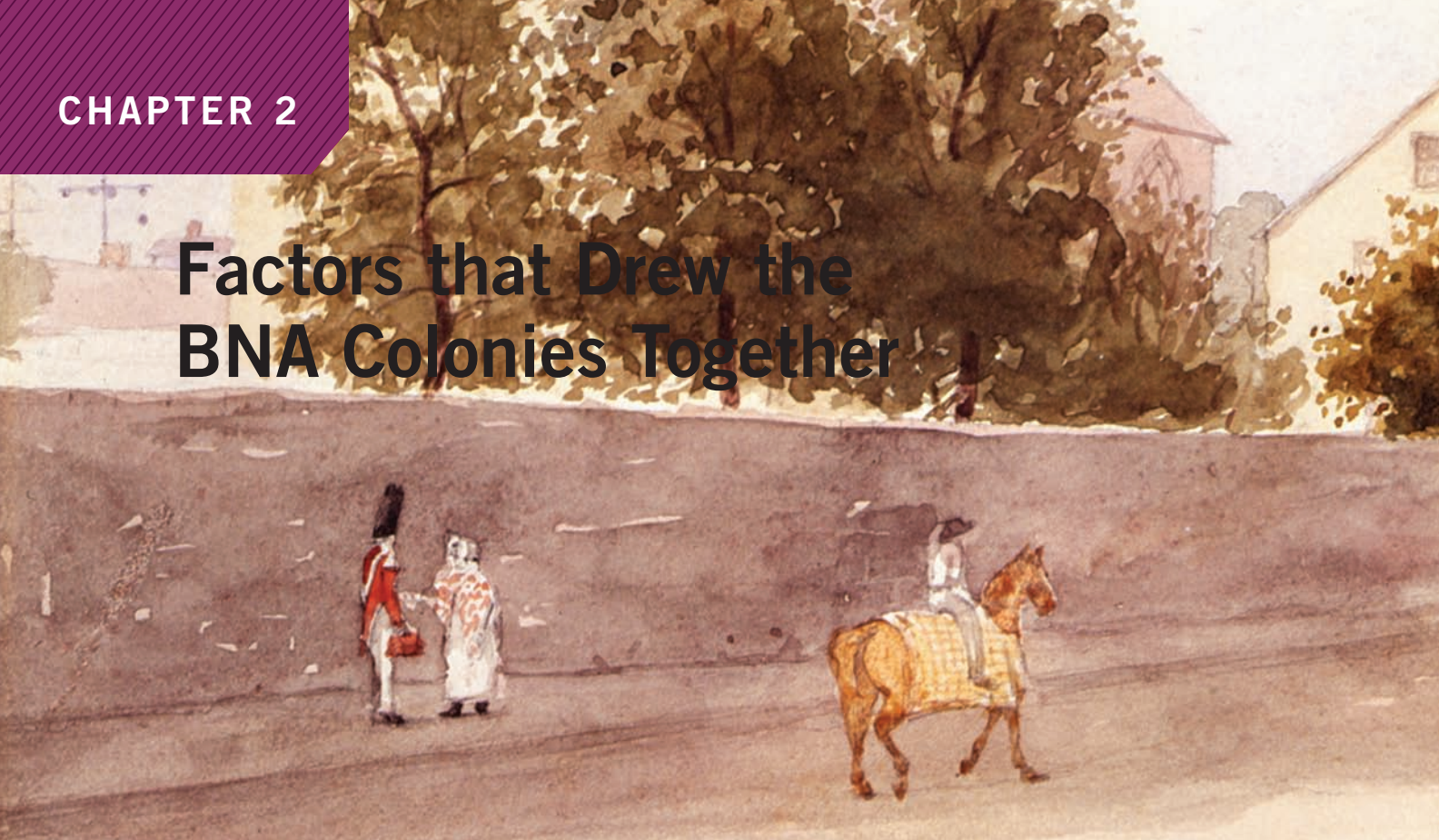


# Factors that Drew the BNA Colonies Together



These paintings depict British North America in the mid-1800s.

## Before READING

### Making Connections

Photographs and art can tell us a lot about life during a time period, or era.

- What can you tell about life in British North America by looking at the images on these two pages? Brainstorm and compare your ideas with a partner.
- Using the images as reference, write a journal entry from the perspective of a 14-year-old living during that era.

