



1865 — 1949

Confederation Debates

intermediate/senior
mini unit

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



**Quebec
Provincial Edition**

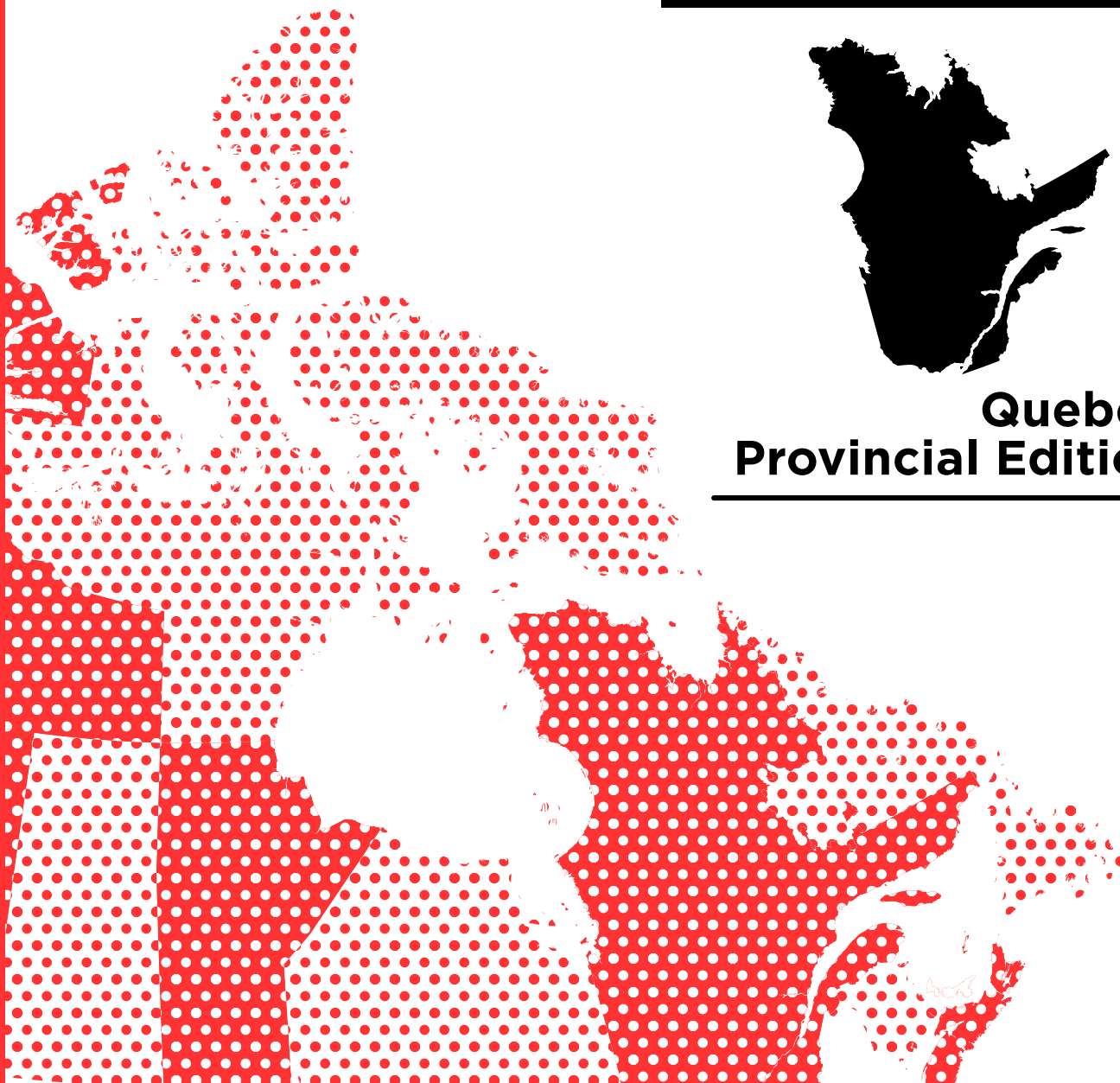


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ABOUT *THE CONFEDERATION DEBATES* MINI-UNIT

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

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

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

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

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

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

Curriculum Objectives

This mini-unit has been broadly designed for intermediate/ senior-level classes. The lesson plan, for example, satisfies the learning outcomes laid out in the Quebec education program, Social Sciences” in “History of Quebec and Canada, Secondary IV” including:

COMPETENCIES:

1. Characterizes a period in the history of Quebec and Canada
2. Interprets a social phenomenon

This mini unit covers the following periods :

- 1840-1896 The Formation of the Canadian Federal System
- 1896-1945 Nationalisms and the Autonomy of Canada
- 1945-1980 The Modernization of Quebec and the Quiet Revolution

SECTION 1 | CREATING CANADA: QUEBEC AND ONTARIO

Prerequisite skillsets:

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

Background knowledge:

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

SOCIAL:

- Catholic/Protestant divisions in Canada during the 1860s

ECONOMIC:

- Relations with the United States (American cancellation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866)

POLITICAL:

- The political deadlock between Canada-East and Canada-West in the Legislative Assembly between 1862 and 1864 over representation by population vs. French-Catholic minority rights
- The existence of a small but wealthy and influential English-Protestant population in Lower Canada (Quebec)
- The difference between a legislative union (ex. Great Britain had a single legislature for England and Scotland) and a federal union (with federal and provincial legislatures that each have areas of exclusive jurisdiction)
 - Charlottetown and Quebec constitutional conferences of 1865
 - The concept of dividing powers between federal and provincial governments, and the respective jurisdictions of each (ex. education, military)
 - Increasing Aboriginal marginalization (especially neglected Treaty Rights)
- The “Great Coalition” of George-Étienne Cartier, John A. Macdonald and George Brown

Confederation Debates: Introductory Lesson

Lesson: Introduce Confederation, concept of debate.

Concepts Used: Brainstorming, concept map

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

Materials Provided: video, handouts

Time Needed: 2 x 40-minute class

INTRODUCTION:

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

BRAINSTORM SESSION:

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

1. What was Confederation?
2. What were the most influential ideas in Quebec and Ontario's Confederation Debate?
3. Who was the most influential individual in the Confederation Debates?
4. How did linguistic or ethnic tensions impact the debates and our constitution?
5. What are some areas of continuity and change between the Confederation period and today?

CONCEPT MAP:

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

INTRODUCTION TO PARLIAMENT:

1. Distribute the "72 Resolutions Handout" to the students and highlight and discuss:
 - a. The fact that representation in the House of Commons is representation by population, and representation in the Senate is by region (ex. the Prairies)
 - b. The division of powers between federal and provincial governments (note that one focuses on national issues like banking, while the other focuses on local concerns like hospitals).
2. Distribute "Introduction to Parliament: The Question Period" handout and review the questions with the class.
3. Show the class any Question Period video posted to <http://www.cpac.ca/en/programs/question-period/>.
4. Pause the video at the start and point out the government side (left), the opposition side (right), and the Speaker of the House (centre).

5. Play several minutes of the video and ask students to fill out and submit the handout for teacher evaluation.
6. When the video is complete and the handouts are submitted, discuss the following points with the class:
 - a. Note that different parties form the government and opposition, and that each take opposite sides on issues.
 - b. During Question Period, one person asks questions, the other side answers / rebuts
 - c. The Speaker of the House controls the discussion
 - d. The classroom debate will not have any:
 - i. Yelling
 - ii. Talking over one another

Confederation Debates: Biographical Research

Lesson: Introducing the key historical figures in the Confederation Debates

Concepts Used: Critical Thinking, Historical Inquiry Process, Historical Thinking, Online Research,

Materials Used: Computers

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

Time Needed: 3 x 40-minute classes

HISTORICAL FIGURE COMPUTER RESEARCH

1. Teachers may wish to familiarize themselves with the key details listed in the historical figure briefs (see appendices) before beginning this activity.
2. Ideally, every student should do the research using their own computer. If there are no computers available, the teacher may wish to print off the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entries described below. Alternatively, if all students have access to a computer and internet access at home, this activity could be assigned for homework.
3. Divide the students into six equal-sized groups.
4. Assign each group one of the major historical figures listed below. Teachers may alternatively allow students to choose their historical figure.
 - a. George Brown (strong students should be assigned to this speaker)
 - b. Sir George-Étienne Cartier
 - c. Antoine-Aimé Dorion
 - d. Christopher Dunkin
 - e. Sir John A. Macdonald (strong students should be assigned to this speaker)
 - f. John S. Sanborn
5. Distribute copies of the "Biography Handout" (see appendices) to all of the students.
6. Tell students to use google to search their historical figure and find their listing on the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* website as listed (see appendices).
7. Tell the students to read their respective *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entries and record their answers to fill in the blanks on the "Biography Handout."

GROUP DISCUSSION

1. After students have completed their research - in the computer lab, or at home - the students should rejoin their groups (see 3 above) in the classroom.
2. Distribute the "Primary Source" handouts (see appendices) to the groups (each student should have their own copy).
3. Each student will be given a task: reader, writer and discussant. (The reader will read the source to the group, the discussants will contribute to the discussion, and the writer will record the group's ideas on a separate sheet of paper.) There can be more than one student assigned to each role.
4. The teacher will encourage each group to decide which statements were most important, and to discuss the possible historical significance of these statements. (Ex. George Brown demanded representation by population, and French Canadians like Cartier demanded French rights).

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

JIGSAW

1. When all students have shared information with their group, they will separate into a jigsaw activity. The goal of this activity for all students to learn about every historical figure from their peers.
2. The teacher will assign the students from each group a number between 1 and 6. Eg. Students researching George-Étienne Cartier will be labelled from 1-6.
3. All number 1s, 2s, 3s, 4s, 5s and 6s will then gather together. Each student should have at least one person from every group to share their information.
4. If there are too many students from the historical figure groups, each member should share a portion of what they learned with the jigsaw group. If there are too few students to divide the historical figure groups among each of the jigsaw groups, one student can present their information to more than one group.

CLOSING VIDEO:

1. Obtain a copy of the film *John A: Birth of A Country* (available at <http://www.cbc.ca/player/play/2135790223>).
2. Cue the film to 1 hr 4 minutes and watch to 1 hr 15 minutes which shows George Brown, John A. Macdonald, George-Étienne Cartier and other historical figures debating a British North American union.
3. Use the video to differentiate the men who formed the Great Coalition (i.e. Macdonald, Cartier and Brown).
4. Note that Macdonald and Cartier were partners, while Brown traditionally opposed French Canadian rights.
5. Remind the students that, regardless of what they saw in the video, they will only debate in a respectful manner, and that there will be no yelling or name-calling.

EXIT CARD

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

Culminating Activity: The Debate

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

Concepts Used: Critical Thinking, Primary Sources, Debate, Use appropriate vocabulary, Historical Inquiry Process, historical thinking concepts.

Time Needed: 2 x 40-minute classes

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

MATERIALS (PROVIDED):

- Mock ballots for optional voting activity. Print in advance of the lesson. (The ballot's text is loosely based on the motion that all of the Province of Canada's representatives debated in 1865.)
- Script for teachers as "Speaker of the House"

OPTIONAL MATERIALS (UNPROVIDED):

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

CLASSROOM LAYOUT:

- If possible, rearrange the classroom desks to resemble parliament (i.e. the Confederation and anti-Confederation groups will sit across from each other with teacher standing in between at the front of the room)

DEBATE PREPARATION:

1. If possible, reorganize the classroom to resemble a parliamentary chamber, with the students representing the pro- and anti-Confederation historical figures facing each other.
2. Students will gather in their historical figure groups and prepare for the debate by composing short answers to the following questions that will be posed during the debate. Each student in the group will write an answer to one of the questions. If less than five students are in a group, one or more students may answer two questions.
 - a. What are the benefits of union?
 - b. What are the drawbacks of union?
 - c. Do we need representation by population in Confederation?
 - d. Local autonomy, or the ability to run things like schools without interference from the rest of the country, was very important to most of Canada's founders. Will the division of powers between federal and provincial governments protect local autonomy?
 - e. What measures have been taken to protect English language rights in the new French dominated province of Quebec? Will they be effective?
3. Students should practice their speech in front of the other members of their group to remain within a two-minute time constraint.

DEBATE:

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

OPTIONAL VOTING ACTIVITY:

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

REFLECTION ACTIVITY:

1. Debrief session on how the 1865 debates are important today. Guiding questions can include:
 - a. Why was their historical figure important in the Confederation debates?
 - b. What are some ways in which each historical figure responded to challenges and / or created change?
 - c. Was the language in the materials hard to understand? Imagine if English wasn't your first language, as it was for the Indigenous peoples of Canada.
2. Optional discussion point: Why did each of the founders avoid debating the rights of French-minority groups in Upper Canada or the Prairies? Answers:
 - a. John A. Macdonald: the discussion of future Franco-Ontarian rights was postponed by Alexander Tilloch Galt's promise to propose a bill on this matter after the Legislative Assembly passed the 72-Resolutions.
 - b. John Sanborn: was concerned about English-Protestant minority rights, but had to wait for the separate debate on Alexander Tilloch Galt's proposed education bill.
 - c. George Brown: Did not like giving extra rights to minority groups, so he avoided the topic.
 - d. Christopher Dunkin: it is not clear why Dunkin, as a Protestant-Montrealer did not lobby for his minority group. His inaction hurt his electoral popularity.
 - e. George-Étienne Cartier and Antoine-Aimé Dorion: According to historian Arthur Silver, French-Catholic Lower Canadians were primarily interested in protecting their local rights in the 1860s and did not begin to strongly advocate for French-Catholic rights on the Prairies until after 1867).

Culminating Activity Script

1. To bring the House to order, the Speaker will say "This meeting will come to order."
2. The Speaker of the House will then conduct roll call for the six historical representatives. As each representative is named, students from that historical figure's group will say "present."
3. Once everyone is accounted for, the Speaker will read the House rules:
 - a. The Speaker of the House has ultimate power while Parliament is in session.
 - b. All representatives must stand to make their statements but will not leave their desk.
 - c. The Speaker will ask individual students to rise and sit as if they were debating in parliament.
 - d. No name-calling or insults will be tolerated.
 - e. Representatives may ask to interrupt the current speaker with a question or counter point by raising their hand. The Speaker of the House will decide whether to ask the current speaker to pause.
 - f. Arguments must remain relevant to the subject of the debate. The Speaker of the House has the right to move to another speaker if anyone goes off-topic.
 - g. Students should write down any personal questions or comments for the debrief after the debate.
 - h. Optional: The Speaker may limit the amount of time Representatives are allowed to speak for (ex. two-minutes)
4. The Speaker of the House will then introduce the first main question: "what are the benefits of union?" The groups representing John A. Macdonald, George-Étienne Cartier, and George Brown will be asked to speak. Each group will be limited to a two-minute opening statement.
5. The Speaker will then introduce the second main question: "what are the drawbacks of union?" The groups representing Antoine-Aimé Dorion, Christopher Dunkin, and John Sanborn will be asked to speak. Each group will be limited to a two-minute opening statement.
6. The Speaker will then introduce the third main question. "Do we need representation by population in Confederation?" Prompting questions for students may include:
 - a. Is it fair for some provinces to have more representatives than other provinces in the new country? Why?
 - b. How did the founders expect the Senate (often referred to as the "Upper House") to protect the less populated provinces from being dominated by Ontario and Quebec? Did everyone think the Senate would be effective in this role.
7. Before introducing the next main question, the Speaker of the House will say "Is everyone ready for the next question?" Additional discussion / debate may ensue.
8. The Speaker of the House will then introduce the fourth main question: "Local autonomy, or the ability to run things like schools without interference from the rest of the country, was very important to most of Canada's founders. Will the division of powers between federal and provincial governments protect local autonomy?" Prompting questions for students may include:
 - a. What powers does the constitution give to the federal government?
 - b. What powers does the constitution give to provincial governments?
 - c. Did the founders worry that the federal government would interfere in provincial affairs?
 - d. How did the founders try to minimize and alleviate these concerns about provincial autonomy?
9. Before introducing the next main question, the Speaker of the House will say "Is everyone ready for the next question?" Additional discussion / debate may ensue.

10. The Speaker of the House will then introduce the fifth main question: “What measures have been taken to protect English language rights in the new French dominated province of Quebec? Will they be effective?” Prompting questions for students may include:
 - a. Should English-speaking Canadians be expected to learn French if they live in Quebec?
 - b. What language and religious school rights will English Canadians have in Quebec? Are these promises sufficient guarantees?
 - c. Should we support the protection of the English language in Quebec?
11. When everyone has had the opportunity to state their case, the Speaker will say “I move for the adjournment of this session of Parliament.”

SECTION 2 | CREATING CANADA: FURTHERING INDIGENOUS-CROWN RELATIONSHIPS

Prerequisite Skillsets:

- Word processing
- Interpretation of primary sources
- Cooperative sharing

Background Knowledge

Based on the background information provided below (pp.19-21), teachers should familiarize themselves with the following ideas and consider how they will be discussed with students. These ideas will help the students think about treaties and the treaty relationship as important parts of Confederation and founding documents of Canada's constitutional order. Understanding the treaties as important parts of Canada's constitutional architecture demonstrates the role indigenous peoples played in shaping the country.

Important learning outcomes include:

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

“I Left a Trace:” Lesson 1

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

Concepts Used: Brainstorming, historical significance, written response log.

Materials Provided: handouts (see appendices)

Time Needed: 2 x 40-minute classes

THINK, PAIR, SHARE:

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

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

RESPONSE LOG:

1. Hand out the Response Log handout. Students should answer one of the five questions to reflect on the topic. Recommended reflection time half an hour.
2. If the students do not have time to finish their response, teachers can assign it as homework.

VIDEO DEBRIEF:

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

- "Wab Kinew," Heroes (song about indigenous heros) <https://youtu.be/3Ul4KmHlzMc>.
- "The Ballad of Crowfoot," examines the situation of Aboriginal people in North America through the figure of Crowfoot, the legendary 19th-century Blackfoot leader of the Plains Cree. <https://youtu.be/l-32jc58bgI>.

