

#1

## The eagle and the fawn

Cartoon published in 1849 in Punch in Canada, a humor and satire magazine. Punch, the man riding the horse, was a popular British character used in many of the magazine's cartoons. The eagle symbolizes the United States and the fawn represents Canada. The man running towards the scene is John Bull the symbol of Great Britain.



THE EAGLE AND THE FAWN.

Bengough, J.W. A caricature history of Canadian politics. (Toronto, ON: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1974), p. 17.

#2

## Opposition to the Intercolonial Railroad

Letter to the editor published in *The Globe*, a Toronto newspaper on October 8, 1858.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

**The Globe**  
October 8, 1858

The commercial advantages to be derived [obtained] from a union of the Lower Provinces are hardly appreciable [significant], while in the boundless west there lies open to us a field of enterprise which might cause wealth to flow into every city and village in our land. Why should Canada, at this moment, spend any portion of her means in building a road to Halifax? She will not thereby raise the price of a barrel of flour a single cent, nor will she find in the Lower Provinces a market for any of her manufactures. As an outlet to the ocean, this intercolonial railroad is a mere farce [joke]. No one able to take ship at Portland or Quebec, would ever dream of travelling by railway to Halifax. Any yet this work will engage four or five millions of capital .... If the Imperial [British] government is willing to grant assistance for the development of British power in North American, let her grant it in aid of the Pacific Railway .... Let her expend [spend] it in founding a great colony on Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan.

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#3

## Need for an Intercolonial Railroad

Excerpt from a newspaper article published in the Toronto Leader on October 25, 1862.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

**The Toronto Leader**  
**October 25, 1862**

A great country such as Nature has destined this to be would not be justified in refusing to acquire a winter sea-port [Halifax], when the object can be obtained upon reasonable terms. Without it, what is the possible future of Canada? A back country, with no access to the seaboard during six months of the year, but through the territory of a foreign power [the United States], occupies a position of deplorable [terrible] dependence. It holds its existence on sufferance [tolerance by the United States]; and it must certainly feel that the indulgence is at any time liable to be withdrawn [the United States may not allow Canada to use its ports]. We ought to have pride enough to desire to be independent of any foreign country in all the essentials of national life. This is every day more becoming more and more the general feeling of the country.

© Public Domain. As quoted in Waite, P.B., Confederation, 1854-1867 (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, 1972), p. 61.



#4

## Political instability

This article was printed in the Aurora Banner newspaper on April 1, 1864.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

**The Aurora Banner**  
**April 1, 1864**

The frequent changes in Canadian administration demonstrate that a defect is in the public system .... Here are two Provinces of different nationalities—of different languages—of different religions—and to a great extent of different customs: these two Provinces are professedly united, while in reality they are at variance, and to all appearances there is no prospect of their ever acting in unison.

© Public Domain. As quoted in Waite, P.B., *Confederation, 1854-1867* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, 1972), p. 70.



# #5

## Against representation by population

Excerpt from a speech given by John A. Macdonald to the Legislative Assembly on February 6, 1865.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

John A. Macdonald to the Legislative Assembly  
February 6, 1865

The next mode (issue) suggested was the granting of 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 (increasing), the resistance to it in Lower Canada was proportionally increasing in strength. Still, if some such means of relieving us from the sectional jealousies which existed between the two Canadas, if some such solution of the difficulties as Confederation had not been found, the representation by population must eventually have been carried (been passed) .... It would have left the lower province with a sullen (bad-tempered) feeling of injury and injustice ... (they) would have ceased to be what they are now—a nationality, with representatives in parliament, governed by general principles, and divided according to their political opinions—and would have been in great danger of becoming a faction (minority) ....

© Public Domain. As quoted in Ed. Ajzenstat, J et al. Canada's founding debates (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 277–279.



#6

# John A. Macdonald speaks to the Legislative Assembly

Excerpt from a speech given by John A. Macdonald to the Legislative Assembly on February 6, 1865.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

## John A. Macdonald to the Legislative Assembly February 6, 1865

I think it is well that, in framing our constitution ... our first act should have been to recognize the sovereignty of Her Majesty ... (At the Québec Conference,) the desire to remain connected with Great Britain and to retain our allegiance to Her Majesty was unanimous (agreed upon by all) ...

... One argument, but not a strong one, has been used against this Confederation, that it is an advance towards independence. Some are apprehensive that the very fact of our forming this union will hasten the time when we shall be severed from the mother country. I have no apprehension of that kind ... I am strongly of the opinion that year by year, as we grow in population and strength, England will more see the advantages of maintaining the alliance between British North America and herself ...