What are three things that all Canadians can identify with today? Perhaps you thought of the flag, national anthem, currency, weather, or even the Trans-Canada Highway. In contrast, the colonies and territories of British North America in the mid-1800s had little in common with one another. It was not easy to get from one place to another, so contact was limited.

There were reasons that encouraged the colonies to work with each other, however. They needed to earn more money from the sale of resource products from their farms, oceans, mines, and forests, but it was difficult to trade with each other when each colony had different currency and rules, and weighed and measured things differently.

There were also external reasons why they needed to work more closely with each other. People were worried about being taken over by the United States. Around 1860, there was a general feeling that things had to change. How do you think your life might be different today if the colonies had not decided to cooperate and form a united country?



## Questions to Consider as You Read this Chapter

You will explore these aspects of the Unit 1 Big Idea: **Why did some of the colonies put aside differences and create a new country—Canada?**

- What external factors threatened the future of British North America?
- What internal factors caused the colonies to work together?
- What were some conflicting points of view about issues facing the colonies?
- How does learning new terms improve your understanding of history?

## Thinking About Literacy

### Synthesizing Information

To synthesize means to put together information. This Consider Both Sides graphic organizer will help you synthesize the information you find about the factors that played a role in the creation of Canada. When you have finished this chapter, meet with a partner or group and reach a decision along with your reasons (factors).

#### CONSIDER BOTH SIDES: Should the Colonies Sign the BNA Act?

Colony or Region	Evidence that Supports	Evidence that Opposes	Decision	Reasons

# Economic Factors Affecting British North America

Around 1860, British North America's economy was weak. Economies need large populations in order to develop. Businesses need people to work for them and also to buy their products.

## WORDS MATTER

**intercolonial trade** trade among the BNA colonies

**duties/tariffs** taxes on imported goods

**external trade** trade with countries and colonies outside of British North America

**colonial preference** giving favoured treatment to colonial trade

**repealed** abolished

**free trade** trade without duties or tariffs

**Corn Laws** British laws that governed the import and export of grain; in Britain, cereal grains were called corn

**reciprocity** an exchange of privileges or favours as a basis for relations between two countries

## Intercolonial Trade

The populations of the colonies were still small and **intercolonial trade** was limited. It was hindered by the lack of efficient transportation systems to move the goods from one colony to another. In addition, the colonies used **duties**, or **tariffs**, to keep out goods from other colonies in order to protect their own goods. Some politicians realized that the colonies were missing out on an opportunity and should try to boost intercolonial trade.

## External Trade

Up to this point, the colonies' economic development depended largely on **external trade**. These exports went mainly to Britain and the U.S.

### To Britain

Britain had the largest economy in the world. It had a great demand for imported raw materials. British North America shipped wood, agricultural goods, and other raw products to Britain. British law allowed colonial products to be sold there free of tariffs.

The United States was developing rapidly, and it also exported goods to Britain; however, British law placed a tariff on American goods because they came from a foreign country. The cost of exporting goods was roughly the same in British North America and in the U.S. They included farm costs, transportation to a port, shipping across the Atlantic, and delivery to a seller in Britain. The tariff added an additional cost factor to American goods, which made them cost more than goods from British North America.

Because of this, British North American goods had an advantage over goods from the United States. This system was called **colonial preference** because it gave better treatment to goods from the colonies. It led to a healthy export trade from the colonies. Montréal became an important port as goods from the Canadas were shipped from there to Britain.



Montréal harbour, 1875. How might this scene appear today? What would be similar? What would be different?

**Checkpoint**

Why might the effects of free trade be a reason for signing the British North America Act? Note this in your organizer.

Britain began to move away from colonial preference in 1846 when it **repealed** the **Corn Laws**. The Corn Laws governed the import and export of grain. These laws kept the price of imported wheat high. During the 1850s, Britain continued to change to a system of **free trade**. This meant that all imported goods were allowed in duty free, which lowered costs to consumers.

Britain was the largest producer of manufactured goods in the world. It believed that free trade in all products, both natural and manufactured, would give it a larger share of world trade. The move to free trade was a devastating development for British North American producers.

They gradually lost their price advantage over American producers, and American producers took a larger share of the British market. How could British North American producers make up for the downturn in sales they were experiencing in Britain? You will revisit this question later.

