about a political impasse in which union threatened to go to pieces. The hyphenated principle was no more popular then than it is just now in the United States. Among the questions which agitated Canada in those days were representation by population, the abolition of seigneurial tenure in Lower Canada, the secularization of clergy reserves in Upper Canada, compensation for rebellion losses, the seat of Parliament, which, like our Easter,

was a movable feast, and separate schools. These questions were all settled in time, and would have been settled without much hardness of feeling had not George Brown, in *The Globe* and in Parliament, discussed them in his vehement and uncompromising way, and in a spirit which alienated Quebec from sympathy with the union and sowed the seeds of discord, as between that province and Quebec, which are still bearing fruit. There was this essential difference between Sir John and his implacable rival Brown, that the one bided his time to bring about what he considered should be done, and saw clearly ahead the difficulties which he had to overcome. The other was impetuous and brooked of no delay. Incidentally through the estrangement brought about by Brown's course with his old-time moderate reform allies, the party known as Liberal-Conservatives came into existence, when men like Mowat and Macdougall joined hands with Sir John to bring about a better state of affairs, and it continued to exist with few defections after Confederation.

So we come to the time when Brown, seeing the logical results of his own course, came to Sir John Macdonald, at the instigation of Lord Monck, Governor-General, offering to co-operate with the latter in some scheme to relieve the situation. Galt, at the memorable meeting in Quebec, proposed as a remedy a federal union of all the Provinces. Galt had in 1858 formed one of a delegation that went to England to discuss the subject of Confederation with the Imperial authorities, and that may be regarded as the beginning of the movement in that direction. Brown's idea, however, was not national in its conception. His idea, obsessed as he was with the principle of representation by population, was to build a line of railway to the Middle West, developing and settling the prairies with an English population, giving the latter a preponderance over the French. Persuaded that such a measure was impossible to be carried through, he agreed to a Confederation of all the Provinces, and a fusion of forces was effected, after which a delegation attended the Charlottetown Conference.

In Ontario the Charlottetown programme met with little or no opposition. In Quebec there was little enthusiasm displayed, and a great deal of sectional and other prejudice had to be overcome. The man who was mainly responsible for bringing Quebec into line was the late Sir George Etienne Cartier, for long a close colleague of Sir John. He was undoubtedly one of the ablest men Quebec ever produced, a man loyal to the state, scrupulous in honesty both publicly and privately, and in whom his compatriots of Lower Canada had the fullest confidence. The adherence of Quebec was obtained as the result of a series of compromises without which it would have been impossible, and in the great debate in Parliament, when the Confederation resolutions were moved, George Brown admitted the fact and approved of it.

It was different in the Maritime Provinces, in which the opposition to Confederation was led by Nova Scotia, of which Sir Joseph Howe was the uncrowned king. He had fought the fight of responsible government against executive Family Compact rule, which he won by almost unaided efforts. It is acknowledged that he possessed the most consummate skill of any man in our history as an effective popular orator, and as an editorial writer he was easily in the very first rank. He had the graces of inspirational speaking and writing, both in prose and poetry, which George Brown lacked, gifts, in addition to his personality, which endeared him to the hearts of the people. It is said that the opposition to Confederation in Nova Scotia was not so much to the principle as to the manner in which it was proposed to give it effect. The two Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were undoubtedly brought in against their will, but they were powerless from the fact that they had been committed to the scheme by their representatives in the conference, and could only protest, which Joseph Howe, did with all his might and with such effect, so far as popular opinion was concerned, that only two Unionists were returned for the Local Assembly after the arrangement was confirmed



HON. JOSEPH HOWE
Nova Scotia's great tribune, who fought Confederation, though one of its early advocates.



JUDGE HALIBURTON
Creator of the character of "Sam Slick," who envisioned Confederation and a wider Empire.

and only one to the federal House. The latter was Sir Charles Tupper, then Dr. Tupper, the man responsible for the entrance of Nova Scotia into Confederation, and for much else that was of importance in this period of our history. It is not necessary to discuss the reasons which caused Howe to take the position he did, because the point will probably never be settled. He was getting on in years. There may have been considerations of his own part in the movement, and possibly hostility to Dr. Tupper, his great antagonist, whose debates with the latter have been described as a "battle of giants." One can never tell to what extent the personal element is involved even among really great men. Howe continued to oppose Confederation until it was consummated, and went to England to endeavor to have the union repealed. He subsequently came under the spell of Sir John Macdonald, who, after giving Nova Scotia Better Terms, took him into his Cabinet and subsequently made him Lieutenant-Governor. He became very unpopular in Nova Scotia as a consequence of his change in policy, and died of a broken heart. Long ago, however, his memory became rehabilitated in the affections of his native province.

The late Sir Leonard Tilley stood in about the same relationship with New Brunswick in connection with Confederation as did Sir Charles Tupper in Nova Scotia, but his task was a much easier one, as opposition was much less keenly directed toward it. However, the electors of New Brunswick, no more than those of Nova Scotia, were consulted in the details. Opposition was also very strong in Prince Edward Island, which did not come in for several years later. The opposition of all three provinces arose largely out of the supposition that their entity was being submerged into that of the greater Province of Canada, and their interests made subsidiary. No one in the Maritime Provinces today would contend that any of the fears of pre-Confederation days have been realized. As a matter of fact, the statesmen who came from these provinces took a very

important part in Canadian affairs, and exercised a tremendous influence upon its destinies.

ARTICLE IV.

While I shall have occasion again to refer to the attitude of some of the provinces represented at the Charlottetown Conference, and that of some of the men who were leaders of public opinion, I now come direct to the celebrated conference, the results of which were destined to be so momentous for Canada. To Dr. Tupper, later Sir Charles, is due the almost sole credit of initiating it. The first man he invited to attend was Joseph Howe, who, although he had moved a resolution in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, which was seconded by Dr. Tupper was unanimously passed in its favor, excused himself on the ground that he was a fishery officer of the Imperial Government, but at the same time wished the convention every success. The conference was to be held at Charlottetown on September 1, 1864, and as soon as wind of it got to Canada and the Liberal-Conservative coalition was effected, a dispatch was sent in the name of the Governor-General to the Governors of the Maritime Provinces inquiring whether the Charlottetown Conference would receive a delegation from Canada, "which wished," to use Sir Charles Tupper's own words, "to express its views on the wider union."

The suggestion was very welcome to the members of the conference, and so were the delegates, who were received with open arms. So isolated were the Maritime Provinces from old Canada then that a visit of prominent citizens of the latter was as much an event as if a deputation today came to Canada from South Africa on some important mission. The delegation from Canada comprised: John A. Macdonald, Hon. George Brown, Hon. Alexander T. Galt, Hon. George E. Cartier, Hon. Hector L. Langevin, Hon. Wm. Macdougall, and Hon. D'Arcy McGee, all of whom took prominent part in affairs in Confederation, and to whom subsequent personal

references will be made. The names of several of them will be permanently part of Canadian history. The conference at Charlottetown was only preliminary, with the single result of it being decided to adjourn to Quebec in October. I am not aware of any minutes of that conference having been kept or of any informal account of them being published. What was important about it was that it gave the Canadian delegates an opportunity of familiarizing themselves with the people, the conditions, the natural resources and the views of the leaders. There was a series of meetings held. What I have been able to obtain is taken from a book entitled "Confederation of Canada," written by the late Hon. J. Hamilton Gray, a member of the Supreme Court Bench of British Columbia, a former Premier of New Brunswick, and one of the Fathers of Confederation. It states:

"The advantages of such a union, and the outlines of the proposed constitution—should union be effected—were submitted by the Hon. John A. Macdonald, ably supported by Messrs. Brown and Cartier. The financial position of Canada was contrasted with the several provinces, their several sources of wealth, their comparative increase, the detrimental way in which their conflicting tariffs operated to each other's disadvantage, the expansion of their commerce, the expansion of their manufactures and the development of the various internal resources that would be fostered by a free intercourse of trade, and a greater unity of interest were pointed out with great power by Mr. Galt. In a speech of three hours statistics were piled upon statistics confirming his various positions and producing a marked effect upon the convention. It might be said of him as was once said of Pope, though speaking of figures in a different sense (He lisped in numbers—for the numbers came). Messrs. McGee, Langevin and Macdougall briefly but strenuously corroborated the views of their colleagues, and, after two days' command of the undivided attention of the convention, the Canadian deputies withdrew.

"Before doing so, however, they proposed that the convention should suspend its deliberations upon the immediate subject for which they met, and should adjourn to Quebec at an early day, to be subsequently named by the Governor-General, there further to consider the wider and broader union which had been proposed. On the following day the convention deemed it better for the general interests of British North America that an adjournment should take place and agreed to report to their respective governments what had occurred."

While in Prince Edward Island the members of the Canadian delegation were most hospitably entertained, and many speeches were made. Judge Gray throws a sidelight on the subject by telling us that while Mr. Dundas, Lieutenant-Governor of the Island, cordially cheered on the movement, it was well known to the New Brunswick delegation that the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, Mr. Gordon, who was at the time on a visit to Mr. Dundas, was not friendly, though, with diplomatic reticence, he was most cautious in expressing his opinions, and it was believed that the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia was equally unfriendly. This may have had something to do with the subsequent attitude of the Maritime Provinces on the question, but one never knows the undercurrents which influence public opinion at a time when all the men who took part are dead and gone.

From Charlottetown the Canadian delegates went to Halifax, where, accepting Judge Gray's version, a pro forma meeting of the convention was held on September 10 in the Legislative Council chamber, but no business of any importance was done, and the further consideration of Confederation was by unanimous consent postponed until after the details should be fully entered into at the proposed conference at Quebec. The presence of the Canadian delegates was taken advantage of both at Halifax and St. John, New Brunswick, to give opportunity to the leading citizens to hear their views,

which were expressed at banquets at which Brown, Cartier, Macdonald, Galt and others spoke. Perhaps the most illuminating of all the speeches from an informative point of view was made by the Hon. George Brown, who, as a journalist and a student of public affairs, had a veritable store of facts at his disposal, and, along with the Hon. A. T. Galt, shared the honors of the conference and subsequent proceedings in that respect. We learn that the population of all the provinces represented, including Newfoundland, was about 3,750,000, and the total number of males between twenty and sixty years of age about 700,000. Of the lands held by private parties there were over 45,500,000 acres, of which 13,000,000 acres were under cultivation. The value of farm products was estimated at about \$150,000,000, and the assessed value of farm lands at \$550,000,000. Considering the low value of land and farm products in those days, Canada, it will be seen, had made very considerable progress under very serious disadvantages. George Brown, in his speech at Halifax, said: "I might continue this analysis through our whole industrial pursuits, and show one and all of them in the same high efficiency; I might tell you how we exported last year \$15,000,000 in timber alone (one-half of the present production of British Columbia in lumber in value—R.E.G.); I might expose to you the rapidly increasing importance of our coal mines, our iron works and our petroleum wells (Oil wells had been developed in the county of Lambton, Ont., in which the honorable gentleman was personally interested—R.E.G.), I might enlarge on the fast rising importance of our manufactures. . . . Let me, however, wind up with this, that were the provinces all united tomorrow they would have an annual export trade of no less than \$65,000,000 and an import traffic to an equal amount (The aggregate trade of Canada is now over \$2,000,000,000—R.E.G.); they would have 2,500 miles of railway (At the present time there are nearly 40,000 miles of railway in Canada—R.E.G.); telegraph wires extending to every city and town throughout the country, and an annual



SIR CHARLES TUPPER

Who fought Nova Scotia into Confederation, the great antagonist of Howe.



SIR LEONARD TILLEY

Responsible for Confederation in New Brunswick, a Canadian Minister of Finance, framer of the National Policy, and twice Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick.

government revenue of nearly \$13,000,000 (Revenue of Canada is now about \$275,000,000—R.E.G.). It needs no special wisdom to perceive that a state presenting such resources and offering such varied and lucrative employment to the immigrant and the capitalist would at once occupy a high position, and attract to it the marked attention of other countries. It would be something to be a citizen of such a state (It is—R.E.G.)”

It is impossible within the limits of reasonable space to even give a synopsis of the various speeches, but one by Sir John Macdonald is important in reflecting that peculiarly practical temperament of his and his bent in the direction of Imperial unity to which we are now so rapidly moving. “We were,” he said, “at present states of one sovereign, and all paid allegiance to the great central authority; but as between ourselves, there is no political connection, and we are as wide apart as British America was from Australia. But we must have one common organization, one political government. It has been said that the United States Government is a failure. I do not go so far. On the contrary, I consider it a marvellous exhibition of human wisdom. It was as perfect as human wisdom could make it, and under it the United States prospered greatly until very recently. But being the work of men it had its defects; and it is for us to take advantage of experience and avoid the mistakes, and endeavor to see if we cannot arrive, by careful study, at such a plan as will avoid the mistakes of our neighbors.” After dwelling upon what he considers the weaknesses of the United States’ constitution, which are well understood now, he observed: “Then we shall have taken a great step in advance of the American Republic. If we can only obtain that object, a vigorous general government, we shall not be New Brunswickers nor Nova Scotians, but British Americans, under the sway of the British sovereign. In discussing the question of local union we must consider what is desirable and practicable; we must consult local prejudices and aspirations. It

is our desire to do so. I hope that we shall be enabled to work out a constitution that will have a strong central government, able to offer a powerful resistance to any foe whatever, and at the same time will preserve for each province its own identity, and will protect every local ambition; and if we cannot do that we shall not be able to carry out the object we have in view. . . . If we allow so favorable an opportunity to pass, it may never come again. But I believe we have arrived at such a stage in our deliberations, that I may state without breach of confidence, that we all unitedly agree that such a measure is a matter of the first necessity and that only a few (imaginary, I believe) obstacles stand in the way of its consummation. I shall feel that I have not served in public life without a reward if, before I enter into private life, I am subject of a great British nation, under the Government of His Majesty, and in connection with the Empire of Great Britain and Ireland."

On October 10, 1864, at 11 a.m., in the Parliament Buildings of Canada, in Quebec, the adjourned conference was opened.

ARTICLE V.

In the previous article a list of the delegates to the Quebec Conference was given, and the names* of the men represented the best brains of Canada, and while it may be

* The representatives were as follows:

Canada—Hon. Sir Etienne P. Tache, Premier, M.L.C.; Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney-General West, M.P.P.; Hon. George E. Cartier, Attorney-General East, M.P.P.; Hon. George Brown, President of the Executive Council, M.P.P.; Hon. Alex. T. Galt, Finance Minister, M.P.P.; Hon. Alex. Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands, M.L.C.; Hon. William Macdougall, Provincial Secretary, M.P.P.; Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Minister of Agriculture, M.P.P.; Hon. Hector Langevin, Solicitor-General East, M.P.P.; Hon. J. Cockburn, Solicitor-General West, M.P.P.; Hon. Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General, M.P.P.; Hon. J. C. Chapais, Commissioner of Public Works, M.L.C.

Nova Scotia—Hon. Charles Tupper, Provincial Secretary, M.P.P.; Hon. W. A. Henry, Attorney-General, M.P.P.; Hon. R. B. Dickey, M.L.C.; Hon. Adams G. Archibald, M.P.P.; Hon. Jonathan McCully, M.L.C.

New Brunswick—Hon. Samuel L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary, M.P.P.; Hon. John M. Johnson, Attorney-General, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward B. Chandler, M.L.C.; Hon. John Hamilton Gray, M.P.P.; Hon. Peter Mitchell, M.L.C.; Hon. Charles Fisher, M.P.P.; Hon. William H. Steves, M.L.C.

Newfoundland—Hon. F. B. T. Carter, M.P.P., Speaker of the House of Assembly; Hon. Ambrose Shea, M.P.P.

Prince Edward Island—Hon. John Hamilton Gray, Premier, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward Palmer, Attorney-General, M.P.P.; Hon. W. H. Pope, Provincial Secretary, M.P.P.; Hon. A. A. Macdonald, M.L.C.; Hon. T. H. Haviland, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward Whelan, M.L.C.

said that distance lends enchantment to the view I do not believe there was ever a time in our history when there were so many able and brilliant statesmen on the political horizon. In 1864 there were two British colonies on the Pacific Coast, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, but the Government of neither of them was invited to send representatives. In fact, it would have been a physical impossibility after the Charlottetown Conference was announced for either to have had notification, or to have sent delegates in time, and, of course, the Middle West was wholly unorganized territory, a Hudson's Bay Co. possession, an "imperium in imperio." The West, however, was kept in mind, and it was part of the programme of the Fathers of Confederation to include it when it should have been sufficiently developed and populated.

The proceedings of the Quebec Conference was never set down in extenso. The records consist of a list of notes and resolutions, and of these we have a fairly complete list in Pope's "Confederation Documents." As secretary of Sir John Macdonald, Sir Joseph Pope had very ample access to all and sundry information in respect of this important gathering. The Hon. John Hamilton Gray, who was one of the delegates, is the only man who wrote extensively about the proceedings.

When the Quebec Conference assembled all the preliminary sentimental considerations had been eliminated, the general principle of political consolidation having been approved of and decided upon. The delegates at once settled down to the prosaic business of adjusting the various relations that should subsist between the proposed Provinces and the proposed new Dominion. The questions which were discussed, and which were necessarily of a very delicate and complicated nature, involving as they did so many diverse interests and sectional views, must form somewhat dry material as pabulum for readers, but as forming the very substructure of Confederation they are of extreme importance. Everything depended upon how the details were worked

out in order to satisfy a variety of conditions to be harmonized. Sir Etienne P. Tache, Premier of Quebec, was unanimously chosen as President. Judge Gray makes a very appropriate and graceful reference in his opening account:

"Thus was opened a convention whose deliberations were to have a marked bearing upon the future of British North America. The time, the men, the circumstances were peculiar. The place of meeting was one of historical interest. Beneath the shadow of Cape Diamond, on the ruins of the old castle of St. Louis, with the broad St. Lawrence stretching away in front, the Plains of Abraham in sight, and the St. Charles winding its silvery course through scenes replete with memories of old France, where scarce a century gone the Fleur de Lys and the Cross of St. George had waved in deadly strife, now stood the descendants of those gallant races, the Saxon and the Gaul, hand in hand, with a common country and a common cause."

There were other things which added to the solemnity of the occasion, should I say. Less than a century before the other American colonies of Great Britain had formed a federation of States, but independent of the flag under whoseegis a new Canada was now coming into existence. In that Republic a great strife was going on in which the principles of its constitution were being tested in the crucible of civil war. In connection with the war complications had arisen between Great Britain and the United States which threatened hostilities between the two countries. In such an event Canada would naturally be invaded. Owing to a series of misunderstandings a great deal of bitter feeling was fomented on the other side of the line, which, fortunately, for the greater part, has long since passed away.

In the first place there arose a discussion as to publicity being given to the debates, but it was decided, and a mutual understanding was arrived at, to the effect that to have the freest possible discussion of all matters, so as not to affect local prejudices while conclusions were being reached, the

proceedings should be conducted in camera, a plan which had as a precedent the Philadelphia Conference in 1787 in similar circumstances. It was also decided that as the Canadian representation was numerically much greater than that of any other of the provinces, the voting should be by provinces, so that equal weight should be given to all, the representatives of each province in groups consulting apart on every proposition advanced, and reporting as a unit through their chairman.

First in order of importance on the agenda was the basic nature of the union, whether a legislative or a federal union. To illustrate, England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales form at present a legislative union, with a central Parliament and a central administration dealing with all matters, whether local or general. It was obvious that in a country of such vast extent as British North America, with varying local wants and conditions, the federal principle was greatly to be preferred, and that was very quickly approved of. Thus was established the principle of local autonomy, or home rule in local affairs, and federal authority in matters of common interest and affecting all. Then as a natural corollary followed the question of the delegation of rights as between two powers. The experience of the United States, as particularly emphasized by the civil war, in state rights, was sufficient to cause the Conference to conclude that the opposite principle should be adopted. In the United States the source of power is the people as represented by the States of the Union, and what was known as residuary rights were delegated to the central authority. State rights were responsible for the civil war, and especially where international relations were affected, the federal government at Washington has been severely handicapped at times. In our case the central government is the fountain of authority and the powers of the provinces are delegated powers. But as Gray rightly remarks the results are practically the same, as in both countries the source of power is inherent in the people.



SIR ETIENNE PASCAL TACHE
Who was Chairman of the Quebec Conference in
1864 and Prime Minister.



SIR GEORGE CARTIER
A great French-Canadian leader responsible for
bringing Quebec into Confederation.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty experienced was in deciding as to the basis of representation in the federal Parliament. The Hon. George Brown had for many years been advocating representation by population in the old Parliament of Canada, and, as a matter of fact, as previously explained, that question was immediately responsible for the bringing about of Confederation. As we have found in British Columbia, and as has been demonstrated in other parts of Canada, with very unequal conditions the principle is not strictly applicable in practice, but so far as it was possible it was applied to federal representation. Quebec with sixty-five electoral divisions was made the fixed unit of representation, so that after Confederation each province in each readjustment after the census-taking would have a representation in the same proportion as 65 bore to the population of Quebec. In the first instance, provincial representation was not altered. I am not going to discuss the merits of such a basis. Theoretically it may not have been correct, but in a rough and ready way, and more or less equitably, it was the best that could be arrived at then, and as a basis has continued ever since. Representation in the Upper House was more easily arrived at, the provinces being divided into three groups, 24 to each group, although it was not so easy to determine the method of the selection of Senators and their tenure of office. Brown perhaps more forcibly than anybody else advocated the present system of appointment by the executive for life. In more recent years there have been many suggestions for reform of the Senate, but the original plan has been adhered to, and for political reasons no government leader cared to take the initiative. As to the admission of western provinces as they were formed, no suggestions were made as to their representation, it being left for time and circumstances to arrange.

In consideration of the fact that the settlement of financial relations was easily the most important of all questions to be settled by the Conference, and that it requires far more

space than could be spared in an article which has almost reached its limit, I have decided to make it the subject of a separate article, and proceed to other matters dealt with. I may say that the Conference came to a deadlock on finances and all but broke up without coming to any conclusion. The solution was afforded by forming a committee of all the Finance Ministers of the provinces, who, after a private conference, came to an agreement which was accepted in open meeting, and thus a crisis in the affairs of Confederation-making passed away.

The respective powers of the federal and local Parliaments are set forth in the provisions of the British North America Act, and are familiar to most readers. Although the division was not so clearly defined as to avoid frequent reference to the courts, with final interpretation by the Privy Council, in the main they afforded a good, practical, working code, and now as the result of judicial construction there is little left in doubt. Speaking generally and broadly, the jurisdiction of the provinces is confined to property and private rights and matters of purely internal administration. The jurisdiction of the federal Parliament extends to making "laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada, in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the provinces."