Museum Curation Activity: Lesson 2

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

Concepts Used: Historical significance, flowcharts

Materials Provided: handouts (see appendices)

Time Needed: 2 x 40-minute class

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

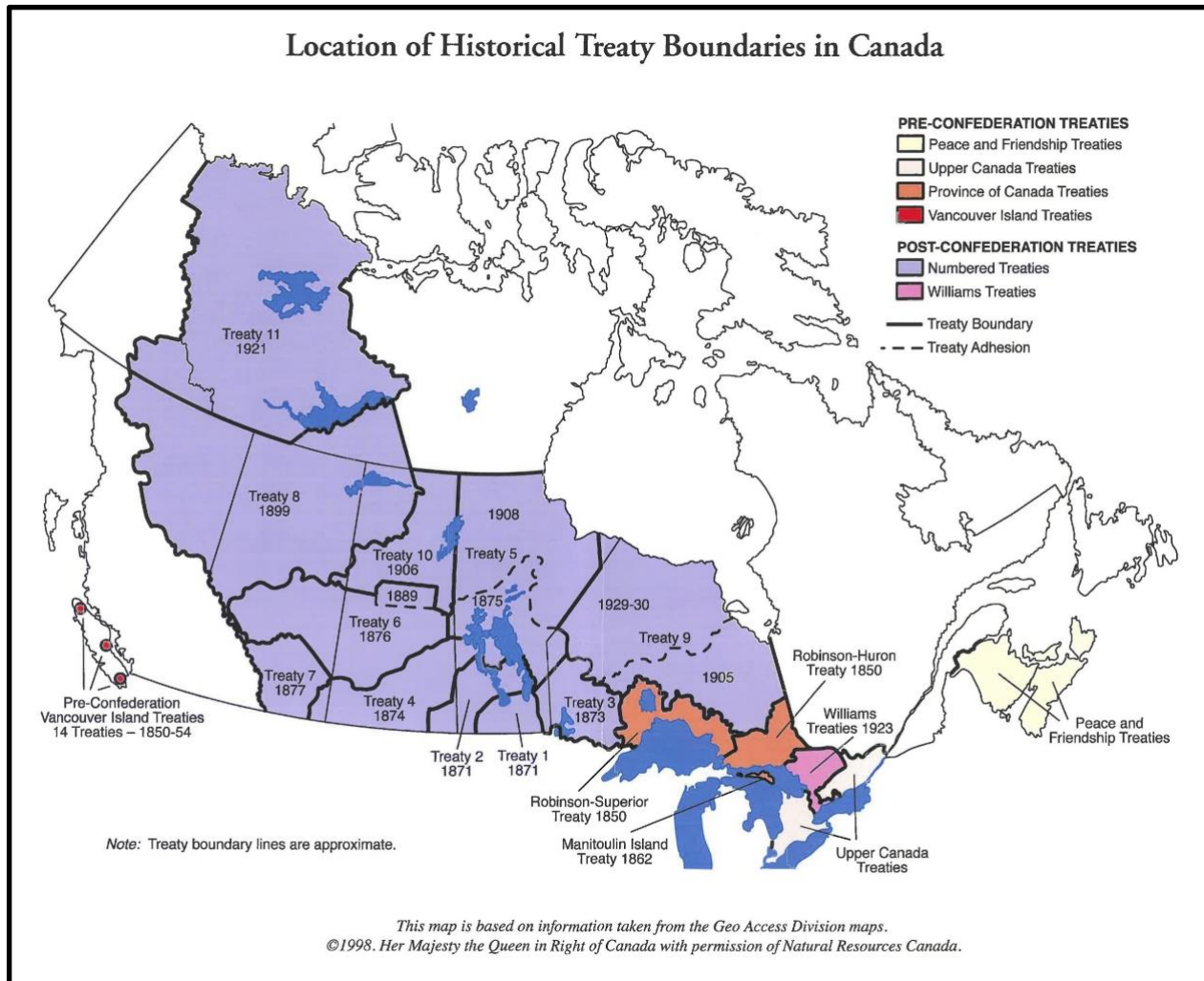
INTRO/BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR TEACHER TO PREPARE FOR THE MUSEUM CURATION ACTIVITY:

Introducing the Treaty Relationship:

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

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

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



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

If you want to present a video to the class on this, consider playing: https://youtu.be/eFyul7gzy_0.

A helpful article outlining the Crown-Aboriginal relationship and importance of the treaties:
<http://www.macleans.ca/society/why-its-time-to-define-the-crowns-role-with-first-nations/>

INTRODUCING TREATY HISTORY IN QUEBEC: TEACHER BRIEFING

Quebec has a unique treaty history. Along with British Columbia and the Atlantic Provinces, there were no post-Confederation treaties in Quebec for over a century. While the ‘numbered treaties’ — signed between 1871-1921 — covered much of Ontario and the prairie provinces, none were signed in Quebec. The story is much the same prior to Confederation. Several ‘Peace and Friendship Treaties’ were signed in the Maritime Provinces in the 18th century. These agreements recognize rights of the Mi’kmaq and Maliseet (Wolastoqiyik) peoples. In Ontario many pre-Confederation agreements were made, including the ‘Robinson Treaties’ of 1850.

In Quebec, the situation is much more like that in British Columbia, where only the southernmost part of Vancouver Island was touched by the fourteen pre-Confederation ‘Douglas Treaties’ of 1850-1854. Owing in part to the absence of historic treaties, modern treaties are very important in Quebec. From the government perspective, the 19th and 20th century treaties were designed to extinguish Indigenous rights to land, opening the lands for settlement and development. Where no such treaties were signed, rights to lands and resources remained open legal issues. The modern treaty process was designed to settle these outstanding issues and provide certainty regarding the scope of Indigenous rights. To this end, the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975), Northeastern Quebec Agreement (1978), Nunavik Inuit Land Claims Agreement (2008), and Eeyou Marine Region Land Claims Agreement (2010) have been signed and cover much of the province (see attached Map ‘A’).

Despite the comparative lack of historic treaties in Quebec, however, there were important pre-Confederation treaty relationships in New France and later in the Province of Quebec (1763-1791) and Lower Canada (1791-1841). These relationships are made more complex in part because of Quebec’s history as both a French and English colony. In the 17th and 18th centuries, both the English and French engaged in forms of diplomacy in North America which reflected the diplomatic protocols of the Indigenous nations they were interacting with. This involved negotiating treaties of trade and military alliance and the development of relationships modelled on structures of kinship. The English emphasized “land acquisition” treaties more than the French did, who focused more on trade. Diplomacy in 17th century Northeastern North America was highly complicated. Dozens of Indigenous nations sought to navigate the drastic shifts brought on by the arrival of European colonizers while European nations sought military and trade alliances to secure trade networks and gain advantages over other colonizing powers. Wars in Europe influenced the world across the Atlantic.

One of the most prominent and powerful nations, Indigenous or European, in North America at the time was the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, also known as the Five Nations (later Six Nations) or as the Iroquois. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy was made up of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. The Tuscarora joined in the early 18th century. Their relationships with the French and the British enrich our understanding of Canadian Confederation by showing the important role that Indigenous peoples played in shaping the political world that Canada grew out of.

Animosity between the French and Haudenosaunee began in 1609 when Samuel de Champlain joined a war party of Algonquin, Montagnais, and Huron against the Mohawk. In doing this, he placed the French in the middle of ongoing political contests and wars that predated their arrival. For most of the 17th century the Haudenosaunee and French were openly hostile. The Haudenosaunee “frequently raided French settlements on the St Lawrence and, in 1660 at the Long Sault, and in 1689 at Lachine, Québec, sent large armies to attack the colony” (Canadian Encyclopedia). Haudenosaunee would engage in periodic war with the French and Indigenous nations allied with them. The French attacked Haudenosaunee villages in 1665, 1684, 1687, and 1696. The pattern of French settlement and trade was shaped by their relationship with the Haudenosaunee.

Throughout this period, both the French and Haudenosaunee had shifting military and trade alliances with other Indigenous and European nations.

In 1701 a peace agreement was concluded between the Haudenosaunee and the French (and their Indigenous allies). The “Great Peace of Montreal”, as it is known, was negotiated largely by way of Indigenous diplomatic protocols and was attended by over 1,300 delegates from over 30 nations. The Haudenosaunee agreed to remain neutral in the event of a war between the British and French. This was very important, as the success of European nations in North America at this point depended on the support of Indigenous allies. The Covenant Chain was an alliance based on Haudenosaunee political ideals, with the chain representing the manner in which the agreement bound the parties together. The chain drew on Haudenosaunee political thinking that predated the arrival of the British. The chain, which the Mohawk called *tehontatenentsonterontahkhwa* is a diplomatic tool meant to bring about and maintain peaceful relations. The term translates can be translated as “the thing by which they link their arms.” As Richard Hill explains “The linking of arms is a Haudenosaunee metaphor for establishing, building and maintaining peace through the united minds and actions of the participants. It was first codified during the formation of the *Kayahnerenhkawah* or the Great Law of Peace, the founding governance document of the Haudenosaunee” (Hill).

When European’s arrived, they were incorporated into existing the existing diplomatic world. The two-row wampum, which symbolized peace and a respect for mutually autonomy, was an early form of diplomatic agreement between the French and Haudenosaunee. The first covenant chain, between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch, was considered an iron chain. The chain was thought of “as having three links, each representing a desired outcome from the relationship: peace, respect and friendship.” (Hill) When the English defeated the Dutch, the Haudenosaunee entered into political relations with the English. This relationship came to be known as the Silver Covenant Chain. Silver was adopted to characterize the chain because silver was an important trade commodity and because silver “could be polished from time to time to renew the agreements, make amends for any transgressions, and restore peace.” (Hill) The chain took form between the Mohawk and the colony of New York in the early 17th century on the basis of a number of treaties and came to characterize the British-Haudenosaunee relationship. The diplomatic protocol followed Haudenosaunee traditions. As Louise Johnston notes, “typically, both parties delivered carefully constructed addresses and solemnized agreements with the ceremonial giving and receiving of wampum belts. Speakers employed vivid religious language and imagery, either Iroquoian or Christian or both.”

The Covenant Chain of Peace has several elements as noted by Richard Hill:

- a) an on-going treaty relationship predicated upon the principles of the *Aterihwihsón:sera Kaswénta* (Two Row Wampum);
- b) the linking of arms, or holding of hands, meaning the firm commitment to uphold the terms of the treaty-based relationship and treat each other as equals;
- c) an agreement to a dispute resolution mechanism to keep the chain bright and promote peace;
- d) the details of the treaty agreements as represented by several wampum belts, which tell a larger story than the written documents; and
- e) a three-link silver chain and a silver pipe with a small chain attaching the bowl to the stem that was used whenever our nations gathered together to polish the chain (Hill).

Undermining the covenant chain in 1701 was therefore an important strategic victory for the French. The importance of the Covenant Chain would be revived in the 1750s when the Haudenosaunee allied with the British out the outset of the Seven Years War. Following the Royal Proclamation of 1763, through which the British established a colonial government in Quebec and laid out important principles about Indigenous rights, specifically that lands Indigenous lands must be purchased or surrendered before they could be

settled. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was brought into the Covenant Chain the following year at the Treaty of Niagara.

Both the Great Peace of 1701 and the Covenant Chain, then, were fundamental to the foundation of what would become Canada. Both of these diplomatic development illustrate the contests for political authority between Indigenous nations, particularly the Haudenosaunee, and the French and British, contests which informed confederation and continue to play an important role in the law and politics of the country. The Haudenosaunee nations continue to be an important presence in Quebec, though their territories span Quebec, Ontario, and New York, and many Haudenosaunee consider themselves an independent nation. "Haudenosaunee communities like Six Nations, Akwesasne (Mohawk) and Kahnawake (Mohawk) outside of Montréal are among the largest and most populous reserves in Canada. In 2005, Six Nations enumerated total band membership as 22,294, with 11,297 living in the community. Akwesasne has approximately 11,000 residents, while in 2007 Kahnawake had approximately 10,000." (Canadian Encyclopedia)

FURTHER MATERIALS:

Hill, Richard. "Linking Arms: The Haudenosaunee context of the Covenant Chain" in *Mamow Be-To-Tay-Tah: Let Us Walk Together*. Ed. José Zárate and Norah McMurtry. Toronto: Canadian Ecumenical Anti-Racism Network, the Canadian Council of Churches, 2009, 17-24.

Jaenen, Cornelius J. "Covenant Chain." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/covenant-chain/>.

Johnston, Loiuse. "Polishing the Silver Covenant Chain: An Address by Sir William Johnson to the People of Kahnawake and Kanesatake, 1762." *Canadian Society of Church History Historical Papers* (1997): 79-95.

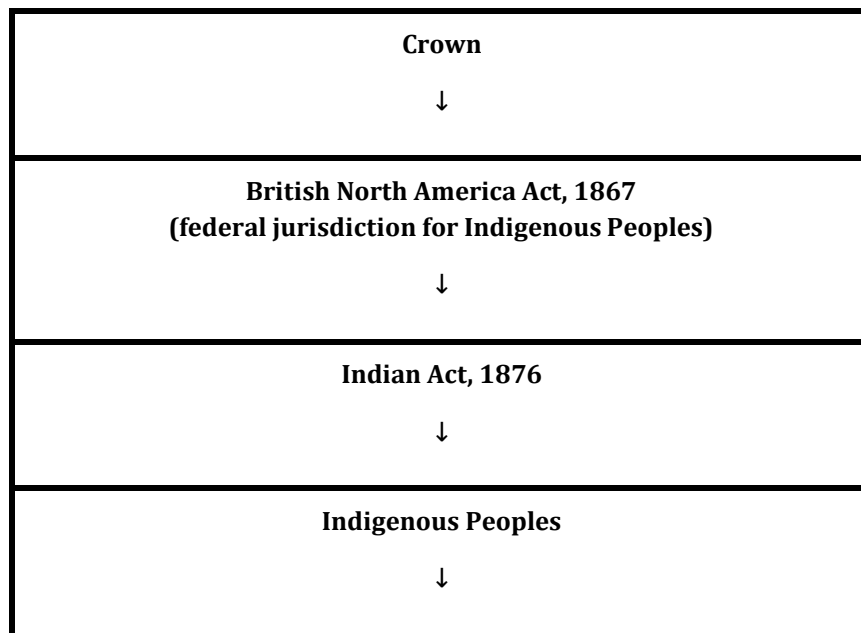
Ramsden, Peter G. "Haudenosaunee (Iroquois)." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/iroquois/>.

Tidridge, Nathan. *The Queen at the Council Fire: The Treaty of Niagara, Reconciliation and the Dignified Crown in Canada*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2015.

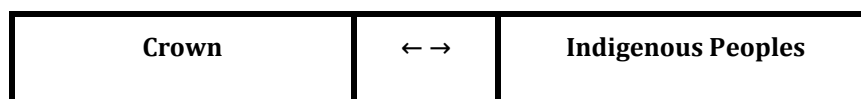
INTRODUCING THE ROBINSON TREATIES: HOW TO PRESENT THIS INFORMATION TO THE CLASS

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

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



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



Museum Curation Activity

1. Divide the class into 6 groups and assign the following artifacts to the groups:
 - a. The Great Peace of Montreal, 1701
 - b. Louis-Hector de Callière
 - c. Jacques Bruyas and Louis-Thomas Chabert De Joncaire
 - d. Kondiaronk
 - e. Wampum Belts
 - f. The Covenant Chain
2. Each group will research their artifact using the resources provided in the appendices.
3. Teachers have the discretion to allow the groups to present what they learned in creative ways (ex. Diorama, youtube video, etc...), but we recommend that each produce an historical plaque (roughly 200 words).
4. Each group will pair their plaque (or other visual displays) with the historical artifact.
5. The class (teacher, students, and Indigenous guest - if applicable) will then re-congregate, and tour their collective exhibit.
6. Suggested talking points for each artifact:
 - a. *The Great Peace of Montreal, 1701*
 - i. Why does it seem important today that the peace was negotiated according to Indigenous diplomacy?
 - ii. What was the impact on the Covenant Chain relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the British?
 - iii. Why might this peace have been so important to the French?
 - iv. The history of this treaty is not well known among most non-Indigenous peoples despite the fact that there were over 1,300 delegates from 30 nations attended the negotiation and signing. Does the "I left a trace exercise" explain why this might be?
 - v. You may have noticed the pictorial signatures on the Treaty. What can be learned from the way the Indigenous parties signed the treaty? What are other ways that people sign documents?
 - b. *Biography: Louis-Hector de Callière*
 - i. Why was Montréal an important geographical location when Callière became governor of the city?
 - ii. How did Denonville and Callière plan to defeat the Iroquois?
 - iii. What challenge faced Callière when he became governor of New France in 1698?
 - iv. Who was present at the treaty negotiations?
 - c. *Biographies of Jacques Bruyas and Louis-Thomas Chabert De Joncaire*
 - i. What was Bruyas's role in treaty negotiations?
 - ii. Why might he have been trusted by both parties?
 - iii. What role did Joncaire play in treaty negotiations?
 - iv. What does the role these men played in the negotiations tell us about the importance of cross cultural understanding in treaty making?
 - v. Do their roles change how you think about history?
 - d. *Biography of Kondiaronk*
 - i. Why did the Indigenous peoples at the Straits of Mackinac seek French protection in 1682?
 - ii. Why might Kondiaronk have tried to undermine peace between the French and the Five Nations in the late 1680's?

- iii. What does Kondiaronk's political plans and activities tell us about the role of Indigenous peoples in shaping the balance of power in North America in this period?
- iv. What negotiating protocols took place at the beginning of the peace negotiations of 1701? Why might these be significant to our understanding of how Canada was formed?
- v. The power and importance of Huron and Iroquois in the political battles between the French and English in North America are not widely known by non-Indigenous Canadians. Does the "I left a trace" exercise help you to understand why this might be?

e. *Wampum Belts*

- i. What are some uses of wampum belts?
- ii. What do the different patterns on wampum belts mean?
- iii. What is the special meaning of the "two-row wampum"?
- iv. What does the two-row wampum tell us about the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and Europeans? Why might this be important today?

f. *The Covenant Chain*

- i. What is the Covenant Chain?
- ii. What can the Covenant Chain tell us about the political relationships that helped form Canada?
- iii. What united and continues to unite the Six Nations Confederacy?
- iv. What can the Covenant Chain and Great Law of Peace help us understand about the place of Indigenous peoples in Quebec and Canada today?



APPENDICES



SECTION 1: MATERIALS AND HANDOUTS FOR CREATING CANADA: THE DOMINION, QUEBEC AND ONTARIO



Handout: Introduction to Parliament

THE QUESTION PERIOD

What were the main topics discussed in the video?