### To the United States

The colonies also had a good export trade to the United States. Popular products there included lumber from New Brunswick, fish from Nova Scotia, and wheat from the Canadas. British North America and the United States signed the **Reciprocity** Treaty in 1854, which meant mutual reduction of tariffs. Britain signed the treaty on behalf of British North America because BNA did not have the authority to do so for itself.

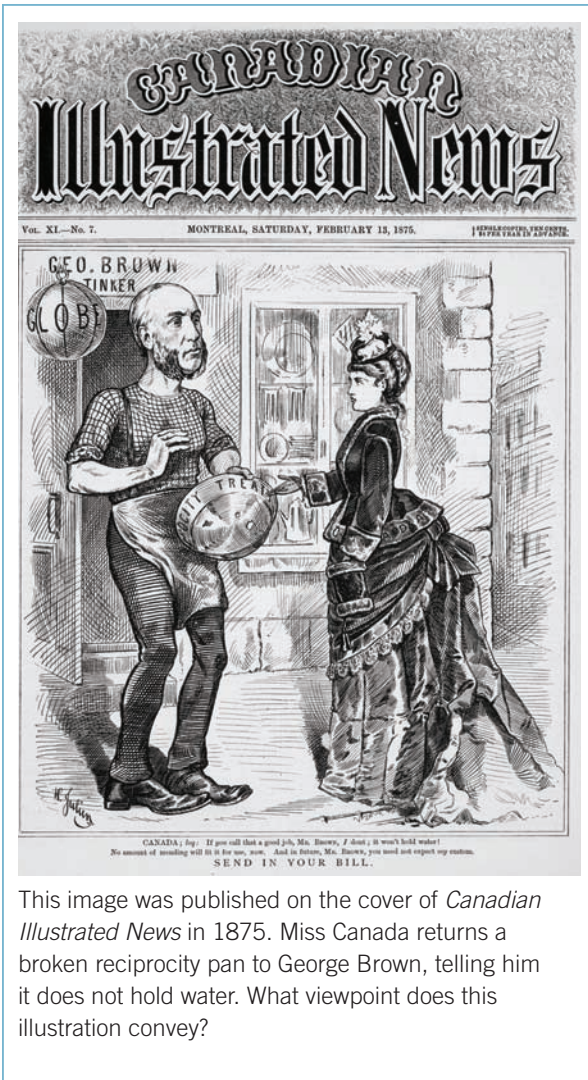
The Reciprocity Treaty allowed free trade on natural products between the British North American colonies and the United States. Exports grew, and it looked as though the colonies had successfully found another market for their goods.



An anti-Corn Law meeting in 1841 in London, where the Corn Laws were debated before their repeal in 1846. In the 1900s, Canada signed free trade agreements with the United States and Mexico. Those were also debated. What are some advantages and disadvantages of free trade?

### WEB LINKS •.....

For more information on the repeal of the British Corn Laws and for more information on reciprocity, visit our Web site.



This image was published on the cover of *Canadian Illustrated News* in 1875. Miss Canada returns a broken reciprocity pan to George Brown, telling him it does not hold water. What viewpoint does this illustration convey?

In 1865, the United States announced its intention to back out of the Reciprocity Treaty the next year because of three main reasons: it felt that British North America was benefiting more than it was from the Treaty; it disliked the tariffs that the Canadas placed on manufactured imports; and it wanted to punish Britain for supporting the South in the Civil War. This was the second damaging development for the colonies—first a sales loss in Britain, and now the same in the United States.

## The Solution

Business leaders and politicians in the colonies began to wonder whether they could replace the declining export markets with a strong internal trade. Could they establish an East–West trading link? Could they, for example, sell Nova Scotia fish in Canada East, and wheat from Canada West in New Brunswick?

This was more easily said than done. They would need good railway systems to transport the goods. All the colonies had separate governments. How could businesses get politicians to agree on the best way to proceed?

For the first time, people began to think that it might be best to join all the colonies under a single government. For the Maritimes in particular, such a

scheme had attractions. It would allow producers there to sell their goods to a large market in the Canadas. How might Canada East or Canada West benefit from uniting with other colonies?