Judge Gray informs us that the question of the judiciary was not so easily settled, and led to long and animated discussion. Lower Canada with its civil laws based on the French code would not be permitted by its representatives to be made uniform with the civil laws of the other provinces. The outcome was that it retained its civil code and the codes of other provinces were made uniform. That was a compromise rendered necessary in order that Confederation might be made possible. It was unanimously admitted that the criminal law must be the same throughout Canada, and that it must have its origin in the federal Parliament, the appoint-

ment of judges lying within the prerogative of the federal executive. I am not going to deal with the remaining subjects of taxation, imports and exports and railways because they form essentially part, or at least are cognate with that of financial relations, which I have reserved for separate treatment.

All the conclusions of the Conference were embodied in seventy-two resolutions to be transmitted to the several government of the provinces represented, and were the basis of subsequent discussion as to details, of which there were four or five revisions before finality was reached

ARTICLE VI.

Among the many difficulties incident to the adjustment of various relations, the most difficult of all was the question of financial relations, and I am devoting an article exclusively to the subject on account of the political developments consequent upon the original settlement. As Crown colonies, the provinces had their own sources of revenue independent of each other and separate fiscal systems. One can readily imagine that in the circumstances when they were asked to surrender their main sources of revenue to a central government and depend upon minor revenues for the purpose of carrying on the local administration there would be serious trouble, and, as I have previously stated, it brought about a crisis that all but spelled failure for the whole scheme. Had the Conference broken up on this or any other issue we cannot speculate upon what would have been the future of British North America.

It was Judge Gray's opinion that the simplest and the shortest method would have been at once to determine that each province should by its own direct taxation bear the burden of its own local expenditure and wants, and that the general revenue should all be distributed solely for general purposes. It certainly would have been the simplest and shortest method, but the question is, what would have been

the best or most equitable way? All the provinces differ from each other in physical conditions, and the cost of administration in one province would have borne more heavily upon its people than the cost of administration on another province. As a matter of fact, that is the case at the present time. In British Columbia, for instance, we know that on account of our "sea of mountains" the cost of government is many times greater for similar services than in some of the other provinces, and always will be. That fact was recognized in 1906, although not adequately, when the interprovincial conference of that year recommended an additional special allowance of \$100,000 a year for ten years. Nineteen hundred and six was the year when an effort was made to arrive at a "final and unalterable" settlement of the financial relations of the provinces and the Dominion, although we well know that nothing done under the authority of legislation is final and unalterable, but it was intended in this way to give all the finality possible to the conclusions reached on that occasion, and the intended use of the words in the Imperial Act which was passed confirming the arrangement would at least have been an index of what the conclusions were intended to be.

In any event the arrangement suggested by Judge Gray was out of the question. In Upper Canada there had been a very considerable development of the municipal system, in which local wants are provided for by local taxation, but in the Maritime Provinces, though understood, municipalities had not been formed, and the Government, to use Judge Gray's words, was to the people "a nursing mother" of children. Everything in the gamut of requirements was supplied by the Government. It was inevitable, therefore, that these provinces would not consent to any proposition which did not provide for substantial assistance in matters of local administration to which they had been accustomed. On the other hand, it was very difficult for the people of Upper Canada to understand that that was right. The

representatives of the Maritime Provinces stood firm as a rock, and a compromise was necessary if the chief end of all were to be accomplished. The question was what system to adopt. There was no precedent except that of the United States, and in that union each state is supreme in its rights of taxation, and the Fathers of Confederation had decided against States' rights as they existed across the line. When Australia federated another principle was adopted—that of the Commonwealth collecting all taxes for general purposes and returning to the states a certain proportion of the revenue. A settlement was arrived at by compromise effected through a special committee of the several ministers of finance. The report was the basis of the financial relations provided for the British North America Act, but the resolutions of the Quebec Conference as a whole were materially altered in the final conference at Westminster, and, therefore, it is not necessary to deal with any but the final result, but it will be interesting to give some of the figures upon which the financial arrangements were based. A. T. Galt, afterwards Sir Alexander, was the financial genius of the situation, and, while almost an impossible politician, made an able Minister of Finance.

Canada in 1864 had a funded debt of over \$60,000,000, imports of \$52,500,000, exports of nearly \$42,000,000, a population of about 2,800,000, a revenue of \$9,750,000, and an expenditure of \$10,759,000. These are all round numbers. Newfoundland had a debt of \$946,000; Nova Scotia, \$460,000; New Brunswick, \$5,700,000; Prince Edward Island, \$241,000. Figures are very dry reading, but the following table, being a calculation as to the revenue, expenditure, debt, imports, etc., per head of the population in each province in 1864, are those upon which the financial relations were based, or rather those through which a basis was arrived at:



HON. J. HAMILTON GRAY

One of the Fathers of Confederation, a former Premier of New Brunswick, and afterwards a British Columbia Supreme Court Judge.



HON. JOHN HAMILTON GRAY

One of the delegates from Prince Edward Island, Premier of that Province, and a veteran of the Crimean War. Was wounded at the Battle of Inkerman.

Province	Population to the Square Mile	Revenue per Head of the Population	Expenditure per Head of Population	Debt per Head of the Population	Imports per Head of the Population	Duty per Head of the Population	Exports per Head of the Population
Newfoundland...	3.41	\$3.50	\$3.49	\$ 6.90	\$38.27	\$3.53	\$43.81
Nova Scotia.....	18.72	3.39	3.10	13.91	29.20	2.46	24.11
New Brunswick..	10.06	3.29	3.24	20.91	28.46	2.81	32.86
Prince Edward Is.	40.95	2.29	2.00	2.79	17.61	1.69	18.93
Canada.....	8.40	3.51	3.86	21.69	16.51	1.85	15.03
Average.....	8.32	\$3.45	\$3.68	\$19.83	\$19.18	\$2.04	\$18.42
Canada, 1864.....	8.69	\$3.79	\$3.67	\$20.93	\$18.23	\$2.30	\$13.14

In the final draft the provinces got the following amounts for the support of their governments and legislatures:

Ontario	\$80,000
Quebec	70,000
Nova Scotia	60,000
New Brunswick	50,000

and an annual grant of 80 cents per head of the population as ascertained from time to time by the decennial census-taking. Ontario and Quebec were made liable to Canada for any amount which exceeded \$62,500,000, and for interest on the same at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were made liable in the same way for debts exceeding \$8,000,000 and \$7,000,000, respectively. The debts of all the provinces were taken over by the Dominion. All lands, mines, minerals and royalties of the provinces continued in their right, and, of course, the Dominion took over all duties in the way of customs and inland revenue. A most important provision was the undertaking of the Dominion to begin within six months the construction of the Intercolonial Railway connecting the St. Lawrence River and Halifax, and to complete it with all practicable speed. This was the price Canada had to pay for the entrance of the Maritime Provinces into Confederation, and should be kept strictly in mind in connection with the fact that when British Columbia entered the union she was obliged to convey, or agree to convey, a forty-mile belt, 500 miles in length, to

secure the C.P.R., also a railway built for purely national purposes. It is true that British Columbia got a yearly allowance of \$100,000 in lieu of that land, but that was only another way of increasing the subsidy, which was admittedly too small for this province to carry on with. In a similar way it was proposed that Newfoundland should hand over her lands, etc., to the Dominion, and in lieu thereof to receive \$150,000 per annum as an allowance. These facts were openly stated in Parliament when the Terms of Union with British Columbia were submitted in 1870. The opposition was so strong against the building of the C. P. R. and other obligations to be assumed as part of the bargain, that the Government was obliged to cover up the increased allowance of the extra \$100,000 under the guise of a payment for lands. At that time it was considered that the construction of the C.P.R. would ruin the country, and that British Columbia would forever remain a burden on Canada.

As has been previously stated, when the terms of Confederation had been agreed upon, Joseph Howe started an agitation against them, in which he was thoroughly vindicated in so far as local opinion was concerned but in which he was defeated by legislative action. After the union was accomplished he endeavored to get the Imperial Government to permit Nova Scotia to withdraw, but in that he was also foiled. In a campaign for better terms, some of the grounds of which were similar to those in the case of British Columbia, he succeeded in 1868 in obtaining a substantial allowance on account of the debt of the province. When the agreement came before Parliament the Hon. Edward Blake, a great constitutional lawyer, took the ground that it was illegal, as the terms were fixed and unalterable, and also that it set a precedent for future alterations. Sir John Macdonald, however, had the opinion of the law officers of the Imperial Government to back him up, and it went into effect. The Canadian Parliament by virtue of its supreme control over the expenditure of its revenues can vote to consign them to

the sea. There have been several readjustments since that time.

New Brunswick in 1873 was allowed \$150,000 per annum as compensation for loss of export duty on logs under the Treaty of Washington in 1871. Under the Terms of Union New Brunswick was permitted to impose this duty, which had been in force since 1842. It has always been regarded and really was, a very liberal settlement. It was arranged by Sir Leonard Tilley, one of the New Brunswick representatives of the Dominion Government.

There was a general readjustment of terms in 1873, as the result of agitation in Ontario and Quebec against the payment of interest on 10½ millions, by which amount the actual debt of the old Province of Canada exceeded its allowed debt of \$62,500,000 under the Union Act.

Prince Edward Island in 1901 was allowed \$35,000 per annum for failure to provide regular communication, winter and summer, between the Island and Mainland, as per Terms of Union. Communication at times is irregular, owing to hummocky ice in the Straits, which can never be overcome, except by tunneling.

Nova Scotia in 1885, in which the Government of Canada took over the Extension Line Railway constructed by Nova Scotia and paid therefor \$1,324,042, purchased certain wharves and extended the line to Sydney as a work of general benefit. This line was afterwards amalgamated with the Intercolonial system; and in 1901 a sum of \$671,836 was placed in the estimates in connection with claims of that province.

New Brunswick in 1901 also received the sum of \$280,692.

The necessity for a revision of the financial terms was realized a long time ago. In 1887 the Hon. Honore Mercier, Premier of Quebec, held an interprovincial conference in Quebec city. British Columbia, curiously enough, did not respond. It was so soon after the Settlement Act of 1884 that the Provincial authorities did not think it would be in good

grace to participate. A series of resolutions were passed, and were practically re-affirmed in two subsequent conferences. In the fall of 1906 the Conference at Ottawa presided over by Sir Lomer Guoin, Premier of Quebec, and at which Sir Richard McBride represented British Columbia, recommendations were made for largely increased subsidies all round, which were accepted and put into effect by the Laurier Government. A long story could be made of Better Terms, but for the present the foregoing must suffice.

ARTICLE VII.

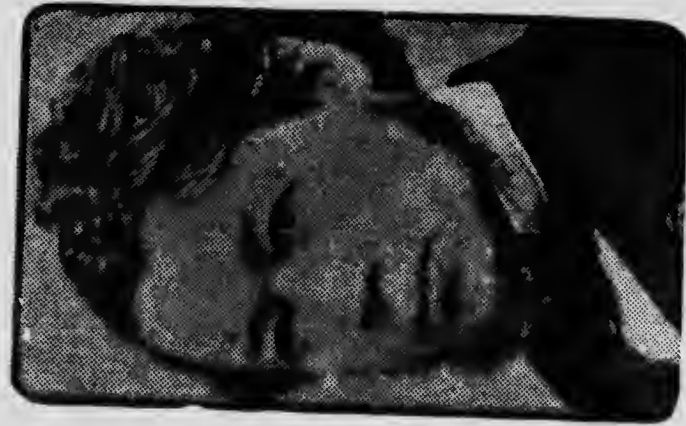
My last article contained too many figures to be interesting, but one cannot discuss financial relations without a good many statistics. I shall now deal with the events which took place immediately after the Quebec Conference. The opposition in Nova Scotia has been discussed in previous issues. Sir Charles Tupper was head and front of the movement for Confederation in that province, but he tells in his reminiscences that the outlook for carrying it in the Maritime Provinces, or even in Canada as a whole, was not too favorable. After the close of the Quebec Conference, he and a number of the other delegates made a tour of Quebec and Ontario before returning home, and had a very hearty reception everywhere, so that his surprise was all the greater when a vigorous opposition developed. Sir Charles Tupper naturally looked for the co-operation of Joseph Howe, and nowhere before the Quebec Conference had there been indications of hostility. Had Howe championed the cause there would have been little active opposition. He was the people's leader in Nova Scotia, and in all the other provinces he was recognized as the champion of popular rights and liberty. His example stimulated opinion everywhere on similar lines.

In an introduction to a paper read before the last annual meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, on "Howe and the Anti-Confederation League," written by J. Lawrence Burpee, a man in no sense prejudiced against the great Nova Scotian,

remarks, and his views correspond with those expressed in a former article before this was brought to my attention:

"Howe was over sixty years of age when he accepted the leadership of the party in Nova Scotia organized to fight Confederation. His motives in taking such a step at first seem inexplicable. In 1849, in 1861 and even in 1864 he had supported with all his fiery eloquence the principle of Confederation. He was still an advocate of Maritime union and of Imperial union—and yet in 1865 we find him waging a furious battle against the union of all the British North American colonies, or at any rate against any such union as was proposed by the Quebec Conference. The objections he professed to find on public grounds to the terms of the Quebec resolutions are sufficiently set forth in these letters to Stairs, and in his published speeches. But no careful student of the character of Joseph Howe can avoid the conclusion that there were personal as well as public reasons for his extraordinary change of front. Howe was a man of brilliant parts, one of the very great speakers that British North America has produced, and a born leader of men. He was a man of generous sympathies, a delightful companion, and a warm friend—as long as he was allowed to have his own way. There lies the key to the puzzle. Howe was a supreme egoist. He had unlimited faith in his own judgment, and would brook no opposition. He would put every ounce of strength into a fight if his place was at the front. He was content that everyone else should have the tangible rewards, but his must be the glory.

"Unfortunately, circumstances made it difficult if not impossible for him to attend the Charlottetown Conference or the Quebec Conference. Had he been there he would probably have thrown himself heart and soul into the Confederation project. But he was not there, and there sat his one great rival in Nova Scotian politics, Sir Charles Tupper. The scheme of Confederation probably owed more to the shrewd common sense, political sagacity and indomitable courage of



HON. THOMAS D'A. MCGEE
Orator and poet, a Father of Confederation, a colleague of Sir John Macdonald, and a former Irish revolutionist, who became a great patriot and zealous Canadian. He was shot at Ottawa while entering his house in the early morning of April 7, 1868, as the result of Fenian conspiracy.



SIR A. T. GALT
A Father of Confederation, delegate to England in 1858, and first Canadian Minister of Finance.

Sir Charles Tupper than to the qualities of any of its fathers. So far as Nova Scotia was concerned, Tupper was the very embodiment of the movement. There remained in 1865 only one place in that movement for Howe, and that place he would rather perish than accept. In his own forcible language he would 'not play second fiddle to that damned Tupper.'

In fairness to Howe, it may be said that the tendency of every great leader with advancing age is to take the attitude he did. Sir Charles Tupper, as he grew old, was probably as great an egoist as Howe, and would not brook opposition even in the most trivial affairs. Once trained and used to lead and you cannot follow, and if you do it is to fret and fume like a horse used to go single to be made to drive double. Howe had fought his great fight in Nova Scotia, and it is for that and his brilliant career as an orator, an editor, poet, and as a public man of sturdy virtue that have fixed his place in historical esteem. The egoism in any man is the stimulant to the greatest and highest efforts of life.

Joseph Howe was not the only opponent of Confederation. Sir Charles Tupper tells us in his reminiscences that prominent business men, bankers of Halifax, were afraid of the business results, just as the business men of St. John's, Newfoundland, were, and Joseph Howe was "tempted" to accept the leadership. I am now quoting almost literally from the paper to which I have referred, because I could not give a better statement of the case than has Mr. Burpee. The League of the Maritime Provinces was organized at Halifax in the summer of 1866. The name, Mr. Burpee says, was something of a misnomer, because its membership was confined almost exclusively to Nova Scotia and largely to Halifax. Joseph Howe, Hugh McDonald and William Annand were appointed delegates of the league to oppose in England the passage of the Imperial Act sanctioning the proposed union of the colonies. Howe and Annand sailed early, and were followed by others from Nova Scotia and

New Brunswick. Howe used his great energy to work up in the English newspapers a sentiment against union, and as a result most of the leading newspapers were involved in the discussion. Sir Charles and Jonathan McCully followed Howe to England and the controversy became general, but for the details reference must be made to the correspondence and papers in the Dominion archives. "The delegates of the League," says Burpee, "remained in England until April, 1867, when, having fought Confederation to the last ditch and lost the battle, they returned to Halifax. The British North America Act had been finally passed on the 29th March."

Sir Charles Tupper, in Nova Scotia, alarmed by the unexpected opposition, had to adopt, as he says, a waiting policy. Premier Tilley, in New Brunswick, was defeated by the Anti-Confederates, and in Prince Edward Island the same thing happened. Prince Edward Island did not come in until 1873, and Newfoundland rejected the principle entirely, and Tupper had to depend upon his resourcefulness to carry the day. It was not done by popular vote, but by legislation. Opinion in New Brunswick switched around, and, says Sir Charles Tupper, "seeing New Brunswick coming into line, I introduced a resolution in April, 1866, in favor of sending delegates to a conference in London to finally negotiate the terms of union. The resolution passed both Houses by a large majority. Subsequently the Confederation party, led by Hon. Mr. Tilley, swept New Brunswick, whose Legislature met and adopted a similar resolution. The united Parliament of Upper and Lower Canada had made a similar pronouncement in the previous year. All this cleared the way for the London Conference, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland abstaining."

The Rouge party in Quebec, led by the Hon. Mr. Dorion, was hostile to the project, as were Sandfield Macdonald and a few Upper Canadian Reformers. The London Conference met in Westminster Palace Hotel in London on December 4, 1866. The representatives were for Canada: Sir John A.

Macdonald, Hon. Geo. E. Carter, Hon. A. T. Galt, Hon. Wm. Macdougall and Hon. H. L. Langevin; Nova Scotia, Hon. Charles Tupper, Hon. W. A. Henry, Hon. J. W. Ritchie, Hon. J. McCully, and Hon. A. G. Archibald; New Brunswick, Hon. S. L. Tilley, Hon. Peter Mitchell, Hon. D. R. Wilmot, Hon. J. M. Johnson and Hon. Charles Fisher. Sir John Macdonald presided.

Here the resolutions of the Quebec Conference were debated, and after, I think, four drafts had been prepared, the British North America Act was finally adopted. It was decided that the final draft should be passed as made without variation, a wise provision, and so it went.

Perhaps the opposition of Joseph Howe and others was not an unmixed blessing, because no great measure has been passed which did not go through the crucible of fire, and while the British North America Act may not be perfect, as nothing human is, it is possibly one of the best political codes ever framed. At all events it has, though perhaps providing for too much government for the population of Canada as it has been, suited the conditions of this country with its British ideals, and enabled Canada to expand under a free and elastic system of political and other development.

Outside of Sir Charles Tupper there were two outstanding figures, Sir John Macdonald and Sir Oliver Mowat. Perhaps more than any other person Sir John was responsible for the details. He had a very practical mind, influenced by ideals which were not shared then or since by the majority of Canadians, but which were essentially Imperial in the sense in which we understand the word today. On the other hand, while Sir Oliver Mowat did not have the constructive ability of Sir John, he had the clearest ideas of the fundamental principles of Confederation, and Sir John Macdonald was no mean constitutional lawyer. In a series of cases referred to the Privy Council at Mowat's instigation he succeeded in clarifying a number of our constitutional problems favorably to his views.

All the delicate complications arising out of the overlapping powers of the provinces and the Dominion have not yet been settled, but in the main the atmosphere has been cleared and the disposition for some years has been to steer clear of political considerations involved in Provincial rights, and to settle them in accordance with the principles of friendly litigation.

ARTICLE VIII.

In my last article I referred to the fight made by Howe in England to defeat the measure in the British Parliament to give effect to the resolutions of the Quebec Conference. The correspondence that was carried on by the members of the two delegations, for and against, with their allies in Canada, and the communications to newspapers and magazines and editorial opinion expressed in respect of the whole question, are exceedingly interesting to students of the history of this period, but they are too voluminous to be summarized in any reasonable degree of conciseness.

The most significant fact in connection with the matter was the attitude of the British people. When I speak of the people, I am perhaps overstepping the mark. The people as a whole took no interest whatsoever. They neither knew nor cared for what it was all about. A few of the leading newspapers and a few of the leading men in political life expressed opinions, but with few exceptions their interest was academic, just as it would have been in the probable effect of war between Thibet and Afghanistan if such a thing could be regarded as at all probable. Howe, Tupper, Annand, McCully and others of the delegates thought they were arousing a great deal of public interest and influencing public opinion, and if vigorous discussion could have accomplished their objects they certainly succeeded, but the subject was out of the perspective of British politics. The work was accomplished behind the official doors in Downing Street.

The British Government, of course, desired to see Confederation brought about, but the official attitude was that it

was a Canadian affair, and it was simply the duty of the Government and Parliament to give effect to an arrangement which Canadian representatives themselves had agreed upon. Needless to say, the office of the Colonial Secretary, whose officials were men of keen appreciation of the situation and well versed in colonial affairs, assisted materially. Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, the man who gave to British Columbia what are known as the Carnarvon Terms, was very able and far-seeing, and his policy throughout his term of office met with the warmest approval, both at home and in the colonies. I use the term "colonies," now apparently so objectionable, because at that time they were colonies in every sense of the word, and were known by no other name. Lord Carnarvon has been credited with framing the B. N. A. Act. That, of course, is not true, but he rendered great assistance, and had moved the second reading when he resigned office upon the Reform Bill of 1867. It was during his second term as Colonial Secretary, to which he was appointed in 1874, that he was appealed to by Premier Walkem, after the famous Edgar incident, against the action of the Dominion Government in respect of our terms of union.

William Garvie, a journalistic associate of Joseph Howe during his stay in England and a very clever writer, wrote a letter from London, dated March, 1867, which is very illuminating in regard to the interest taken in the Confederation Bill while wending its way through the various stages of the British House of Commons. He begins by remarking:

"I deeply regret that my news in respect of Confederation should be of the most unpleasant description.

"As King Francis exclaimed after his disastrous defeat at Pavia, 'All is lost except honor.'

"Everything was done, that was possible to be done, be sure of that, but if one had come from the dead he would not have got the English Parliament even to look at both sides of the question.



SIR HECTOR LANGEVIN

A Father of Confederation and successor of Sir Geo. E. Cartier as French-Canadian leader.



HON. WILLIAM MACDOUGALL

One of the Liberals who joined Sir John to bring about Confederation.

"The only people who really cared anything about the matter were precisely the people whose interest it was to put it forward.

"The Grand Trunk influence had a powerful effect on the Government, who, being weak, were glad enough to bargain about votes for a reform bill on condition of a Confederation policy.

"More than that, I find among English politicians a growing fear of the United States which is really humiliating. English statesmen have made up their minds not to fight a land battle on this continent, for they know just as well as we do that they could never keep the Yankee troops on their side of the frontier, and that it would be one of the costliest campaigns into which Britain could drift.

"They are under the impression that if they do not own a foot of soil in America the Yankees cannot come over to attack them without positive peril—and they are, therefore, willing upon any pretext to turn us adrift. 'I would not care,' said a member of Parliament to me, 'if Grant were in Montreal tomorrow, so long as we were not bound to find soldiers to drive him out. He would not hurt you if you were not bound to us; and he could never hurt us there; while he would ruin himself by coming to us on board ship.'"