/5

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

/5

Do the politicians address each other directly? Explain.

/5

How do members of the parliament behave during Question Period?

/5

Total: /20

Biography Activity Handout



Your Name: _____

Name of Historical Figure: _____

Birth and Death Dates: _____

Family Members: _____

Where were they born? _____

Where did they live? _____

Pro- or anti-Confederation? _____

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

Exit Card

Your Name: _____

Date: _____

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



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

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

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



John A. Macdonald in Brief

John A. Macdonald was born in Glasgow Scotland in 1815. His father was an unsuccessful merchant who improved his family's fortunes after immigrating to Kingston, Upper Canada in 1820 and opening several businesses. John A. Macdonald began articling in law at the age of 15 and opened his own firm ten years later. His family life was filled with considerable tragedy. In 1843, Macdonald married his cousin Isabella Clark, who soon became chronically ill, endured two difficult pregnancies (John Alexander and Hugh John), and died in 1857. Their first son died at 13 months, while the latter went on to become a reluctant political figure in Manitoba.

John A. Macdonald became the political representative for Kingston after winning his seat in the general election of 1844. He soon ascended to lead the Liberal-Conservatives. A practical politician, Macdonald had a penchant for brokering deals and alliances. This attitude served him well in the Province of Canada's political arena, where he led his Upper Canadian party as Premier or co-Premier with George Étienne Cartier and other Bleu leaders for much of the late 1850s and early 1860s.

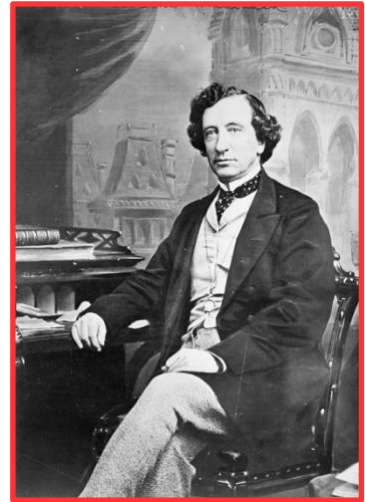


Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

Although Macdonald preferred legislative union and doubted the merits of the federal principle until 1864, he championed a centralized British North American federation at the Charlottetown, Quebec and London constitutional conferences because the solution broke the political deadlock that had plagued the relationship between Canada East and Canada West. After marrying Susan Agnes Bernard in February 1867, he became Canada's first Prime Minister in 1867, and was knighted around the same time.

Note: Macdonald personally favoured weak provincial powers, and stated this position during the debates. To gain the support of other provinces, however, he emphasized provincial powers on several occasions. If students ask about this contradiction in Macdonald's statements, congratulate them on noticing that politicians sometimes tell people what they want to hear.



Antoine-Aimé Dorion in Brief

Born in Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade (La Pérade), Lower Canada in 1818, Antoine-Aimé Dorion was born into a prominent merchant and Catholic family that had long supported the progressive ideas of the politician and rebel leader Louis-Joseph Papineau. After attending school and studying law, he became an articling student; however after his father suffered a financial setback, he took the role of a junior clerk in Montreal. During this period, he developed deep ties with Lower Canada's intellectual elites, read philosophy and literature, developed a strong reputation as a lawyer, and married Iphigénie Trestler. As a liberal, he was a strong advocate of responsible government. He helped found the short-lived Montreal Annexation Society, where he worked closely with English-speaking Protestants. Yet, Dorion was also something of a moderate in that he did not support the anti-clericalism that had wide support among many *Rouge* politicians and thinkers. He first held provincial office in 1854, when he won the support of English-speaking Montrealers with

promises of progress, more elected government positions and reciprocity with the United States. He almost immediately became the Rouge leader in the Legislative Assembly, where he continued to balance progress against anti-clericalism and the survival of French-Canadian culture against the assimilationist intentions of the emerging English-Protestant population in the province of Canada. Dorion spent nearly all of his pre-Confederation political career in opposition; his only time in government was as co-Premier in the ill-fated two-day Grit-Rouge government with George Brown, and a year as co-Premier with John Sandfield Macdonald from 1863 to 1864.

Dorion did not join the Great Coalition of 1864 and was not present at the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences. During the Legislative Assembly's debate on the Quebec Resolutions in 1865, he led the Rouges in opposing the Confederation deal. The federal principle, Dorion claimed, created extra and unnecessary levels of government. Like many politicians from Canada East and West, he contended that the resolutions needed to be ratified by the Province's voters. He was also deeply concerned that English Protestants from across British North America would dominate French Canadians in the House of Commons.



Image held by Library and Archives Canada.



George Brown in Brief

George Brown was born in Scotland in 1818. In 1837, he emigrated with his father from Liverpool to New York, where they quickly established a politically charged paper called the *British Chronicle*. The journal resonated with many Scottish communities in Canada, and the Browns moved to Toronto in 1843. George Brown readily followed in his father's footsteps, pursuing politics in journalism by publishing editorial pieces in his father's new Toronto paper, the *Banner*. In 1844, a group of Toronto Reformers approached George Brown about founding a new party paper. The result was the *Toronto Globe*, which would become one of the most powerful newspapers in British North America.

A genuine passion for politics combined with his editorial talents made it natural for Brown to enter politics. First elected to the Legislative Assembly riding for Kent in 1851, he eventually united and led Reformers behind the platform of representation by population ("rep by pop"). Like most other Reformers, Brown also supported the annexation of the North-West and free trade, and he preferred non-sectarian education systems. His anti-Catholicism, when combined with strident demands for "rep by pop," made it difficult for Lower Canadian politicians to ally with him.

Political deadlock in the Canadian legislature increasingly frustrated all sides. In 1862, health problems led him to return to Scotland for the first time in 25 years, where, at the age of 43, he met and fell in love with Anne Nelson. They married and returned to Canada in late December. The experience of having returned to the centre of the British Empire, combined with a new willingness for compromise that spurred from a desire to spend more time with his new family, led him to suggest the formation of a Great Coalition (comprised of Macdonald's Liberal-Conservatives, Cartier's Bleus and Brown's Reformers). He subsequently took leading roles in the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences.

A prominent journalist, Liberal politician, and major contributor to the shape of Confederation, Brown left the Great Coalition in December 1856, knowing that the Confederation deal was assured. After losing a bid to become a federal MP in 1867, he preferred to be known for his relation to the *Globe*. George Brown subsequently refused the lieutenant governorship of Ontario in 1875 and a knighthood in 1879. He became a senator in 1873, and died of an infected gun wound in Toronto in 1880.



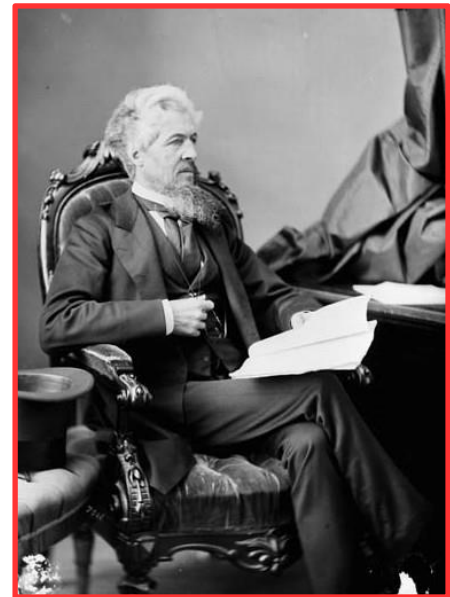
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Christopher Dunkin in Brief

Christopher Dunkin was born 25 September 1812 at Walworth, England to the Honourable Summerhays Dunkin and Martha Hemming. His family's wealth allowed him to study at the universities of London and then Glasgow from 1829 to 1831. Later, he continued his studies at Harvard University until 1833, and became a Greek and Latin tutor. He subsequently resigned from this position in 1835 and married Mary, daughter of Jonathan Barber. They eventually moved to Montreal in 1837 to pursue Dunkin's professional ambitions.

He first served as a correspondent for the *Morning Courier*, then worked at the post of secretary first to the education commission in 1838, then to the postal service, and eventually became the deputy provincial secretary for Canada East on 1 January 1842. Four years after, he received his first commission as a lawyer and his ambition and talent soon brought him popularity. He unsuccessfully ran for political office in 1844, but then succeeded in 1857, becoming the Conservative representative for Drummond and Arthabaska in the Legislative Assembly. Over the succeeding years, he developed a cold and stubborn personality. It was he who sponsored the temperance bill of 1864, which became known as the Dunkin Act.



Canada.

When the Legislative Assembly debated the 72 Resolutions in 1865, Dunkin strongly opposed the deal and gave one of the longest, detailed and thoughtful critiques of the terms of union. He worried about the mixture of American and British systems, and expressed particular concern about the Senate as well as the persistence of the party system. He did not, however, express major concern about the rights of English-speaking Protestants in a French-Catholic province, and his failure to pioneer this cause cost him considerable support among his English-speaking comrades.

Despite this setback, he became Quebec's Provincial Treasurer immediately after Confederation and held this post until 1869. During the same period, he was also the MP for Brome and became Sir John A. Macdonald's Minister of Agriculture in 1869. On 25 October 1871, he left politics for the bench, becoming a judge of the Superior Court of Quebec for the district of Bedford.



George-Étienne Cartier in Brief

Sir George-Étienne Cartier was born on 6 September 1814 at Saint-Antoine-sur-Richelieu, Lower Canada to a wealthy merchant and political family. At the age of twenty-three, he participated in the rebellions in Lower Canada in 1837 and afterward was forced to flee to the United States for roughly six months. Indeed, newspaper reports claimed that he was killed in the ensuing confrontations. When Cartier returned from the United States in October of that year, he resumed his law practice. In 1848, Cartier began his political career by winning the seat for Verchères in the Legislative Assembly of United Canada. In 1852, Cartier introduced the bill that created the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and he was subsequently appointed one of its legal advisors the following year. He soon became the leader of the Parti Bleu. The party drew much of its support from the Roman Catholic Church and was thus strongly committed to preserving the power of the Catholic Church and French culture in what is now Quebec. Many Bleus also had strong ties to big business. Cartier, for example, was intimately involved with the Grand Trunk Railway. In 1857, Cartier and John A. Macdonald supported each other as co-Premiers, and the two men continued to work closely as leaders of their respective French and English coalitions until Cartier's death in 1873.

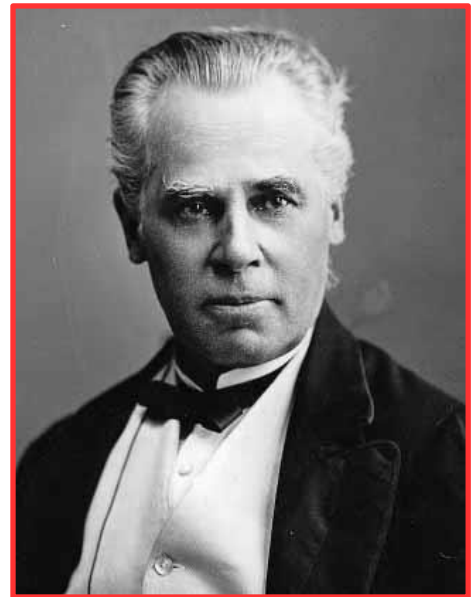


Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

As a leader in the Great Coalition, Cartier was one of the leading advocates of Confederation and took a leading role at the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences, and strongly defended the proposal in the Legislative Assembly. The Bleu leader believed that it was the only alternative to annexation to the United States. In 1865 he declared, "We must either have a Confederation of British North America or else be absorbed by the American Confederation." Cartier also desired the expansion of the Province of Canada's financial and political influence across British North America. He therefore supported the construction of an intercolonial railway and Canada's acquisition of the North-West. Both of these endeavours would also serve his business interests. Most significantly, he also supported a federal structure of governance because he believed that it would give Quebecers the provincial autonomy to preserve Francophone culture. In fact, he sought the protection of guarantees of English Protestant rights in Quebec, believing that it would lead to reciprocal rights for French-Catholic minorities in other parts of Confederation.



John Sewell Sanborn in Brief

John Sewell Sanborn was born in Gilmanton, New Hampshire on New Year's Day in 1819. He subsequently graduated from Dartmouth College with a master of arts degree. After 1852, he moved to Sherbrooke, Lower Canada, where he worked as a school principal for three years. After that, he studied law in Montreal, became a lawyer in 1847, and returned to Sherbrooke. There he married Eleanor Hall Brooks, the daughter of the current local Conservative member of the Legislative Assembly.

When Sanborn's father-in-law died in 1849, Alexander Tilloch Galt briefly filled the vacant seat but shortly thereafter declared himself in favour of annexation to the United States. The unpopularity of this stand, along with some of Galt's business ties, in addition to his opposition to moving the Province of Canada's capital to Toronto, led him to resign his seat in January 1850. Sanborn contested the riding as an annexationist, believing that joining the United States would bring greater prosperity to his region. He ultimately won the riding with 51% of the vote and became the only annexationist candidate ever elected to the Canadian parliament. As prosperity returned to Canada, however, support for annexationism waned. In the Legislative Assembly, Sanborn had ties to both major parties, but most often sided with the Liberals. Eleanor died in 1853, leaving three children. John Sanborn married Nancy Judson Hasseltine of Bradford in 1856. They had one daughter together.

When evaluating Confederation in 1865, Sanborn did not fit into the typically pro- and anti-Confederation spectrum. He famously proposed an unsuccessful amendment for an elected Senate, but this is outside of this mini-unit's scope. As a representative for a largely English-Protestant riding in Lower Canada, he expressed considerable concern for this minority's long-term rights under a federal union that gave provinces jurisdiction in education. He ultimately abstained from the final vote on the 72 Resolutions.





Ballots

BALLOT

Be it resolved that the Imperial parliament should unite the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island with provisions based on the 72 Resolutions.

☐ Yes

☐ No

BALLOT

Be it resolved that the Imperial parliament should unite the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island with provisions based on the 72 Resolutions.

☐ Yes

☐ No

BALLOT

Be it resolved that the Imperial parliament should unite the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island with provisions based on the 72 Resolutions.

☐ Yes

☐ No

Teacher's Rubric for Evaluation of Confederation Debates

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





Post-Debate Self-Evaluation

Name: _____

Your self-grade: _____

Describe your contribution to the group:

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

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

How could your team improve next time?

Teacher comments:

Teacher grade:

Additional Resources

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Primary Source: Sir John A. Macdonald's Views on Confederation

Macdonald, as co-Premier of the Province of Canada and member of the Grand Coalition, was among the speakers who introduced the terms of union.

When the Province of Canada's legislatures debated Confederation in February and March 1865, John A. Macdonald said the following points:

SCHOOLS / MINORITY RIGHTS

"As to the school question, it had been announced by Hon. Mr. Galt, at Sherbrooke, that before Confederation took place, this Parliament would be asked to consider a measure which he hoped would be satisfactory to all classes of the community. There was a good deal of apprehension¹ in Lower Canada on the part of the minority there as to the possible effect of Confederation on their rights on the subject of education, and it was the intention of the Government ... to lay before the House this session, certain amendments² to the school law, to operate as a sort of guarantee against any infringement³ by the majority of the rights of the minority in this matter.... I only said this, that before Confederation is adopted, the Government would bring down a measure to amend the school law of Lower Canada, protecting the rights of the minority, and which, at the same time, I believe, would be satisfactory to the majority, who have always hitherto⁴ shown respect for the rights of the minority, and, no doubt, will continue to do so."

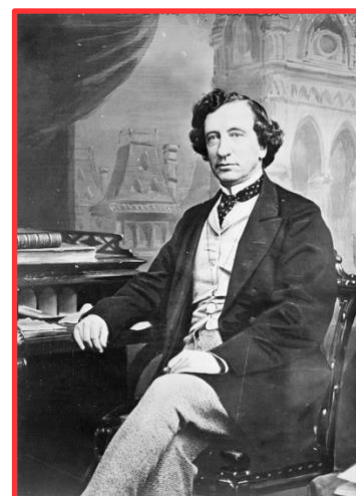


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REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION

"Now, we all know the manner in which that question was and is regarded by Lower Canada; that while in Upper Canada the desire and cry for it was daily augmenting,⁵ the resistance to it in Lower Canada was proportionably⁶ increasing in strength.... For though Upper Canada would have felt that it had received what it claimed as a right, and had succeeded in establishing its right, yet it would have left the Lower Province with a sullen⁷ feeling of injury and injustice. The Lower Canadians would not have worked cheerfully under such a change of system, but would have ceased⁸ to be what they are now—a nationality, with

¹ Apprehension = fear

² Amendments = changes or additions to a document

³ Infringement = limitation

⁴ Hitherto = until now

⁵ Augmenting = growing

⁶ Proportionably = proportionately

⁷ Sullen = gloomy

⁸ Ceased = stopped

representatives in Parliament, governed by general principles, and dividing according to their political opinions—and would have been in great danger of becoming a faction,⁹ forgetful of national obligations, and only actuated¹⁰ by a desire to defend their own sectional interests, their own laws, and their own institutions. (Hear, hear.)”¹¹

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS VS. LEGISLATIVE UNION

“The ... only means of solution for our difficulties was the junction¹² of the provinces either in a Federal or a Legislative Union. Now, as regards the comparative advantages of a Legislative and a Federal Union, I have never hesitated to state my own opinions. I have again and again stated in the House, that, if practicable,¹³ I thought a Legislative Union would be preferable. (Hear, hear.) I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament, legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt. (Hear, hear.) But, on looking at the subject in the Conference ... we found that such a system was impracticable.¹⁴ In the first place, it would not meet the assent¹⁵ of the people of Lower Canada, because they felt that in their peculiar position—being in a minority, with a different language, nationality and religion from the majority,—in ease of a junction¹⁶ with the other provinces, their institutions and their laws might be assailed,¹⁷ and their ancestral associations, on which they prided themselves, attacked and prejudiced; it was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality of Lower Canada ... would not be received with favor by her people. We found too, that though their people speak the same language and enjoy the same system of law as the people of Upper Canada, a system founded on the common law of England, there was as great a disinclination¹⁸ on the part of the various Maritime Provinces to lose their individuality, as separate political organizations, as we observed in the case of Lower Canada herself. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, we were forced to the conclusion that we must either abandon the idea of Union altogether, or devise a system of union in which the separate provincial organizations would be in some degree preserved.”