## THINKING It Over

- Which of these terms are still used today— a) external trade, b) duties, c) tariffs, d) colonial preference, e) free trade, f) reciprocity, g) internal trade? How do you know? What issues are they used to discuss? **k a t**
- How did the loss of markets in Britain and the United States encourage some British North Americans to think that it might be a good idea to join the colonies together under a single government? **k t**
- With a partner, choose one of the following and consider how that person or organization would have felt about the idea of joining the colonies together in 1866 (in favour, neutral, opposed). As a class, hold a town hall meeting to discuss the differing views between these groups: a) an American wheat producer, b) a Nova Scotia fishing company, c) a British importer of agricultural products, d) a tool-manufacturing company in Montréal. Use the notes in your Consider Both Sides chart to support your answers. **t c a k**

## Conflicting Maritime Views on Joining the British North American Colonies

We now know that the British North American colonies were joined into a single country, Canada. Do you think everyone wanted this to happen? One of the important jobs of historians is to examine old documents to see how people felt about the great issues of the day.

When they examine records about joining the colonies, historians have found that there were great differences of opinion on the subject. They have also found that while some people argued in a reasonable tone, others took an emotional approach. Some were respectful of their opponents, while others could be discourteous. Look at the following extracts.

*[Those who support joining the colonies] are a few ambitious individuals, who feel our legislature too small for their capacity, and its rewards too [small] for their acceptance... [They want to] enjoy fat salaries far away from the provinces whose best interests are to be shamefully voted away in return for [two weeks of] feasting and a few private promises.*

**Halifax Citizen, November 26, 1864**

*That... Canada [and] the Maritime Provinces can [only] ever attain real greatness... in such a combination as is now proposed, [can] be seen by anybody in the least acquainted with the position they occupy relatively to each other...*

*[W]here, I would ask can [opponents of joining the colonies] expect to find another Nova Scotian who would be content with a position of isolation so utterly fatal to [the colony's] progress... [to] which... as the Atlantic frontage of British America, [it] may now look confidently forward?*

**Charles Tupper, 1866**

### THINKING It Over

1. Read the two extracts carefully. Note the position of each writer on the future of British North America and the reasons given. Think about the tone of each extract and identify wording that indicates the writer's bias. Answer the questions in an organizer like this one. **t a**

Comparison	Extract 1	Extract 2
In favour or opposed to joining		
Reasons given for this position		
My assessment on the arguments used. (Reasoned or emotional? Respectful or discourteous?)		



Among the people of the colonies, there was a wide range of attitudes about the best way forward. Some were concerned about religious freedom, others focused on land rights, and still

others wanted to preserve historical ties. Consider the following groups. Do they share the same attitudes? Compare and contrast the differences between them.

Group	Location	Attitude
Mi'kmaq	Nova Scotia New Brunswick	Concerned about the significant loss of reserve lands to settlers who wanted the best lands for agriculture and water access.
Acadians	Nova Scotia New Brunswick	Not supportive of Britain after their expulsion from the region in the 1750s. Identified with North America. Most would be happy to be independent.
Loyalists	Nova Scotia New Brunswick Canada East Canada West	Ancestors came to the area from the United States in the 1780s. Wanted to preserve British ties for which their ancestors had risked their lives.
People of African descent	Nova Scotia Canada West	Were usually descended from Loyalists and escaped slaves. Wanted to preserve the British connection and not get taken over by the U.S.
People of British descent	Nova Scotia New Brunswick Canada East Canada West	The largest group in the colonies. Wanted to preserve ties with Britain either as colonies or as an independent nation.
Cree, Haudenosaunee, Ojibwe, and other First Nations	Canada East Canada West	Had fought for British against Americans in 1780s and 1810s. Were forced to leave the U.S. and settle in Canada. Hoped British would protect them, but had seen many of the best lands taken away from them.
French Canadians	Canada East	Had mixed opinions about British. Not particularly loyal to Britain. Would welcome independence, but fearful of being swamped by too many English-speaking people in a larger country.
Irish	All of British North America	Catholic Irish disliked British treatment of Ireland and wanted the colonies to be independent. Protestant Irish supported the British connection.

### THINKING It Over

1. Which groups generally supported the British connection? Which groups generally opposed it?
2. Based on this evidence, how likely is it that the people of the colonies could be persuaded to

support an independent Canada that retained some of its British connections? Share your ideas in a paragraph.

# Transportation in British North America

## Problems with the Existing Transportation System

How do you think colonists transported their goods for export? The existing transportation system consisted mainly of canals, lakes, rivers, and railways. There were a few roads, but these were of poor quality and were impassable for much of the year, as they were covered with snow in winter and coated with mud in the spring.