... When this union takes place we will be at the outset no inconsiderable people. We find ourselves with a population approaching four millions of souls ... and with a rapidly increasing population ... our future progress, during the next quarter of a century, will be vastly greater. And when, by means of this rapid increase, we become a nation of eight or nine millions of inhabitants, our alliance will be worthy of being sought by the great nations of the earth ...

... So long as that alliance is maintained, we enjoy, under her protection, the privileges of constitutional liberty according to the British system ... In all countries, the rights of the majority take care of themselves, but it is only in countries like England, enjoying constitutional liberty, and safe from the tyranny of a single despot (dictator) or of an unbridled (uncontrollable) democracy, that the rights of minorities are regarded ...

© Public Domain. As quoted in Ed. Ajzenstat, J et al. Canada's founding debates (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 203–207.



#7

# Representation by population

Excerpt from a speech given by George Brown to the Legislative Assembly on February 8, 1865.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

## George Brown to the Legislative Assembly February 8, 1865

... I say that, taking the scheme (Confederation) as a whole, it had my cordial (friendly) enthusiastic support, without hesitation or reservation. 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 demarcation (dividing line) 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 readjusting the representation after each decennial census (every 10 years).

© Public Domain. As quoted in Ed. Ajzenstat, J et al. *Canada's founding debates* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 114–115.



#8

## Increased trade

Excerpt from a speech given by George Brown to the Legislative Assembly on February 8, 1865.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

### George Brown to the Legislative Assembly February 8, 1865

I go heartily for the union, because it will throw down the barriers of trade and give us control of a market of four millions of people .... Sir, I confess to you that in my mind this one view of the union—the addition of nearly a million of people to our home consumers—sweeps aside all the petty objections that are averred (stated) against the scheme ....

... If a Canadian goes now to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, or if a citizen of these provinces comes here, it is like going to a foreign country. The customs officer meets you at the frontier, arrests your progress, and levies his imposts (fees) on your effects (products). But the proposal now before us is to throw down all barriers between the province—to make a citizen of one, citizen of the whole; the proposal is that our farmers and manufacturers and mechanics shall carry their wares unquestioned into every village of the Maritime provinces; and that they shall with equal freedom bring their fish, and their coals, and their West India produce to our three million of inhabitants ....

... Mr. Speaker, I go for a union of the provinces because it will give a new start to immigration into our country. It will bring us out anew prominently before the world—it will turn earnest attention to our resources and bring to our shores a stream of immigration greater, and of a better class, than we ever had before ....

© Public Domain. As quoted in Ed. Ajzenstat, J et al. Canada's founding debates (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 134-135.





#9

## Canadians lack defences

Excerpt from an article published on March 18, 1865 in the Evening Times, a Hamilton, ON newspaper.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

**The Evening Times**  
**March 18, 1865**

Are we going too far when we say there does not exist in the world a country more ineligible [unfit] for defensive purposes than Canada? We are all frontier [borders], and are open to attack at almost every point of that frontier ... Inherently [naturally] strong, and armed and equipped at every point, the United States stands forth a giant encased in armor. What would our prospects be should we come into collision with this power?

© Public Domain. As quoted in Waite, P.B. Confederation, 1854-1867. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, 1972), p. 96.



# #10

## Confederation day

Excerpt from an article published on July 1, 1867 in The Globe newspaper.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

**The Globe Newspaper  
July 1, 1867**

The Union of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, under the new Constitution, takes effect today. We heartily congratulate our readers on the event, and fervently pray that all the blessings anticipated from the measure, by its promoters, may be fully realized.

So far as the people of Upper Canada are concerned, the inauguration of the new Constitution may well be heartily rejoiced over as the brightest day in their calendar. The Constitution of 1867 will be famous in the historical annals [records] of Upper Canada, not only because it brought two flourishing Maritime States into alliance with the Canadas, and opened up new markets for our products, and a direct railway route to the Atlantic through British territory, but because it relieved the inhabitants of Western Canada from a system of injustice and demoralization under which they had suffered for a long series of years.

The unanimity and cordiality [widespread support] with which all sections of the people of Canada accept the new Constitution, gives the happiest omen of its successful operation. And, assuredly, if the people of the United Provinces are true to themselves and exercise a persistent [repeated] and careful control over all public proceedings, there is not a shadow of doubt as to success. The only danger that threatens us is, lest the same men who have so long misgoverned us, should continue to misgovern us still, and the same reckless prodigality [extravagance] exhibited in past years should be continued in the future; but this we do not fear. We firmly believe, that from this day, Canada enters on a new and happier career, and that a time of great prosperity and advancement is before us.