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION

“In settling the constitution of the Lower House, that which peculiarly¹⁹ represents the people, it was agreed that the principle of representation based on population should be adopted, and the mode of applying that principle is fully developed in these resolutions.... In order to protect local interests, and to prevent sectional jealousies, it was found requisite²⁰ that the three great divisions into which British North America is separated, should be represented in the Upper House on the principle of equality.”

⁹ Faction = a group in disagreement with a larger group

¹⁰ Actuated = motivated

¹¹ Hear, hear = everyone else in the room agreeing with what was said

¹² Junction = joining

¹³ Practicable = to be done

¹⁴ Impracticable = unfeasible

¹⁵ Assent = approval

¹⁶ Junction = a point where two things join

¹⁷ Assailed = attacked

¹⁸ Disinclination = unwillingness

¹⁹ Peculiarly = especially

²⁰ Requisite = was necessary

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“I shall not detain²¹ the House by entering into a consideration at any length of the different powers conferred upon the General Parliament as contradistinguished²² from those reserved to the local legislatures; but any honorable member on examining the list of different subjects which are to be assigned to the General and Local Legislatures respectively, will see that all the great questions which affect the general interests of the Confederacy as a whole, are confined to the Federal Parliament, while the local interests and local laws of each section are preserved intact, and entrusted to the care of the local bodies. As a matter of course, the General Parliament must have the power of dealing with the public debt and property of the Confederation. Of course, too, it must have the regulation of trade and commerce, of customs²³ and excise.²⁴ The Federal Parliament must have the sovereign power of raising money from such sources and by such means as the representatives of the people will allow. It will be seen that the local legislatures have the control of all local works; and it is a matter of great importance, and one of the chief advantages of the Federal Union and of local legislatures, that each province will have the power and means of developing its own resources and aiding its own progress after its own fashion and in its own way. Therefore all the local improvements, all local enterprises or undertakings of any kind, have been left to the care and management of the local legislatures of each province.”

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“Besides all the powers that are specifically given in the 37th and last item of this portion of the Constitution, confers²⁵ on the General Legislature the general mass of sovereign legislation, the power to legislate on ‘all matters of a general character, not specially and exclusively reserved for the local governments and legislatures.’ This is precisely the provision²⁶ which is wanting in the Constitution of the United States. It is here that we find the weakness of the American system—the point where the American Constitution breaks down. (Hear, hear.) It is in itself a wise and necessary provision. We thereby strengthen the Central Parliament, and make the Confederation one people and one government, instead of five peoples and five governments, with merely a point of authority connecting us to a limited and insufficient extent.”

SENATE

“There are three great sections, having different interests, in this proposed Confederation. We have Western Canada, an agricultural country far away from the sea, and having the largest population who have agricultural interests principally to guard. We have Lower Canada, with other and separate interests, and especially with institutions and laws which she jealously guards against absorption by any larger, more numerous, or stronger power. And we have the Maritime Provinces, having also different sectional interests of their own, having, from their position, classes and interests which we do not know in Western Canada. Accordingly, in the Upper House, —the controlling and regulating, but not the initiating, branch (for we know that here as in England, to the Lower House will practically belong the initiation of matters of great public interest), in the House which has the sober second-thought in legislation—it is provided that each of these great sections shall be represented equally by 24 members.”

²¹ Detain = hold

²² As contradistinguished = as compared

²³ Customs = taxes on goods that circulate between two countries

²⁴ Excise = tax on goods that circulates within a country

²⁵ Confers = gives

²⁶ Provision = a clause

All of the above quotes are from: Province of Canada. *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, 3rd Session, 8th Provincial Parliament of Canada*. Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co., Parliamentary Printers, 1865.



Primary Source: George-Étienne Cartier's Views on Confederation

When the Province of Canada's legislatures debated Confederation in February and March 1865, George-Étienne Cartier said the following points:

SCHOOLS/MINORITY RIGHTS

"Some parties—through the press and by other modes—pretended that it was impossible to carry out Federation, on account of the differences of races and religions. Those who took this view of the question were in error. It was just the reverse. It was precisely on account of the variety of races, local interests, &c.,¹ that the Federation system ought to be resorted to,² and would be found to work well. (Hear, hear.)"³

SCHOOLS/MINORITY RIGHTS

"Objection had been taken to the scheme now under consideration, because of the words 'new nationality.' Now, when we were united together, if union were attained, we would form a political nationality with which neither the national origin, nor the religion of any individual, would interfere. It was lamented⁴ by some that we had this diversity of races, and hopes were expressed that this distinctive feature would cease.⁵ The idea of unity of races was utopian⁶—it was impossible. Distinctions of this kind would always exist. Dissimilarity, in fact, appeared to be the order of the physical world and of the moral world, as well as in the political world. But with regard to the objection based on this fact, to the effect that a great nation could not be formed because Lower Canada was in great part French and Catholic, and Upper Canada was British and Protestant, and the Lower Provinces were mixed, it was futile and worthless in the extreme. Look, for instance, at the United Kingdom, inhabited as it was by three great races. (Hear, hear.) Had the diversity of race impeded the glory, the progress, the wealth of England? Had they not rather each contributed their share to the greatness of the Empire?... In our own Federation we should have Catholic and Protestant, English, French, Irish and Scotch, and each by his efforts and his success would increase the prosperity and glory of the new Confederacy. (Hear, hear.) He [Cartier] viewed the diversity of

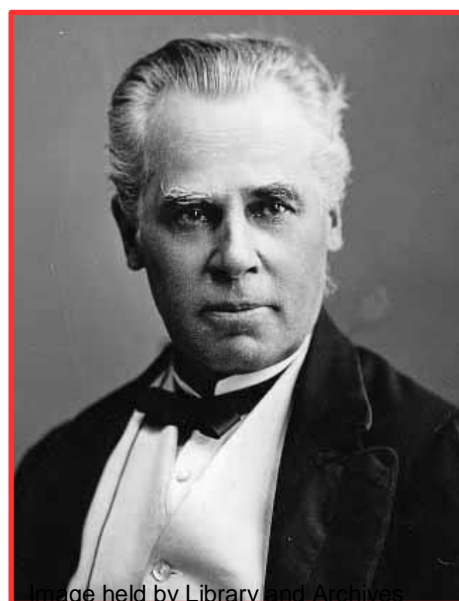


Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

¹ &c. = etcetera

² Resorted to = used

³ Hear, hear = everyone else in the room agreeing with what was said

⁴ Lamented = complained

⁵ Cease = stop

⁶ Utopian = unrealistic

racess in British North America in this way: we were of different races, not for the purpose of warring against each other, but in order to compete and emulate⁷ for the general welfare. (Cheers.)⁸ We could not do away with the distinctions of race. We could not legislate for the disappearance of the French Canadians from American soil, but British and French Canadians alike could appreciate and understand their position relative to each other. They were placed like great families beside each other, and their contact produced a healthy spirit of emulation. It was a benefit rather than otherwise that we had a diversity of races.”

SCHOOLS/MINORITY RIGHTS

“Of course, the difficulty, it would be said, would be to deal fairly by the minority. In Upper Canada the Catholics would find themselves in a minority; in Lower Canada the Protestants would be in a minority, while the Lower Provinces were divided. Under such circumstances, would anyone pretend that either the local or general governments would sanction⁹ any injustice. What would be the consequence, even supposing any such thing were attempted by any one of the local governments? It would be censured everywhere. Whether it came from Upper Canada or from Lower Canada, any attempt to deprive¹⁰ the minority of their rights would be at once thwarted.¹¹ Under the Federation system, granting to the control of the General Government these large questions of general interest in which the differences of race or religion had no place, it could not be pretended that the rights of either race or religion could be invaded at all. We were to have a General Parliament to deal with the matters of defence, tariff, excise,¹² public works,¹³ and these matters absorbed all individual interest.”

LANGUAGE AND MINORITY RIGHTS

“I will add to what has been stated by the Hon. Attorney General for Upper Canada, in reply to the hon. member for the county of Quebec and the hon. member for Hochelaga, that it was also necessary to protect the English minorities in Lower Canada with respect to the use of their language, because in the Local Parliament of Lower Canada the majority will be composed of French-Canadians. The members of the Conference were desirous that it should not be in the power of that majority to decree¹⁴ the abolition of the use of the English language in the Local Legislature of Lower Canada, any more than it will be in the power of the Federal Legislature to do so with respect to the French language. I will also add that the use of both languages will be secured in the Imperial Act to be based on these resolutions. (Hear, hear.)”

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION VS. MINORITY RIGHTS

“He did not oppose the principle of representation by population from an unwillingness to do justice to Upper Canada. He took this ground, however, that when justice was done to Upper Canada, it was his duty to see that no injustice was done to Lower Canada. He did not entertain the slightest apprehension¹⁵ that Lower Canada’s rights were in the least jeopardized¹⁶ by the provision that in the General Legislature the French Canadians of Lower Canada would have a smaller number of representatives than all the other origins

⁷ Emulate = copy

⁸ Cheers = other people cheering for what Cartier is saying

⁹ Sanction = penalty for disobeying the law

¹⁰ Deprive = take away

¹¹ Thwarted = opposed successfully

¹² Tariff and excise = taxes paid when bringing goods across an international border

¹³ Public works = government construction projects (ex. roads)

¹⁴ Decree = order

¹⁵ Apprehension = worry or hesitation

¹⁶ Jeopardized = worried

combined. It would be seen by the resolutions that in the questions which would be submitted to the General Parliament there could be no danger to the rights and privileges of either French Canadians, Scotchmen,¹⁷ Englishmen or Irishmen. Questions of commerce, of international communication, and all matters of general interest, would be discussed and determined in the General Legislature; but in the exercise of the functions of the General Government, no one could apprehend that anything could be enacted which would harm or do injustice to persons of any nationality."

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION

"He [Cartier] wished that Upper Canada should understand him in this matter. He was accused of being opposed to Upper Canada's rights, because during fifteen or twenty years he had to oppose his honorable friend the President of the Council (Hon. Mr. BROWN). His honorable colleague took the ground that representation should be according to population in each section of the province. He (Hon. Mr. CARTIER) had restated that position, believing that the moment such a principle was applied, his honorable friend, who, no doubt, wanted to maintain the peaceful government of the country, would have been disappointed in his wish. It would have given rise to one of the bitterest struggles between the two provinces that ever took place between two nations. He did not mean to say that the majority from Upper Canada would have tyrannised¹⁸ over Lower Canada; but the idea that Upper Canada, as a territory, had the preponderance¹⁹ in the Government by a large number of representatives, would have been sufficient to generate that sectional strife to which he had alluded."²⁰

All of the above quotes are from: Province of Canada. *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, 3rd Session, 8th Provincial Parliament of Canada*. Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co., Parliamentary Printers, 1865.

¹⁷ Scotchmen = the inhabitants of Scotland

¹⁸ Tyrannised = cruelly dominated

¹⁹ Preponderance = a dominant proportion

²⁰ Alluded = referred



Primary Source: Antoine-Aimé Dorion's Views on Confederation

When the Province of Canada's legislatures debated Confederation in February and March 1865, Antoine-Aimé Dorion said the following points:

SCHOOLS/MINORITY RIGHTS

"When my honorable friend... makes a contract with a friend and neighbor to be filled even a few months in the future, does he not have it put in legal form, in black and white?¹ Of course he does. And when we are making arrangements calculated to last for all time to come, is it not vastly more important that the same safe and equitable principle² should be recognized? (Hear, hear.)³ The honorable gentleman recognized it himself in the most marked manner,⁴ by placing in the resolutions guarantees respecting the educational institutions of the two sections of Canada. The Roman Catholics of Upper Canada were anxious to have their rights protected against the hand of the Protestant majority, and, where the Protestants are in a minority, they are just as anxious to have their rights permanently protected."



Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

MINORITY RIGHTS

"I should have desired to make my remarks to the House in French, but considering the large number of honorable members who are not familiar with that language, I think it my duty to speak at the present time in English."

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION AND MINORITY RIGHTS

"I [have] always stated that the difference existing in the religions faith of the people of the two sections, in their language, in their laws, in their prejudices⁵ even—for there are prejudices which were respectable and ought to be respected—would prevent any member from Lower Canada, representing a French constituency, from voting for representation by population, pure and simple,⁶ and thereby placing the people of Lower

¹ Legal form, in black and white = Dorion is saying that those supporting Confederation need to state things more clearly

² Equitable principle = a law that treats everyone fairly

³ Hear, hear = everyone else in the room agreeing with what was said

⁴ Marked manner = a noticeable way

⁵ Prejudices = judgements or ideas about someone or something before you actually know them

⁶ Pure and simple = on its own

Canada in the position of having to trust for the protection of their rights to the people of Upper Canada, who would thereby have the majority in the Legislature. (Hear.)”

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION AND SCHOOL/MINORITY RIGHTS

“There is at this moment a movement on the part of the British Protestants in Lower Canada to have some protection and guarantee for their educational establishments in this province put into the scheme of Confederation, should it be adopted; and far from finding fault with them, I respect them the more for their energy in seeking protection for their separate interests. I know that majorities are naturally aggressive and how the possession of power engenders despotism,⁷ and I can understand how a majority, animated⁸ this moment by the best feelings, might in six or nine months be willing to abuse its power and trample on the rights of the minority, while acting in good faith,⁹ and on what it considered to be its right. We know also the ill feelings that might be engendered to such a course. I think it but just that the Protestant minority should be protected in its rights in everything that was dear to it as a distinct nationality,¹⁰ and should not lie at the discretion¹¹ of the majority in this respect, and for this reason I am ready to extend to my Protestant fellow-citizens in Lower Canada of British origin, the fullest justice in all things, and I wish to see their interests as a minority guaranteed and protected in every scheme¹² which may be adopted. With these views on the question of representation, I pronounced in favor of a Confederation of the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, as the best means of protecting the varied interests of the two sections. But the Confederation I advocated¹³ was a real confederation, giving the largest powers to the local governments, and merely a delegated authority¹⁴ to the General Government—in that respect differing *in toto*¹⁵ from the one now proposed which gives all the powers to the Central Government, and reserves for the local governments the smallest possible amount of freedom of action. There is nothing besides in what I have ever written or said that can be interpreted as favoring a Confederation of all the provinces. This I always opposed.”

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION VS. PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“Is this House, sir, going to vote a Constitution with the Upper House as proposed, without knowing what sort of local legislatures we are to have to govern us? Suppose, after we have adopted the main scheme, the Government come down with a plan for settling the local legislatures upon which great differences of opinion will arise, may it not happen then that the majority from Lower Canada will unite with a minority from Upper Canada and impose¹⁶ upon that section a local Constitution distasteful to a large majority of the people of Upper Canada? The whole scheme, sir, is absurd from beginning to end.”

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“Perhaps the people of Upper Canada think a legislative union a most desirable thing. I can tell those gentlemen that the people of Lower Canada are attached to their institutions in a manner that defies any attempt to change them in that way. They will not change their religious institutions, their laws and their

⁷ Engenders despotism = causes one person to have a lot of power over other people

⁸ Animated = excited

⁹ Acting in good faith = acting fairly

¹⁰ Distinct nationality = belonging to a particular nation

¹¹ Discretion = freedom to decide in a particular situation

¹² Scheme = thought

¹³ Advocated = publically support

¹⁴ Delegated authority = give power to others

¹⁵ *in toto* = in total

¹⁶ Impose = force

language, for any consideration whatever. He may think it would be better that there should be but one religion, one language and one system of laws, and he goes to work to frame institutions that will bring all to that desirable state; but I can tell honorable gentlemen that the history of every country goes to show that not even by the power of the sword¹⁷ can such changes be accomplished. (Hear, hear.) ... Is it desirable that in this country then we should pass a measure calculated to give dissatisfaction to a million of people? You may ascertain¹⁸ what the cost of keeping down a million of dissatisfied people is by the scenes that have been and are now transpiring¹⁹ on the other side of the line, where a fifth of the people of the United States has risen and has caused more misery and misfortune to be heaped upon that country than could have been wrought in centuries of peaceful compromising legislation.... Experience shows that majorities are always aggressive, and it cannot well be otherwise in this instance. It therefore need not be wondered at that the people of Lower Canada, of British origin, are ready to make use of every means to prevent their being placed at the mercy of a preponderating²⁰ population of a different origin. I agree with them in thinking that they ought to take nothing on trust in this matter of entering upon a new state of political existence, and neither ought we of French origin to do so, in relation to the General Government, however happy our relations to each other may be at present."

SENATE

"Suppose the Lower House²¹ turns out to be chiefly Liberal, how long will it submit to the Upper House, named by Conservative administrations which have taken advantage of their temporary, numerical strength to bring about such a change as is now proposed? Remember, sir, that, after all, the power, the influence of the popular branch of the Legislature is paramount."²²

All of the above quotes are from: Province of Canada. *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, 3rd Session, 8th Provincial Parliament of Canada*. Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co., Parliamentary Printers, 1865.

¹⁷ Power of the sword = violent oppression

¹⁸ Ascertain = make sure of

¹⁹ Transpiring = happening

²⁰ Preponderating = dominating

²¹ Lower House = House of Commons

²² Paramount = most important



Primary Source: George Brown's Views on Confederation

When the Province of Canada's legislatures debated Confederation in February and March 1865, George Brown said the following points:

SCHOOLS / MINORITY RIGHTS

"Now, I need hardly remind the House that I have always opposed and continue to oppose the system of sectarian education,¹ so far as the public chest is concerned. I have never had any hesitation on that point. I have never been able to see why all the people of the province, to whatever sect² they may belong, should not send their children to the same common schools to receive the ordinary branches of instruction. I regard the parent and the pastor as the best religious instructors—and so long as the religious faith of the children is uninterfered with, and ample opportunity afforded to the clergy to give religious instruction to the children of their flocks, I cannot conceive any sound objection to mixed schools. But while in the Conference and elsewhere I have always maintained this view, and always given my vote against sectarian public schools, I am bound to admit, as I have always admitted, that the sectarian system, carried to the limited extent it has yet been in Upper Canada, and confined as it chiefly is to cities and towns, has not been a very great practical injury. The real cause of alarm was that the admission of the sectarian principle was there, and that at any moment it might be extended to such a degree as to split up our school system altogether. There are but a hundred separate schools in Upper Canada, out of some four thousand, and all Roman Catholic.