The canals and railways were designed to get goods to ports where they could be shipped to Britain and the United States. They were not designed to support internal trade among the colonies. If British North America was to establish an internal trade, it would need an efficient railway system to transport goods among the colonies. The timeline on page H 38 shows some of the highlights of railway building in British North America to this point.

## Difficulty in Completing the Intercolonial Railway

Large gaps in the railway system prevented East–West trade from growing. Some political leaders in the Canadas had ties to railway companies. George-Étienne Cartier from Canada East, and Alexander Galt from Canada West were examples of this. They were disappointed to see that the Grand Trunk Railway, which linked Toronto and Montréal, was not doing well financially. There did not seem to be enough passenger and freight traffic within the Canadas for the railway to make profits.

However, if the Intercolonial Railway were extended westward from the Maritimes to Montréal, they thought, traffic on the Grand Trunk would rise. Nova Scotia fish could be shipped all the way to Toronto and Sarnia for sale. Manufactured goods from the Canadas could be shipped to Saint John and Halifax for sale. Passenger traffic would go up, too. The Grand Trunk would make large profits.

### *During* READING

#### Checkpoint

Why might effective transportation methods and routes be a reason to sign the British North America Act? Remember to write notes in your organizer.

#### WEB LINK • .....

For more information on the Intercolonial Railway, visit our Web site.



Alexander Galt



## Railway Construction in British North America



First railway station in Niagara Falls, 1859



Grand Trunk Railway historic map, around 1900



Grand Trunk Railway train, Montréal, 1910

### 1818

- The first rail tracks are laid for a tram in Pictou, Nova Scotia. The tram cars, pulled by horses, are used to move coal from a mine.

### 1835

- Construction of the first steam-powered railway begins. The Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad connects Lake Champlain in New York state with Montréal.

### 1839

- There are 16 km of horse-drawn railways around Niagara Falls.

### 1850

- There are 106 km of railway track in the Canadas.

### 1853

- The Grand Trunk Railway begins construction of a railway between Toronto and Montréal.

### 1854

- The Great Western Railway (registered in 1834) completed a line from Niagara Falls, through Hamilton and London, to Windsor.

### 1858

- The Intercolonial Railway begins in Nova Scotia, with a line from Halifax to Truro.

### 1859

- The Victoria Bridge over the St. Lawrence in Montréal opens, carrying trains across the river. The Mohawk nation helped build the bridge.

### 1860

- A section of the Intercolonial is built in New Brunswick from Saint John to Shediac. It is not extended farther because of a lack of money. There are 3200 km of railway track in the Canadas.

To complete the Intercolonial, investors would have to borrow large sums of money in London. The British banks were unwilling to lend the money unless they were certain the loans would be repaid. Baring Brothers, one of the largest British banks, thought that uniting the colonies would make them stronger and make repayment of the loans more certain. Barings stated that it would not lend any money for the Intercolonial as long as the colonies remained separate.

Manufacturers in the Canadas supported the Intercolonial. It would give them new markets in the Maritimes for their products. Food producers in the Maritimes were also in favour of the Intercolonial. They could see their goods selling in the larger markets of the Canadas. Many people's prosperity seemed to depend on completing the Intercolonial, and joining the colonies seemed to be a requirement for completing the Intercolonial.

### THINKING It Over

1. What was it about the existing railway system in British North America that made it unsuitable for supporting an internal East-West trading system?  
**k t**
2. Which of the following would be likely to support completion of the Intercolonial Railway? Explain the reasons why each group you select would support it. **t c k**
  - the United States government
  - a lumber producer in New Brunswick
  - a stove manufacturing factory in Sarnia, Canada West
  - a store owner in Vancouver, B.C.
  - a British bank
  - a shareholder in the Grand Trunk Railway
3. Select one of the groups from question 2. Prepare either a letter to the editor or a short speech persuading others to agree with your view of the railway. **c a t**
4. Do you think First Nations supported the railway? Why or why not? **k a t**

# Defence Issues

## During READING

### Checkpoint

How might the actions of the Fenians be a reason for or against signing the British North America Act? Record your ideas in your organizer.

During the War of 1812 (1812–1814), British North America successfully defended its colonies against the United States. For the next 50 years, the colonies were relatively secure from outside threats. Then a number of issues arose, forcing the colonies to re-examine their security.