I am very much under the impression that Garvie had been mixing a good deal with the wrong kind of people, consorting with politicians "agin the government." In addition to that, he was feeling sorely the disappointment of defeat, and was looking for good excuses. The Little Englander talked a good deal about that time, and without doubt interest in the colonies was at its lowest ebb, but the great mass of the English and the real statesmen of Great Britain would not have deserted Canada in the time of grave peril. There is a good deal more in the letter of similar nature, but the really interesting part of it is the description of the way the Bill passed the House. He goes on:

"None of them ventured to deny the justice of our case, but then nobody could spare a thought from the questions at

home to waste time on us. (This refers to English editors and politicians generally.—R.E.G.) The great body of the House was utterly indifferent, even the delegates seemed chagrined at the lazy contempt with which a thin House suffered their bill to pass unnoticed through committee.

"A clerk at the table gabbled on, not the clauses even, but the numbers of the clauses and, as if that were not a quick enough mode of rushing through a disagreeably dull measure which did not affect anybody's seat, and which, therefore, could not be listened to, he used to read a whole batch of numbers at once, for example, saying, 'Moved that clauses 73, 74, 75 pass,' and they passed sure enough, without anybody worrying himself about their contents. (Respecting this statement, the editor of the Confederation letters, from which the above are extracts, makes this footnote: 'A graphic and sufficiently mortifying picture of the birth of the Canadian Constitution.'—R.E.G.) One member who had been in Australia and therefore wanted to drag himself into notice as a great colonial authority, asked some solemnly absurd questions about the Governor-General's duties, and so forth, and got equally solemn and absurd replies from Adderley, who stood with Cardwell, as if both were wet nurses for a foundling bill.

"The House got livelier and better filled when a dog tax bill came up—for, you see, the country gentlemen who could not maybe, point out Nova Scotia on the map, keep fox hounds, subject to a tax, which interests them more keenly than a Canadian tariff.

"I confess this utter indifference was more mortifying to me than positive opposition. I would allow for the action of Watkin, Kinnaird and other Grand Trunk members, but when I saw English gentlemen sitting where Burke sat framing his indignant sentences against the Government's disregard for the popular wish of the American colonies, I felt that their changed policy, contrasting so remarkably with his, was one of the worst signs of the times. It showed that they considered colonists being as little related to them as the

inhabitants of some nameless Chinese mud village, and it showed that the complaint so general now in England that this Parliament is utterly indifferent to a proper sense or share of responsibility, and utterly devoid of the quick sympathies with popular rights which used to ennoble the name of the House of Commons is correct."

The explanation of this regrettable indifference is not really a reflection on the English House of Commons at that time. The members were not interested in the subject of the bill, and knew little or nothing about the merits of the issues involved. If you know English character you know when an Englishman has no interest and does not know, he does not pretend to have interest or to know. The members as a whole were much more honest than the man from Australia. In my humble opinion this attitude on the part of the British House is on account of the fact that it has jurisdiction over parish matters as well as over Empire and international affairs, and the little things which affect a member's constituency, which should be settled in a town council, take up more time and get more attention than the big affairs of state. It is an evil we avoided in Canada by adopting the federal system of government.

Howe, after the passing of the B. N. A. Act by the British Parliament, knew that so far as Canada was concerned nothing further could be done to defeat Confederation, but he at once set about to have Nova Scotia released from the Union. In 1868 he and a number of other delegates from Nova Scotia went to England with monster petitions. The Imperial Government refused the appeal, and the House of Commons voted down by a large majority a resolution in favor of a Royal Commission for an investigation of Nova Scotia's objections to the scheme. Tupper, the watchdog of Confederation, was asked by Sir John Macdonald to go to England, and was soon on the spot. He had made a great speech in the first Federal Parliament in 1867 in reply to Joseph Howe, who had been stumping Nova Scotia, and with whom he had a great debate at Truro, called the "battle of the giants." This

speech, at the request of a British member of Parliament, had been printed in pamphlet form and distributed among the members of the latter, and it played an important part in the campaign. Sir Charles Tupper tells us in his reminiscences that the first man he called upon after reaching London was Joseph Howe himself. Howe's greeting was, "Well, I can't say I am glad to see you, but we must make the best of it." Tupper pointed out to him the hopelessness of his mission, stating that the Government and the Imperial Parliament were overwhelmingly opposed to him. Then Howe said: "I have 800 men in each county in Nova Scotia who will take an oath that they will never pay a cent of taxation to the Dominion, and I defy the Government to enforce taxation." 'You have no power of taxation, Howe,' Tupper replied, 'and in a few years you will have every sensible man cursing you, as there will be no money for roads and bridges. I will not ask that troops be sent to Nova Scotia, but I shall recommend that if the people refuse to obey the law, the federal subsidy be withheld.'

The upshot of it all was that Howe withdrew his opposition, and within six months entered the Cabinet of Sir John Macdonald, and in the general elections of 1870, Tupper swept Nova Scotia, and he and Howe were elected by acclamation—a curious but fortunate outcome of a great political struggle in which Howe and Tupper were head and shoulders above all others in the fight as opponents.

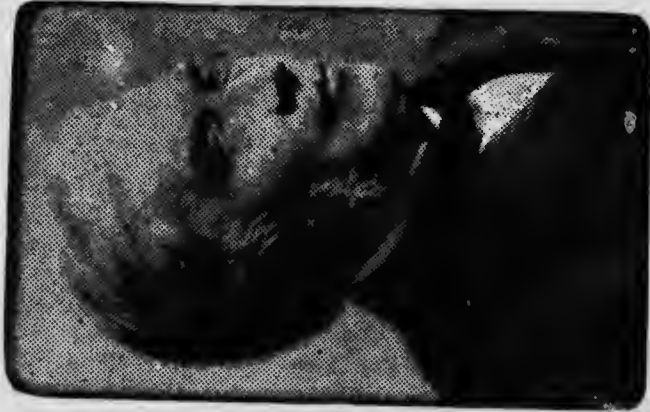
ARTICLE IX.

In a former article I explained the circumstances under which there was a fusion of parties in order to bring about Confederation. Several of the men who joined forces with Sir John Macdonald were the Hon. George Brown, the Hon. Oliver Mowat, and the Hon. William Macdougall, familiarly known as "Wandering Willie." The son of the last-named started, if not the first, one of the first papers in Vancouver city.

Maddougall was a gifted man and an able writer and speaker, but he had the misfortune, in a politician, of changing sides too often, and while independence may be a merit, in our system of party government the inability to give and take greatly lessens the influence of a statesman. He must either be strong enough to carry all before him or, like Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and other great leaders, he must accept as the solution of a situation what comes nearest to his actual views. Nearly all of the Liberals who joined Sir John or amalgamated with his party, including Joseph Howe, became permanently part of the Liberal-Conservative regime, but almost as soon as Confederation was decided upon, the Hon. George Brown broke away and went violently into opposition. Except Joseph Howe, Brown was probably the greatest editor Canada ever produced, but was impossible of restraint of any kind, and never long retained alliances, although the *Toronto Globe*, which he established, owned and edited, always remained a power in Ontario as long as he remained at the helm. Brown was a man of extremes, and belabored his opponents without distinction of rank or merit in a way that was always unmerciful. Temperamentally, and from every angle of view, he was opposed to Sir John Macdonald, whom he literally hated. His temporary alliance with the latter to bring about Confederation was greatly to his credit and on account of his tremendous influence with the Liberal element of Ontario, accomplished something which might have been otherwise impossible in those strenuous days of political faction fights. Sir Oliver Mowat in 1864, after the Quebec Conference, was made a judge, and when he stepped down in 1872, it was to take the premiership of Ontario in succession to the Hon. Edward Blake. Although of almost entirely different temperament from George Brown, he could never affiliate with Sir John Macdonald, and their long fight in respect of the rights of the Dominion and the Province of Ontario, and, incidentally, of all provinces, is historic.



HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE
First Liberal Prime Minister of Canada and a
supporter of Confederation.



SIR OLIVER MOWAT
A student in Sir John Macdonald's office, afterwards a Judge, a Premier of Ontario, Minister of Justice in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet, a Lieut.-Governor of Ontario and a Father of Confederation. A great constitutional authority.

Sir A. T. Galt, who was the first minister of finance, also fell away from Sir John Macdonald, although he always remained an independent Conservative. Galt was a splendid financier, and his efforts in the cause of Confederation were notable, but, using Sir Joseph Pope's words, as a politician he was an impossibility. There was a feeling, acute at first, on account of the honors bestowed by the Imperial Government through Lord Monck on the first Dominion Day. Sir John Macdonald had been created a Knight Commander of the Bath, and Cartier, Galt, Tilley, Tupper, Howland and Macdougall had been made Companions of the same order. Cartier and Galt considered this recognition of their services inadequate and declined to receive the decoration. "A good deal of feeling was aroused," says Sir Joseph Pope, "among the French Canadians at what was looked upon as a slight to the representative of their race. Cartier himself appears to have taken the matter momentarily to heart, and is said to have shown a disposition to attach some blame to Macdonald, who, of course, had nothing to do with it. It was this circumstance that gave rise to the stories, echoes of which are heard even today, of dissensions between Macdonald and Cartier. In the first flush of his natural disappointment Cartier may have used some hasty expressions, and thus lent color to a report which had no serious foundation. In order to allay the soreness, Lord Monck obtained permission to offer Cartier a baronetcy if Sir John Macdonald were agreeable. Sir John Macdonald at once replied that he would be only too glad to see his colleague thus honored. Galt was made a K.C.M.G. at the same time, and thus the affair was brought to a happy termination." As a matter of fact, Cartier and Macdonald were always the closest of friends. Sir Charles Tupper refers to Cartier as a man of unfailing industry and indomitable courage, and easily the most influential man in the Province of Quebec. Sir John said of him that he was "bold as a lion." I shall have more to say of him, when I come to the chapters dealing with British Columbia's entrance into Confederation. Another man who left Sir John

after Confederation was the late Sir Richard Cartwright. Cartwright was a Tory of the Tories, and the real reason of his severance of relations has never been known. After Sir A. T. Galt resigned his post as minister of finance, Sir John Rose became minister of finance, and two years later he resigned to take up his residence in London as member of the banking firm of Morton, Rose & Company, a very important financial institution. Then Sir John had to look around for a new minister of finance, and, rightly or wrongly, chose Sir Francis Hincks. Hincks had been away from the country for some years as governor of various of the West India Islands, and had made a good record. Cartwright took umbrage at the appointment. It has been said that he wanted the portfolio for himself, although there is really no evidence of the fact. It is said that Sir John referred to him as "a round peg trying to fill a square hole," but at all events Cartwright became one of his bitterest opponents. He was a member of an old aristocratic family, with a liberal education. He had a bitter tongue, and his command of sarcasm and satire was perhaps the greatest of any man who sat in the Canadian House of Commons. He literally flayed his opponents in language that was always classical in its preciseness. He had not the massive attack of Edward Blake, who, perhaps, was the best debater of the Empire in his time, but was biting, incisive and almost cruel.

After Confederation, Sir John Macdonald took to himself two men who may be regarded as his right and left bowers, Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Leonard Tilley. Both were most helpful to him in his policies, which have made him famous, and both were loyal to him to the last. Sir Charles did not at first accept a place in the Government, because, as he tells us himself, he made a vow that he would not accept office in the Canadian Government until his course had been vindicated by the people of Nova Scotia, for whose entrance into Confederation he was almost wholly responsible. In the elections of 1870 that vindication came in the most emphatic

form. Sir Charles Tupper was essentially a constructive statesman, but lacking that charming personality and magnetism that characterized Sir John Macdonald, and without which no leader can succeed in captivating the affections of the people. Not that he was lacking in many of the graces of a politician, but his sheer force of character gave him a ruggedness that passed too often for what is referred to as "brute force." He was too direct and too aggressive in his methods to be liked by those who prefer the lines of least resistance. Of his colleague of the Maritime Provinces he says: "Sir Leonard Tilley was a man of high personal character and a very effective speaker," I have the very kindest of recollections of Sir Leonard in St. John in 1890. He carried into the smallest details of life those graces which endeared him to all his friends. His personal influence as a man had largely to do with bringing New Brunswick into the Union, and in addition to his personal qualities he was a man of meticulous scrupulousness in financial affairs and of constructive ability.

A man who was a real factor in the Confederation movement was Lord Monck. He was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1861. He came to the country just at a time when the legislative union of 1841 was on the point of breaking down, and it was largely through his influence that George Brown was induced to join hands with Sir John Macdonald in reaching a solution of a very difficult situation. He was very tactful and of a conciliatory temper, and was thus enabled to bring about agreement where agreement seemed to be most hopeless. He was reappointed Governor-General after 1867, but resigned after a further year of office. The dual authority which characterized the legislative union just referred to was the root of the troubles of his time, and Lord Monck, when confiding the duty of forming the first Cabinet to Sir John Macdonald, addressed him in these terms:

"In authorizing you to undertake the duty of forming an administration for the Dominion of Canada, I desire to express my strong opinion that, in future, it shall be distinctly understood that the position of First Minister shall be held by one person, who shall be responsible to the Governor-General for the appointment of the other ministers, and that the system of dual ministers, which has heretofore prevailed, shall be put an end to. I think this is of importance not only with reference to the maintenance of satisfactory relations between the Governor-General and his Cabinet, but also with a view to the complete consolidation of the union which we have brought about."

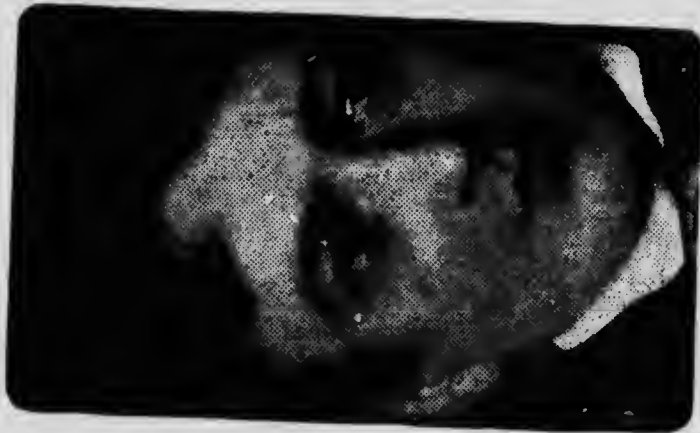
The murder of D'Arcy McGee was a great loss to Canada. Not as previously stated, he was shot while entering his house after a session of Parliament. D'Arcy McGee was a Reformer who came in with the coalition. Moreover, he was possibly the most eloquent man we have ever had in Canada. I except Joseph Howe, but his eloquence was of a different character. He was an Irishman, with all the warmth of imagination that adorns Irish eloquence. He was also a poet, and in the debates of 1865 in the old Canadian Parliament his was the most literary effort of the lot. The speech of George Brown was perhaps the fullest of meat and that of Sir John Macdonald the most practical, but there was nothing to equal that of D'Arcy McGee, according to the standards of great parliamentary speeches as they are adjudged.

There has just come to hand a book entitled the "Federation of Canada," which is a symposium by Prof. George M. Wrong, Sir John Willison, Z. A. Lash and R. A. Falconer, president of the Toronto University.

ARTICLE X.

I have before me a copy of the Debates on Confederation, which took place in the Parliament of old Canada in the year 1865, following the Conference at Quebec. It contains over 1,030 large, closely-printed pages, which some years ago I read carefully through, more as a matter of necessity than of inclination, I have here and there, incidentally, in previous articles referred to the attitude of the leading federationists as well as to that of some who were opposed to them, and to some of the arguments used for and against, and I do not propose here to attempt even a summary of the debates. Parliament was then as at present divided into two branches, the Legislative Council, or Upper House, and the Legislative Assembly, called also the House of Commons. The seventy-two resolutions passed by the Quebec Conference were presented to the Legislative Council by Hon. Sir E. P. Tache, who had presided at the Quebec Conference, on February 3rd, and he formally moved that an address be presented to Her Majesty praying that a measure should be submitted to Imperial Parliament based on these resolutions. He opened the debate, and as a great many English members could not understand French, and all the French members understood English he spoke in English. Thirty members took part at greater or less length, the most and the best known to present-day readers being Hon. James Aikens, Hon. George Allen, Hon. Narcisse Belleau, Hon. Geo. S. Boulton, Hon. A. Campbell, Hon. David Christie, Hon. Billa Flint, Hon. L. Letellier de St. Just, Hon. David Macpherson, Hon. Wm. McMaster, Hon. A. Vidal and Hon. S. Sanbora. Several amendments were moved, the principal being that the transmission of the address should be delayed until the resolutions were approved by a direct vote of the provinces. This and all other amendments were voted down by considerable majorities.

A similar procedure was followed in the popular Assembly, in which Hon. Attorney-General Macdonald was the



LORD DURHAM

Whose famous report in 1839 outlined principles of Federal Union.



LORD LISGAR

Who was Governor-General of Canada when British Columbia entered the Union in 1871.

introducer of the resolution and mover of the address. The greatest interest centred in the debate in the Legislative Assembly, in which 70 out of 130 members spoke. The principal of these included the mover, John A. Macdonald, Hon. George Brown, Hon. John Hilliard Cameron, M. C. Cameron, Hon. G. E. Cartier, Richard Cartwright, Hon. James Cockburn, Hon. A. A. Dorion, Christopher Dunkin (author of the Dunkin Act), Hon. A. T. Galt, Thomas N. Gibbs, Hon. L. H. Holton, Hon. W. P. Howland, Hon. Lucius P. Huntingdon (largely responsible for the celebrated Pacific scandal), H. G. Joly de Lotbiniere (against the resolutions), Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald (afterwards Premier of Ontario), Alexander Mackenzie (second Premier of United Canada), Hon. Wm. Macdougall, Archibald McKellar, Alexander Morris, Hon. John Rose, Joseph Rymal (known as the wag of the House), Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, Walter Shanley, Henri Taschereau and Hector Langevin. Each name in that list is familiar to every person who has read Canadian history or studied Canadian politics. I have stated previously that John A. Macdonald, whom Sir John Willison describes as, if not peculiarly the Father of Confederation, its chief architect, the master craftsman of the Quebec Conference, made the most practical speech from a constitutional point of view, D'Arcy McGee made the most eloquent, and George Brown the most informative and inspirational. In Sir John Willison's lecture delivered in the Toronto University in March last he says that of all the debates on Confederation there is no more remarkable address than that of Christopher Dunkin, of Brome, and he relates this story: "He said that the attempt to overcome deadlock in United Canada by the scheme of Confederation reminded him of the two boys who upset the canoe. Tom said, 'Bill can you pray?' Bill admitted that he could not think of any prayer suitable for the occasion. Tom's rejoinder, according to Dunkin, was earnest but not parliamentary. He said: 'Well, something has to be done and that—soon.'" Dunkin, Willison tells us, spoke for

two days with unfailing courtesy and reserve, the language scholarly, the argument sustained and powerful; but he was utterly opposed to the scheme. His speech was purely destructive, cold and uninspiring, nevertheless a great contribution to the political literature of Canada. In speaking of Dorion, Willison says: "There is no more chivalrous figure in Canadian history than Antoine Dorion. He had eloquence and courage and integrity. He had all the charm and courtesy of a scholarly Frenchman, with the gravity, sobriety and reserve of the cultivated Englishman. He had dignity without pretension, he was gracious without condescension. Where he was men were clearer and finer, and discourse was serene and elevated." He was greatly handicapped in Quebec, however, by his loyal adherence to George Brown, notwithstanding the latter's hostility to the French-Canadians and his anti-Catholic crusade. Dorion spoke at great length, not so much against the principle of the proposed union as against the provisions contained in the resolutions for union—the thing in the concrete. Other speakers from Quebec opposed to union were Holton, Joly and Huntingdon, and Willison, to illustrate the temper which prevailed in Quebec, says that even Wilfrid Laurier, whose life he wrote in two volumes, then a young advocate at Arthabaskaville writing editorials for a weekly newspaper between interviews with clients, declared that Confederation would be "the tomb of the French race and the ruin of Lower Canada." The opposition in Upper Canada was largely of a political nature for the sake of opposition.

The debate lasted from February 3rd to March 14th inclusive. There was a large number of amendments moved, having various objects in view, the principal being for reference to the people before the measure should be got into operation, all of which were defeated. On March 14th the House waited on His Excellency with its address to Her Majesty. The Governor-General made a brief and formal official acknowledgment. The subsequent proceedings until

the Union was accomplished and brought into effect on July 1st, 1867, have all heretofore been described.

I referred in my last article to a very attractive little volume entitled "The Federation of Canada," which has just come to hand. The contents consist of four lectures delivered in the University of Toronto in March last, by George M. Wrong, Professor of History in the University, whose subject was "The Creation of the Federal System in Canada"; Sir John Willison, editor of the Toronto News, on "Some Political Leaders in the Canadian Federation"; by Z. A. Lash, K.C., on "The Working of Federal Institutions in Canada"; by R. A. Falconer, C.M.G., President of the University, on "The Quality of Canadian Life in Canada." These four men, each in his own way, are eminently qualified to deal with the subject allotted to them, and, although there is necessarily a good deal of duplication of statements, their treatment of these subjects amply sustains their reputation for literary and historical acquirements. After perusal of this book I was very pleased to ascertain that practically every statement made in the succession of articles in *The Colonist* as to facts and conditions and as to estimates of the leading men of the Confederation movement have been amply confirmed. There is, however, an advantage in a continued and concise narrative over a symposium even of brilliant writers. There is in the latter a good deal of repetition. Histories of Canada which have been written topically by a number of different authors have not been a success, and could not possibly be such a success as that achieved by Parkman, for instance, whose style and treatment are harmonious throughout. Nevertheless, for the purpose for which these four lectures have been published the symposium is highly successful. Prof. Wrong, who is an industrious student and a digger, gives us the historical aspect, although he overlaps to some extent President Falconer's treatment of his subject.

Viewing Confederation as an accomplished fact, Prof. Wrong remarks: "The very vastness of the Canadian union created one of its chief difficulties. In Victoria one can rarely secure a newspaper published in Toronto less than a week old. Distance is a great handicap in the building up of a national life. In Britain a political leader can make a speech in the south of England in the morning and repeat it in the capital of Scotland on the same day. In Canada it takes about six days and nights to pass from one end of the country to the other. What London talks of in the morning Manchester and Glasgow are discussing in the afternoon, but of what Montreal or Toronto are discussing Victoria and Vancouver often hear nothing. It is the penalty of vastness that it is both difficult to create a common public opinion in Canada, and, when the opinion exists, difficult so to concentrate it as to make it effective at the national capital. We need not despair, but the problem of adequate education in national affairs is real and difficult. . . .

"Our whole outlook on life has changed since 1867. . . . Simcoe, first Governor of Upper Canada, had thought English society so beautiful that he wished to have Canada an exact copy with hereditary peers, a state church, a powerful landed gentry. . . . Today, looking back, we find that only that has survived which was vital in harmony with the spirit and conditions of new society. Our successful men are those who were free to adjust themselves to what they found in the country and to conquer conditions by learning to know them. . . .