But if the Roman Catholics are entitled to separate schools and to go on extending their operations, so are the members of the Church of England, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and all other sects.³ No candid⁴ Roman Catholic will deny this for a moment; and there lay the great danger to our educational fabric, that the separate system might gradually extend itself until the whole country was studded with nurseries of sectarianism, most hurtful to the best interests of the province, and entailing an enormous expense to sustain the hosts of teachers that so prodigal⁵ a system of public instruction must inevitably entail.⁶ Now it is known



Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

¹ Sectarian education = separate school system

² Sect = group of people with different religious beliefs

³ The Church of England, the Presbyterians and the Methodists are different denominations of the Protestant Christian faith.

⁴ Candid = honest

⁵ Prodigal = spending money in a wasteful way

⁶ Entail = include

to every honorable member of this House that an Act was passed in 1863, as a final settlement of this sectarian controversy.... When, therefore, it was proposed that a provision should be inserted in the Confederation scheme to bind that compact⁷ of 1863 and declare it a final settlement, so that we should not be compelled, as we have been since 1849, to stand constantly to our arms, awaiting fresh attacks upon our common school system, the proposition seemed to me one that was not rashly to be rejected. (Hear, hear.)⁸ I admit that, from my point of view, this is a blot on the scheme before the House, it is, confessedly, one of the concessions from our side that had to be made to secure this great measure of reform. But assuredly,⁹ I, for one, have not the slightest hesitation in accepting it as a necessary condition of the scheme of union, and doubly acceptable must it be in the eyes of honorable gentlemen opposite, who were the authors of the bill of 1863. (Cheers.)¹⁰ But it was urged that though this arrangement might perhaps be fair as regards Upper Canada, it was not so as regards Lower Canada, for there were matters of which the British population have long complained, and some amendments to the existing School Act were required to secure them equal justice. Well, when this point was raised, gentlemen of all parties in Lower Canada at once expressed themselves prepared to treat it in a frank and conciliatory manner,¹¹ with a view to removing any injustice that might be shown to exist; and on this understanding the educational clause was adopted by the Conference.”

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION

“The people of Upper Canada have bitterly complained that though they numbered four hundred thousand souls more than the population of Lower Canada, and though they have contributed three or four pounds to the general revenue for every pound contributed by the sister province, yet the Lower Canadians send to Parliament as many representatives as they do. Now, sir, the measure in your hands brings this injustice to an end;—it sweeps away the line of demarcation¹² between the two sections on all matters common to the whole province; it gives representation according to numbers wherever found in the House of Assembly; and it provides a simple and convenient system for re-adjusting the representation after each decennial¹³ census. (Cheers.)”

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“But, Mr. Speaker, I am further in favor of this scheme because it will bring to an end the sectional discord¹⁴ between Upper and Lower Canada. It sweeps away the boundary line between the provinces so far as regards matters common to the whole people—it places all on an equal level—and the members of the Federal Legislature will meet at last as citizens of a common country. The questions that used to excite the most hostile feelings among us have been taken away from the General Legislature, and placed under the control of the local bodies. No man need hereafter be debarred¹⁵ from success in public life because his views, however popular in his own section, are unpopular in the other,—for he will not have to deal with sectional questions; and the temptation to the Government of the day to make capital out of local prejudices will be greatly

⁷ Compact = agreement

⁸ Hear, hear = everyone else in the room agreeing with what was said

⁹ Assuredly = surely

¹⁰ Cheers = other people cheering for what Brown is saying

¹¹ Frank and conciliatory manner = honest and open way

¹² Demarcation = boundary

¹³ Decennial = every 10 years

¹⁴ Discord = disagreement

¹⁵ Debarred = excluded

lessened, if not altogether¹⁶ at an end. What has rendered¹⁷ prominent public men in one section utterly unpopular in the other in past years? Has it been our views on trade and commerce—immigration—land settlement—the canal system—the tariff,—or any other of the great questions of national interest? No, sir, it was from our views as to the applying of public money to local purposes—the allotment¹⁸ of public lands to local purposes,—the building of local roads, bridges, and landing-piers with public funds—the chartering of ecclesiastical¹⁹ institutions—the granting of public money for sectarian²⁰ purposes—the interference with our school system—and similar matters, that the hot feuds between Upper and Lower Canada have chiefly arisen, and caused our public men, the more faithful they were to the opinions and wishes of one section, to be the more unpopular in the other. A most happy day will it be for Canada when this bill goes into effect, and all these subjects of discord are swept from the discussion of our Legislature. (Hear.)...

“All local matters are to be banished from the General Legislature; local governments are to have control over local affairs, and if our friends in Lower Canada choose to be extravagant, they will have to bear the burden of it themselves. (Hear, hear.) No longer shall we have to complain that one section pays the cash while the other spends it; hereafter, they who pay will spend, and they who spend more than they ought will have to bear the brunt. (Hear, hear.)... Each province is to determine for itself its own wants, and to find the money to meet them from its own resources. (Hear, hear.)”

SENATE

“But I am told by Upper Canadians—the constitution of the Lower House is all well enough, it is in the Upper House arrangements that the scheme is objectionable.²¹ And first, it is said that Upper Canada should have had in the Legislative Council a greater number of members than Lower Canada.... Our Lower Canada friends have agreed to give us representation by population in the Lower House, on the express condition that they shall have equality in the Upper House. On no other condition could we have advanced a step; and, for my part, I am quite willing they should have it. In maintaining the existing sectional boundaries and handing over the control of local matters to local bodies, we recognize, to a certain extent, a diversity of interests; and it was quite natural that the protection for those interests, by equality in the Upper Chamber, should be demanded by the less numerous provinces. Honorable gentlemen may say that it will erect a barrier in the Upper House against the just influence that Upper Canada will exercise, by her numbers, in the Lower House, over the general legislation of the country.”

All of the above quotes are from: Province of Canada. *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, 3rd Session, 8th Provincial Parliament of Canada*. Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co., Parliamentary Printers, 1865.

¹⁶ Altogether - entirely

¹⁷ Rendered = made

¹⁸ Allotment = a piece of land that is given

¹⁹ Ecclesiastical = church

²⁰ Sectarian = Catholic vs. Protestant

²¹ Objectionable = worthy of objection



Primary Source: Christopher Dunkin's Views on Confederation

When the Province of Canada's legislatures debated Confederation in February and March 1865, Christopher Dunkin said the following points:

SCHOOLS/MINORITY RIGHTS

"So, too, with regard to education in Upper and Lower Canada; the provision is to be made, no one knows how, for everybody, and all are guaranteed some sort of satisfaction. It is true we are not told what the promised measures on this head are to be; whether they really will give increased facilities to the minorities in the two sections for the education of their youth in their own way or not; but we are to take the promise as all right, and everybody is required to be content.

"By the very provisions¹ you talk of for the protection of the non-French and non-Catholic interests, you unfortunately countenance² the idea that the French are going to be more unfair than I believe they wish to be. For that matter, what else can they well be? They will find themselves a minority in the General Legislature,³ and their power in the General Government will depend upon their power within their own province and over their provincial delegations in the Federal Parliament. They will thus be compelled⁴ to be practically aggressive, to secure and retain that power. They may not, perhaps, wish to be; they may not, perhaps, be aggressive in the worst sense of the term.—I do not say that they certainly will be; but whether they are or not, there will certainly be in this system the very strongest tendencies to make them practically aggressive upon the rights of the minority in language and faith,⁵ and at the same time to make the minority most suspicious and resentful of aggression. The same sort of alienation,⁶ as between the two faiths, will be going on in Upper Canada. Note of warning is already given by this scheme, to both parties, that they prepare for fight; and the indications, I regret to say, are that such note of warning is not to be given in vain. (Hear, hear.)⁷ The prejudices of the two camps are once more stirred to their depths; and if this scheme goes into operation, they will separate more and more widely, and finally break out into open war, unless, indeed, it shall work very differently from what any one can now imagine. If provincial independence is to be crushed down by a General Government



Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

¹ Provisions = a list of protection rules

² Countenance = to make an idea seem credible

³ General legislature = parliament

⁴ Compelled = forced

⁵ Faith = religion

⁶ Alienation = separation

⁷ Hear, hear = everyone else in the room agreeing with what was said

careless of local majorities, then you will have this war. Or, if on the other hand, the policy of the Federal Executive⁸ should be to give effect to the aggregate⁹ will of the several local majorities, at whatever sacrifice of principle, still then you will have this war. The local minorities—threatened with elimination, in their alarm and jealousy, will be simply desperate, ready for any outbreak of discontent at any moment. Take a practical case. Suppose the rule adopted, of not having an Executive Council¹⁰ inconveniently large, Lower Canada, as we have seen, can then only have three members of it; and if all these three are French-Canadians—as they almost must be, because the French cannot put up with less than three out of twelve—how will not the Irish Catholics and the British Protestants feel themselves aggrieved?¹¹ You cannot help it. They must in that case feel deeply aggrieved, and so feeling, they will cause troubles. The Irish Catholics will be told, I suppose, ‘Oh, you will have an Irish Catholic member of the Government to look to from Newfoundland;’ and if so, they will have to guide themselves by some sort of Irish-Catholic Newfoundland rule of policy, and not by any rule ever so little savoring of a regard for larger or higher principle. The British Protestants, in their turn, will be told: ‘You have a majority of your own tongue and faith from Upper Canada and the Lower Provinces; you must be content with that, and look to their members of the Government for such care as you may need in the matter of your affairs.’ ‘Oh, we must, must we?’ will be the answer; ‘then we will square our conduct,¹² not by any rule for British America or even Lower Canada, but by the shifting exigencies¹³ of prejudice or passion, whatever they might be, in Upper Canada and your Lower Provinces.’ (Hear, hear.) These discontented elements in Lower Canada, depend upon it,¹⁴ will create no small confusion; and among those thus driven into making trouble, there will be not a few whose preferences will even be American, and who will appeal to outside influences for protection. Such will be the legitimate effect of this system; and if any one tells me that it will be conducive¹⁵ to the peace and good government of this country, I say he prophesies¹⁶ in a way that I cannot understand. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, I do not need, as I stand here, to defend myself from any charge of bigotry as against any sect or party. There was a time in Canada when it was most difficult for any person who spoke my tongue to stand up and say that the French-Canadians ought not to be politically exterminated from the face of the earth. I stood out steadfastly¹⁷ against that doctrine then. I remember well the painful events of that sad time. I foresee but too distinctly the fearful probability there is of that time coming again, through the adoption of these resolutions. And I do not shrink from the danger of being misunderstood or misrepresented,¹⁸ when I now stand up here and warn the country of this danger. If trouble of this sort ever arises, it is one that will extend very rapidly over the whole Confederacy. In all parts of it, in every province, there are minorities that will be acted upon by that kind of thing. In the Lower Provinces, and in Newfoundland, things are but too ripe for the outburst of hostilities of this description. Talk, indeed, in such a state of things, of your founding here by this means ‘a new nationality’—of your creating such a thing—of your whole people here rallying round its new Government at Ottawa. Mr. Speaker, is such a thing possible? We have a large class whose national feelings turn towards London, whose very heart is there; another large class whose sympathies centre here at Quebec, or in a sentimental way may have some reference to Paris; another large class whose memories are of the Emerald Isle; and yet another whose comparisons are rather with Washington; but have we any class of people who are attached, or whose

⁸ Federal executive = the prime minister’s cabinet

⁹ Aggregate = combined

¹⁰ Executive council = the prime minister’s cabinet

¹¹ Aggrieved = upset at how you have been treated

¹² Square our conduct = correct how we behave

¹³ Exigencies = an urgent need or demand

¹⁴ Depend upon it = count on it

¹⁵ Conducive = making something possible

¹⁶ Prophecies = predicts

¹⁷ Steadfastly = dependable

¹⁸ Misrepresent = to incorrectly repeat another person’s statement

feelings are going to be directed with any earnestness, to the city of Ottawa, the centre of the new nationality that is to be created? In the times to come, when men shall begin to feel strongly on those questions that appeal to national preferences, prejudices and passions, all talk of your new nationality will sound but strangely. Some other older nationality will then be found to hold the first place in most people's hearts. (Hear, hear.)”

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION

“Representation by population is given to meet the grand demand of Upper Canada; but the people of Lower Canada are assured, in the same breath, that it will not hurt them; that their institutions and privileges are made perfectly safe; that they will even have as many members in the Lower House as before, and that they will, in a variety of ways, be really better off than ever. A delightful ambiguity is found, too, upon the point as to who will make the future apportionments¹⁹ of the constituencies....

“The House of Representatives is an aggregate²⁰ of state delegations, and our mock House of Commons is to be an aggregate of provincial delegations. Each man is to come to it ticketed as an Upper or Lower Canadian, a New Brunswicker, a Nova Scotian, Newfoundlander, a Prince Edward Islander, or what not. These distinctions, which, if we are to be a united people, we had better try to sink, we are to keep up and exaggerate. The system will do that, and but too well.”

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

“...according to this scheme, independently of and besides all the difficulties our sectionally-organized²¹ Federal Cabinet will find in dealing with its sectionally-organized Federal Legislature, it is to have these provincial governments also, to embarrass it...

“There is, in the United States’ system, a clear and distinct line drawn between the functions of the general and state governments. Some may not like the idea of state sovereignty,²² and many may wish that more power had been given to the General Government. But this much is plain, that it is not proposed to allow anything approaching to state sovereignty here. We have not even an intelligible statement as to what powers are to be exercised by the general, and what by the local legislatures and governments. Several subjects are specifically given to both; many others are confusedly left in doubt between them; and there is the strange and anomalous²³ provision that not only can the General Government disallow the acts of the provincial legislatures, and control and hamper and fetter²⁴ provincial action in more ways than one, but that wherever any federal legislation contravenes²⁵ or in any way clashes with provincial legislation, as to any matter at all common between them, such federal legislation shall override it, and take its place. It is not too much to say that a continuance of such a system for any length of time without serious clashing is absolutely impossible.”

SENATE

“Mr. Speaker, at the Legislative Council under the proposed Confederation; what is it? There is a sort of attempt to prevent its numbers from resting on a population basis; and this is about the only principle I can

¹⁹ Apportionments = divisions

²⁰ Aggregate = formation

²¹ Sectionally-organized = organized by province

²² State sovereignty = provincial autonomy

²³ Anomalous = different from normal

²⁴ Hamper and fetter = to stop from moving forward

²⁵ Contravenes = conflicts

find in it. (Hear, hear.) It would seem to have been thought, that as the branch of the legislature was to be shared between the provinces in the ratio of their population, there must be some other rule followed for the Upper Chamber. So we are to have twenty-four for Upper Canada, twenty-four for Lower Canada, twenty-four for the three Lower Provinces, and four for Newfoundland; simply, I suppose, because the populations of these equalized sections are not equal, and because four is not in proportion to the population of Newfoundland. (Hear, hear.)...

“Surely, Mr. Speaker, this Legislative Council, constituted so differently from the Senate of the United States, presided over by a functionary²⁶ to be nominated by the General Government; having no such functions of a judicial or executive character as attached to that body, and cut off from that minute oversight of the finances which attaches to the Senate of the United States; although it may be a first-rate deadlock; although it may be able to interpose²⁷ an absolute veto, for no one can say how long, on all legislation, would be no Federal cheek at all. I believe it to be a very near approach to the worst system which could be devised in legislation....

“All that can be said of it is, that it is proposed to be constituted upon almost the worst principles that could have been adopted. It seems as if it were so constituted for the mere purpose of leading to a dead-lock. The members of it are not to represent our provinces at all, but are to be named by the Federal power itself, for life, and in numbers to constitute a pretty numerous body, but without any of the peculiar functions wisely assigned to the Senate of the United States.”

All of the above quotes are from: Province of Canada. *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, 3rd Session, 8th Provincial Parliament of Canada*. Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co., Parliamentary Printers, 1865.

²⁶ Functionary = leader

²⁷ Interpose = add something in between



Primary Source: John S. Sanborn's Views on Confederation

When the Province of Canada's legislatures debated Confederation in February and March 1865, John Sanborn said the following points:

Unlike today, separate schools used to own lots of land and relied heavily on revenue from renting these lands to cover their costs. When Sanborn spoke about "property rights," he recognized that these schools required the right to operate, as well as the right to retain these lands.

MINORITY RIGHTS

"He was also prepared to admit that diversity of interests was no sufficient argument against union,—(hear)—since in this very particular might frequently be found the strongest bond of union. As in electricity, opposite poles attracted each other, so among nations a diversity of interests which might *a priori*¹ be pronounced² a bar, was not unfrequently³ the most effectual means of harmony, and thus a diversity of feeling which brought out talent, might lead to a comparison of opinions which would induce⁴ an enlarged policy calculated to elevate and not to depress⁵ national energies. He was prepared to admit that Confederation would enlarge the minds of all, and make us better to understand our resources and capabilities. It would make us more enquiring,⁶ and teach us so to use our industrial power as to secure the best results. (Hear, hear.)⁷ He was prepared to admit that the results of the union between Upper and Lower Canada had been beneficial to both, and he argued that union with the other provinces, inhabited by a people educated under different circumstances and of different origins, could hardly be without mutual advantage. It would give the inhabitants of each province the opportunity of studying each other's habits and pursuits, and so induce larger and more comprehensive⁸ views."



Image held by Library and Archives Canada.

¹ *A priori* = theoretically

² Pronounced = declared

³ Unfrequently = infrequently

⁴ Induce = create

⁵ Depress = diminish

⁶ Enquiring = inquiring

⁷ Hear, hear = everyone else in the room agreeing with what was said

⁸ Comprehensive = including all or almost all of something

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION

“But what was the real impediment?⁹ Want of patriotism—not the want of a good Constitution. If there had been less virulence¹⁰ of party spirit, and a better disposition to accommodate matters, there would have been no dead-lock.¹¹ (Hear, hear.)... If the leading men had felt as they ought to have felt, there would have been no deadlock, for it existed more in name than in reality. There was no cause for saying that no government could be formed which could command a good majority. And what had the difficulties arisen from? From a persistent¹² agitation¹³ for representation according to population, in consequence of which the people had at last come to believe that it was a fundamental axiom¹⁴ in government. (Hear, hear.)”