## Britain Begins to Withdraw Its Troops

Britain stationed troops all over the world to make its colonies secure. However, it was expensive to maintain these troops overseas. British politicians began to look for cheaper alternatives. With steam-powered ships, it was possible to send troops overseas more quickly than it had been a century earlier. They decided to maintain a skeleton defence force in the colonies and ship troops rapidly from Britain when needed. Do you think they were making a wise choice? Why or why not?

Britain became involved in a war with Russia, known as the Crimean War (1854–1856). The British used their strategy of lining soldiers in three ranks and not firing a shot until enemy troops advanced. This was a development of the strategy Wolfe used at

Québec in 1759. It was now called the “Thin Red Line.” The Crimean military effort drained troops from British North America, where Britain regarded the threat of war as slim.

How could the colonies defend themselves if they were invaded? British withdrawals made them feel less secure. There were too many colonies in British North America to develop a single defence strategy. Would joining the colonies into a single country allow them to better defend themselves?



This painting depicts the Charge of the British Light Cavalry Brigade, a group of allied troops from Britain and France who attacked the Russians at Balaklava during the Crimean War (1854–1856).

## The Fenians

The Fenian Brotherhood was an Irish organization that used armed rebellion in their attempt to gain independence from Britain. Between 1847 and 1861, more than 2 million Irish people crossed the Atlantic to live in North America, especially the United States. This was part of the Great Migration that you read about in Chapter 1. The **Fenians** felt that Britain had treated Ireland very badly and brought misery to its people. What better way to gain revenge than to hurt British interests in the U.S. and British North America?

The Fenians began to organize local groups in the U.S., especially in northern states. The U.S. government did not try to stop the Fenians because some politicians thought they might be helpful in the event of an American invasion of British North America.

The people of British North America worried that the Fenians would invade. Some towns organized Committees of Safety to search for Fenian invaders. For example, Welland, in Canada West, organized such a group to protect the famous Welland Canal. The Six Nations chiefs were ready to provide men to defend the Crown's interests.

Few invasions occurred. In 1866, at Pigeon Hill, several hundred Fenians invaded Canada East from Vermont. They advanced 10 km but found no soldiers to fight. When they heard that colonial troops were on their way to intercept them, they retreated. Sixteen Fenians were captured and the rest were disarmed by American troops as they crossed back into Vermont.

### WORDS MATTER

**Fenians** an Irish nationalist organization founded in the U.S. that encouraged revolutionary activity to overthrow British rule in Ireland

### WEB LINK •.....

For more information on the Fenians, visit our Web site.



The military camp of the 60th Battalion at Pigeon Hill, Québec

Not all the Fenian attacks were so ineffective. They were prepared to use violence. In 1868, Thomas D'Arcy McGee was shot and killed in the streets of Ottawa. He was a politician of Irish origin who bitterly opposed the Fenians. The man convicted of his murder was believed to be a Fenian. Even before D'Arcy McGee's murder, politicians in the colonies had begun to wonder if a united country could better defend itself against threats like the Fenians.



Huge crowds turned out for the funeral procession of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, who was believed to have been killed by a Fenian.

## Manifest Destiny

In 1861, the United States erupted into civil war. The North (known as the Union) fought the South (the Confederacy) over whether slavery should be legal in the U.S. Slavery had already been abolished in the British Empire in 1833.

The North was opposed to slavery for economic as well as moral reasons. Slavery allowed the South to produce agricultural goods at exceptionally low prices. The North **exploited** immigrant labour to keep its costs down. In the end, however, its production costs were still higher than those of the South.

### WORDS MATTER

**exploit** to take advantage of someone or something for one's own benefit

The war increased tensions between the Union and British North America. In 1861, a naval incident almost brought Britain and the Union to war when an American warship stopped a British merchant ship and mail vessel (the *Trent*) on the high seas and captured two representatives of the Confederacy. For a time, war between Britain and the United States was a possibility. If this happened, British North America would inevitably be dragged into such a war. Later in the Civil War, agents of the Confederacy used Toronto and Montréal as bases to organize plots against the Union. The government in Washington demanded that the colonies should increase border security.

The Union was larger and more powerful than the Confederacy. By 1864, it had become obvious that the Union would win the war. When that happened, would the Union try to settle its scores against British North America? Some American politicians supported **Manifest Destiny**, the belief that the United States had a duty to take over all the land of North America. There was a feeling in the colonies that the Americans might use this principle as an excuse to invade the colonies at the end of the Civil War. This was just another factor that encouraged British North American politicians to consider joining the colonies into a larger organization—a single country.