"Now we are required to consider how we may unite with other states of a great Empire in order to make its position secure and its power effective. Of the solvings of this question I can say nothing new, but upon it we must continue to fix our eyes. Surveying it, one's last words must be a tribute of admiration to the builders of 1867."

Sir John Willison's contribution is decidedly the most interesting from the newspaper man's point of view, and is

ably written. Respecting Brown, Mackenzie and Blake, while admitting their temperamental defects as political leaders, he is eminently fair and appreciative. Brown was the great Protestant and radical force of Upper Canada, without which Confederation might not have been accomplished. Nature gave Blake much, yet withheld something. For sheer intellectual power Mr. Blake perhaps has had no equal in the public life of Canada. If he had a peer it was Sir John Thompson. He was painfully sensitive of criticism, even in small things. He had innate kindness and friendliness, which, however, could not unfold themselves to others, except to very particular intimates of which he had few. He was undoubtedly Canada's greatest jurist and advocate. Mackenzie, who was too much of a slave to the details of office work, was one of the greatest debaters in the Canadian House of Commons, and quite a match for Sir Charles Tupper on the stump. Sir John's analysis of Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper are too minute to be described, but it does not differ materially in effect from my own previously given. They are given the palm for constructive political ability. Of Cartier he says that he had not magnetic quality, but he had optimism, self-confidence and power in debate. He inspired confidence, and his character gave authority to his utterances.

Z. A. Lash, K.C., a leading lawyer of Canada, who has been writing upon Imperial relations lately, had the advantage in dealing with the working of federal institutions of having been for some years Deputy Minister of Justice at Ottawa, and many of the early questions which arose at the outset necessarily came before him. It must be understood that in 1867, although we got a written constitution very specific in its details, it was at the time elastic as to interpretation, and as the B.N.A. Act stands today it represents a gradual fixing of constitutional powers as determined by a series of judicial decisions. Mr. Lash very clearly and concisely traces this evolution through its various stages, and



SIR JOSEPH TRUTCH
One of the B.C. delegates to Ottawa and first
Lt.-Governor of the Province



LT.-GOV. F. S. BARNARD
In office during celebration of Fiftieth Anniver-
sary of Confederation, 1917.

so splendidly mirrors the essential features of the Canadian constitution that his article might be well accepted as a text-book on the subject.

The quality of Canadian life is dealt with by the able and scholarly president of Toronto University, and his address on this subject necessarily involves so many lights and shades and so many considerations and conditions that it cannot be dealt with even in characteristic quotations. He says however that "The creation of Western Canada is the most splendid achievement of our life since 1867," and that will afford me a valuable text for my concluding articles on the bringing in of the country from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean, in which, of course, British Columbia will receive special consideration.

ARTICLE XI.

I now come to the West. When Confederation, in 1864, was first seriously considered in conference the West was in mind, but, owing to the great intervening territory between Ontario and British Columbia, practically unsettled, the latter was not invited to participate. In fact, there was not time after the conference at Charlottetown. Nor were there the facilities for travel. But from the very first talk of Confederation, and that was quite far back, there was a lure about the West that incited the imagination, and, almost as soon as railways had been shown to be practicable, the vision of joining the Atlantic with the Pacific colony became clear. A united British North America was a dream at least 150 years old. However, to make British Columbia a possibility as a province of the Union, the great territory known as Prince Rupert's Land, in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Co., had to be acquired, and the Company's title extinguished. It was a delicate matter. The Hudson's Bay Co. influence with the Imperial Government and in Parliament was very strong. In Great Britain, much more than at the present time, vested interests were regarded as sacred,

and in 1670 Rupert's Land passed into the exclusive control of the great company of adventurers. Any arrangement with British Columbia before the intervening territory had been acquired would have stiffened the back of the Hudson's Bay Company and made negotiations more difficult, and Sir John Macdonald, with his usual sagacity, decided that it would be better to settle with the Company before opening up formal negotiations with the Pacific colony. To be brief, after the matter had been taken up with the Home authorities an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1868 whereby the rights of the Company were relinquished for a consideration of \$1,500,000 and certain allotments of land, which the land department of the Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg, is still selling and thus the whole of the Middle West passed under the jurisdiction and exclusive control of the Dominion. The purchase was completed on May 11th, of 1870, and on the fifteenth of July of the same year Manitoba, containing 27,000 square miles, was created a province of Canada.

There were mistakes made in bringing in of Manitoba, which led to the lamentable Riel first rebellion. The Metis, or French half-breeds, of that country, had settled along the banks of the Red River on a principle somewhat similar to settlement of the French-Canadians along the St. Lawrence. They had not been properly apprised of the change in eminent domain, and when the Canadian surveyors appeared on the scene with their plan of block surveys, their suspicions were aroused, and they were led to believe that their holdings would be confiscated or altered. Louis Riel, a clever, but very much misguided man, who had an ambition to establish a republic in the West with himself as its head, fomented a rebellion, of the history of which I do not intend to deal. His cold-blooded murder of Scott, one of his prisoners, raised a storm of indignation throughout Canada, and the political consequences promised to be very serious. Incidentally, (the late) Alderman John Dilworth (of Victoria, B. C.) was a fellow-prisoner of Scott, and was to have been shot with the

others, but better counsels prevailed. They had to live on bread and water for many days. The arrival of Col. Wolseley, afterwards a Field Marshal of the Empire, with his expedition, which marched overland via Fort William, put an end to the rebellion, and should have put an end to Riel as well, but, on account of the race question involved, the matter had to be handled with great delicacy. This uprising was a regrettable incident of Confederation, but only an incident. It would be interesting to dwell upon the unfortunate ending of the attempt of the Hon. William Macdougall to take his post as Lieutenant-Governor, the private visit of Sir Charles Tupper, the mission of Donald Smith, afterwards Lord Strathcona, and the efforts of the late Archbishop Tache in connection with the affair, but these are incidents not part of the story.

The population of Manitoba, at the time of its entrance into Confederation was very limited, and consisted principally outside of the Indian tribes, of the descendants of the early Selkirk colony, the Metis and other half-breeds and of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Co., and descendants of fur traders of all time in the West. We can hardly refer to the terms of the Union in this case, because the people were not consulted in the matter. It is only necessary to say that because the Dominion bought and paid for Rupert's Land, Manitoba, as was the case with Saskatchewan and Alberta later on, did not get control of the natural resources, but was given an extra allowance in the way of subsidies in lieu thereof. The only lands given were those for school purposes and these are held in trust.

British Columbia was the next province to join Confederation, and the circumstances in connection with its coming in are particularly interesting, not only on account of the initial steps but of what followed after the Union took place. After Sir James Douglas resigned the Governorship he was succeeded in British Columbia by Governor Seymour, and in Vancouver Island by Governor Kennedy. Then began the

agitation for the union of the two colonies. The white population of the two colonies did not equal 10,000 in all, and there were two very expensive administrations to carry on. It was obviously absurd that such a state of things should exist, but, of course, there were sectional prejudices to overcome. The New Westminster district, and in particular New Westminster City, was afraid of the predominance of Victoria and the Island in wealth, population and influence. If the question of the location of the capital had not been at issue, it perhaps might have been a much easier matter to arrange, but each colony was at first resolute in keeping its capital. I cannot tell the whole story of the war of capitals, but eventually union was accomplished in 1866, and official influence in Victoria was so strong that it was selected as the capital. It left a great deal of heartburning on the lower Mainland, which was not healed for many years afterwards.

No sooner had union of the colonies been accomplished than the wider union with Canada began to be discussed. British Columbia was a long way from Canada, and had very imperfect and rather tortuous means of communication with the older colonies of British North America, but the editors of the papers in Victoria and New Westminster got their Canadian exchanges, and everything that happened during and after the Charlottetown-Quebec Conference was carefully noted and discussed. Thus, though somewhat belated, Canadian news was fairly familiar to those who took an interest in it. There was a number of prominent Canadians in British Columbia both on the Island and the Mainland, who were very anxious for union, union of course coupled with some direct form of communication. Douglas's great dream was a wagon road to connect British Columbia with the eastern provinces, and, to some extent, the celebrated Dewdney Trail was intended as a start in that direction, and when the delegation went to Ottawa it was a wagon road they had in mind and not a railway, because a railway 3,000 miles long seemed to be beyond the dreams of avarice, especially through a

country which was largely an undeveloped waste. Beyond, however, the desire of direct communication to end the isolation of British Columbia there was among the Canadian element a sentimental desire to see British Columbia united with the home provinces, and to understand that desire more thoroughly, it must be known that in those early days there was a good deal of feeling against Canadians among the British-born element, which was a very considerable and influential one socially. The official, Hudson's Bay Company and naval elements were practically all British in the natal sense, and there existed a very foolish prejudice against the outsiders, very much as has existed in Canada up until recently against "Englishmen." The anti-Canadian sentiment was largely confined to the Island and the city of Victoria, but it existed elsewhere as well. The Canadians whom I have particularly in mind included such men as Mr. Amor de Cosmos, Mr. D. W. Higgins, Mr. Robert Beaven, Mr. F. J. Barnard, Dr. Powell, Mr. J. A. Mara, Mr. John Robson, Dr. Carrall, Mr. John Grant and a great many others whom it would take too long to enumerate.

At the time the agitation was well started annexation to the United States was more popular than was Confederation in certain circles. One very prominent man wrote a letter in the newspapers openly advocating it, and there was a newspaper published in Victoria whose policy it was. Sir Charles Tupper, who was thoroughly posted on public opinion in the British Colony, in his reminiscences discussing the possible fate of British Columbia had not union been brought about at the time it was, says:

"There is no question that it would have inevitably resulted in the absorption of the Crown Colony on the Pacific Coast by the United States. Social and economic forces were working in that direction from the date of the discovery of gold in 1856. Thousands of adventurous American citizens flocked to British Columbia, and between the two countries there was a good deal of inter-communication by land and



HON. AMOR DE COSMOS
Prominent in the fight for Confederation, a
journalist and politician of the early days,
founder of The Colonist, a former Premier, and
a member of the House of Commons.



MR. D. W. HIGGINS
A promoter of Confederation in British Columbia
and the doyen of Pacific Coast journalism
(recently deceased).

sea. Sir James Douglas, an ex-Governor, a prominent figure in the early days of the Colony, was opposed to Confederation. (So was my old friend Dr. Helmcken, Judge Drake and others equally prominent.—R.E.G.)

"Until his eleventh-hour conversion, ex-Governor Seymour entertained similar views. The appointment of Anthony Musgrave, a pro-union man, in 1869, came at a psychological moment, when the Imperial authorities were giving their ardent support to the cause dearest to the hearts of Canadian statesmen. . . .

"It would have been impossible to retain British Columbia as a Crown Colony if overtures in favor of the Union had not been made by the Dominion. How could it have been expected to remain British when it had no community of interest with the rest of Canada, from which the people were separated by two ranges of mountains and the vast prairie? Under the existing circumstances it had no means of advancement except by throwing in its lot with the great nation to the south, with which it had constant communication by land and sea."

There is no suggestion in the foregoing that there was any lack of loyalty in British Columbia, but physical isolation had reduced it to almost a state of desperation, and the colony was in a state of business stagnation. It was the feeling of uncertainty in British Columbia as to the future and to another fact, to which I shall refer in the next article, that decided Sir John Macdonald as leader of the Government at Ottawa to stake all on bringing in British Columbia.

ARTICLE XII.

Once the movement for Confederation was fairly inaugurated it quickly gathered momentum, not so much perhaps sentimentally as on account of material considerations. There were economic forces at work which impelled it. The mines, which at that time were exclusively placer, were being exhausted. What little agriculture there was had a very

limited market. Business in all branches was stagnant. The public debt was intolerable, and there was neither development in progress nor in prospect. All this was the result of extreme isolation and lack of communication with the outside world by means of railway. There was only very meagre communication by steamship. There were two things for it, annexation with the United States or union with Canada. There was a considerable element in favor of the former, and from a near point of view there was much to be said in its favor, but a large portion of the British-born population, while it did not like union with Canada, did not want to give up allegiance to Great Britain. Of the two alternatives they finally chose the latter. There was a number of enthusiastic, able and shrewd Canadians who put their shoulders to the wheel and decided the issue, although there was a long, hard fight for it.

One of the obstacles to Union was Governor Seymour, who opposed it as strongly as he had opposed the union of the colonies. Sir John Macdonald, who had been informed of his attitude, planned for his removal and for the appointment of Anthony Musgrave, whose term as Governor of Newfoundland was just expiring. Musgrave was known as a strong pro-Confederation advocate, and Sir John wrote a confidential letter to the Governor-General of Canada at the time, enclosing a communication on the subject from a newspaper in British Columbia to Sir Leonard Tilley, which letter confirmed a letter received some time previous from Dr. Carrall. Sir John said that "it was quite clear that no time should be lost by Lord Granville in putting the screws on Vancouver Island," urging that the first thing to be done was to recall Governor Seymour. He hinted that now that the Hudson's Bay Company had succumbed and was anxious to make things pleasant with the Canadian Government it would likely instruct its officials to change their anti-Confederate tone, and added that "We shall then have to fight only the Yankee adventurers and the annexation party proper, which

there will be no difficulty in doing." Musgrave, as Governor of Newfoundland, had done his very best to bring that colony into line and had made himself personally very popular, and Sir John, not without good reason, expected him to succeed on the Pacific side of Canada. The obstacle of Seymour in British Columbia, however, was unexpectedly removed by death on H.M.S. Sparrowhawk at Bella Bella, June 10, 1869.

In respect of Confederation, British Columbia was fortunate in her newspapers and editors, who really directed public opinion in the matter. The Colonist, owned and edited by Mr. D. W. Higgins, and The Westminster Columbian, owned and edited by the late Hon. John Robson, were heart and soul in the movement. The Hon. Amor de Cosmos, another journalist, though not in the possession of a newspaper at the time, was a strong advocate, and thereby hangs a tale. J. S. Thompson, editor of The Cariboo Sentinel, an able and rather brilliant writer and speaker, who afterwards represented Cariboo federally for three Parliaments, was another.

Three men who took a very prominent and personal part in the movement were Amor de Cosmos, John Robson and D. W. Higgins. Robson was a powerful and convincing writer. De Cosmos and Higgins, also able writers, were rivals in journalism and politics, although agreeing on this one issue. De Cosmos had gone East in the interests of Confederation, and at a big Liberal convention at Toronto pledged himself to return a solid delegation of members after the union, if union were effected, to support the Liberal party, from British Columbia. Higgins, who had the cause very much at heart and did not want the issue to be confused with party politics, at his own expense went to Ottawa in 1868 and had long conferences with members of the Government there, and I have his little diary of his trip, in which he put various jottings and memoranda connected with his mission.

Some of these jottings are very interesting. For instance:

"August 19, Ottawa—Tilley says delegation will be sent to Ottawa to Imperial Government after general election is



over to arrange as to transfer of H. B. Co. territory to Dominion. Thinks H. B. Co. must be secured with British Columbia or before, and believes Imperial Government will make Legislature do its duty—that is urge Confederation on council or resign. That in any negotiations with H. B. Co. delegation to Imperial Government will act as arbitrators.

"Tilley received letters from Seelye and Powell yesterday and telegraphed Powell. There will probably be a delegation from Vancouver Island to arrange matters with him.

"Had an audience with Cabinet. Saw Sir John A. Macdonald, Tilley, Langevin, Chapais, Campbell and Rose. Told them wants of colony and expenses \$517,000. No markets. Last year \$701,000. Seymour imbecile. Corroborated by Waddington. (Waddington was then in Ottawa promoting a transcontinental line of railway by way of Bentick Arm, upon the preliminary surveys of which he spent his fortune, and may thus be regarded as the original promoter of the C.P.R.—R.E.G.)

"Sir John A. very kind, and said wanted colony, but policy was not to take it until H. B. Territory was had too, because if did then H. B. Co. would be more stiff and independent. Must have intervening territory.

"Sir John showed me act last passed by Imperial Parliament authorizing opening of negotiations with H. B. Co. and Government as arbitrator. John A. shrewd and intelligent Scotch face. All members held out hope of speedy relief. Tilley ordered nineteen weeklies (Colonist).

"Evening called on Tilley at his home with Mary (the late Mrs. Higgins) and Lizzie (Mrs. James Raymur) and took tea. Think Confederation sure in 1869."

The only other item of interest in this connection is this: "Saw that H. B. Co. will sell out for \$1,500,000 and that offer will be accepted. Notable that opposition is urging purchase by Government of territory and blaming them for not doing so." This refers particularly to George Brown, who in the Globe for some time had advocated the acquirement of Prince

Rupert's land, and was, as he always was, very impatient of delay.

Governor Seymour had what Sir Charles Tupper referred to as a "death-bed repentance," and at the opening of the Legislative Council on March 13, 1868, he said: "During the last session your honorable council unanimously passed a resolution in favor of negotiations being entered into for the union of this colony with Confederation, which has been formed with the Eastern British provinces in this continent. Although I could not be blind to the difficulties which made me consider the resolution principally as the expression of a disheartened community longing for change of any kind, yet the possibility of something arising out of it to promote an overland communication with Canada, was enough to induce me to support your resolution. The public feeling in respect of this important matter is reflected in a memorial drawn up by Messrs. James Trimble, Amor de Cosmos, I. W. Powell, J. R. Findlay, R. Wallace, and A. G. Seelye, a committee appointed at a public meeting of the citizens on January 29, 1868. It is interesting because the resolution belonging to the time fairly sets forth what at this time might be merely regarded as my own personal opinion. After a preliminary recital, the resolution affirms:

"That the people of Cariboo, the next most populous and influential portion of the colony, held in December last a highly enthusiastic meeting, and unanimously passed resolutions in favor of joining the Dominion.

"That public opinion throughout the colony is, as far as we can learn, overwhelmingly in favor of Confederation.

"That there is a small party in favor of annexation to the United States, and if it were practicable or possible their number would be increased.

"That there is a small party other than annexationists who are opposed to Confederation.

"That nearly all the office-holders of this colony are allied to the latter party.



MR. H. J. BARNARD
A Canadian prominent in movement for Confederation in B. C.



MR. J. A. MARA
Another Canadian who took an active part.

"That the total number of those opposed to Confederation on fair and equal terms is numerically small, but supported by the office-holders they may exert good deal of resistance to the popular will.

"That from the information in a telegram from Ottawa, dated January 22, 1868, we learn that Governor Seymour has not made any proposition to the Dominion Government respecting our admission as was expected.

"That the Legislative Council is made up of a majority, consisting of heads of departments, gold commissioners, magistrates and others subject to Government influence, and cannot be relied upon to urge a Confederation as it ought to be at the present juncture.

"That the only popular institutions in the colony are the City Councils of Victoria and New Westminster.

"That the people of this colony are really without the means of expressing and carrying out their wishes through the Legislature.

"We, therefore, representing the views of a large majority of the people of this, the most populous and influential section of the colony, would respectfully ask the Government of the Dominion of Canada to take immediate steps to bring this colony into the Dominion, by telegraphing or communicating with Her Majesty's Government, to issue immediate instructions to Governor Seymour, or otherwise to conclude negotiations as to terms or admission.

"We feel that without the help and liberal support of the Government of the Dominion the time will be somewhat remote when the colony will be admitted into the Dominion, but with the aid which we solicit we believe that there is no obstacle to prevent our admission by July 1 next.

"We would further represent, for the information of the Government of the Dominion, that the terms of admission which would be acceptable to the people of this colony would be:

(And here follows a recital of things much as they are now, but with this important exception):

"The construction of a transcontinental wagon road, from Lake Superior to the head of navigation on the lower Fraser, within two years after the time of admission. This is regarded as an essential condition."

A wagon road in this era of automobiles might have been some use, but not otherwise. Travelling at the rate of 30 miles a day, a wagon would get to Montreal in about 100 days, barring accidents and delays.

ARTICLE XIII.

Reference was made in my last article to a public meeting held in the City of Victoria, at which a series of resolutions was passed. These and other representations were contained in a memorial forwarded to Ottawa. They were acknowledged on March 25th, 1868, by the Hon. Leonard Tilley, the Minister of Customs, who sent the following reply: "The Canadian Government desires union with British Columbia and has opened communication with the Imperial Government on the subject of the resolutions, and suggests immediate action by your legislators and a passage of an address to Her Majesty requesting Union with Canada. Keep us informed of progress." It may be stated that the question first came prominently before the public during the session of the Legislature of 1867, when a resolution was unanimously passed in its favor, requesting Governor Seymour "to take measures without delay to secure the admission of British Columbia into Confederation on fair and equitable terms." Governor Seymour, as we already know, was not favorable to union, and took no steps to inform the Dominion Government of the action of the Legislature. He was a man of no particular calibre, and the fact that the only photograph I have seen of him shows him with a cat in his arms is significant of a certain kind of weakness made celebrated in the history of French royalty.

On the 21st of May, 1868, a Confederation League was formed in the City of Victoria, of which the following formed the executive: James Trimble (mayor), Capt. Stamp, Dr. Powell, J. F. (afterwards Premier and Mr. Justice) McCreight, Robert Beaven, J. G. Norris, George Pearkes, R. Wallace, C. Gowen, W. M. Gibbs, Amor de Cosmos and George Fox. The league began with a membership of one hundred, and had branches in several places on the Island and the Mainland. Prominent among those who opposed Confederation in Victoria was Dr. Helmcken the Speaker of the Legislature, and son-in-law of Sir James Douglas. He was quite conscientious and sincere in his objections. He did not think the time was ripe for it. Confederation, in his estimation, was an experiment, and he wanted to see it worked out to some extent before British Columbia was committed to it. He thought that by waiting the colony would be able to secure better terms than public opinion in Eastern Canada would sanction at that time, and I am not one to say that, having in view much that forms the sequel of the story, that he was not right. Dr. Helmcken possessed a great deal of native wisdom. Meetings were held at New Westminster and in Cariboo. The leaders of the movement on the Mainland were John Robson, editor of *The Columbian*, J. F. Barnard, head of the Cariboo road stage line and a man of great energy and executive ability, Hugh Nelson, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Burrard Inlet, J. A. Mara, Kamloops, J. S. Thompson, a Cariboo journalist, and Cornelius Booth, who was afterwards supervisor of the assessment rolls for the province. At a meeting in Cariboo on July 1st, 1868, resolutions were passed condemning the Government for opposing Confederation and favoring some organized and systematic mode of obtaining admission into the Dominion of Canada. At this meeting Thompson, in an eloquent and effective speech, moved the resolutions, which were seconded by Booth, familiarly known to his friends as "Corney." Before the meeting adjourned a

committee of five was appointed to carry out the wishes of the meeting.

As the result of concerted effort, the next most important step in the agitation was the celebrated Yale convention, which was held on the 14th of September, at which a number of the leading men of the province were present.