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY AND MINORITY / SCHOOL RIGHTS

“The limitation of the era of the federal, and the power of the local governments, was the old story of federal and state rights—in fact, the bone of contention which had led to the present unhappy war; an apple of discord¹⁵ which our posterity¹⁶ might gather in fruits of the most bitter character. There was another branch of the subject he [Sanborn] would fail in his duty if he did not touch upon, and that was the situation in which the English of Lower Canada would be placed. The Honorable Premier had remarked at some length upon the disposition¹⁷ to toleration and the indulgent spirit evinced¹⁸ by his people in past times, and he (Hon. Mr. Sanborn) was not prepared to detract¹⁹ from this. He would freely and fully concede²⁰ the point. He had always lived in the midst of a mixed population, and his division was more French than English, and it would ill become him to cast reflections on their liberality and desire for fair play or justice to others. But this was the time, when treating of important arrangements for the future, to lay aside all unnecessary delicacy, and by our action to lay down the guarantees for the perpetuation²¹ of these kind feelings and this spirit of toleration so long existing, and which he devoutly hoped would never cease. No greater calamity²² could befall the English, or, in fact, both races, than the introduction of religious discord among the people of Lower Canada. (Hear, hear.) It would, however, be a grievous mistake to overlook the safeguards and rules necessary to perpetuate kindly feelings, and to prevent the disposition to aggressions which existed more or less in all minds. That principle—the love of power—was found in every human heart, none were exempt from it, and the history of the world showed that no people had ever risen superior to it. The Honorable Premier had recognized this truth in the remarks he had made in regard of the difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada. The French Canadians had persistently refused the demands of Upper Canada for representation by population, because of the terror they felt that, if granted, their institutions would be in danger; and he had told the French members in the House that under the new Constitution their rights were so effectually²³ guarded that their autonomy was fully secured—the safeguards thereof being put in their own hands. But, at

⁹ Impediment = obstacle

¹⁰ Virulence = hostility

¹¹ Dead-lock = no agreement

¹² Persistent = repeated

¹³ Agitation = movement

¹⁴ Axiom = an established norm

¹⁵ Apple of discord = a point of disagreement

¹⁶ Our posterity = future generations

¹⁷ Disposition = preference

¹⁸ Evincing = revealed

¹⁹ Detract = abandon

²⁰ Concede = surrender

²¹ The perpetuation = the repetition

²² Calamity = disaster

²³ Effectually = effectively

the same time, the English, who were a fourth of the population, and who, by habit and tradition, had their own views of public policy, were left entirely without guarantee other than the good feelings and tolerant spirit of the French. Was this safe? The only safeguard they were to have was in regard of education, but in regard of the rights of property they were to be left to the Legislature. And this brought him to the consideration of that part of the proposed Constitution which had reference to civil rights and rights of property. It was said that the civil laws of Lower Canada were now consolidated into a code, and this would enhance our credit; and if based upon sound principles and rendered²⁴ permanent, it would undoubtedly do so, for what is so conducive to the prosperity of a country as well-protected rights of property and vested interests?"

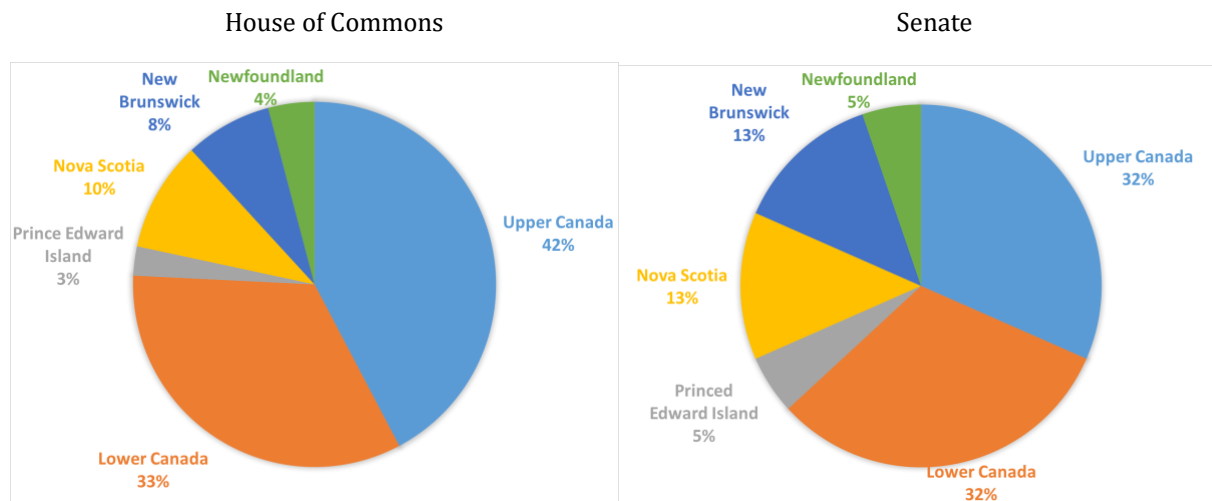
All of the above quotes are from: Province of Canada. *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, 3rd Session, 8th Provincial Parliament of Canada*. Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co., Parliamentary Printers, 1865.

²⁴ Rendered = made


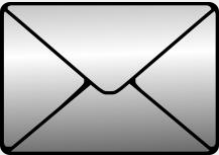
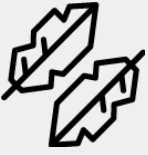




72 Resolutions Handout

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION



DIVISION OF POWERS

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



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



Response Log Handout

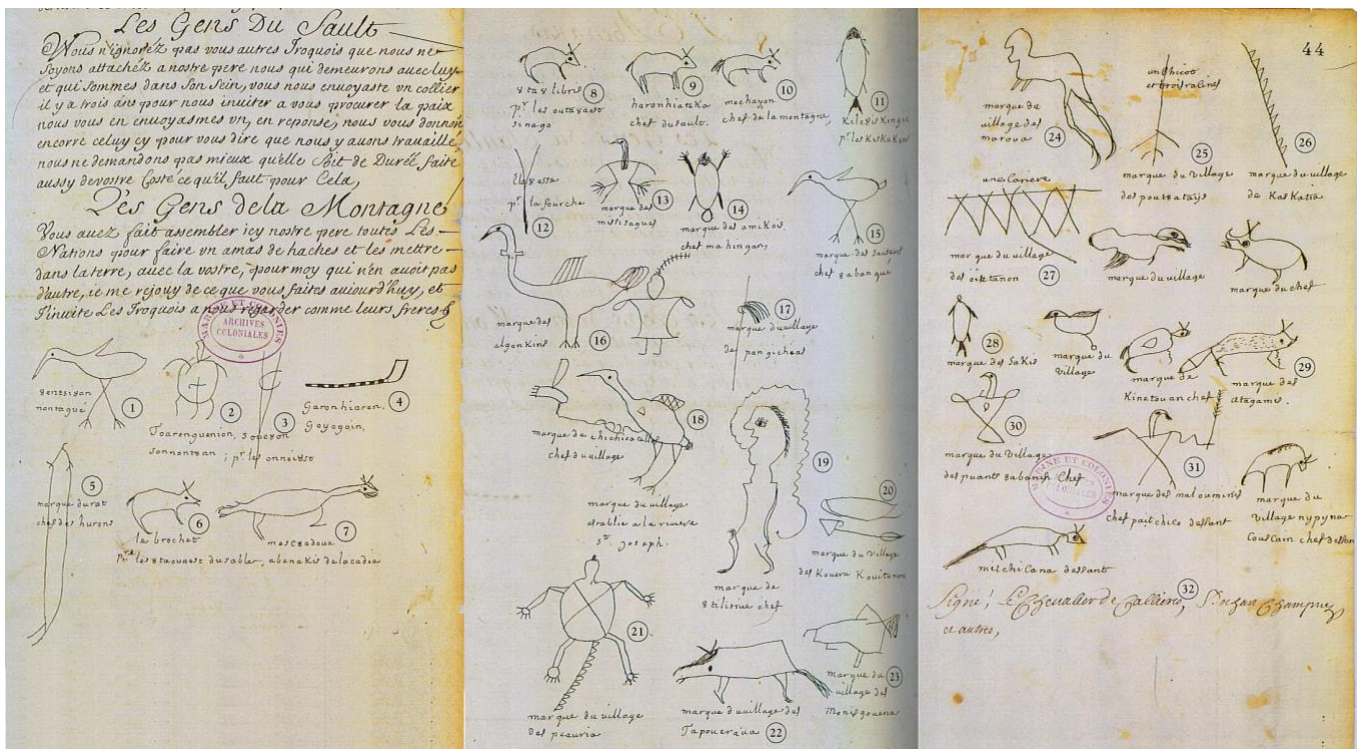
Name: Date:
Answer one of the five questions below: Mark out of 5
Questions I have: Mark out of 5

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

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



Handout: The Great Peace of Montreal, 1701



In 1701 the French concluded a peace agreement with the Five Nations Iroquois, bringing to an end almost a century of hostilities¹⁷ marked by atrocities¹⁸ on both sides. Champlain inaugurated this series of military expeditions and guerrilla raids in 1609, when he joined a war party of Algonquin, Montagnais and Huron against the Mohawk of the Lake Champlain region. He had inserted the French into the pattern of North American aboriginal warfare in the interests of the fur trade monopolists¹⁹. There ensued²⁰ successive indecisive expeditions against Iroquois villages under governors Courcelle in 1665, La Barre in 1684, and Denonville in 1687. It was only in 1696 that Governor Frontenac was able to stop the Iroquois raids on New France and destroy the villages and food supplies of the Onondaga and Oneida.

In July 1700, delegates from 4 of the Iroquois nations (the Mohawk were absent) met with Governor Callière of Montréal to inaugurate peace talks with the French and their native allies. A meeting of all the tribes was scheduled for the following summer in Montréal. Thirty nations sent a total of 1,300 delegates to discuss over several weeks, at great

¹⁷ Hostilities = war

¹⁸ Atrocities = violent acts

¹⁹ Monopolists = those who try to keep all trade for themselves

²⁰ Ensued = came to pass

expense to the French hosts, terms of collective action. The Iroquois protocol of the condolence ceremony, the exchange of gifts and the exchange of prisoners preceded the solemn "signing" of accords, whereby the several nations undertook to remain at peace with each other.

The Iroquois League undertook to remain neutral in the event of a war between England and France. All agreed that in the event of disputes among them they would resort to the governor general of New France to mediate their differences. This recognized a special kinship relationship with the French and virtually undermined the effectiveness of the Covenant Chain with the Anglo-American colonies. The Montréal peace accord assured France superiority in dealing with native issues and freedom to expand its military presence on the continent during the next half century. Though New France would be ceded to Britain in 1763, the future of Quebec as a distinct nation within Canada was shaped by the events of the early 18th century. The Great Peace of Montreal is evidence of the importance of Indigenous peoples for New France, and perpetuated treaty relationships after the Conquest.

The first covenant chain, between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch, was considered an iron chain. The chain was thought of "as having three links, each representing a desired outcome from the relationship: peace, respect and friendship." (Hill) When the English defeated the Dutch, the Haudenosaunee entered into political relations with the English. This relationship came to be known as the Silver Covenant Chain. Silver was adopted to characterize the chain because silver was an important trade commodity and because silver "could be polished from time to time to renew the agreements, make amends for any transgressions, and restore peace." (Hill) The chain took form between the Mohawk and the colony of New York in the early 17th century on the basis of a number of treaties and came to characterize the British-Haudenosaunee relationship. Undermining the covenant chain was an important strategic victory for the French. The importance of the Covenant Chain would be revived in the 1750s when the Haudenosaunee allied with the British at the outset of the Seven Years War. Following the Royal Proclamation of 1763, through which the British established a colonial government in Quebec and laid out important principles about Indigenous rights, specifically that lands Indigenous lands must be purchased or surrendered before they could be settled. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was brought into the Covenant Chain the following year at the Treaty of Niagara.

Both the Great Peace of 1701 and the Covenant Chain, then, were fundamental to the foundation of what would become Canada. Through them, we see the contests for political authority between Indigenous nations, particularly the Haudenosaunee, and the French and British, contests which informed confederation and continue to play an important role in the law and politics of the country. The Haudenosaunee nations continue to be an important presence in Quebec, though their territories span Quebec, Ontario, and New York, and many Haudenosaunee consider themselves an independent nation.

FURTHER SOURCES:

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Handout: Biography: Louis-Hector de Callière



Callière (usually spelled Callières but he signed without the “s”) was a chevalier, military captain in France, governor of Montreal, governor general of New France, and knight of the order of Saint-Louis. He was born at Thorigny-sur-Vire, province of Normandy, on 12 Nov. 1648 and died at Quebec on 26 May 1703.

Louis-Hector was appointed to succeed François-Marie Perrot as governor of Montreal in 1684. Like his brother, Louis-Hector had an able mind and his dealings with the Indians showed that he was a skilful negotiator. He soon impressed Governor Le Febvre de La Barre as a man of much experience, prudence, and wisdom. He had the sense of discipline and the habit of command of the career soldier, an inflated feeling of self-importance, and a cantankerous disposition that was not improved by recurring attacks of gout.

The recent outbreak of the Iroquois war had enhanced the importance of the government of Montreal. Because of its geographical location, Montreal was not only the area most exposed to Iroquois attacks but also the base where all offensive operations against the Iroquois were organized. Thus, the governor of this district had to act as a military leader and also take measures to assure the safety of the civilian population. Callière showed that he had the will and the ability to assume such responsibilities; Brisay de Denonville informed the minister that “in this place [he is] governor, commissary¹, keeper of stores and munitions, and does any job connected with the service.” The governor came to regard him as the colony’s ablest military officer and he did not hesitate to increase his powers.

New France faced a mounting Iroquois threat which it found nearly impossible to contain. In 1687, the newly arrived commander of the troops, Denonville, had invaded the territory of the western Iroquois with a large army. The expedition, however, totally failed to intimidate the Five Nations and underscored² the difficulties and hardships of wilderness campaigning against such an elusive foe³. The experience was not lost on Denonville and Callière. To attempt to defeat the Iroquois, the two men worked out a bold and original scheme: the conquest and occupation of New York. This, they reasoned, would lead to the subjugation of the Iroquois who would be deprived of their supply of English arms and ammunition and would be obliged to come to terms with the French. It would also secure the cod-fisheries to the French, as well possession of a fertile province with one of the finest harbours in America. To execute this plan, the governor of Montreal asked for two frigates and an army of 2,000 men. With this army he would capture Albany and then proceed to attack New York on the land side while the two frigates blockaded the harbour and bombarded the town. Louis XIV approved the project, but a series of delays slowed the arrival of the ships and the whole plan had to be abandoned.

There was little rest for Callière after his return to Canada late in 1689. France and England were at war and the conflict with the Five Nations entered a new and more violent phase. Iroquois war parties prowled in the district of Montreal and constantly threatened the lives and properties of the population. Callière, however, had put the area in a state of defence. Montreal had been enclosed with a strong palisade⁴, and redoubts made of staves⁵ fourteen feet high had been built on each seigneurie to provide the inhabitants with protection against Iroquois forays. Callière was also kept busy organizing military expeditions and sending them in pursuit of the Iroquois whenever their presence was reported in his district. On 4 July 1696, an army of over 2,000 men, made up of colonial regular troops, militiamen, and Indian auxiliaries, left Montreal. Later that month it disembarked on the south shore of Lake Ontario and advanced on

¹ Commissary = commissioner

² Underscored = emphasized

³ Elusive foe = an enemy who is hard to catch

⁴ Palisade = a fence of wooden stakes

⁵ Redoubts made of staves = a fence made of wood

the Onondaga settlements. Although this force failed to make contact with the enemy, it ravaged the territory of the Onondagas and Oneidas and struck a terrible blow at the fighting spirit of the Iroquois.

When Frontenac died on 28 Nov. 1698, Callière automatically became acting governor general. Callière became governor two years after the treaty of Ryswick had ended hostilities between England and France. The main problem now facing him was the negotiation of a firm treaty between the Iroquois, New France, and all her Indian allies. This task was enormously complicated. Bellomont, the governor of New York, maintained that the Iroquois were British subjects who were included in the terms of the treaty of Ryswick and he made every effort to thwart⁶ their negotiations with the French. Furthermore, Callière had to deal with some thirty different tribes, many of whom had been at war against the Iroquois for many years.

Resolving these problems took almost three years. The Iroquois were at first reluctant to negotiate with the French. In 1699, three of their deputies called on Callière and attempted to move the site of the talks to Albany, New York, but the governor replied that these could be held only in Montreal. In subsequent meetings, to induce the Iroquois to send an official delegation to Canada, Callière taunted them with Bellomont's claim that they were British subjects without the right to speak for themselves and threatened them with an invasion of their cantons if they refused to enter into negotiations. The western Indians, however, who had not discontinued their raids on the Iroquois, finally settled the matter. The Iroquois initially asked the English to grant them protection against these attacks, but when it became evident that no help was forthcoming from that quarter they had no choice but to turn to the French.

In July 1700, two Onondaga and four Seneca chiefs arrived in the colony, announced their desire for peace, and asked Callière to allow Father Bruyas, Chabert de Joncaire, and Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt – three men who enjoyed great prestige among the Iroquois – to accompany them to their cantons to speak in favour of a treaty. Callière agreed to this. The three Frenchmen were back in the colony in September with a 19-man delegation representing all the nations except the Mohawks, and 13 French prisoners liberated by the Iroquois as proof of the sincerity of their intentions. These delegates met with those of the mission Indians, Abenakis, Hurons, and Ottawas and peace terms were agreed upon. Callière then announced that a great assembly would take place the following summer when all prisoners would be exchanged and the treaty solemnly ratified.

Early the following summer the deputies began to arrive in Montreal. As their canoes came in sight of the town the occupants raised their paddles in salute and the French cannon returned the greeting. By July, 1,300 Indigenous peoples from over 30 different nations from areas as far apart as the Atlantic coast and the headwaters of the Mississippi had assembled and the sessions began. For several days, delegation after delegation appeared before Callière with its charges and counter-charges, claims and counterclaims. As expected, the return of prisoners proved to be the most troublesome point. Many had died or been killed in captivity; others had been adopted and would not be given up. It is no small tribute to Callière's ability that he was able to prevail upon the deputies to leave this problem to him to settle as best he could. With this matter disposed of, the treaty could be drawn up. All the nations agreed to live at peace with each other and not to strike back when attacked as in the past, but to take their grievance to the governor of New France who would obtain redress⁷. Equally important, Callière extracted a promise from the Iroquois to remain neutral in any future conflict between the French and the English. Thus, New York was stripped of its first line of offence and defence and the governor of New France became the arbiter⁸ of peace over a vast portion of North America.

