

resolutions. It was to bear out the old adage that "in unity there is strength", which is not always so, especially when the union is made up of groups and forces fundamentally diverse and opposite. The Government of Newfoundland in 1867, at the time of confederation was, strange to say, a merchant government. It was led by Mr. Carter, who was strongly pro-confederate. It was enthusiastic about the proposals submitted, and which, considering the gap in time, are amazingly similar to those of the 1895 negotiations and the proposed arrangements before us today. That government was ready to consummate the arrangements as had been done in the other colonies, and which in the case of Nova Scotia almost provoked a rebellion. But a strong opposition in the Newfoundland government of this time fought this move, and amongst other objections were:

1. Under union with Canada the people of Newfoundland would surrender to a large extent the power of self-government conferred on them by the constitutions of 1832 and 1855.
2. Amongst other rights that would be surrendered was the all-important one of taxation. Under the BNA Act the Dominion government claimed the right which they had by law to raise money within the limits of the Dominion by any method or system of taxation.

Those objections, amongst others, were made in an amendment to the confederation resolution moved in this very chamber on the 5 March, 1869. The opposition members strongly urged that the government should not make any final irrevocable commitments on the question till it had been submitted to the electorate in a general election. Well, that course was adopted, and in November, 1869, the election was held. It was a bitter campaign, but not more so than many that have been fought in Canada on the same question, and even less so than those that have been fought in other countries on less fundamental issues. Charges and counter-charges were the order of the day, as they have been in every election campaign, and will be, but the money and influence of the many powerful merchants of the time, who were supporters of confederation, could not cope with the dynamism and energy of Charles Fox Bennett, who was leader of the opposition. It was a typical election of the time, and no holds were barred on either side. Of the four

newspapers of the period, three were confederate and one was neutral, so it cannot be said that the people were misled in this regard. Neither is it fair to state, as Mr. Bradley stated, that Newfoundland did not enjoy a democratic franchise, or a secret ballot. Newfoundland enjoyed a franchise as democratic, and to the same degree as the other colonies.

As for the secret ballot, Mr. Bradley surely must have known that in 1869 the secret ballot was unheard of in this part of the world, and not only in North America but in Great Britain as well. The secret ballot, as you know, was an Australian invention, first used in that country in 1856, and the secret ballot is still referred to as the Australian ballot. Around the process of polling great parliamentary fights were waged in the 19th century, and the issue at stake was always to seek the freedom of the voter from outside influences, and honesty in the counting of the votes. Every election was a time of underground pressure and interest. One authority says, "Social and economic interest in more or less organised form, disturbing constitutional symmetry and advocating its equity, threats, intimidation, terrorisation and victimisation of the most diverse kinds became operative, and in their obvious indiscrete forms are forbidden by law everywhere." The 19th century stage relied exclusively upon political parties for their choice of candidates, and even in many countries for other electoral services and the distribution of ballot papers. The result of these tendencies in the United States was the party boss, the plugging of nominating conventions with party heelers, the padding of electoral lists with the names of people who were dead or non-existent, and the stuffing of ballot boxes with illegal votes.

Now these, Mr. Chairman, as you know, were exercises of the parliamentary system which have been largely eradicated today in democratic countries, but they were practiced in the last century, when the parliamentary system was in use in Newfoundland. The election of 1869, in which the confederate party was annihilated, was conducted in conformity with similar elections everywhere in the Anglo-Saxon world, including Canada. The assertion made in the speech at the opening of the Ottawa conference last summer, that the main reason for Newfoundland's failure to enter confederation in 1869 was due to the