"Confederation Day!"; The Globe, July 1, 1867, vol. 24, no. 56, supplement, p. 4. © Public Domain



#1

# Desire for representation by population

Excerpt from a book written by historian Christopher Moore entitled *How the fathers made a deal*, published in 1997.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

When the union was made in 1841, sectional equality [equal numbers of representatives for Upper and Lower Canada] had been an essential part of Britain's plan to control and assimilate the French-speaking population. Francophone Lower Canada, despite its larger population, had been compelled to accept only the same number of assembly seats as Upper Canada, instead of the clear majority that "rep-by-pop" would have given it. But within a decade, constant immigration to Upper Canada—the Brown family [George Brown] was part of that migration—had reversed the proportions. Suddenly sectional equality became a protection for the French Canadians against their shrinking relative numbers. At just that point, Upper Canadian reformers began campaigning for rep-by-pop—more seats for Upper Canada, in effect, and probably more seats for Upper Canadian reformers . . . .

The *Globe* [newspaper] and George Brown exulted [celebrated] in Canada West's size and prosperity, and at the same time they seethed with indignation that their region lacked the political clout [power] to which its size and wealth and confidence made it feel entitled. It was no abstract indignation [imaginary idea], either. Sectional equality meant that the cohesive [unified] bloc of French-Canadian legislators needed only a few supporters from Canada West to impose policies most of Canada West's voters and their representatives might oppose . . . .

Moore, Christopher. 1867: *How the fathers made a deal* (Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1997). pp. 15–16.

#2

# Influence of the United States

Excerpt from a website created by the Library and Archives Canada which provides an overview of Canadian Confederation.



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

After the American Civil War, British authorities in London feared reprisals against British colonial territories by the victorious Northern states. Since Great Britain had openly supported the South, their fear was well founded. The dangers of this war also stirred Loyalist sentiments in Ontarians. Protecting Canada West from American influence meant protecting British traditions and institutions in North America.

The threat of attacks by Fenians also motivated London to reorganize the political status of its North American colonies. If the United States considered Canada a sovereign country rather than a British colony, the Fenians might be less inclined to continue their attacks.

The issue of the North-Western Territory also played a significant role in Canada West's desire to politically restructure British North America. Some members of Ontario's political leadership believed that the territories west of the province were rightfully theirs. Political restructuring was an ideal opportunity to claim them.

Library and Archives Canada. "Canadian Confederation" (Accessed March 7, 2012) <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/confederation/023001-3100-e.html>



#3

## Causes of Confederation

Excerpt from an online article entitled “Causes of Confederation 1861-1866” published as part of The History of Canada Online (HCO).



*Comments in brackets are not part of the original document. They have been added to assist the reader with difficult words.*

While there were powerful external forces spurring on Confederation, internal factors also drove the cause. The major factor was political deadlock. The fact of equal representation for Canada East and Canada West in the united parliament sowed the seeds for stalemate. Both Canada East and Canada West were granted 42 members. Not surprisingly often what one side wanted, the other side voted down.

Little could get accomplished under this state of affairs. In slightly more than fifteen years, Canada experienced fifteen different ministries and more than half a dozen elections. No government, given equal representation and the presence of “loose fish” members, could hold power for an extended period of time. They had to find a way out.

On the very day that the Taché-Macdonald ministry fell in 1864, George Brown’s committee, which had been struck to investigate political deadlock, reported back. Their proposed solution was a federal union.

George Brown himself was a major force behind Confederation. He was the leader of the new Clear Grit party of Canada West. He represented the rural, agrarian element which wanted to open up the Northwest and better relations with the United States. But Brown had a thorough dislike for French-Canadians. And he latched onto a new representation system not only as a way out of political deadlock but also to reduce the impact of the French.

Another factor in helping to bring about a federal union is to be found in railways. They had not only economic and strategic importance, but also would improve transportation and communication in any fledging country. However, if the colonies were to remain scattered and disunited colonies, they would remain pipe dreams. Investors would seem them as too risky. Engineers would regard them as impossible to build. However, if the colonies became united, such vital railway links could be built.

Railways would provide legitimacy and reality to what was then merely a theoretical notion of a united nation. They would bring the colonies and people together. They would reduce distances, improve defenses, and stimulate trade. It was scarcely accidental that many of the leading proponents of a federal union were also railway promoters.

History of Canada Online “Causes of Confederation 1861-1866” [http://canadachannel.ca/HCO/index.php/2\\_Causes\\_of\\_Confederation\\_1861-66](http://canadachannel.ca/HCO/index.php/2_Causes_of_Confederation_1861-66) (Accessed March 7, 2012)