The delegates to this convention, who may in a sense be regarded as the Fathers of Confederation of British Columbia, although the list does not include some of the most prominent advocates and workers in the cause.* All but a very few of them have passed away, and a number of them are wholly unknown to the present generation. The Yale Convention, though much advertised, and incidentally much caricatured and ridiculed, was only attended by thirty-five persons, but it must be remembered that facilities of travel were limited in those days and travelling was expensive.

It was resolved "that the proper remedy for the present political condition of the colony, and the one that recommends itself as preferable to all others—being in harmony with Imperial policy and the legitimate aspirations and desires of the people of the colony—is the immediate admission of British Columbia into the Dominion of Canada, on terms equitable, expedient and beneficial, simultaneously with the establishment of representative government; and that whether admission into the Dominion of Canada shall occur or not, representative institutions and responsible government should be inaugurated forthwith in British Columbia." The principal effect of the convention was to consolidate those in favor of

* A long list of names is not usually very interesting reading, but readers will like to know who were the delegates. The list is as follows: James Trimble, Amor de Cosmos, I. W. Powell, R. Wallace, J. G. Norris, Chas. Gowen, M. W. Gibbs, Wm. Thain, G. Jenkinson, J. A. Cragge, George Pearkes, Charles E. Bunting, Noah Shakespeare, Peter Lester, Thomas Russell, Thomas Wilson, Francis Dodd, C. McCollem, James Kirk, John Gordon McKay, J. F. McCreight, G. C. Gerow, John J. Jacobs, John Dunlop, Joseph Blackburn, John Jessop, J. G. Timmerman, Henry Waller, A. Couves, Aaron Workman, T. H. Giffin, W. B. Toleson, S. B. Toleson, Stephen Burt, John Wilson, W. C. Seelye, T. C. Jones, John Lachapelle, W. A. Robertson, George Creighton, George Fox, William Mackay, Ed. McCaffray, Willis Bond, John Leach, James Orr, Warren Harvoough, James Hutcheson, A. H. Frances, John Jeffrey, Guy Huston, Alex. Wilson, Robert Beaven, Leigh Harnett, W. M. Keehan, David James, Thos. Hodges, James Crossen, William Backster, Stephen Sandover, Charles Pollock, John Jackson, Alfred Syne, J. H. Doane, R. H. Austin, Richard Baker, George Deans, Wm. Webster, James E. McMillan, W. R. Gibbon, Stephen Whitely, J. B. Thompson, H. E. Wilby, Edward Phelps.

the Union with Canada and to show that the Mainland was largely a unit in its favor. A committee was appointed by the convention to carry out the objects which have been outlined, consisting of Amor de Cosmos, and Messrs. Macmillan, Wallace, Norris, Robson and Nelson. It will be seen that in British Columbia, as in Canada before it, the political and material conditions of the country were in a bad way, and that when they reached a climax, or rather sank to "rock bottom," a remedy was sought in union, which in both cases had the result of bringing about a new order of things.

The agitation for Confederation, however, did not have much influence on the Governor or the Legislature. At the session of the latter in 1869 the Government carried an adverse resolution as follows: "That this council, impressed with the conviction that under existing circumstances the Confederation of this colony with the Dominion of Canada would be undesirable, even if practicable, would urge Her Majesty's Government not to take any steps toward the present consummation of such union." Messrs. Carrall, Robson, Havelock, Walkem and Humphreys, who stated that they had been returned to the Legislature as Confederationists, entered a protest against the passage of the resolution and placed on record their disapproval of the action of the Government. As has been stated previously, there was a very large element on the Island of Vancouver opposed to Confederation, and the opposition included such very well known men as Trutch, Pemberton, O'Reilly, Cox, Wood, Helmcken, Smith, Elwyn, Ker, Ball, Spalding, Crease, Drake, Douglas, Davie, Sanders and Ring. The official class was a unit against it. If we understand conditions at the time, their opposition was quite natural. As a class the officials of British Columbia were a splendid type, but they were all British born, and wholly without knowledge of Eastern Canada and Canadian people; they were not in sympathy with them. A similar feeling existed in the Maritime Provinces against Canada prior to Confederation. Living quite apart they were



HON. DR. J. S. HELMCKEN
First Speaker of Vancouver Island Legislature
and delegate to Ottawa to arrange terms of
Union.



HON. R. W. W. CARRALL
One of the B. C. delegates to Ottawa and after
wards made a Senator.

strangers to each other. Then again there was a great deal of feeling between the British-born in British Columbia and Canadians in the colony, and hence the former were prejudiced against Canada as a whole on that account. We all have prejudice against newcomers. Then again the official class did not desire any change which would mean disturbance in office. The high officials were men of standing in social circles and were extremely well paid. Do you blame them from the ordinary human point of view?

The scene was quickly changed, Governor Seymour, who strongly opposed Confederation, had been to England and experienced a change of heart, through, of course, contact with the Imperial authorities. All through life it largely depends upon what the man higher up thinks. In any event, in June, 1869, he died, and was succeeded by Anthony Musgrave, former Governor of Newfoundland, who was heart and soul with the movement. Moreover, he had explicit instructions to use his influence to bring about Confederation as quickly as possible, and this he proceeded to do. We are told that he "was admirably fitted for the work of reconciling the opposing elements and his efforts were easily successful." There were two things which hastened on the accomplishment. Sir John Macdonald was the stimulating force. He was often referred to by his political opponents as "old Tomorrow." Nobody was ever more maligned by such a nickname. Sir John often postponed but he never procrastinated. It was said of Napoleon, I think, that he never answered correspondence inside of six months, because within that time most of it had answered itself. Napoleon was a man of action and so essentially was Sir John Macdonald. When he wanted results he was an incessant worker through every known channel. He had inside knowledge of what might lead to annexation to the United States, and there was more danger in the situation than people imagined then or now. Again, at that very time a group of capitalists associated with the Northern Pacific had planned to extend that railway

through Manitoba and through the Middle West and British Columbia to and into Alaska, full details of which I read in the Library at Ottawa. Sir John realized the danger of such an enterprise in view of the long-dreamed of Canadian trans-Atlantic railway, and he lost no time in the "rounding out of Confederation" in order to forestall any inroads from the United States. The best circumstantial proof of that is that when the delegates from British Columbia arrived at Ottawa, notwithstanding that a railway was considered by them as out of the question and they had been authorized to ask simply for a wagon road, much to their surprise they were met by a fully matured proposal for a railway. No wonder the people of British Columbia rejoiced at the unexpected boon to be conferred upon them.

Another proof of my statement is that as soon as the Terms of Union were arrived at the proposal of the Americans was dropped, though they tried to become interested in the Canadian railway.

ARTICLE XIV.

In a former article in referring to Dr. Powell, I forgot, in speaking about his strong advocacy of Union with Canada, that he made the first speech on the subject on Vancouver Island. Popular opinion in Victoria was largely hostile to Confederation. In the election of 1866 it was the straight issue in Victoria and Esquimalt, and as a candidate he lost his seat in the Legislature as a consequence. After 1871, as a recognition of his services, he was offered a Senatorship by his warm personal friend, Sir John A. Macdonald, but refused it on account of the long distance from Ottawa and the time consumed in going to and returning from the federal capital.

I now come to the actual discussion of the Terms of Union as proposed by Governor Musgrave, who, of course, knew the mind of the authorities at Ottawa. They were pretty much as finally adopted, with the important exception that a wagon road to Lake Superior and not a transcontinental

railway, and a subsidy of 80 cents per head of population, rated at 120,000, or three times the actual population including Indians, were proposed. I shall refer to the terms finally secured later on, and also to the reason why 120,000 was the rated population for the purposes of subsidy.

I wrote the story of Confederation, so far as British Columbia is concerned, for the Year Book of 1897, and as history cannot change, for convenience I am adopting my own language as used at that time. On Wednesday, March 9th, 1870, began the memorable debate on the subject, when the then Attorney-General (the late Sir Henry Pelly Pering Crease) rose to move: "That this Council do now resolve itself into committee of the whole to take into consideration the terms proposed for the Confederation of the Colony of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada, in His Excellency's message to this Council." "In doing so," he said, "I am deeply impressed with the momentous character of the discussion into which we are about to enter, the grave importance of a decision by which the fate of this, our adopted country of British Columbia, must be influenced for better or for worse for all time to come. And I earnestly hope that our minds and our best energies may be bent to a task which will tax all patriotism, all our forbearance, all our abnegation of self and selfish aims; to combine all our individual powers into one great united effort for the common good." He then invoked the Divine blessing in the following words: "May He who holds the fate of nations in the hollow of His hand and crowns with success, or brings to naught the councils of men, guide all our deliberations to such an issue as shall promote the peace, honor and welfare of our Most Gracious Sovereign, and of this and all other portions of her extended realms." His speech, in introducing the resolution in the foregoing was brief, lucid and eloquent. "This issue is 'Confederation or no Confederation,' and pungently added, "Your question, Mr. President, 'that I do now leave the chair,' means: Will you refuse Confederation at any price or will

you have it on favorable terms? That is the issue that is before us now." Thus was launched a discussion which, vigorously conducted for a number of days, landed the Province of British Columbia into the arms of the Dominion.

The debate to go into committee of the whole lasted three days, and nine days were occupied in discussing the details in committee. Some notable speeches were made, and probably no debate since that time brought into requisition more or greater talent, or better sustained and more dignified oratory in the Legislative Assembly. They were able men, some of them, who took part, and all the speakers were prominent in the affairs of the country. Among them were Attorney-General Crease, the Hon. J. S. Helmcken, Amor de Cosmos, Thomas Humphreys, M. T. W. Drake (afterwards President of the Council and later Mr. Justice Drake), John Robson, Joseph Trutch (one of the delegates to Ottawa, later Sir Joseph Trutch, Lieutenant-Governor), Henry Holbrook, T. L. Wood, F. J. Barnard (father of our present Lieutenant-Governor), Dr. W. W. Carrall (another of the three Ottawa delegates and afterwards a Senator), Edgar Dewdney (afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, Minister of the Interior and Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia), and G. A. Walkem (twice Premier of the province, and later a member of the Supreme Court bench)—the names of all of whom are familiar to even late comers as men having taken a high place in the affairs of British Columbia.

In limited space it would be impossible to give even an intelligent summary of the speeches of the various speakers. The proceedings of the Legislature on the occasion were reported by Mr. W. Sebright Green, a gentleman who was well-known in Victoria in early days, and a lawyer. He returned to England a good many years ago.

I have already given the reasons for Hon. J. S. Helmcken's opposition to Union, principally on account of his belief that Confederation as a whole was experimental, and its success was not assured. There were indications that there

might be new discoveries of gold and existing depression would be swept away. He also objected to the Canadian tariff, which was lower than that of British Columbia. At that time he shared Goldwin Smith's views of geography governing the situation, and thought sooner or later both British Columbia and Canada as a whole would be absorbed by the United States. His view was not an uncommon one in any part of Canada, but is one that has had a marked lack of confirmation in subsequent events.

The Hon. Mr. Drac, member for Victoria City, moved the six months' hoist. He had always been opposed, and had seen nothing up to that time to cause him to change his views. He spoke particularly against the Canadian tariff. In his opinion there were many insuperable obstacles in the way of success. His amendment was seconded and supported by the Hon. Mr. Ring, member for Nanaimo.

The strongest speech was made by the Hon. J. W. Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. He possessed a very practical mind. Although inclined to be a little pompous, he was really quite able in public affairs. He had formerly opposed Confederation on the grounds of the apparent lack of ability to supply direct means of communication; his advocacy of Union was moderate but firm. He repudiated the suggestion that the Terms of Union might not be carried out by Canada, but in the matter of tariff he agreed that British Columbia should be permitted to retain its own, which, temporarily, as a matter of fact, it was permitted to do. Concluding, he said: "As we shall, from our position on the Pacific Coast, be the keystone of Confederation, I hope we may become the most glorious in the whole structure, and tend to our own and England's greatness."

The Hon. T. L. Wood, in an able and argumentative speech, supported the amendment. He objected to Union on account of many of the provisions of the B.N.A. Act, and to the principle of Confederation, which was bad, and supported by Great Britain on selfish grounds, rather than considera-



HON. JOHN ROBSON

A writer of great force who threw his whole strength into Confederation, a politician and a former Premier.



HON. G. A. WALKEM

Responsible for the Carnarvon Terms for British Columbia.

tions of broad statesmanship. However, Mr. Wood's reasoning has been so upset by experience that it is unnecessary to enumerate his many objections.

The Hon. Amor de Cosmos made a long and vigorous, though somewhat discursive, speech. One trouble with de Cosmos was that he overloaded his Parliamentary speeches with material. He claimed that he had been the first in the colony to advocate Confederation. "From the time when I first mastered the institutes of physical and political geography," he said, "I could see Vancouver Island on the Pacific from my home on the Atlantic; and I could see a time when the British possessions, from the United States boundary to the Arctic Ocean, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would be consolidated into one great nation." He told the House that had he had his way Alaska, instead of being owned by the United States, would have been British. He laid great stress on the terms of Confederation, and was anxious to make as good a money bargain as possible. On that ground he objected to the financial arrangements submitted by the Government as not creating sufficient surplus of revenue and also the fiction, as he termed it, of assuming the population to be 120,000, instead of 40,000, including Indians. I have had ample opportunity in my researches to confirm the wisdom of his views in this respect. Incidentally, the assumption of 120,000 as the population was not based as an estimate of the actual population, but on the relative tariff revenue as compared with that of Canada, which was in the ratio of three to one, or, in other words, 120,000 was the potential population as compared with that of Canada, and it is an interesting actual fact that up until just before the war that ratio was still retained.

Mr. F. J. Barnard was the most enthusiastic supporter of the resolution, and he took up the subject as he did all things with peculiar energy. He spoke with sentimental fervor of the land of his birth, Canada, but while he loved it he would never consent to see the land of his adoption

wronged by Canada, any more than the thousands of British who made Canada their home would permit a wrong done to her by Great Britain. He had no fear of annexation. In early days it had been fashionable to associate Canada with rebellion, but that was the result of prejudice and ignorance of Canadians, and was a great mistake.

The Hon. Thomas Humphreys, Lillooet, a very eloquent platform speaker, was somewhat fiery in his criticism of the Government, and while he was in favor of Confederation, wanted to see responsible government made a *sine qua non* of Union. The Hon. R. W. W. Carrall, Cariboo, an enthusiastic Confederationist from the outset, spoke strongly for the resolution. The Hon. Mr. Alston, Registrar-General, whose son is a rector of a church near Norwich, England, and who paid us a visit a few years ago, a representative of the official element, supported the Government. Mr. Edgar Dewdney represented Kootenay, and, although his constituents, few as they were, were opposed to Union, he took the responsibility of also supporting the resolution.

The discussion for the next ten days was on matters of detail, and was quite too long and too irregular to be presented in any concise form. It had to do principally with the financial arrangements, and the terms submitted by Governor Musgrave were agreed to with a few exceptions. The \$35,000 proposed to be paid the province as an allowance for the support of official government, was raised to \$75,000, and the limit of population at which the amount of subsidy was changed from 400,000 to 1,000,000. A series of supplementary resolutions were added.

Helmcken, Trutch and Carrall were chosen by the Executive to go to Ottawa to arrange the terms, and the sum of \$3,000 was voted to defray the expenses, an amount which in these days of liberal travelling allowances can not be regarded as extravagant. The delegates left on May 10, 1870, by way of San Francisco. And here I have to interject an interesting paragraph:

The terms which went to Ottawa had no provisions in respect of responsible government. The late John Robson, the late H. E. Seelye and D. W. Higgins* had a conference, and it was decided that in order to secure parliamentary government on a basis of the rest of Canada it would be necessary for one of the number to go to Ottawa and inform the Government that unless responsible government was assured by the terms they would oppose the adoption of the terms altogether and thus delay Confederation. Mr. Seelye, whose expenses were entirely borne by Mr. Higgins himself as proprietor of *The Colonist*, was selected as the delegate, and proceeded to Ottawa along with the Government delegates. He was a warm friend of Leonard Tilley, Minister of Customs, afterwards Sir Leonard, and he succeeded in convincing the Government that the contention for responsible government was right. On July 7, Seelye telegraphed to Higgins: "Terms agreed upon. The delegates are satisfied. Canada is favorable to immediate union and guarantee the railway. Trutch has gone to England. Carrall remains one month. Helmcken and your correspondent are on their way home." In this connection, there is another story of short interest. John Robson, who founded *The New Westminster Columbian*, brought his paper to Victoria for the wider field the latter afforded, but his paper did not pay. Through the efforts of the late Mr. J. F. Barnard, Robson and Higgins, both strong advocates of Confederation, were brought together, with the result that Robson locked up his paper and became editor of *The Colonist*, which position he held until appointed comptroller of C.P.R. surveys in the Province. As a perusal of the files of *The Columbian* and *The Colonist* will evidence, he was a powerful writer and was also a vigorous speaker in the Legislature. He was always logical and had a large fund of information to draw upon.

* Since the above was written, the Hon. D. W. Higgins, the doyen of Pacific Coast journalism, has passed away. A very full account of his life, written by myself, was published in *The Colonist*.

ARTICLE XV.

In connection with the Terms of Union submitted by Governor Musgrave, and adopted in substance by the Legislative Council of British Columbia, supplementary resolutions, as stated in the previous article, were passed, stating: 1. That duties levied upon maltsters and brewers, under the excise law of Canada, would be detrimental to British Columbia, and requesting that no export duty should be charged on spars exported from British Columbia; 2. That the application of the Canadian tariff, while reducing the aggregate burden of taxation, would injuriously affect the agricultural and commercial interests of the community, and requesting that special rates of customs duties and regulations should be arranged for the colony; 3. That a geographical survey of British Columbia be made, such survey to be commenced one year after Confederation; 4. And that all public works and property of British Columbia at the time of admission, except such public works and property as properly belonged to the Dominion under the B. N. A. Act, should belong to British Columbia, and all roads to be free of toll of every kind whatsoever.

The terms agreed upon between the delegates from British Columbia and the Government of Canada differed from those adopted by the Legislative Council in the following important respects: That the population should be estimated at 60,000, instead of 120,000; that British Columbia should be entitled to six members in the House of Commons, instead of eight, and three in the Senate, instead of four.

The proposal for the construction of a wagon road from the main trunk road of British Columbia to Fort Garry was dropped, and the Dominion undertook to secure the commencement, simultaneously, within two years of the date of union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, and from a selected place east of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, to connect the seaboard of the Pacific with the railway system of Eastern Canada, and to

secure the completion of the railway within ten years from the date of union. For the construction of such railway the Government agreed to convey to the Dominion Government a land grant similar in extent through the entire length of British Columbia, not to exceed twenty miles on each side of the line of railway, to that appropriated for the same purpose by the Dominion Government from lands in the Northwest Territories and the Province of Manitoba, with this provision, however, that the lands held under pre-emption right or Crown grant within the forty mile belt should be made good to the Dominion from contiguous public lands. In consideration of the lands thus to be conveyed on account of the railway the Dominion agreed to pay to British Columbia from the date of union the sum of \$100,000 per annum in half-yearly payments in advance. The charge of the Indians and the trusteeship and management of lands reserved for their use and benefit were assumed by the Dominion Government.

In this connection it must be understood that it was the original idea of the Dominion Government that the line of railway could be built out of land subsidies, with possibly a cash bonus per mile to a private company and not as a Government undertaking at all, just as the Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific were built. The forty-mile railway belt was intended to have been handed over to a company and not be retained by the Dominion Government as it subsequently was, and to this contribution of a railway belt from British Columbia and the Dominion, Ontario was also committed. It is doubtful if Sir John Macdonald himself at the time would have agreed to undertake to assume the responsibility of the C. P. Railway had he not thought that it could be built largely out of land subsidies.

The provisions of the B. N. A. Act, of course, applied generally to the Province of British Columbia, but the constitution of the executive authority of the Legislature of British Columbia was to continue as existing at the time of the union until altered under the authority of the B. N. A.



DR. I. W. POWELL

Who took a very important part in the Confederation movement in Victoria.



HON. EDGAR DEWDENEY

Who voted for Confederation, recommended the Fraser Valley route for the C. P. R., and afterwards became Lieut.-Governor of the Province.

Act, but it was understood that the Dominion Government would readily consent to the introduction of responsible government when desired by British Columbia, and it was agreed by the Government of British Columbia to amend the constitution so as to provide that the majority of the Legislative Council should be elective.

The Dominion was to provide an efficient mail service, fortnightly, between Victoria and San Francisco, and twice a week between Victoria and Olympia, the vessels to be adapted for the conveyance of freight and passengers.

Suitable pensions were to be provided, as approved by Her Majesty's Government, for officials in the colony whose position and emoluments were affected by the union. As a consequence of this, the names of a number of the old servants of the colony appeared for years in the superannuation list of the Dominion. This, of course, eliminated the opposition of the official element to Confederation.

The existing customs tariff and excise duties in force in British Columbia were to continue until the C. P. R. was completed, unless the Legislature decided sooner to accept the Dominion tariff and excise laws of Canada, which, as a matter of fact, it did at the very first session of the Legislature after union.

The influence of the Dominion Government was to be exercised to secure the continued maintenance of the Naval Station at Esquimalt. Esquimalt was made a British naval base in 1855, but that this clause of the terms of union became a dead letter is shown by the fact that when Canada took over its own defences in 1905, exactly fifty years later, Esquimalt ceased to be a British naval station. In other words, as the result of a definite policy, the Dominion Government did not use its influence in the direction required.

Another very important stipulation was that the Dominion Government should guarantee the interest for ten years from the date of the completion of the works, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, on such sum, not exceeding \$500,000, as might be required for the construction of a first-class grav-

ing dock at Esquimalt. The history of politics in British Columbia for about ten years after union was seriously affected by that bargain. The Province should never have agreed to undertake such a burden as the construction of a dry dock, which was essentially Federal and Imperial in its objects, and in the end it had to be relieved of it. The prospects are that we shall have in Esquimalt a graving dock which shall be Imperial in the truest sense of the term, the British Headquarters of a Pacific Fleet, part of a navy common to the Empire.

An election was held in November of 1870, in which it is unnecessary to state, the terms of union were the main issue. The new Council met January 5, 1871. Dr. Helmcken was nominated as Speaker, but declined. The terms as agreed upon were unanimously passed, and an address was presented to His Excellency the Governor praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to admit British Columbia, under the provisions of the B. N. A. Act, into the Dominion of Canada.

In previous articles I have told how through the efforts of Mr. D. W. Higgins and others, responsible government was made a "sine qua non" of British Columbia entering Confederation, and for this the colony was fully prepared. A bill was introduced on January 31, 1871, to give power to alter the constitution of British Columbia. The bill was considered in committee of the whole and reported complete. It was formally adopted on February 6th.