In 1700 and 1701, Louis XIV decided to consolidate his control of North America from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico by founding new settlements at Detroit and on the lower Mississippi in Louisiana. The reasons for the foundation of Louisiana lay in European dynastic politics. Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, had died on 1 Nov. 1700, and bequeathed to Louis XIV's grandson, Philippe d'Anjou, the entire Spanish inheritance. By founding a

⁶ Thwart = foil

⁷ Redress = to set right

⁸ Arbiter = an individual who settles disputes

colony on the lower Mississippi that would protect Mexico from the aggressive designs of the English plantations on the Atlantic coast, Louis XIV hoped to demonstrate to Spain that now that it was under a Bourbon king it could rely on French support. As for Detroit, memoirs submitted by Cadillac Laumet seemed to prove among other things that a post there would block English expansionism in the region of the Great Lakes. By means of these two new settlements, France hoped to control all of North America west of the Appalachians and close it to the English.

Callière had serious misgivings⁹ about this general policy but he was unable to have it modified. Although he thought that the Detroit project was good on the whole, he did detect two “major obstacles.” First, the Iroquois might take offence at a settlement built on their hunting grounds and renew their war on Canada. Second, and here Callière uncovered the basic flaw, Detroit would draw the western allies close to the Iroquois cantons. Such proximity would facilitate the growth of trade relations between them and commercial trade might eventually give rise to a political connection. Much more important for the preservation of the west, he thought, was the re-establishment of the old trading posts.

Callière felt nothing but hostility towards Louisiana and its founder, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville. Detroit, although it had some objectionable¹⁰ features, was at least under Canadian jurisdiction, but Louisiana was a separate colony carved out of territory that has been governed from Quebec. To make matters worse, the new colony soon became a refuge for renegade¹¹ coureurs de bois and a competitor of Canada for the fur trade of the interior. The angry governor urged the court to adopt measures to correct this situation which, he claimed, was ruining his colony. He suggested that Louisiana be placed under his command, that coureurs de bois who retired there after violating the laws of Canada be arrested, and that Louisiana be forbidden to receive beaver pelts and be permitted only the trade in buffalo hides and other products of the southern part of the continent. The minister, however, refused to grant Callière jurisdiction over Louisiana because it was much easier to send orders there directly from France than by way of Quebec. He also refused to arrest the coureurs de bois who had deserted from Canada since he wished to make use of them to begin the settlement of the new colony. Orders were issued to compel these people to pay their Canadian debts and to prevent Louisiana from receiving beaver, but they do not appear to have been enforced.

Callière, therefore, had little influence over decisions affecting western policy, but he played an important role in shaping the strategy followed by New France during the War of the Spanish Succession. When this conflict broke out in 1702, Pontchartrain urged the governor to conclude an offensive alliance with the Iroquois and authorized him to strike a major blow at the English colonies. Callière, however, did not share this aggressive mood. The colonial budget, in his opinion, would have to be increased by 50,000 to 60,000 *livres* to finance a large-scale military operation. As for the Iroquois, the most that could be expected from them for the time being was the neutrality they had promised to observe in 1701; incursions against the upper New York settlements, he thought, would almost certainly cause them to break their agreement with the French in order to come to the aid of their old allies.

Callière died on May 26, 1703 in Quebec.

Reproduced from Zoltvany, Yves F. “Callière, Louis-Hector De.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/calliere_louis_hector_de_2E.html with some updates.

⁹ Misgivings = concerns

¹⁰ Objectionable = disagreeable

¹¹ Renegade = a person who deserts or betrays an organization



Handout: Biographies of Jacques Bruyas and Louis-Thomas Chabert De Joncaire

JACQUES BRUYAS

Jacques Bruyas was a Jesuit missionary to the Iroquois tribes, an author, interpreter, and deputy of the governor general in negotiations with the Iroquois and English. He was born 13 July 1635 at Lyons and 15 June 1712.

Bruyas became a Jesuit novice at the age of 16, on 11 Nov. 1651, and in 1666 joined the Canadian mission. He arrived at Quebec on 3 August on the *Saint-Joseph*. In 1679 his 12 years of ministry in the Iroquois cantons ended and he took charge of the mission at Sault-Saint-Louis (Caughnawaga), the reserve near Montreal. Father Chauchetière spent 1681 with him at this mission and reported that Bruyas was responsible for the spiritual needs of the natives “and is a father to them for both their bodies and their souls.” His fight for temperance never ceased and he reported that over 100 Indians came to the reserve to escape the drunken debaucheries in their villages. Nevertheless, when disorders fomented by brandy erupted at the reserve many returned to their cantons. A letter addressed to Governor Buade de Frontenac, in April 1691, reveals Bruyas’ understanding of the Mohawks. From August 1693 to August 1698, he was superior of the Canadian mission and made his headquarters in Quebec. He then returned to Caughnawaga.

His consummate¹ skill as a negotiator was demonstrated in Boston in 1699 [see Michel Leneuf de La Vallière de Beaubassin, the elder]. In 1700 he accompanied Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt to the Onondagas to negotiate peace terms. Bruyas was well received as an official envoy of Governor Callière; he delivered the appropriate wampum and recalled the ties that the missionaries had sought to establish between the Iroquois and the French. Bruyas told the delegates of the five cantons assembled at Onondaga on 10 Aug. 1700 that, although the Dutch had promised to send them a gunsmith if they would reject the Catholic missionaries and take a Protestant pastor (the Reverend Debelius of Fort Orange), the governor of New York, Bellomont, wished to enslave them. The Dutch envoy² who was present left in anger and defeat. Nineteen deputies from the Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, and Cayugas started for Montreal with 13 French prisoners. The governor received them on 8 September but would make only a temporary peace as he insisted on the return of all prisoners and a union of all the tribes in subscribing to the peace terms.

In June of 1701, Bruyas was again sent to the Onondagas to continue the negotiations, particularly to persuade the Mohawks and Oneidas to take part in the peace conference. On this occasion he decided not to oppose openly plans for Anglican missionary work among the Hurons, but warned the Iroquois that if they agreed to the requests of the agents of Governor Bellomont and did not attend the Montreal peace talks they could expect nothing in future from the French governor. The Iroquois delegates proceeded to Montreal. There at the conference in August 1701 Bruyas conveyed the governor’s message to the Huron chief, Kondiaronk. By the terms of the treaty concluded there, Bruyas’ objective of having the Iroquois cantons reopened to the Jesuit missionaries was achieved.

Noted for his linguistic abilities, Bruyas left a grammar of the Mohawk language, *Radices verborum iroquaeorum*, as well as a catechism³ and a prayer-book in Mohawk.

Bruyas remained active at the Caughnawaga mission until his death there on 15 June 1712.

¹ Consummate = complete

² Envoy = a representative sent by another party to negotiate a deal

³ Catechism = a summary of religious principles

Reproduced from Jaenen, C. J. "Bruyas, Jacques." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bruyas_jacques_2E.html with some updates.

LOUIS-THOMAS CHABERT DE JONCAIRE

Louis-Thomas Chabert De Joncaire, called Sononchiez by the Iroquois, was a member of the governor's guards and lieutenant in the colonial regular troops, agent and interpreter for New France among the Iroquois; born in Saint-Rémi de Provence, near Arles, c. 1670; died at Fort Niagara, 29 June 1739.

The son of Antoine-Marie de Joncaire, esquire, and Gabrielle Hardi, Joncaire probably came to Canada in the late 1680s as cavalry sergeant in the governor's guards. Soon after his arrival he was captured by the Senecas, who decided to put him to death. What happened immediately afterwards is uncertain. In 1709 Joncaire told the intendant, Antoine-Denis Raudot, that when one of the chiefs tried to burn his fingers as a preliminary torment, he struck him in the face with his fist and broke his nose. This display of spirit had so impressed the Senecas that they not only spared his life but also adopted him into their tribe. Joncaire's son, Daniel*, makes no mention of such an incident in a memoir written shortly after 1760. He simply states that his father had been captured by the Senecas and was about to be burnt when he was adopted by one of the women of the tribe. Whatever may be the correct version, there can be no doubt that an intimate relationship between the Iroquois and Joncaire began during his captivity and lasted until his death many years later. The Indians, on the one hand, gave him their friendship and their trust. Joncaire, on the other, mastered their language and acquired a complete understanding of their mentality. He was thus in a position to render precious services to New France whenever there were negotiations to be conducted with this important tribe.

With Father Bruyas and Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, Joncaire played a significant role in the discussions that led to the peace treaty of 1701, ending the second Iroquois war. In the summer of 1700 these three men accompanied two Onondaga and four Seneca chiefs to the Iroquois cantons and managed to prevail upon all the nations except the Mohawks to send an official delegation to Canada to negotiate a treaty with the French and their native allies. During the War of the Spanish Succession which broke out in 1702, he and Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, who wielded⁴ great influence over the Onondagas, were chosen by Governor Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil to carry out the most important part of his wartime policy – preserving Iroquois neutrality. To achieve this end, Joncaire alternately appealed to the interests of the Senecas by presenting them with gifts and played upon their fears by threatening them with an attack by the western Indians if they should break their treaty with New France. For such a threat to carry weight it was important that the Iroquois pursue their traditional policy of excluding the Indigenous peoples from the western Great Lakes region from the Albany trade. If they granted them a right of way to that city, as the agent Montour (who was of mixed Indigenous-European descent and employed by the New York merchants) urged them to do, the western Indians would no longer have compelling reasons to make war on the Five Nations should the French ask them to do so.

On Vaudreuil's orders Joncaire set out to eliminate Montour. In the summer of 1709 the two men and their followers met by accident in Iroquois country. Feigning⁵ friendliness, Joncaire invited Montour to smoke with him and produced some tobacco. The Albany agent accepted and took out his knife to cut it. Joncaire then remarked on the smallness of the knife and asked for it so that he might give him a better one. Not suspecting anything, Montour handed his knife to the Frenchman. The latter immediately flung it away and one of his followers then crushed Montour's skull with a hatchet which had been concealed under his coat.

⁴ Wielded = to hold or use

⁵ Feigning = faking

As this incident shows, Joncaire did not hesitate to use deceit when it served his purpose, although his success with the Indians appears to have been due primarily to his ability to establish a psychological link with them. This was strikingly demonstrated in August 1711. New France was being threatened with an English attack and Vaudreuil had summoned 800 Indians from a dozen different tribes to Montreal to renew the alliance with them. The crucial moment came during a banquet on 7 August when these allies were asked to declare themselves against the English. It was then that Joncaire and Michel Maray de La Chauvignerie, who served Longueuil as interpreter among the Onondagas, stood up before the assembly, brandished hatchets, and broke into the war song. Soon all the Indians joined in, thus asserting their solidarity with the French.

It was again thanks to Joncaire that New France was able to build a fort at Niagara, on Seneca territory, in 1720. This was a location of great strategic importance, for it commanded the portage around the falls which was used by a great number of western Indians when they travelled towards the English and French settlements for purposes of trade. When Vaudreuil learned that the English were planning to occupy it he sent Joncaire to the Senecas with instructions to gain their assent to a French post. Early in 1720, Joncaire presented himself at their settlements and convened⁶ an assembly of the chiefs. When they had gathered he informed them that he had always derived much pleasure from his visits among them. In fact, he went on, he would come even more frequently if he had a house of his own to which he could withdraw. The chiefs replied that as one of their sons he was free to build a house for himself wherever he chose. This is what Joncaire had been hoping to hear. He hurried to Fort Frontenac, chose eight soldiers, and proceeded directly to Niagara. On the east side of the river, some eight miles below the falls, the group built a trading house and displayed the French colours. By this somewhat unscrupulous exploitation⁷ of the Seneca trust in him, Joncaire had once more gained his ends.

Joncaire commanded at Niagara until 1726. In 1723 he again demonstrated his great influence over the Iroquois by obtaining their permission to replace the original trading house by a wooden stockade large enough to hold 300 defenders. In 1731, he was chosen by Governor Charles de Beauharnois* de La Boische to command a group of Shawnees who had migrated from the Susquehanna to the Allegheny River. His mission was to prevent them from trading with the English and if possible to induce them to move their village farther west, preferably to Detroit, where French influence was greater. Joncaire was apparently working at this task when he died at Fort Niagara on 29 June 1739.

On 1 March 1706, in Montreal, he had married Marie-Madeleine Le Gay, the 17-year-old daughter of Jean-Jérôme Le Gay, Sieur de Beaulieu, merchant and bourgeois of Montreal, and Madeleine Just. Of the ten children born of this marriage between 1707 and 1723, two played a part in the colony's history. The eldest son, Philippe-Thomas*, was presented by his father to the Senecas at the age of ten, became a captain in the colonial regular troops, and died in Canada shortly after the conquest. His brother Daniel, known as the Sieur de Chabert et de Clausonne, was a prominent figure in the Niagara region during the Seven Years War. Implicated in "the Canada affair," he spent some time in the Bastille following the conquest and after his release returned to America to die at Detroit in 1771. According to Bacqueville de La Potherie [Le Roy], Joncaire also had had a wife among the Iroquois whom he had married in the 1690s.

Reproduced from Zoltvany, Yves F. "Chabert De Joncaire, Louis-Thomas, Sononchiez." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chabert_de_joncaire_louis_thomas_2E.html with some updates.

⁶ Convened = gathered together

⁷ Unscrupulous exploitation = unfair



Handout: Biography of Kondiaronk

Kondiaronk (Gaspar Soiaga, Souoias, Sastaretsi), known by the French as “Le Rat”, was a Tionontati or Petun Huron chief at Michilimackinac. He was born in 1649; and died 2 Aug. 1701 in Montreal, when participating in peace negotiations between the tribes of the Upper Lakes and the Haudenosaunee. Kondiaronk lived a complicated life as a political leader during a period of great turmoil and shifting political alliances. Kondiaronk was a savvy political operator who used diplomacy and various inventive tactics to exercise influence.

Following the Iroquois dispersal¹ of the Hurons in 1649, the Tionontati eventually settled at Michilimackinac, the home of several Algonkian tribes. Although they were nominally² allies of the Algonkians and traded maize to the hunting and fishing groups that gathered at the straits, the Tionontati were ready to make friendly overtures³ to the Iroquois if they felt their security threatened. They feared that the Iroquois, currently warring with the Miamis and the Illinois to the south in an attempt to gain new beaver hunting grounds, would turn their attention to the tribes at the Straits of Mackinac.

A crisis came soon enough. While raiding westward a Seneca leader was captured by some Winnebagos and carried as prize to Michilimackinac. During a meeting with Henri Tonty in a Kiskakon wigwam, the Seneca was murdered by an Illinois. Lest the Iroquois annihilate them, the Mackinac tribes sought the protection of the French governor and it was during negotiations with Louis de Buade de Frontenac in 1682 that Kondiaronk first was noticed.

While the Ottawa speaker complained that they were like dead men and prayed that their father take pity on them, Kondiaronk acknowledged “that the earth was turned upside down,” and reminded Frontenac that the Huron, his erstwhile⁴ brother, “is now thy son” and therefore entitled to protection. This neither convinced Frontenac nor satisfied the Kiskakons, as they knew that the Hurons had sent wampum belts to the Iroquois without confiding in the allies or giving notice to Onontio [the governor]. On being questioned, Kondiaronk claimed that the Huron action had been an attempt to settle the affair of a murdered warrior but the Kiskakons maintained that, not only had the Hurons withheld the wampum belts of the Ottawas, but they had blamed them for the entire incident. Having trusted the Hurons to placate⁵ the Senecas on their behalf, the Ottawas now feared dealing at their expense.

In spite of Frontenac’s efforts to get the Hurons and Ottawas to trust one another, both tribes returned to Michilimackinac as uneasy neighbours. In 1687 after Jacques-René Brisay de Denonville’s invasion of the Seneca country, Kondiaronk and the allies, in return for their loyalty, secured a pledge that the war should not be terminated until the Iroquois were destroyed. Peace might suit the old men of the Iroquois and relieve a harassed French colony, but Kondiaronk perceived that it posed a threat to the Hurons of Michilimackinac. Without the French to divert their attention, the Iroquois would be able to concentrate on their campaigns in the west. In the summer of 1688 Kondiaronk decided to strike a blow for himself. He raised a war party and they set out to take scalps and prisoners.

¹ Dispersal = spread out

² Nominally = normally

³ Friendly overtures = friendly gestures

⁴ Erstwhile = while

⁵ Placate = to make less angry or hostile with promises or actions

Arriving at Fort Frontenac (Cataracoui, now Kingston, Ont.) to obtain information, Kondiaronk was amazed to learn from the commander that Denonville was negotiating a peace with the Five Nations, whose ambassadors were momentarily expected there to head to Montreal. He was advised to return home at once and agreed to go. Kondiaronk withdrew across the lake to Anse de la Famine (Mexico Bay, near Oswego) where he knew the Onondaga embassy must pass before going on to the fort and waited to *intercept the Haudenosaunee delegation*. Within a week the delegation appeared, composed of four councillors and 40 escorting warriors. The Hurons waited until they began to land and greeted them with a volley of shots as they disembarked. In the confusion, a chief was killed, others were wounded and the rest were taken prisoner.

The captives were no sooner tied securely than Kondiaronk opened a fateful woods-edge council. He represented that he had acted on learning from Denonville that an Iroquois war party would soon pass that way. The chief ambassador of the Iroquois, Teganissorens, protested that they were peace envoys voyaging to Montreal. Kondiaronk feigned⁶ amazement, then rage and fury, cursing Denonville for betraying him into becoming an instrument of treachery. Then he addressed his prisoners and Teganissorens: "Go, my brothers, I release you and send you back to your people, despite the fact we are at war with you. It is the governor of the French who has made me commit this act, which is so treacherous that I shall never forgive myself for it if your Five Nations do not take their righteous vengeance." When he backed up his words with a present of guns, powder, and balls, the Iroquois were convinced and assured him on the spot that if the Hurons wanted a separate peace they could have it. As Kondiaronk had lost a man, however, custom entitled him to request a replacement for adoption: the Onondagas gave him an adopted Shawnee. They then turned back to their villages and the Hurons set out for Michilimackinac. Passing by Fort Frontenac Kondiaronk called on the commandant, and made this chilling boast as he left: "I have just killed the peace; we shall see how Onontio will get out of this business."

