

foundland shrink from the idea of linking their destinies with a Dominion, in the future of which they can at present see nothing to inspire hope, but much to create apprehension". Now that last sentence is important, very important.

Those who try to claim that the people of Newfoundland in 1869 held aloof from confederation only because they fell for a tissue of lies must be shown, like everybody else, that there was far more to the reputation of the Carter government than the fears of sending their sons away to bleach their bones on the desert sands of Canada. Undoubtedly there was exaggeration on both sides. There always is and always has been in election campaigns, as I have pointed out, but let us consider the nature of the times. The North American continent was still shaken by the effects of the civil war in the United States, and all sorts of subversive movement was afoot in that country and in Canada. "The Province of Nova Scotia, one of the four which had been inveigled into adopting the resolution, was regretting it already ..." says one author, "so much so that on the 22nd of February, 1868, the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia sent an address to the British Crown, declaring that the Province was adverse to the measure of Union, and, on an unsatisfactory reply being received on the 4th of June the Executive Council sent a further despatch in which they threatened the possibility of the Province not only leaving Confederation, but seceding from the British Empire as well, observing that there was no change in their political relations which they would not prefer to their present place in the Confederation". That was Nova Scotia's attitude on confederation in 1868.

Prince Edward Island's attitude was plain — she would stay out. As for British Columbia, as late as March, 1870, a few months after the '69 election, a speech delivered in the Legislative Council said, "The people of this colony have, generally speaking, no love for Canada. They care, as a rule, little or nothing about the creation of another empire, kingdom or republic. They care little about the distinctions between the forms of government of Canada and the United States". And in that connection, Professor Walter Sage declared in 1945 that, "In the colonial war, and even for a time before confederation, Canadians were unpopular. They were known as North American Chinamen — a tribute to their

thrift. They send their money home and do not spend it so freely as do the open-handed Americans."

I mentioned too the subversive movements in the United States and Canada, among which was the famous Fenian organisation made up of Irishmen driven from their homeland, and who were determined to take a blow at England whenever and wherever they could. In 1866 they made an unsuccessful invasion of Canada, a raid it was, and fought in 1870 from the United States, being joined by their compatriots in Canada, and in addition to this movement there was a famous uprising of the Métis, the French-Indian half-breeds in Manitoba, under Louis Riel in 1869, known in Canadian history as "Riel's rebellion"; add to that dissension and open warfare the supreme fact that the French Canadians in Quebec, the real Canadians, believed that confederation was an attempt to submerge their identity, and although they accepted the arrangement in principle, were to leave few stones unturned in after years to try to wreck the union. That was the union that Newfoundland repudiated, and the reasons I have given were principally at the bottom of the mother country's desire why it should be effected. Confederation was for protection in the middle of the last century if nothing else. It was to get the colonies of British North America under a central government which could be delegated with the responsibility of defending its interest against the many internal advances from races and wolves, and against the external dangers, principal among which was the growing republic to the south. Furthermore, at that time there was little or no communication between the provinces apart from the few commercial contacts between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec and the Maritimes, but the total value of trade between them was very small, and between either Canada or the Maritimes and the farther west there was practically no commercial enterprise of any kind, and it was such a haphazard, loose conglomeration of colonies covering a vast and potentially valuable territory, that made the British government anxious to see them brought together under a central government. No wonder, sir, that the anticonfederate party of 1869 was able to convince the electorate that union would not be conducive to their essential interest — union with a Dominion in the future