Anthony Musgrave, afterwards knighted for his services in connection with Confederation, continued in office until the appointment of the Hon. Joseph Trutch—afterwards Sir Joseph—on the first of July as the first Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. On July 20th British Columbia formally passed into Confederation as a province of the Dominion. On July 26 Governor Musgrave took his departure, not, however, before receiving an address from the public officials of the Province, by whom, as well as by the people generally, he was highly respected. Lieutenant-Governor Trutch arrived

on H.M.S. Sparrowhawk in Victoria on August 13, and was sworn in on the following day. In the interregnum the curious situation developed that there was no government of any kind. Musgrave had gone, and Trutch had not arrived. However, that was not considered a serious matter, although the King was dead and there was no king. Another curious situation developed. Governor Trutch, who styled himself "His Excellency," loved to govern alone, and it was not until October, 1871, that the first election was held. Out of the elected members of the new Legislature he had to choose his Ministers. It was always a matter of wonderment why he chose the advisers he did, viz., the Hon. J. F. McCreight, Premier; the Hon. Roche Robertson, Colonial Secretary (as he was styled); Hon. G. A. Walkem, Commissioner of Lands and Works; and Henry Holbrook, New Westminster, President of the Council. None of these men had been very prominent in the agitation for Confederation, prominent as such men as, for instance, the Hon. Amor de Cosmos, and the Hon. John Robson had been. It was without doubt a matter of personal preference.

The statement of The Colonist at the time that responsible government had not been achieved was true in a literal rather than in a constitutional sense. The Governor was the power behind the throne during the period of the first administration, and sat with his ministers in council, something that no representative of the Crown had done in responsible government since the days of George III. Perhaps, in a sense, that was an advantage, as none of his ministers had had ministerial experience. This state of affairs only existed until after the resignation of the McCreight Government, which was short-lived.

ARTICLE XVI.

I have stated that Confederation is still in the making, and certainly so far as British Columbia is concerned the terms of union were not completed until 1884. It is supposed

to be in very bad form for a writer to quote himself, but when you have expressed yourself as well as you can on any subject there does not seem to be any reason why you should try to galvanize a previous production. In 1913, in a history which I was weak enough to undertake, I said, and I cannot say it any better now:

"In a previous chapter the events which led up to the Confederation have been traced step by step, and, therefore, it is not necessary to deal further with the causes or conditions that gave it effect. The fact, however, should be borne in mind that, while in principle and in law the constitution of the Province was made subject to the B. N. A. Act, the terms of union were essentially a treaty between British Columbia and the Dominion. The relations of this Province and of other provinces which came into Confederation after 1867, whatever may be said about those of the original members of the Confederation, are not in the nature of a pact among provinces. This proposition has been disputed and endeavors have been made to maintain a contrary theory, but Lord Lisgar, Governor-General, in his telegraphic dispatch to Governor Musgrave, dated 1st February, 1871, is explicit. He stated in explanation of the attitude of the authorities at Ottawa in regard to certain changes in the British Columbia tariff desired by the British Columbia Government that 'the terms of union are in the nature of a treaty. . . . The Canadian Government, therefore, think they have no right to alter those terms after acceptance by Canada. Parliament may, in its discretion, modify the tariff, on the request of British Columbia.' To put the case in another form—if for any reason British Columbia wished to withdraw from Confederation—which constitutionally, except by successful rebellion, or consent of the Dominion, she could not do—the acquiescence of the people of the other provinces, as provinces, would not be required or involved. It would be a matter entirely between the Province of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada, qua Dominion. The B. N. A. Act as a national code is only constitutionally effective and binding so long as

the Province remains in Confederation. As a concrete instance of efforts, made by implication at least, to establish the contrary proposition, the Dominion Government contended that the decision of the late interprovincial conference at Ottawa was binding upon the Province of British Columbia, notwithstanding the fact that British Columbia had refused to accept that decision in so far as it related to the allowance recommended to be made to this Province in settlement of its special claims—a decision which the Imperial Parliament was asked to make 'final and unalterable.' It is important that this distinction between a treaty and a pact in federal and interprovincial relations should be clearly emphasized, having regard to its bearings on any future negotiations between the Dominion and the Province."

I have given this rather long extract for the purpose of clearing the way for a review of conditions subsequent to Union in 1871. In Mallandaine's Directory of 1874 I find this note: "On the 20th of July, 1871, Confederation with Canada was completed. On that very day, or slightly before it, the first party of railway surveyors, completely equipped, many of them from Eastern Canada, left Victoria for the Mainland to commence the exploratory survey of the C. P. R. The 20th of July in the next year was the date fixed for the actual commencement of the railway; but beyond a formal two-hours' survey nothing was done in construction at this end. In the meantime, surveys were carried on vigorously. Victoria especially at first seemed to realize Confederation on the arrival, soon after the commencement of the survey, of the Hon. H. L. Langevin, Minister of Public Works, and Sandford Fleming, Chief Engineer, both of whom, on their return, presented exhaustive and highly interesting reports on British Columbia." It will be seen, therefore, that no time was lost in commencing the surveys and prosecuting them vigorously, but the actual commencement of railway construction was quite another matter. It was a physical impossibility to determine the proper route to take within a year. There were half a dozen possible and practicable routes, each of them, in



WILLIAM ANNAND
A journalist associated with Joseph Howe in the fight against Union.



HON. PETER MITCHELL
One of the Federation delegates from New Brunswick, and afterwards Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

an almost untraveled country, requiring careful reconnaissance. As a matter of fact, it took eight years before the surveys for the main line in British Columbia were completed.

However, the people of the Province did not grumble much at first. The building of the C. P. R. was recognized to be a big undertaking, and they were satisfied so long as work was progressing. Sir Joseph Trutch at Ottawa made a speech after the terms were concluded, for which he was rather severely criticized, in which he stated that time was not so much the essence of the contract as *bona fides*, and that the people of British Columbia would be satisfied if the terms of the contract were carried out within some reasonable time. These were not his exact words, but they express the purport. When Sir John Macdonald was defeated and Alexander Mackenzie took the reins of government as a Liberal, it was a horse of another color. Sir John and his Government had given British Columbia the terms and had made them more liberal than had been expected would be the case at the outset. Hon. Alexander Mackenzie and his party had opposed those terms with all the vigor possible and had not only opposed the terms themselves as being outrageously oppressive to the rest of Canada, but in the course of debate and public discussions had said many hard and unjust things about the western Province and about its people. This was partly the result of party feeling and partly the result of a lack of knowledge of the West and its possibilities. Naturally, therefore, when their friends the Conservatives went out of power and their supposed enemies the Liberals came into power, the people of British Columbia began to get nervous and fear the worst. They had already begun to chafe under the delay of commencing construction when Sir John went out of power in 1873, but they nevertheless were confident of being right in the end. They knew, too, that elections had intervened and the Government of Ottawa had been much harassed over the Pacific Scandal.

A railway, it must be understood, was the very breath of life for the people of British Columbia, the "sine qua non" of

Confederation, the last hope of an isolated and very much depressed Province. To understand that is to understand how the advent of a Government, the members of which, and whose followers, had all declared themselves antagonistic to it, would be viewed with alarm. Many prominent Liberals had openly expressed themselves in favor of letting British Columbia cut adrift rather than assume the responsibility of carrying it in Confederation, and building a railway 3,000 miles long, which it was assumed would bankrupt the nation to construct, not speaking of the annual loss of operation, and the expression of such sentiments was well known in British Columbia. An attitude of mind was created that had very baneful results. Everybody was hopeful and confident under the old regime. When Mackenzie came into power all feeling of confidence changed into fear. It was immediately assumed that an administration, the members of which had been hostile to the terms of union, would be loathe to give them full effect. Hence the very first suggestion emanating from Ottawa under the new regime savoring in the slightest of modification or relaxation immediately excited the suspicion that repudiation was in the air. The Liberal party, as a party, apart from political bias, really believed the bargain with British Columbia had been a bad one, and regarded the terms as impracticable of fulfilment, and consequently unreasonable and absurd. Thus at the very outset a barrier was erected against reasonable and judicious readjustment of relations. Through fear, therefore, of the intentions of the Ottawa Government the feeling in British Columbia was one of insecurity; and hence in the Province, in fancied self-defence, the demand was made for the whole terms and nothing but the terms, even before the people had any indication of what the intentions at Ottawa were. Negotiations, therefore, at the outset were seriously prejudiced.

Alexander Mackenzie, however, although he believed the treaty with British Columbia was fraught with dangerous results to Canada and more or less impracticable and unreasonable, was essentially an honest man, and believed that a

solemn bargain entered into with the Province should be carried out so far as that was possible, having in view the financial resources of the country. He believed the fulfilment of the exact terms to be impossible; in fact, they had already been violated from the fact that railway construction had not been commenced when he came into power. His idea was to substantially carry out the scheme, but to have certain modifications as to details, so as to permit the railway being built more slowly than had been intended, in a way that would be cheaper by the utilization of water stretches, and in accordance with the ability of the country from year to year to finance it. There were many rumors in the air before the Government policy was known, which were disturbing. As an illustration of the feeling engendered, negotiations had been for some time on foot in regard to the graving dock at Esquimalt. It had been found impossible, even with the five per cent. guarantee of the Dominion Government, to raise money to construct it. Negotiations had been begun with the Macdonald Government and were still continued for some easier way. When a definite proposition was mooted for the Dominion to make a direct advance of \$250,000 to the Province instead of a guarantee, the people of Victoria jumped to the conclusion that it was an attempt to vary the Terms of Union, including those of building the railway, and that the two Governments were in collusion to that end. Political feeling ran very high and, while the people had little use for the Government at Ottawa, they had scarcely more for the local (Walkem) Government. Really for lack of information of the situation as it was and of the intentions at Ottawa, the feeling became intense.

Then followed the celebrated Edgar incident, which became the subject of a discussion that would fill a volume of itself. Mr. J. D. Edgar, of Toronto, a personal friend and confidant of Mackenzie, was sent to British Columbia on a confidential mission to ascertain the feeling of the leaders of public opinion and public opinion itself by quiet and careful inquiry, and to sound the Government at Victoria as to the

modification of terms that would be acceptable. It would take too long to deal with the merits of the case, but Edgar's mission ended in leaving matters worse than they were before. Mr. Edgar, who, by the way, afterwards was a speaker of the House of Commons during Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration and was made Sir James Edgar, remained for two months in the Province, travelling to and fro and interviewing as many persons as he could, and finally came to conclusions with the Government. I believe that Mr. Edgar honestly and conscientiously endeavored to carry out his instructions with a view to an amicable and just settlement of what was obviously a very difficult question to deal with. Although Premier Walkem and members of his Government had been in treaty with him and knew all about the objects of his mission, in the end seized upon the expedient of questioning Mr. Edgar's credentials. Walkem was in a somewhat delicate situation. Public feeling was rather tense, largely from the fact that the public were not informed of what was going on, and to say "yes" to Ottawa's proposals meant an immediate election, still in the ordinary routine a year away, and "no" meant a break with Ottawa with uncertain consequences. Mr. Mackenzie was altogether too serious a man to be trifled with, and not possessing the diplomacy of Sir John, infuriated at the refusal of Walkem to accept Edgar as his accredited agent, withdrew the latter, and suddenly broke off all negotiations, the rupture being complete. The result was unfortunate in the extreme, because it entirely estranged the Liberals of the East from the cause of British Columbia, and, on the other hand, created fresh prejudice against Eastern Canada in the minds of the people of British Columbia. A long series of misunderstandings and recriminations followed.

ARTICLE XVII.

We often hear of the Carnarvon Terms, but just what is meant by them is not generally very well understood. As soon as Premier Walkem failed in re-opening negotiations

with Alexander Mackenzie, at Ottawa, on the subject of a modification of the Terms of Union, he resolved on a very bold stroke, the successful outcome of which greatly increased his prestige. He decided without delay to go to London and lay his case at the foot of the Throne. Before carrying out his intention, however, he went to Ottawa, and there, it was stated, made another effort to re-open the question, but Mr. Mackenzie was obdurate. The latter, however, offered no objection to Walkem going to England, and rather encouraged the idea. After securing the necessary credentials, Walkem started out on his mission. Notwithstanding the irregular and informal way in which he had to present his case to Lord Carnarvon, the latter lent a willing ear to his representations. Carnarvon was a broadminded Colonial Secretary, and did not stand on technicalities. Traditionally, since the secession of the States of the Union, Great Britain, in her colonial policy, favored a careful consideration of all grievances of the weaker party arising out of constitutional complications in the outlying dominions. In particular, the Colonial Office had urged Confederation on British Columbia, and the Colonial Secretary, therefore, felt a deep sense of responsibility for the success of the partnership.

Premier Walkem, a very astute politician and a clever lawyer, had in London the assistance of the late Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, Agent-General of the Province, a man of outstanding ability and a splendid writer. Together they were highly successful in their representations. The petition itself, which contained the case of British Columbia, and the letter written to Lord Carnarvon at the conclusion of the negotiations, are two very able state documents, in which the contentions of the Provincial authorities are set forth with great clearness and force; and upon his return to British Columbia his report to the Lieutenant-Governor was, on the face of it, unimpeachable and unanswerable. It was indeed a mosaic, cleverly concealing, however, some of the weaknesses of his previous attitude on the question. On the other hand, the Dominion Government submitted statements for the infor-



SIR AMBROSE SHEA

One of the delegates of the Ancient Colony of Newfoundland, which after the Quebec Conference did not adopt the principle of Confederation. Was prominent in mercantile pursuits, and in politics, and was a leader of the reform party in Newfoundland.



SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

A student in Sir John Macdonald's office, Kingston, a Father of Confederation, a Minister of Justice, and the Minister who came to British Columbia to arrange the details of the Settlement Act of 1864.

mation of His Lordship, partly with the object of explaining the situation from an Ottawa point of view, and partly in reply to the contentions of the British Columbia delegate. The correspondence as a whole was carried on in such a spirit of moderation, as to call forth compliments from Lord Carnarvon, who had undertaken the not altogether pleasant task of arbitrating between the contending parties. Before Lord Carnarvon would undertake this arbitration he made it a condition that his decision should be binding on both the Dominion and the Province, and his position was stated as follows: "The duty which, under a sense of the importance of interests concerned, I have thus offered to discharge, is, of course, a responsible and difficult one, which I could not assume unless by the desire of both parties, nor unless it should be fully agreed that my decision, whatever it may be, shall be accepted without any question or demur." Both Governments cordially agreed to these terms and there was an interchange of briefs on the subject.

It is rather a long story to give the arguments on both sides. In brief, the case for British Columbia contended that, while the Province had carried out to the letter every request of the Dominion in respect of terms, the Dominion had violated the treaty by unnecessary delays in construction and surveys, and that the Railway Act of 1874 had contemplated giving effect to changes which had not been agreed to by the Province. Esquimalt had been selected as terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and its selection confirmed by order-in-council. Moreover, the Province had been asked to set aside a reserve of twenty miles of land on the east coast from Esquimalt harbor to Seymour Narrows—3,200 square miles in extent, and had complied. The contentions of the Dominion, in brief, were the absolute bona fides of the Dominion in dealing with British Columbia in accordance with the spirit of the Terms of Union, and that practical difficulties in the way of exact fulfilment were too great. It was admitted that the time for the commencement of the line had long passed, but the charge that the surveys, the completion of

which was necessary to definitely locate the line, had not been vigorously prosecuted was fully denied. It was pointed out that, on the other hand, the force of surveyors and engineers was larger than would, in other circumstances, have been employed and was as large as was possible to utilize.

The proposals submitted to the Provincial Government by Mr. Edgar, in view of the impossibility of carrying out the terms literally, expressed the wish "to make new stipulations and to enter into additional obligations of a definite character for the benefit of the Province." It was proposed to begin the Island railway immediately and push it to completion. The difficulties on the Mainland, the proposals went on to state, were very great; it was useless to begin there until the route was located, and for that purpose a very large sum had been asked for by the Government in the estimates. To give the people as much as possible the benefit of construction, they would open a road and construct a telegraph line through the whole length of the Province, and carry the telegraph line across the continent. It was believed there would be little benefit to the people east of the Cascades from construction if there were no road to convey their products and sell them to the contractors, and the Government was anxious to avail themselves of all the supplies possible along the route. There was, Edgar pointed out, no stipulation in the Terms of Union as to the amount to be expended in any one year. Not only was commencement desirable, but continuous prosecution as well. To that end the Government was willing to expend under the most favorable circumstances a minimum each year in the Province of \$1,500,000. The delegation to Ottawa, he said, had been willing to be satisfied with \$1,000,000 per annum, the road to be begun three years after the Union.

The Carnarvon Terms, while more favorable, did not materially differ from those proposed by Edgar. The railway from Esquimalt was to be commenced as soon as possible and proceeded with with all dispatch. Not less than \$2,000,000 was to be expended per annum on the main line in the Prov-

ince and the railway was to be completed from the Pacific seaboard to the western end of Lake Superior before the 31st of December, 1890.

Mr. Walkem did not bring down any measure to the Legislature to ratify the new terms, denying that there were any new terms. He referred to efforts of Lord Carnarvon to unravel the tangle as merely "friendly intervention" and not "arbitration." However, a bill was introduced to enable the Dominion Government to build from Esquimalt to Nanaimo. Needless to say, there had been an arbitration. That exact expression, as indicating precisely the nature of the intervention of Lord Carnarvon, is used throughout the correspondence. The House of Commons approved of the award, but the measure for its adoption was defeated in the Senate. Just what was the cause of the Senate's action is very much in doubt. Certain Conservative politicians blamed the Liberal leaders, notably Mr. Blake, for conspiring towards defeat in the Upper House, while Liberals claimed that as the Conservatives had a majority in the Senate the Conservatives were to blame. It was held, too, that as the British Columbia Premier himself had not regarded Lord Carnarvon's intervention as an arbitration, and as the local Government had not implemented the Carnarvon Terms by legislation on its part, they were not binding on the Dominion.

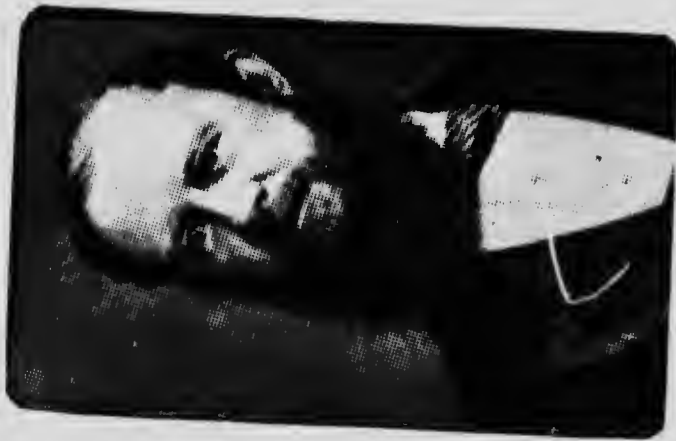
Notwithstanding that the action of the Senate was a gross repudiation of an implied obligation on the part of the Government of Canada, of which the Senate is one of the three branches, the Executive at Ottawa did not hold itself in any way responsible for the action of the Senate, and did not again attempt to enforce the terms. In fact, shortly after this, the Hon. Edward Blake joined the Cabinet as Minister of Justice, on the distinct understanding that the Carnarvon Terms should not be made effective. Instead, through his influence an offer of \$750,000 in cash was made to the Province in compensation for not building the railway on the Island, and for any possible delays in the construction of the main line, on condition that the provision for the speci-

fied amount of yearly expenditure and the completion of the railway to Lake Superior by 1890 were waived by the Province. The Walkem Government very properly refused the offer, which was tantamount to an insult to the people of British Columbia. In other words, they were invited to barter their rights, which were undoubted, for a certain paltry sum of money. The Hon. Edward Blake was a great constitutional lawyer and had an open and a very clear thinking mind on many subjects, but his attitude in respect of British Columbia and the C. P. R. remains incomprehensible to this day. No doubt in this case Mackenzie was overruled by his colleagues, and especially by Blake, Cartwright and Scott, who remained to the end bitterly opposed to the Terms of Union. And in view of the state of public opinion in Eastern Canada, opinion, of course, largely created by politicians and the press, this opposition is not to be wondered at. I have examined the files of all the newspapers and magazines, pamphlets, reports and other documents in the library and archives at Ottawa, covering a period of fifteen years, bearing on the subject, and the bitterness of feeling they reflect is amazing. After the Edgar incident, for ten years this same feeling continued, and it was not by any means confined to Liberals. It represented a general attitude of mind.

In the general elections of the Province following the Carnarvon Terms, the Walkem Government was apparently sustained on the railway question, but was defeated early in the session of 1876 on account of the conditions of Provincial finance. Representations were forwarded by the Government and resolutions were passed by the Legislature, which were embodied in the form of a petition to Her Majesty's Government. Feeling on the Island became extreme and there was organized what was known as the Carnarvon Club. At a public meeting in Victoria a resolution was unanimously passed in favor of separation. Then came the celebrated visit of Lord Dufferin. It is not intended to give any details of his tour of the Province, except in so far as they relate to the subject in hand. Undoubtedly, he came as a messenger

of peace, and no man in the Empire was so well qualified by the arts and tongue of diplomacy to successfully perform such a mission. He had a splendid reception in Victoria, of which the celebrated separation arch was an incident. An arch had been erected by private citizens, independent of the general committee of arrangements, bearing the legend "Carnarvon Terms or Separation." Lord Dufferin, with ready wit, suggested the substitution of an 'R' for "S" in "Separation," but this was not agreed to, and His Excellency refused to pass under it.

On his tour through the Mainland, Lord Dufferin found a distinctly different state of feeling. There were no hints of separation, no disloyal arches erected and no dissatisfaction expressed as to the course of the Dominion. At the same time, it was evident that the people of the Mainland were really highly pleased on account of the defeat of the Carnarvon Terms and lost no occasion to assure His Excellency on that score. There had then begun what was known as the "Battle of the Routes." Cariboo was not really interested, as either route as then proposed would suit its interests, but the rest of the Mainland was afraid the Bute Inlet route would be chosen. Its ambition and efforts were in the direction of Burrard Inlet being selected. The great speech made by Dufferin at Victoria on his return from the Mainland was a masterpiece of eloquence. Regarding the threatened secession from the Union, he pointed out that if Vancouver Island took that step it would go out alone, and he painted a very gloomy picture of its future in isolation. Lord Dufferin's speech made a deep impression, and did much to stem a very dangerous tide of public opinion. It did not, however, bring the railway appreciably nearer, and again dissatisfaction was rife, and was so far reflected in the Legislature that on August 29, 1878, the Hon. Mr. Walkem, seconded by the Hon. Robert Beaven, moved a resolution, the conclusion of which ran thus: "Under these circumstances . . . Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to see fit, order and direct: That British Columbia shall thereafter have the right to exclusively



SIR ANTHONY MUSGRAVE
Governor of British Columbia at the time
Proviuce entered Union, and largely responsible
for it.