Although one member of the Iroquois delegation attacked by Kondiaronk had escaped to Fort Frontenac where the French gave assurances of their innocence in the affair, the damage done to the peace negotiations was irreparable⁷. The message of French perfidy⁸ passed rapidly from fire to fire the length of the Iroquois longhouse. The wampum belts were buried and the war kettles hung. Within a year of Kondiaronk's treachery the war parties of the Five Nations descended on the Island of Montreal, sacking Lachine in the summer of 1689. Because of the renewal of French-English hostilities in Europe, the New York colony aided and abetted the Indian attacks but Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, held Kondiaronk responsible for provoking the Iroquois to the point where it was impossible to appease them.

In the decade of warfare that followed, Kondiaronk's intrigues were numerous. In 1689 he was caught plotting *with the Haudenosaunee* for the destruction of his Ottawa neighbours and that September, as if to witness his own mischief, he came down to Montreal and returned home unscathed, proving that the French lacked the courage to hang him. But he was worth more alive than dead. Although it was probably he who was behind the Ottawas' rebuff⁹ to Frontenac the following year and their proposed treaty with the Iroquois to trade at Albany, by mid-decade when the Hurons at Michilimackinac were again divided, Kondiaronk was leading the pro-French faction with another Huron chief, Le Baron, leading the English-Iroquois opposition (each side having a mixed following of Ottawas). The Baron wanted to ally with the Iroquois to destroy the Miamis, but in 1697 Kondiaronk warned the latter and attacked the former, killing 55 Iroquois in a two-hour canoe battle on Lake Erie. This victory ruined the possibility of a Huron-Iroquois alliance, re-established Kondiaronk's pre-eminence, and helped to restore the tribes at Michilimackinac as children of Frontenac when they came to Montreal to council.

⁶ Feigned = faked

⁷ Irreparable = impossible to fix

⁸ Perfidy = deceitfulness

⁹ Rebuff = reject

With the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 ending the conflict in Europe, New York and New France agreed to suspend hostilities¹⁰. The withdrawal of active English support, combined with the depredations¹¹ of a long war, prompted the Iroquois to make peace overtures to Frontenac. Negotiations went on for several years and led to the settlement of 1701. Kondiaronk was present whenever the allies conferred.

After Frontenac died, Louis-Hector de Callière took his place as the new governor of Onontio. In 1700 Callière brought the various tribes together at Montreal to achieve a peace before the final settlement. On this occasion Kondiaronk urged the Iroquois to listen to the voice of their father: "Let it not be in a forced or insincere way that you ask him for peace; for my part I return to him the hatchet he had given me, and lay it at his feet. Who will be so bold as to take it up?" For a while the sparks flew thickly on both sides. The Iroquois speaker, having listened calmly to Kondiaronk, replied: "Onontio had hurled the hatchet into the sky [made war] and what is up there never comes down again; but there was a little string attached to this hatchet by which he pulled it back, and struck us with it. . . ." Here Kondiaronk took charge to remind them that "the Seneca was planning the complete destruction of the French, intending not even to spare his father [Frontenac], whom he intended to put first into the kettle, for an Iroquois threatened to drink his blood from his skull . . ." Kondiaronk said further of the Iroquois "that their hands were covered with the blood of our allies, that the allies' flesh was even still between their teeth, that their lips were all gory with it, [and] it was well known that they were lying to hide what was in their hearts."

The final Indian congress was held the following year. It began 21 July 1701, when Bacqueville de La Potherie [Le Roy], the prime source on the proceedings, went to meet the delegates at the village of the Mission Indians at Sault-Saint-Louis (Caughnawaga). The first flotilla¹² to appear consisted of 200 Iroquois, headed by the ambassadors of the Onondagas, Oneidas, and Cayugas, the Senecas having dropped by the way, and the Mohawks following later. They approached firing their guns and the salute was returned by their brethren¹³, the mission Indians, ranged along the shore. They were properly greeted at the water's edge by a small-fire and then led by the arm to the main council lodge where they smoked for a quarter of an hour with great composure.¹⁴ Next they were greeted with the "three rare words" of the ritual of requickening – wiping of tears, clearing the ears, and opening the throat – to prepare them to speak of peace the next day with Onontio.

The protocol of diplomacy demanded reciprocal action by both parties. The kettle, the hatchet, the road, the fire, the mat, the sun, and the Tree of Peace were all important parts of the diplomatic process. They were also images used to describe that process and the resulting political relationships. Wiping away tears, exchanging speeches and songs, passing the pipe, throwing wampum belts, returning prisoners, distributing presents, and apportioning the feast were expected of both hosts and guests. All of this belonged to a ritual widely shared in the lower lakes by Iroquoians and Algonkians alike, and surviving as a fragment in the Iroquois Condolence Council.

The following day the Iroquois shot the rapids to the main fire at Montreal, where they were greeted by the crash of artillery. The smoke of their feasting had scarcely disappeared when in their wake came 200 canoes of the French allies – Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatomis, Hurons, Miamis, Winnebagoes, Menominees, Sauks, Foxes, and Mascoutens – over 700 Indians to be received ceremoniously at the landing. The Far Indians performed their specialty, the Calumet Dance, to the accompaniment of gourd rattles, making friends of their hosts. By 25 July negotiations between the tribes were fully under way and Kondiaronk spoke of the difficulties encountered in recovering Iroquois prisoners from the allies. He wondered whether the Iroquois would comply in an exchange with sincerity or cheat them of their nephews taken in the past 13 years of war. He suspected that the allies were to be deceived, although they were still willing to leave

¹⁰ Suspend hostilities = end fighting

¹¹ Depredations = the act of attacking or plundering

¹² Flotilla = fleet of ships

¹³ Bretheren= brothers

¹⁴ Composure = dignity

their prisoners as a gesture of good faith¹⁵. The next day, however, the Iroquois admitted that they did not have the promised prisoners, saying that as small children they had been given to families for adoption and saying they could not order them to leave those families. This excuse annoyed the Hurons and Miamis who had forcibly taken the Iroquois captives away from foster families. Days of wrangling¹⁶ followed.

Kondiaronk, having persuaded his own and allied tribes to bring their Iroquois prisoners to Montreal, was deeply humiliated at being duped, and shortly afterwards succumbed¹⁷ to a violent fever. He came so ill to a council held 1 August to discuss the matter that he could not stand. Yet everyone was glad when he spoke: "He sat down first on a folding stool; [then] a large and comfortable armchair was brought for him so that he could speak with greater ease; he was given some wine to strengthen him but he asked for a herbal drink and it was realized that he wanted syrup of maiden-hair fern," an Iroquois remedy. Having recovered somewhat, he spoke as the assembly listened for nearly two hours, occasionally voicing its approval of his points. Though he was obviously upset at the conduct of the Iroquois, his political skill made him take a new tack¹⁸, and he reviewed at length his own diplomatic role in averting attacks on the Iroquois, in persuading reluctant tribal delegations to come to Montreal, and in recovering prisoners. "We could not help but be touched," wrote La Potherie, "by the eloquence with which he expressed himself, and [could not fail] to recognize at the same time that he was a man of worth." After speaking Kondiaronk felt too weak to return to his hut, and was carried in the armchair to the hospital, where his illness steadily worsened. He died at two a.m.

The Iroquois came to cover the dead. Sixty strong, they marched in solemn procession with great dignity, led by Chabert de Joncaire, with Tonatakout, the leading Seneca chief, walking at the rear and weeping. When close to the body, they sat in a circle around it, while the appointed chanter continued pacing for a quarter of an hour. He was followed by a second speaker, Aouenano, who wiped away the tears, opened the throat, and poured in a sweet medicine to re-quicken the mourners. Then producing a belt, he restored the Sun, urging the warriors to emerge from darkness to the light of peace. He then temporarily covered the body pending the main rites.¹⁹ There were similar gestures by other tribal delegations.

Kondiaronk funeral was held the following day (3 Aug. 1701). The French wished the Hurons and their allies to know how touched they were by the loss of so considerable a person. Pierre de Saint-Ours headed a military escort of 60 men, followed by 16 Huron warriors in ranks of 4 wearing beaver robes, faces blackened as a mark of their mourning, and guns reversed; then came clergy and 6 war chiefs bearing the flower-covered coffin on which lay a plumed hat, a sword, and a gorget.²⁰ Behind the train were the brother and sons of the dead chief, and files of Huron and Ottawa warriors. Madame de Champigny, attended by Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, governor of Montreal, and staff officers closed the procession. After the Christian burial service – Kondiaronk was a convert of the Jesuits – the soldiers and warriors fired two volleys of musketry, one for each of the two cultures represented in the rites. Then each man in passing fired his musket a third time. Kondiaronk was interred in the church of Montreal and his tomb was inscribed: "Here lies the Rat, Huron Chief."

Today no trace of Kondiaronk's grave remains. He lies somewhere near or beneath Montreal's Place d'Armes.

Reproduced from Fenton, William N. "Kondiaronk, Le Rat." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/kondiaronk_2E.html with some updates.

¹⁵ Gesture of good faith = an act to encourage mutual trust

¹⁶ Wrangling = fighting

¹⁷ Succumbed = lost out to

¹⁸ Tack = approach

¹⁹ Pending the main rites = until the main ritual was complete

²⁰ Gorget = an article of clothing that covered the throat



Handout: Wampum Belts



Wampum are tubular purple and white beads made from shells. Wampum are used primarily by Aboriginal peoples of the Eastern Woodlands for ornamental, ceremonial, diplomatic and commercial purposes. Because of its prominence¹ as a currency in the period following European contact, wampum has become synonymous² with currency. Belts made of wampum were used to mark agreements between peoples, and are of particular significance with regards to treaties and covenants³ made between Aboriginal peoples and European colonial powers.

Wampum — which comes from a Narragansett (Algonquian language family) word meaning a string of white shell beads — are tubular beads manufactured from Atlantic coast seashells. While a variety of shells may be used, most often the white shells are formed from the whelk shell and the purple from the quahog clam shell. Aboriginal peoples living along the coast collected the shells, produced the beads, and traded them in-land, for example to the Haudenosaunee, for furs, corns, beans and squash. The beads had considerable value in eastern and maritime Canada for ornament, ceremony, the fur trade and diplomacy, particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries. Later, European settlers in the area used wampum as currency. Wampum was threaded on string or woven into bracelets, necklaces, collars, sashes and later into belts that served as physical representations of political agreements.

Particular patterns symbolized events, alliances or kinship relations⁴ between different peoples, and wampum could be used to confirm relationships, propose marriage, atone⁵ for murder or ransom captives. Beads and belts also validated

¹ Prominence = importance or popularity

² Synonymous = same as

³ Covenants = promises or alliances

⁴ Kinship = shared ancestry

⁵ Atone = pay for

treaties and were used to recall oral tradition. Many communities had wampum keepers, who protected the belts and interpreted the history contained therein⁶.

Before Confederation some groups of Indigenous people, particularly those in the Eastern Woodlands, indicated their assent to certain treaties by presenting long wampum belts to Crown officials. In particular, the Two Row Wampum Belt (Kaswentha) of the Haudenosaunee, still symbolizes an agreement of mutual respect and peace between themselves and European newcomers (initially the Dutch) to North America. The principles were embodied⁷ in the belt by virtue⁸ of its design: two rows of purple wampum beads on a background of white beads represent a canoe and a European ship. The parallel paths represent the rules governing the behaviour of the Aboriginal and European peoples. The Kaswentha stipulates that neither group will force their laws, traditions, customs or language on each other, but will coexist peacefully as each group follows their own path.

The Kaswentha continues to represent the Covenant Chain alliance between the Six Nations and their European partners, extending from the 17th century to modern times. As a foundational philosophical principle of respect and friendship, the Belt may be able to function as a framework for improved relations between Aboriginal peoples and various levels of government.

Numerous wampum belts and other wampum bead artifacts exist in private collections and in local, provincial and national museums both in Canada and the United States. Wampum in public collections have become the subject of repatriation negotiations between community members and institutional officials who seek to uphold the rights of a given community to their cultural artifacts while balancing traditional care and preservation techniques.

Reproduced from Gadacz, René R. "Wampum." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.
http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/wampum/#h3_jump_1.

⁶ Therin = contained within

⁷ Embodied = contained or demonstrated

⁸ Virtue = the nature of



Handout: The Covenant Chain

The Covenant Chain is the name given to the complex system of alliances between the Haudenosaunee (also known as the Five, and later the Six, Nations and Iroquois League) and British colonies originating in the early 17th century. The first alliances were most likely between New York and the Mohawk. These early agreements were referred to figuratively as chains because they bound multiple parties together in alliance. Today the Covenant Chain represents the long tradition of diplomatic relations in North America, and is often invoked when discussing contemporary affairs between the state and Aboriginal peoples. In particular, the history of the Covenant Chain is drawn on as evidence of European recognition of Indigenous independence and nationhood in the imperial era and in arguing that such independence should continue to be recognized today.

The Covenant Chain, which borrowed heavily from the political ideology of the Haudenosaunee, was a complex system of alliances between the Iroquois League and Anglo-American colonies originating in the early 17th century, probably between the New York colony and the Mohawk. As Louise Johnston notes, “typically, both parties delivered carefully constructed addresses and solemnized agreements with the ceremonial giving and receiving of wampum belts. Speakers employed vivid religious language and imagery, either Iroquoian or Christian or both.”

The Covenant Chain of Peace has several elements as detailed by Richard Hill:

- a) an on-going treaty relationship predicated upon the principles of the *Aterihwihsón:sera Kaswénta* (Two Row Wampum);
- b) the linking of arms, or holding of hands, meaning the firm commitment to uphold the terms of the treaty-based relationship and treat each other as equals;
- c) an agreement to a dispute resolution mechanism to keep the chain bright and promote peace;
- d) the details of the treaty agreements as represented by several wampum belts, which tell a larger story than the written documents; and
- e) a three-link silver chain and a silver pipe with a small chain attaching the bowl to the stem that was used whenever our nations gathered together to polish the chain.

The fragility of many of these alliances often required more formal covenants. Following the chain metaphor, these more formal agreements required a change from an iron chain, which tended to rust, to a silver one. These agreements or treaties required periodic renewals accompanied by gifts and aid to the Haudenosaunee. This was known as polishing the silver chain. Other colonies, such as Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Maryland, joined the chain, as did the Tuscarora on the Haudenosaunee side. New York and the Mohawk remained the anchors of the system.

The Haudenosaunee, or “people of the longhouse,” commonly referred to as Iroquois or Six Nations, are members of a confederacy of Aboriginal nations known as the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Originally a confederacy of five nations inhabiting the northern part of New York state, the Haudenosaunee consisted of the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga and Mohawk. When the Tuscarora joined the confederacy early in the

18th century, it became known as the Six Nations. Today, Haudenosaunee live on well-populated reserves — known as reservations in the United States — as well as in off-reserve communities.

The five nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy — also known as the Iroquois League or League of the Five Nations — occupied an area from the Genesee River on the west, through the Finger Lakes regions, to the Hudson River on the east in what is known as the Eastern Woodlands cultural area. The linguistically related Tuscarora moved north from North Carolina and Virginia to join the confederacy in 1722. Though technically the sixth nation of the confederacy, the Tuscarora — along with other represented nations like the Delaware, Wyandot and Tutelo — present their issues to the confederacy through the Cayuga nation. The confederacy is united by the Great Law of Peace (*Kaianere'ko:wa*), which is considered both a political constitution and a basis for Haudenosaunee society in general. The Great Law was given to Hiawatha by the prophet Peacemaker, and together they helped to form the confederacy. The Haudenosaunee use the metaphor of the longhouse to describe their political alliance, and its spirit of togetherness also applies to social and cultural life, mirroring the use of the Great Law of Peace as both a political and cultural document.

With the coming of the fur trade in the 16th century, the Haudenosaunee embarked on successful campaigns to subjugate or disperse¹ neighbouring groups. The French-allied Huron-Wendat were dispersed from their homeland after several villages were destroyed in 1649 and multiple individuals were adopted into the Haudenosaunee. These dispersal campaigns would also impact the Petun, Neutral and Erie in the following decade. The French maintained trading and military alliances with many of the enemies of the Iroquois; thus, Haudenosaunee and New France were often at war. During periods of peace some Haudenosaunee were converted to Catholicism and were persuaded to settle along the St Lawrence. The Haudenosaunee remained firmly tied to trading interests in Albany, New York. Rivalry between New France and the Dutch and English at Albany precluded² a lasting peace between the French and the Haudenosaunee. The Haudenosaunee frequently raided French settlements on the St Lawrence and, in 1660 at the Long Sault, and in 1689 at Lachine, Québec, sent large armies to attack the colony. France attacked Haudenosaunee towns in 1666, 1687, 1693 and 1696.

The Mohawk announced formally in June 1753 that because of British usurpation of Iroquois League lands the Covenant Chain was broken and the other five nations would be so informed. The following year, British colonial leaders met in Albany with Haudenosaunee delegates to restore the chain at a time when the French were establishing their hold on the Ohio Valley. The Haudenosaunee condolence ceremony, with appropriate gifts for requests presented and promises made (long adhered to in New France), was adopted as part of negotiating process and the chain was restored. At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War the following year, the Haudenosaunee allied with Britain.

The break in the Covenant Chain created by the Great Peace of Montreal was partly restored when the Seven Fires, or Seven Nations,³ abandoned their French alliance and entered into the Covenant Chain in August 1760 at Oswegatchie following a meeting with General Jeffrey Amherst and Indian Superintendent William Johnson. In October–November 1768, a conference was held at Fort Stanwix to fix the boundaries of the reserved hunting grounds provided for in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. A Haudenosaunee delegate thanked the British officers for having polished the chain when it grew dull, and he affirmed "we do now on our parts [sic] renew and strengthen the Covenant Chain by which we will abide so long as you shall preserve

¹ Disperse = separate

² Precluded = prevented

³ The Seven Fires, or Seven Nations were a different Confederacy than the Six Nations. Seven Nations refers to the Aboriginal allied "nations" living on the réductions, or reserves, of the French area of settlement of New France (later Québec).

it strong & bright on your part." The Covenant Chain, as historian J.R. Miller has described, was a testament to the diplomatic skills of the Haudenosaunee.

Sections of this handout are reproduced from:

Jaenen, Cornelius J. "Covenant Chain." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/covenant-chain/>.

Jaenen, Cornelius J. "Seven Nations." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/seven-nations/>.

THE CONFEDERATION DEBATES EDUCATION TEAM



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



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



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



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



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

In addition to this team, Adam Blacklock, Dakota Lizée and Eleanor Wong composed biography briefs for several of the historical figures included in this package.

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