LORD DUFFERIN
Governor-General of Canada, 1872-1878, who
made the celebrated speech in Victoria, B. C.,
in 1876, as peace envoy from O. C. A.

collect and maintain the customs and excise duties and to withdraw from the Union, and shall also in any event be entitled to be compensated by the Dominion for losses sustained by reason of past delays and the failure of the Dominion Government to carry out their railway and other obligations to the Province." This was regarded by the Imperial authorities as impossible without a special Act of the Imperial Parliament, and was disregarded. The solution of the difficulties was found in the Settlement Act of 1884, the bringing about of which will form the subject of my concluding article.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The Mackenzie Government was defeated in the Fall of 1878. Undoubtedly, the National Policy was the principal issue, but one of the issues was the construction of the C. P. R. I knew very little about politics then, even less than I do now; but I remember with distinctness Sir Charles Tupper, senior, in a three hours' speech denouncing the purchase of steel rails by Mackenzie, the water stretches scheme—described as amphibious—the Neebing Hotel, St. Frances lock, Fort William townsite steal and other scandals, real or imaginery, with which he made the welkin ring. Being committed to the C. P. R. scheme and the British Columbia Terms of Union as a whole, Sir John Macdonald started in immediately to give them effect, the result of which was that in 1880 the C. P. R. syndicate was organized. The syndicate, for \$25,000,000 cash and 25,000,000 acres of land in the Middle West and certain other concessions, agreed to complete the line, all rail, within ten years. As soon as the bargain was announced, there was tremendous political opposition, and a new syndicate was formed, which offered more favorable terms, but as the Government was tied down to the original bargain it had to stand or fall by it. We know that with some additional help, at a critical moment, the C. P. R. was built in five, instead of ten years.

The fact of greatest local interest in connection with the matter is that attempts were made to have the terms of the Carnarvon Award carried out. After the defeat of the Beaven Government in 1882, the Smithe Government opened negotiations with that in view; but the opposition in the Government ranks at Ottawa was too strong. It was considered, irrespective of the Carnarvon Award, or the offer of the Hon. Edward Blake to compromise on the basis of \$750,000 cash as compensation for non-fulfilment and delays in construction of the main line, that the whole duty of Canada to British Columbia would be performed in the building of the main line to Burrard Inlet. A line on Vancouver Island was not regarded as part of the Terms of Union at all. And to go back a little, it may be explained that the Mackenzie Government, in a huff, after the failure of the Edgar mission, cancelled the order-in-council which declared Esquimalt to be the terminus of the C. P. R., and that without any definite and final information as to the best route to adopt, hence discarding the Bute Inlet and Seymour Narrows route. As soon as Sir John Macdonald came into power he re-enacted the old order-in-council as to Esquimalt, but merely as a tentative policy—in other words, leaving the question as it was before he went out of power. In the late autumn of 1879, principally as the result of information supplied by the Hon. Edgar Dewdney and actual surveys of the lower Fraser, the Government adopted the route line from Yellowhead Pass to Burrard Inlet, via Thompson River, Lytton and Yale, and it was determined at once to build from Emory's Bar on the Fraser to Savona's Ferry. The contract was let to Mr. Andrew Onderdonk, a young engineer of ability, who was backed by D. O. Mills, a multi-millionaire of California.

After the formation of the C. P. R. syndicate, the construction of the portion of the line from Port Moody to Emory's Bar was also contracted for with Onderdonk, and here I want to quote Mr. H. J. Cambie, the veteran engineer of the Pacific end of the C. P. R., who writes: "When the C. P. R. Co. was organized in 1880, they pushed the work from Win-

nipeg westward with all possible energy, and appointed General Rosser chief engineer. He came to the conclusion that many advantages would be gained by adopting the Kicking Horse Pass as the one through which the railway should be carried instead of the Yellowhead Pass, which had been chosen by the Government, and in March, 1881, he determined to explore the Selkirks, and ascertain if a pass could be found through them which would cut off the Big Bend of the Columbia. Many years before, Dr. Hector had examined the Kicking Horse Pass, and Mr. Walter Moberley had explored Eagle Pass, and continuing westward had selected the Illecillewaet as far as Albert Canyon. He had also sketched off the Columbia Valley from Golden down to the Canoe River in the spring of 1872. So General Rosser sent out Major Rogers in March, armed with Moberley's sketches, to see if a pass could be found where the line now runs. The Major had not had experience of that kind of work, and pinned his faith on his gun and a coat with many pockets and the contents thereof. He was a man of indomitable energy and very forcible methods of expression; in fact, his language was of so impressive a character that he passed by the name of 'the Bishop,' and he 'was proud of it.' Rogers Pass was named after him. It is not necessary, however, to go into the reasons for a change of route, or to go into further particulars of construction.

A factor of the situation, which I wish more particularly to explain in connection with the subject, was Sir Joseph Trutch. With the incoming of the Macdonald Administration in 1878, he became Dominion Government Agent for British Columbia. He was a man thoroughly familiar with British Columbia's resources and geography, so far at least as that was possible at the time. Whether the suggestion came from Ottawa or not, at all events he raised the question with the local Government that as a great deal of the land within the forty-mile railway belt, which by the Terms of the Union were to be conveyed to the Dominion, was unfit for agriculture and a mountainous waste, this worthless land should be

made up by good land in other portions of the Province. Sir Joseph having drawn up with his own hand the clause in the Terms about the conveyance of the lands, knew perfectly well that there had not been any stipulation as to the character of the land, and as the Dominion was standing at that time strictly on its rights, or, in other words, upon the letter of the law, it was somewhat surprising that its agent should insist upon improving its own end of the bargain: but thereby hangs a tale. The Dominion Government was entitled to what were known as "lieu" lands—that is, an equivalent for lands that had been alienated by purchase and settled, in all amounting to about 800,000 acres. Keeping these facts in mind, I shall proceed to recite the steps which led up to the Settlement Act of 1884, which was really the completion of Confederation as far as British Columbia was concerned.

I have pointed out one or two important facts in dealing with our relations with the Dominion subsequent to 1871; viz., that from the first it was understood that Esquimalt was to be the terminus of the railway, although not so designated in the Terms of Union; that it had been selected as such; and its selection confirmed by order-in-council; that at the request of the Dominion Government the Province had reserved a twenty-mile belt along the eastern coast of Vancouver Island as far as Comox; that under the terms of the Carnarvon Award the Dominion was obliged to build a line of railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo free of cost to the Province; that the Dominion Government recognized that obligation by its offer of \$750,000 as compensation for non-fulfilment; and that, which is extremely important to bear in mind, there was an attitude of mind in Eastern Canada strongly opposed to the Terms of Union with British Columbia, an attitude of mind which we shall presently see not only prevented justice being done to the Province, but imposed conditions of further injustice. When one considers all the facts of history from 1871 to 1884, one wonders at the hands of which party British Columbia suffered most. Had it had not been that the people of Vancouver Island, and particularly of Victoria, were so

keen to have a railway at any price, the bargain of 1884 would never have been made. Another factor in the case was the graving dock at Esquimalt, which the Province, aided by the Canadian and Imperial Governments, had foolishly undertaken to build. It did not seem to be realized then that it did not properly fall within the sphere of a province to provide facilities for the convenience of shipping or of the navy. It in the end proved too much of a burden, and the construction, so far as the Province carried it, had been badly bungled. It was something, however, which the people of Victoria, as in the case of the railway, wanted at any cost. It was clear as part of the consummation of the treaty between the Province and the Dominion that a full and final settlement of outstanding disputes should be made. For this purpose, two very important personages came from Ottawa—the Marquis of Lorne, then Governor-General, and Sir Alexander Campbell, Minister of Justice.

The Marquis of Lorne was the forerunner, not formally, or even generally known, as an emissary of peace. He came in 1882 and stayed in Victoria for some time. It was he who induced the late Robert Dunsmuir to first consider the project of building the E. & N. Railway. The latter was quite unwilling to undertake it. He was the only man in the Province with sufficient means to be considered in that connection, but he told His Excellency that he had made his fortune out of industry, and he did not propose to jeopardize it by embarking it in an enterprise which was speculative. However terms, so to speak, were made to suit. Later, in 1883, Sir Alexander Campbell came to complete the bargain. The claims of the Province under the Carnarvon Award were abandoned. The Walkem Government had repealed the Act of 1875, which had placed a reserve on certain lands, set apart for the construction of the line from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, and in the opinion of the Marquis of Lorne that action of the Government had relieved the Government of Canada of any further responsibility to build that section of the railway. The purpose of the repeal was to enable an

arrangement to be made with Clement & Co. to construct it, as was at one time proposed. When Sir Alexander came to British Columbia he found two groups of capitalists ready to negotiate. One was headed by the late David Oppenheimer, and the other by the late Robert Dunsmuir. Along with Mr. Dunsmuir were associated the "Big Four"—the two Crockers, Leland Stanford and Colis P. Huntington, who supplied an equal part of the capital with Mr. Dunsmuir. The negotiations are of no consequence here. The conclusion was that the Dunsmuir group was preferred, and their offer, on terms previously arranged as between the Provincial Government and Sir Joseph Trutch, agent for the Dominion.

The terms of settlement were that the Dominion would take over and complete the graving dock, reimbursing the Province for its outlay; that the Dominion would give a subsidy of \$750,000 to the railway company, and that the Province on its own part would convey to the Dominion 1,900,000 acres (known as the E. & N. Railway belt), including all their natural resources, except the precious metals, to be reconveyed to the railway company, and to convey as well 3,500,000 acres in the Peace River District to the Dominion as a part of the railway grant. The Peace River block included about 800,000 acres of "lieu" lands, and, needless to state, that when the Dominion Government selected this block it was in the very heart of the fertile country. There were a few other, minor, details of the bargain, but all of this was done that a railway seventy-two miles in length might be built. I have spoken about the attitude of mind in Eastern Canada, which was so strong that when the proposal to subsidize the E. & N. Railway with cash to the extent of \$750,000 came before caucus it was turned down, and in order to complete a deal the Province had to supplement the E. & N. grant of nearly 2,000,000 acres with the Peace River grant of 3,500,000 acres. It was not sufficient that the Province should have given its original land grant of about 13,000,000 acres on the Mainland for a railway for purposes which were purely national, but it had to supplement it with 5,500,000

acres of the most valuable land in British Columbia to obtain seventy-five miles of railway on the Island of Vancouver, which the Dominion of Canada by all laws of honor and decency was bound to build free of cost. This bargain was the result of the opposition of the people of Canada to something which they considered was a ruinous proposition to the country. We know now that the C. P. R., as a national and commercial undertaking, has become Canada's greatest asset, but the bargain still remains. I regret to have to finish my story of Confederation, which, on the whole, has been a pleasurable task, with a recital of incidents which blot our relations with the Dominion. The whole story from 1871 to 1884 reflects discredit on the politicians of both Eastern Canada and of British Columbia. Each, of course, acted according to their lights and their prejudices at the time, but both lacked foresight and a sense of proportion.

ARTICLE XIX.

I now come to Newfoundland, one of the oldest of the British colonies in America. It was represented in the Charlottetown conference, adjourned to Quebec, in 1864. Unfortunately, Newfoundland's representatives were unable to get endorsement of the scheme, which was defeated by two to one on an appeal to the people of the colony. It is pretty difficult to know just why the Newfoundlanders were opposed to the scheme. Writers on the subject allege two reasons, which are in all probability the real ones. The hardy folk of that splendid old colony did not like to give up their autonomy, their government independence. In this way they were not unlike the great majority of the self-governing colonies of Great Britain, in the final steps towards Confederation; but being very much isolated, and an insular folk, the Newfoundlanders possessed the spirit of independence in a greater degree than any of the others. Since the election referred to, union with Canada—although there have been undercurrents occasionally in its favor—has never formed a



HON. J. F. McCREIGHT
A promoter of Confederation, the first Premier of British Columbia, and afterwards a member of the Supreme Court bench.



SIR HENRY P. P. CREASE
Attorney-General of British Columbia at the time of Confederation, who moved the resolution for Union and afterwards was appointed to the Supreme Court bench.

plank in the political platform of any party, and Canada for its part has—very wisely, I think—refrained from any attempt to influence public opinion in the Island in that regard. Negotiations were opened in 1895 between the two Governments, but Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the then Premier, declined to assume responsibility for the whole of the debt of the ancient colony, and the burden of operating the railway through its lengthy, unsettled territory.

Newfoundland, though less favorably situated climatically, is not unlike British Columbia in its principal characteristics physically, and in its natural resources, and consequently it is confronted with somewhat similar problems. It has extensive fisheries, although the value of our British Columbia fishery products now exceed those of Newfoundland. It has extensive iron, and possibly other mineral, deposits. It has extensive and valuable pulp limits. Its special requirements are extension of railway facilities. The population, generally speaking, is poor, and the Government therefore is always face to face with financial disabilities in any effort of development. Hon. George Shea, nephew of Sir Ambrose Shea, one of the representatives of Newfoundland at the Charlottetown-Quebec conference in 1864, stated in effect, in an interview, that while generally the people were opposed in sentiment to Confederation, which might be a long time delayed, it was inevitable on financial grounds, and it was upon these grounds alone that the negotiations of 1895 were based. The late Principal Grant, writing in the *Canadian Magazine* in 1898, said: "It is now impossible for Newfoundland to isolate itself much longer from the general life of British North America. In spite of the mistakes of Canada, especially the blunder of 1895, Confederation with the Dominion is sure to come, and it is impossible for the Treaty Shore question to remain unsettled."

Probably the most influential opposition to Confederation has come from the merchants of St. John's, the capital of the colony, with a population of 32,300. These merchants are certain of their trade now, but are afraid, as Mr. Shea

expressed it, "they would lose their assured position under Confederation, as have the merchants of Halifax."

Newfoundland would be an important factor in rounding out our Dominion. It is about three-sevenths the size of British Columbia, with a total population of 242,620, or over one-half the population of this Province. The exports of its fishery products last year were valued at about \$9,250,000, and in 1912—since which its trade has declined—its imports amounted in value to about \$16,000,000, and its exports to \$14,700,000.

Undoubtedly, with the aid of the Dominion in developing its interior resources by means of railways, its trade would be much augmented. Moreover, standing as it does as a sentinel on the Atlantic to the great Mainland shores, as Vancouver Island does on the Pacific, it has a strategical and commercial value of great importance to Canada and the Empire.

Newfoundland's present weakness is its finances. With a revenue of about \$3,500,000 and an expenditure of about \$4,000,000, it has a funded debt of about \$32,000,000, and prospects in that respect are not improving at present. Canada would have to be prepared to make ample provision for the cost of local administration, and also for railway development, if Newfoundland is to look for success under the proposed new regime.

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We have seen that Manitoba came into line in 1870, or rather that she was brought into line, for as a matter of fact the few inhabitants there had nothing to say about it, the Government title, so to speak, vesting wholly in the Dominion of Canada. The same is true of the other two Provinces, created in 1905. The territory west of the Manitoba boundary line, and the eastern boundary of British Columbia, was practically divided into two parts, the sixtieth parallel of North latitude being the northern boundary of each, and each part was made into a separate Province.

As all the public lands in the three prairie provinces were retained by the Dominion, except certain reservations for school purposes, the subsidies paid to these provinces were very large compared to that paid to British Columbia, which retained its own lands, timbers and minerals, except of course, what was conveyed to the Dominion for railway purposes—something, by the way, which never should have been done.

The next step in rounding out Confederation, or rather the adjustment of relations between the Provinces and the Dominion, was the interprovincial conference at Ottawa in 1906, when there was a rearrangement of the basis of the payment of subsidies to the Provinces, not necessary here to discuss in detail. The amount of Federal allowance was largely increased, but the special allowance of \$1,000,000, payable in ten years, was not made permanent as we thought it should have been.

The most recent step taken was the enlargement of the boundaries of three of the Provinces—Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba. The area of Ontario was increased from 222,000 to 407,250 square miles; of Quebec (the great territory of Ungava being taken in), from 228,000 to 706,834 square miles; and of Manitoba, from 73,960 to 251,832 square miles. British Columbia, whose area was largest prior to 1912, is now third in size.

The additional areas to the Provinces in question were obtained by extending Quebec and Ontario northward to Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay, and Manitoba to the 60th parallel of latitude. It has been suggested that the Yukon Territory should, for purposes of convenient administration, be added to British Columbia, but I think you will agree with me that, considering the character of the entire country to be administered, British Columbia is quite large enough as it is; unless, of course, the Dominion Government would guarantee the whole cost.

After Newfoundland is added, it is not probable that any more Provinces will be created. The remaining portions of

the country, Yukon Territory and the North-West Territory, are not likely ever to attract sufficient population to justify it, although there may be large developments in mining some time in the future, or the earth may shift its axis again. The Yukon, which once had a population of about 30,000, has now only about 8,000, and the North-West Territory had in 1911 only 18,500, largely consisting of Indians and Esquimaux.

The marvellous development of the Middle West, and its immense production, are among the wonderful things of our history as Canadians, and it is yet only on the threshold of its possibilities. The opening of the West and the development of British Columbia have, on the other hand, contributed wonderfully to the development and prosperity of Eastern Canada.

One more word about Newfoundland before I conclude. War has made many and vital changes in the mental and political attitudes of the peoples involved, and Newfoundland, which per head of population, has made the most splendid contribution of any part of the Empire to naval defence, in her fishermen, has been transformed as well in its attitude towards the Dominion of Canada, and I fully believe that at the close of the war we shall see her Government make an advance on the lines of Confederation, and that Canada will open her arms in welcome. The late Hon. Mr. Jackman, formerly a member of the Newfoundland Government, had completed a confidential mission to Great Britain and to Ottawa, in connection with a solution of the problems involved, and had handed in his report just before he died. I am not permitted to speak of the nature of that report, but the fact of his mission having been undertaken and ably performed is in itself significant. In the full rounding out of Confederation, Canada will have accomplished a large part of her destiny, and then it will remain with her to go on to the goal of her ambition and establish herself definitely and permanently in her high place in the affairs of the Empire.

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In conclusion, let me say of the war generally, as I have said in a more limited way of its effect on Newfoundland, that it has given us a new mental, or shall I say psychic, outlook to all of us. The idea I have in mind has had eloquent expression both in speech and in the press, and I am simply repeating in other words what has been so well said on so many previous occasions. All the peoples of the Allies and other peoples as well have, so to speak, found themselves, clarified in vision, as if by a new religion. Particularly, have the outlook and destiny of the British Empire, which was in a state of flux, of indeterminate transition, been influenced and affected. The relations, as in the past, as at the present time, as prospectively, of the various dominions and dependencies among each other and with the Mother Country, are being set in a new and much wider perspective, and the future staging of the Empire will be majestic in its conception. Civilization is in a death grip with the "kultur" of scientific barbarism raised to the Nth power of refined ruffianism, and for the very reason of the unspeakable disaster that would befall the world should civilization die in the struggle, victory must cause it to survive and triumph. The awful horrors of war and the material and dynastic ends on account of which it was brought on, have given the civilized world a clearer spiritual insight into the things that count in a nation's life—freedom, love of liberty, right-thinking, justice-seeking, and all the rest involved in the tenets which civilization in all the ages has expounded. The great lesson which the war has taught the Empire, our Empire, and particularly the Old Land, is that no longer in our career can we trust to the undefined and ill-defined relations of the past. The slender tie of sentiment which binds us together at present is strong, stronger possibly than any constitutional bond, but sentiment of this kind is a thing of war and not of prolonged peace, and it must be inwrought with organization and constitutional unity so that the Empire may always be able to present an undivided and impregnable front in the face of dangers such as those by which we are now imperilled. Britain will emerge

from this war mightier than ever—not so much in might of arms, and not perhaps so much in wealth and territorial expansion as in unity of spirit, in love of freedom, in recognition of all nation's rights, in sound principles of government, things mightier than all the ambitions of all the Hohenzollerns had they been realized, and over which scientific barbarism can never prevail.

In reviewing the story of Confederation, its conception, its inception, its development, its basic principles, we may, with all honesty, lay the flattering unction to our souls that Canada set the first example in modern times of dominion consolidation on true federal lines, an example which, in a modified way, suitable to their conditions, was followed by Australia and South Africa, and that in all human probability will be followed by Great Britain and Ireland, and it will, I confidently predict, be our proud boast as Canadians, that when Empire consolidation shall have been completed after the war, it will be modelled upon the design of the structure erected by our wise old architects of state in 1867. Empire possessions will encircle the globe, as they do now, but secured in unity and common defence, co-ordinated in constitutional principles, autonomous in their sovereign powers, harmonious in relations. Our boys are fighting at the front not only for the Mother Country, for the rights of wronged nations, for the freedom of the races, and for their own homeland, but for this great result—a consummation which, when reached, will be the profoundest in effect in the history of the whole human race.*

* I have not dealt, as originally intended, with the West India Islands and other British possessions in America. Undoubtedly, in some form or another, they will be consolidated with the Dominion of Canada, or they may be exchanged with the United States for Alaska, which would be a logical rounding out of British North America under the egis of the flag of Empire.

POSTSCRIPT ON THE QUEBEC SITUATION

SIR HUGH JOHN MACDONALD in his Foreword to this book, refers to the recent Dominion election as a supreme test of Confederation. The results are significant as to the attitude of Canada as a whole, and as to the peculiar position of Quebec and of constituencies in which French-Canadians have been a factor in the voting, in relation to the vital issue, namely, Canada's participation in a great European War in which Great Britain is predominant among the Allies arrayed against the Central Powers. There were minor issues, as there are in all elections, but conscription was the deciding issue. Conscription, however, while in the meaning of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's manifesto referred to a choice between enforced conscription under the terms of the Military Service Act and a referendum such as was taken in Australia, involved in so far as Quebec is concerned, the much wider and more profound issue of Canada's moral and, shall I say, constitutional right to take part in a war initiated by Great Britain without previous reference to other governing forces of the Empire. The voice of Quebec on the essential issue said "No." French-Canadians throughout Canada said "No." The Canadian general election was a real referendum on the question and whatever might have been the terms of a special referendum submitted as advocated by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the voice of Quebec would still have been the same. The situation, therefore, from the point of view of those who believe in an empire, one and indivisible, is a serious one, and even now that Canada has emphatically declared itself from that point of view the situation as to the outcome of Confederation is not without

its elements of apprehension. The substantial majority for the Union Government, the essential principle of which is represented in the desire to win the war and to win it as quickly as possible, is unfortunately not the final win. It has simply accentuated and made clearer the line of cleavage between the aspirations of the two races, the English speaking and the French speaking. The one, if they are not yet quite defined, as to the relations which should subsist among the peoples of the Empire in the future, are yet strong for a continued relationship not less intimate than in the past. The other are in the direction of complete Canadian autonomy—*independent nationality*, but preferably of a separate existence as a French-Canadian republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence; and since the Maritime Provinces have given a vote somewhat adverse to the Union Government, there have been pronouncements in favor of making the Ottawa River the eastern boundary in Canada of English speaking control. There is no possibility of presenting the situation, as revealed since conscription became an issue, in any other light, and it must be faced in the light of facts as they exist. It is unnecessary to say that there is no way out of Confederation for Quebec, any more than there is for Ireland out of the United Kingdom, except by fighting its way out. The rest of Canada would not consent and Great Britain even "in extremis" would not otherwise consent. British Columbia which had a real grievance once, through its Legislature asked for separation as an alternative to fulfilment of the Carnarvon Terms. Nova Scotia passed a resolution of secession in 1885 and a successful provincial election was fought on the issue. These were really "bargaining resolutions," as the result showed, and the resolution (at the time of writing) proposed in Quebec, it has been suggested, is a "bargaining resolution." But what has Quebec legitimately to bargain for that she has not already got to which she is entitled? One of her own people has referred to Quebec as "the spoiled child of the Dominion," and the most impartial judicial commission

would fail to discover in the smallest instance wherein all the essential and incidental benefits and rights of the B. N. A. Act have not been conveyed to that province and of which its people are not in the fullest enjoyment.

That the situation is an unfortunate and regrettable one is a fact that is everywhere admitted. The question "Why is there such a situation?" is, in the light of years, easily answered. The question, "How is the situation to be remedied?" is not so easily answered. Who has solved the Irish riddle? Old race feuds have accounted for much, perhaps, for most, in Ireland, but there have never been race feuds in Quebec between the English-speaking and the French-speaking peoples, if we except the occasional, perhaps, not infrequent, fisticuffs between the Irish Catholics and the French Canadians. These, however, were purely local, and did not at all arise out of national considerations of any kind. Language, landlordism and religion have each had something to do with the situation in Ireland. Language is perhaps the greatest factor of the situation in Quebec. French Canada has always looked to France as a Fatherland, the cradle of the race, with that feeling which was natural, until the religious orders were expelled from France and settled so numerous in Quebec. Then, the close affiliation which exists in that province between language and religion gradually weaned the people from any racial affection for a nation whose national institutions, at least, were non-religious. The influence of the new stock of clerics has become very marked. The Habitants, temperamentally peace-loving and traditionally influenced by parish environment, are not now moved by the cause of France, and as for the English-speaking people they were always of another world. If we add to these considerations the sinister influences of political leaders, we can readily exercise that forbearance so necessary at the present time in formulating policies for the future. Speaking personally, I have neither prejudices of language or religion so far as French-Canadians are concerned. I have always regretted

that I did not master the language of which I never had more than an imperfect knowledge and to me theologically all religions look alike in the sense that the Golden Rule, the conscience clause of every creed, is the saving salt of all religions and without it every religion must become the empty shell of cold formalism. My daughter, who was brought up in the faith, I used to take on my knee and teach her the Catholic Catechism and never permitted her to neglect her church duties. I have always had the highest admiration for the heroism of Cardinal Newman, who, with all the clearness of his great intellect, saw no logical standing ground between Agnosticism and Catholicism and finally bowed to Authority in the latter. Sincerity of conviction is the greatest of moral and political forces.

I differentiate, however, between the church theological and the church political which trenches upon the domain of state, and in Quebec we must confess that as completely as in any other country in the world, and much more successfully, has the church become identified with the State in matters large and small; and in the very complexity of that organization and in its intimacy with the very fibre of political life, lies one of the serious problems we have to face. But it is not the most serious, because the Church is wise enough in matters which may ultimately be its own undoing. We are not so much concerned in the church, as a church, as in a state politically which might destroy in part at least the objects for which federation was devised, to make us one people in British North America, to eliminate racial feuds and to develop our moral and material resources to their fullest extent. Beyond our own federation, the wider federation to which many of us at least look as a logical evolution, it is a matter for Canadians to argue out sanely, not by resort to recrimination, intrigue and implications of race enmity. Every man has the right to his own views as to Canada's destiny, but as a unit we should march towards it once it has been decided upon.

I have stated that the question as to how the situation in Quebec has been reached is easy to answer. There has been for years what might be called a school of politicians, and this school includes a number of serious political students, who have been cultivating a sentiment in favor of French-Canadian nationality and a spirit of hostility to the English-speaking element of Canada.

This propaganda of exclusiveness, of isolation, of independence of Quebec, like that of the Sinn Fein in Ireland, has spread to almost alarming proportions. The movement has been among the young men and youths principally. The older generations are not, generally speaking, so much affected by it.

There has been a persistent campaign in recent years of instilling into the minds of the younger generation the notion that in some—unknown and it must be mysterious—way the French-Canadians are being oppressed and tyrannized over by the English of Canada, whose object is to keep them in submission and make them victims of, and subject to, Britain's international entanglements and foreign aggression. This, notwithstanding that there is not a single historical instance either in deed or motive, expressed or implied, to authenticate it.

On the other hand, the ideal of a French republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence is held up to them—a republic in which everything will be peaceful, happy and prosperous and in which the French-Canadian people will be able to develop to the full their own aims, their own culture and their own national manhood, one in which, too, they will be free and independent of, and safe from, their common enemy the English. Quotations from the speeches of French-Canadian politicians and the French-Canadian press confirming these statements can be produced and multiplied almost endlessly.

This propaganda has gone on unrebuked, even encouraged, by the natural leaders of the people in whose power it was to divert the current of political thought into safe and

patriotic channels, and it has been winked at throughout Canada as a whole. Men in public life have disliked to express freely their views of the inevitable consequences for fear of offending French-Canadians as a class.

One cannot really blame the young men of French Canada for their enthusiasm in this cause, which is really a revival of the political doctrines of Papineau. They have been misled by false teachers and have never had the opportunity, or even been permitted in their environment, to know the truth as it is, and to study Canadian history in the light of fact.

The French-Canadians have inherited many of their characteristics from their Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Poitou French ancestors. They are naturally susceptible to the influences of poetry and eloquence. The educated young French-Canadian is idealistic and imaginative. He has, therefore, many of the qualities of mind and heart that made the Republic of France.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier is intellectually too large and too well developed in statescraft to believe in the possibility of a French-Canadian republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence. It is true that as a young man, and the flights of fancy of the young man are not to be held up against him in mature years, he was opposed to Confederation. He wrote and spoke vigorously in opposition to it. In this attitude he declared himself a follower of Papineau.

By a strange chain of circumstances he became the Premier of the Confederation of which he was so earnestly skeptical and the principles of which he so vehemently denounced. He became the hero of his race and in a large sense the pride of all our people.

Before, however, he became the leader of the Liberal party, and not yet a conspicuous Canadian politician, he espoused the cause of Louis Riel, whom he refused to regard as a rebel, without question, from racial reasons. Years later, speaking of the Riel rebellion, Sir Wilfrid averred that

had he lived on the banks of the Saskatchewan, he, too, would have shouldered his musket in the half-breed cause. Honore Mercier, a Quebec leader, was the apostle of the cause of Riel and today his memory is revered in Quebec solely on that account.

This is simply evidence of the persistence of the ideal of Papineau, of whose school so many today declare themselves adherents. But why should men like Riel be exempt from the consequences of their crimes, or hallucinations, if you please, merely on account of their race?

Sir Wilfrid would not echo some of the extreme sentiments expressed in Quebec today. He is too enlightened a publicist and too learned historically. He does, however, believe in Canadian independence. A careful study of his earlier writings and speeches, coupled with the logical trend of his policy in all matters pertaining to Imperial relations in later life, can lead to no other conclusion, although in many of his utterances in respect of Great Britain, he has to some extent camouflaged, to use, not in an offensive way, a term lately in fashion and certainly useful in conveying meaning. It is not for his views on independence he is to be censured. There are prominent English-speaking Canadians who share these with him, though we should admire him to a greater degree for taking a more direct road towards his goal. We do blame, him, however, for not exercising a more tempering influence over those who, openly declaring him as their leader, are proclaiming sentiments not unlike those he did in his younger days, only much more extreme. Essentially the representative of his race in public life and the hero of his people, with his maturer years and his greater wisdom, he has not lifted his little finger in the way of warning or advice. Practically his only counsel to them has been that no "overt act" be committed. Of course, Sir Wilfrid is in politics and in Quebec lies the greatest source of his power, but he would have been accorded a much greater place in our history had he turned aside from the allurements of high office based on



THE RIGHT HON.
SIR ROBT. L. BORDEN, K.C.M.G., P.C.
Prime Minister of Canada, and leader of the
Union Government formed for successful prosecu-
tion of the war.



THE RIGHT HON.
SIR WILFRID LAURIER, K.C.M.G., P.C.
Leader of the Laurier-Liberal opposition, opposed
to Conscription except as result of special
referendum.

such support, when an even more serious issue than Canadian independence was facing his country—that of breaking up Confederation itself—when the fate of the Empire was at stake. No one has expressed in writing more admiration for his gifts and graces and his high personal qualities than myself, but it would be the extreme of hypocrisy to express all the admiration of even his late followers in respect of statesmanship.

I am not discussing Sir Wilfrid politically, except in the one respect in which many of us feel most keenly. Every politician and statesman can be truly outlined only in the perspective of time. A political writer has referred to him seriously as the greatest citizen of Canada and one of the most conspicuous men of the Empire, who has done more than any other man of the land "to bring all of the various classes of Canada together." Sir Wilfrid Laurier has been one of the most conspicuous men of the Empire. His picturesque figure, his fine personality, his pleasing eloquence and splendid phrasing would mark him in any conference of distinguished British statesmen; and he will live in Canadian history as a remarkable example of a unique type of political leader. The exercise of his gifts in respect of these distinguishing traits did much in Great Britain to raise in esteem and respect Canadians as a class; but the situation in Quebec does not bear out the claims made in his behalf for the harmonizing of classes.

There has grown up in Quebec since Sir Wilfrid Laurier became a leader greater racial prejudices than ever existed there before, even in the days of Papineau. After all, Papineau only carried into rebellion a comparatively few of those who accepted him as leader. A more unsatisfactory situation in that respect has never existed. The symptoms of the situation exhibited in riots, dynamiting plots, inflammatory speeches and writings, have, on the other hand, excited bitter feelings in other parts of Canada.

No one blames Sir Wilfrid personally for such a condition of affairs, or sets him up as the inciting or contributory cause, but I say again, the facts discredit the claims made for him. Sir Wilfrid talked fairly and well in Ontario and other provinces about the brotherhood of races in Canada, but he did not go to Quebec and tell the people there, what is the truth, that the English-speaking people of Canada have no animosity to the French-Canadians and that they wish them only well. It is true that Sir Wilfrid blames the Nationalists for the present situation, and it is also true that political exigencies rewarded rather than penalized the Nationalists for their propaganda, but the Nationalists were a product of an educational programme of years and not the creators of the situation or of the sentiment at the root of it. The man to whom the province naturally and rightly looked as leader and counsellor did not use his efforts to point out and emphasize the evil of the course being pursued and if he did not share the extreme views and favor the unlawful acts of the thousands who shouted for him, he should have at least disavowed them on the spot. Opposition to conscription is not a crime. Many good people all over Canada, as well as in Quebec, honestly opposed it, but the ballot, not violence or seditious talk, is the constitutional form of protest. Conscription was adopted as a matter of urgency, but the defeat of the government fairly on that issue, would have meant the defeat of conscription, lamentable though we think the consequences might have been. It is even now the duty of Sir Wilfrid, believing as he does in our participation in the war, and in the continuation of a Confederation, of which he was for years the brilliant head and foremost figure—united in sentiment as in form—to begin the campaign of education so urgently required in his native province. His example would be followed by leaders in all the other provinces in which there are many hotheads as well as in Quebec.

In an introduction to a pamphlet on political conditions in Canada as they affected Imperial unity, written in 1911,

but never published, after making comparisons in respect of forces in the Empire unfavorable to closer union—the Sinn Feiners in Ireland, the Nationalists in Quebec, the Boers in South Africa (then a problem) and the I. W. W. element of labor in Australia, I said, and in almost every particular the conclusions apply today and even more strikingly on account of subsequent events:

“Canada is the key of the situation. She set the example of local self-government in respect of the federal principle, and her example will be followed by other Dominions. The racial situation in South Africa is not unlike that in Canada, where Great Britain fought for ascendancy for the rights of British subjects; then handed the country back to local self-control without even a try to hold it in check. South Africa can now, as she has been in the past, be controlled by financial influence, but Canada’s example of disintegration would be most infectious. In Australasia the Labor party are actuated in politics by a spirit of democracy whose principal objection to British connection is to kings, queens, lords and the like; but it is essentially British throughout, and when national considerations arise, when the safety and defence of the great Southern archipelago are in question, would not hesitate to consolidate with other portions of the Empire for a common purpose. Nevertheless, the spirit of independence is strong among all classes, and young blood is hot blood. New Zealand is like Australasia, only more British in spirit, and would not act alone. Newfoundland might join Canada in forming a new nation, but whether or not, situated as it is, it would not be a factor to be considered.

“I have referred to the French-Canadians and to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, their national leader, as possessing racial instincts and national ideals as fundamentally and radically opposed to British supremacy or British hegemony. I have referred to the Irish Nationalists in much the same way; and to the Boers of South Africa, and the Labor party of Australasia. Born among French-Canadians in Quebec, I know them

well, and have always liked them for their picturesque quaintness, their simplicity of life, their natural cheerfulness. I almost love the country they have made singular and historical by the impress, of their several centuries of occupation. I am not blind, however, to the problem they have created by their isolation and exclusiveness, for which, however, they are not themselves responsible. It is the most serious question in Canada today.

"Having read Irish history, I have a fairly good appreciation of the Irish character, and sympathize as strongly as any Home Ruler can with the wrongs which cruel fate imposed on a brilliant and lovable race of people; but racial prejudices, the curse of our country, inherited like instincts of animals, have come down from a past in which the vendetta universally existed—mutual antagonism—the extinction of which on national grounds all civilized peoples should unite in securing. We of today are divided by strifes of various kinds, the object apparently being to perpetuate what personally we have had little or no hand in creating, and yet we, though it was no quarrel of ours, go about with the chip on our shoulder, a perpetual challenge to those who have as little personal share or responsibility in the original quarrel as ourselves. So Orangemen, Irish Nationalists and Catholics keep on embittering each other by renewed assaults on each other with no rational reason except racial or religious antipathy.

"There is no reason why French-Canadians should not forget the war between France and England which culminated in the taking of Quebec, and there is no reason why English-speaking people, who have had no share in that war, should remind the French-Canadians that they are a conquered people. It is no longer a question of French against English. The British people represent a power of which French-Canadians, for over 150 years have been subjects the same as English-Canadians. It is no longer a question whether we shall be British or French or even Canadian; but under which national form of government, and under

what auspices can Canada reach its highest destiny. There is no reason why the Irish people should not be actuated by a similar idea, and why they should not in the future share with the Anglo-Saxon in the glories of an Empire whose greatness their own brilliant exploits have tended to achieve.

"If the peoples of the Empire could forget that there ever was a nation called English, and think only of an aggregation called British, they would find a common sink into which to pour their differences, because at the very roots of history Britain is a term wide enough to include the French, the Irish, the Scotch, the Welsh and the Anglo-Saxon, who, in his turn was first cousin of the ancestors of the Boers. The Normans, who conquered and ruled England and gave it its best blood, were ancestors of our French-Canadians. Ancient Britain was populated with Celts, of which the Irish were the most distinguished and celebrated branch. There can be no more talk of an Irish Kingdom, any more than there can be talk of the French again governing Canada, or of the Boers setting up a Dutch Republic in South Africa, except in the dreams of a few enthusiasts. Then why cannot we accept history and the inevitable and develop a patriotism common to an Empire to which we are all by force of circumstances attached. Unless by a great political catyclism it will be ages at least before the cycle of events shall have run its course, and civilized nations will have been dissolved into primordial racial elements again, if ever such a thing could be possible. New conditions have arisen among nations just as they have in the industrial and commercial world. The same principle of consolidation and aggregation of forces and centralization are at work. Germany set the pace under the great Bismarck, and Bismarckian traditions and ambitions look forward to dominating the commercial world. The great nations in the strife—perhaps not of war as of old, but of commercial control—will be Germany, the United States, France, Russia, Japan and China, (separately or in combination) and the British Empire, if it comes out of the crucible as such. The

rest of the nations will be but pawns in the game. No longer can a small nation exist independently, except by favor of the high powers or as buffers. The strongest arguments against Canadian independence is that under the new order of things complete autonomy would be impossible for long. Canadian independence is a chimera because in the waging of the larger forces the United States would be found to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, in self-defense, and Canada isolated, as Mexico or Peru or the Argentine would have to submit to the conditions which that doctrine imposes, or fight. Talk of treaties of peace and arbitration, but there is no logic so stern as self-interest, and when that looms up the claims of the brotherhood of man and the demands of honorable pact are swept aside as easily as a feather.

"War is like a fight between two men, it is more often the ignition caused by the clash of two hot tempers, not pre-meditated. Fisticuffs and duels between sensible beings are becoming rarer, and war may be said to be following the same course, but when in the last twelve years we have had three great epoch-making wars, besides the usual number of smaller ones, is it safe to assume that we have reached the millenium of peace, more especially as with our great navies, standing armies and munitions of war, there is always the temptation of trying conclusions?"

So, I say, in attempting to decide the future of Canada, we must consider the combinations of the great controlling forces and study world politics, because these take no account of what is being concocted in the parish council of Quebec, the Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario, the Grain Growers' Association of the Middle West, or the Fruit Growers' meeting of British Columbia. We must decide what is to be our place in the political landscape of the globe; whether a factor in the affairs of big nations or a pawn in their game."

In conclusion, it may be held that this postscript is a deviation from the spirit of a narrative intended to be historical and not disputatious, but the political events of the months

preceding the general election have a serious bearing upon the future regarding which so many Canadians have set high hopes. National aspirations are amongst the greatest of stimuli, individually and collectively, and the higher and wider the aspirations the greater the stimulus. I have said that the situation in Quebec is the result of an educational programme as insidious as it is inimical to the general interests—a propaganda of misrepresentation, of misinformation, of prejudice as to the policy, aims and attitude of English-speaking Canadians in respect of their French-Canadian brethren, and there has been just enough color in the utterances of sectarian societies and newspapers in English-speaking and Protestant Canada to form a groundwork. These religious and racial feuds are the "hangover" from a time as far back as, and before the "Battle of the Boyne," each outrage, each act of official injustice, each reprisal reacting and reacting in stupid revenge—the sins of all our forefathers extending to the third and fourth and to many generations. Was it without cause that Mme. Roland exclaimed: "O Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name?" This might be paraphrased: "O Lord! What deeds are done in Thy name?"

Knowing the course of history in Ireland and Quebec it is the duty of leaders of Canada and French-Canadian patriots to direct the course of public opinion in an opposite direction. In a political struggle in which the struggle was largely French Canada and French-Canadian ideals against the rest of Canada, Quebec was badly worsted and I think clearly upon the merits of the fight. It is now the duty of the victorious party to be forbearing and dignified in victory—not vainglorious. The sting of defeat is deep and hard to eradicate. It is the duty of English-speaking Canadians, not by indulgence or concessions or special favors, but by conduct and example, to establish an "entente cordial" as complete as that which brought together in bonds of friendship and alliance the traditional enemies, France and Great Britain, who are now in arms in the common cause of freedom and on the same soil fighting a common enemy.

I shall not again refer to race and religion, but there is the question of language, more serious than either as a factor of discord. Races die out and become absorbed, creating a new composite; religion changes and adapts itself to conditions according to time, place and circumstances; but language is the most persistent of all human possessions. The greater the effort to suppress it, the greater is the determination to retain it. The mother tongue, like mother herself, lingers longer and fondest in our memories. We of the English-speaking tongue may lament the fact of a dual official language in Canada following after the conquest of Quebec; we may regret and regard as mistaken and mischievous that Quebec obtained special rights and privileges—not in any way guaranteed by treaty—concessions, unsolicited and unexpected at the outset in the cause of good will, and for the purpose of making a people oppressed and poor and tax-ridden under French rule, happy and contented under British rule. We may further grieve over the fact and resent it that your French-Canadian brethren have been taught to accept their special treatment as being neither unusual or unprecedented under similar conditions of conquest, and that they are oppressed and hated by what they chose to regard as their "English rulers." The fact of religious and civil institutions, "sui generis" as they are, remains, and a privilege once granted and regarded as a right cannot be easily taken away without creating deep resentment and sowing seeds of revolt. Therefore, Quebec within its own provincial boundaries must work out its own future, conformable with the general aims of Confederation. It must learn, of course, that Quebec, and Quebec alone, can demand what a generous victory conceded after war; a war not against French Canada but against France to which nation it no longer owes allegiance or gives affection.

In the matter of language I think the rest of Canada attaches too much importance to the French-Canadian attitude. When Canada came under British rule, the population was altogether French, and, without prescience of future devel-

opments, it would clearly have been an injustice to impose the English as the sole official language upon the population which did not understand it at all. We must remember that even today two-fifths of the people of Canada speak French and the truth is that the proportion of French-Canadians who speak English is far greater than the proportion of English who speak French. It is altogether beside the question to say that Canada is a British dominion and that, therefore, English should be the official language or the only language taught in schools. Language is, so to speak, a private right and there is no moral law that compels any citizen of any country to speak any other than the language of his parents. In modern times the compelling force of language is commerce and inter-communication and any nation or community or individual, which or who in business cannot speak in the language of the customer or the purchaser is handicapped to that extent. The problem of language therefore solves itself in time. The German nation long ago learned that lesson and profited by it enormously. A German is not less a German, however, because he speaks more than one language. And do we not sympathize with the people of Alsace and Lorraine, although conquered provinces, in their persistence in not discarding French for German? Belgium has two languages but is not less consolidated in sentiment on that account. The polyglot races in southern Europe under the sway of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia have successfully resisted, or as effectually as they could, the efforts of their overlord to impose upon them a language not their own; and have we not in our hearts gone out to them, because we hated the despotism of these same overlords. Language is part of ourselves.

It is a reflection indeed, upon our English-speaking public men that in Parliament they cannot address their French-Canadian colleagues in French. Probably not more than half a dozen of them can go into Quebec and make themselves understood on the platform to an audience which in many instances would be responsive and sympathetic. On the other

hand, nearly every French-Canadian of public standing can in and out of Parliament address himself intelligibly and nearly always eloquently to an audience in English. It is recorded that in the great debate on Confederation in the Parliament of Old Canada in 1865, the French members all spoke in English because the English members could not understand French, much less speak it. With what greater effect could the English members have appealed to the French members had they been able in a portion of the remarks, at least, to have spoken French with that degree of fluency and purity that Dorion and Cartier, for instance, spoke English? We speak of the French-Canadians refusing to speak English and their desire to remain apart. Have we, as English-speaking Canadians, searched our own souls on a similar count? Do we realize that reciprocity in language is as much an essential of free and friendly intercourse as that in commerce it is necessary to buy as well as sell to do business? Apart altogether from what Quebec may choose to do, I believe that French should as far as possible be taught in every school in Canada. There is nothing that will bring two races together more completely than the study of each other's literature and that personal and intimate knowledge of each other obtained only through the vehicle of language. More especially is it desirable that the two languages should be taught alongside of each other and be generally understood, when we are in such close alliance with the great nation of France, with whose people business relations will be greatly extended after the war. The French language was, and still is to a considerable extent, the diplomatic language of Europe. That fact did not make the courts of Europe one whit more French in leaning and as to the ultimate survival or dominancy of either language in Canada we need not worry. We must not in this almost critical stage in the history of Confederation lay the burden of blame all on one side. We have not on either side in the past studied, nor indeed have we been at all inclined to study, the point of view of the other and have thus drifted apart in sympathy and in ideals.