**WORDS MATTER**

**Manifest Destiny** the belief that the United States had a duty to take over the land of North America

**WEB LINK** •.....

For more information on the U.S. Civil War or on Manifest Destiny, visit our Web site.



The American warship, the *San Jacinto* vessel stopping the *Trent*.

**THINKING It Over**

1. Complete an organizer like the one below, summarizing what you have learned in this section. **k c t**
2. In a paragraph, explain which of the three items examined in this section you think would have been the most important factor encouraging the colonies to work together. Explain the reasons for your choice. **t c**

Item	Important Facts	How It Encouraged British North America to Think About Creating a Single Country
Britain's withdrawal of colonial troops		
The Fenian raids		
The American Civil War		

## Were the Fenians in North America Freedom Fighters or Terrorists?

Violence has sometimes been used for political gain. In Grade 7, you learned that Americans gained independence from Britain through armed revolution. Today, in many countries around the world, there are armed struggles for political purposes. Are the people involved in such struggles terrorists, using force illegally? Or are they freedom fighters, struggling for their cause or for the independence of their people?

### The Fenians as Freedom Fighters

The Fenians justified their actions by saying that Britain had taken over Ireland by force around 1600. The British then imposed their way of life on the Irish. The British kept most of the wealth and all political control for themselves.

The only way to gain independence for the Irish people, the Fenians said, was to use force against the British, even if it meant attacking British North American colonies. Some innocent civilians in the colonies might die; that was the price to pay for the freedom of people in Ireland.

The Fenians saw themselves as freedom fighters. They felt they had just cause. They believed that this permitted them to use armed struggle to pursue their political goals.

### The Fenians as Terrorists

Terrorism involves using illegal force to create terror in order to achieve a political goal. Many British North Americans believed the Fenians were terrorists. People in the colonies had nothing to do with the situation in Ireland, they said. Solving the problems that existed there should be a matter between the people of Ireland and the people of Britain. There was no justification for the Fenians to invade the BNA colonies from the U.S. Some innocent people died in the Fenian raids, critics pointed out. The invasions were illegal. For these reasons, many people felt that the Fenians were terrorists.



The woman in this image symbolizes freedom to Ireland. Maidens wielding swords were historically used as symbols of liberty.

### What Do YOU Think?

1. In point form, summarize the arguments for each side. **k**
2. Explain which view of the Fenians in North America you favour and why. **t a**

# Political Issues Affecting the Canadas

When the Canadas were united in 1841, they established one legislature to pass laws for both colonies. The capital of the Canadas moved from place to place: Kingston, Montréal, Toronto, and Québec City. In 1857, Queen Victoria chose Ottawa as the permanent capital, and a new parliament building opened there in 1866. There were four major political parties in the new Parliament, as the organizer below shows. Which of these parties do you think were most likely to work together?

## *During* READING

### Checkpoint

Read the following section and add any relevant points to your Consider Both Sides organizer.

Name	Active in	Leader	Position on the political problems
Conservatives ("Tories")	Canada West	John A. Macdonald	Join BNA into a union based on representation by population
Liberals ("Grits")	Canada West	George Brown	Reform the union of the Canadas by adopting representation by population
Bleus	Canada East	George-Étienne Cartier	Work with Conservatives to join BNA if Canada East gets power over religion and family law
Rouges	Canada East	Antoine-Aimé Dorion	Join Canada East into the U.S. and reduce the power of the Church in political life

## The Representation Issue

There was a flaw in the way the Canadas had been united. Each colony had the same number of seats in the legislature. This was called **equal representation**. It worked reasonably well until the population of Canada West began to rise much more quickly than that of Canada East. What does the following table show?

### WEB LINK

For more information about political parties and leaders before Confederation, visit our Web site.

### WORDS MATTER

**equal representation** each region has the same number of elected representatives

Colony	Population 1851 Census	Population 1861 Census	Seats in Legislature
Canada East	890 261	1 111 566	65
Canada West	952 004	1 396 091	65





The House of Commons, Ottawa, 2004

## WORDS MATTER

### representation by population

the number of elected representatives is determined by the size of the population in the region represented



George Brown

Some politicians from Canada West began to say that this was unfair. Their colony had more people than Canada East did, therefore it should have more seats in the legislature. This is called

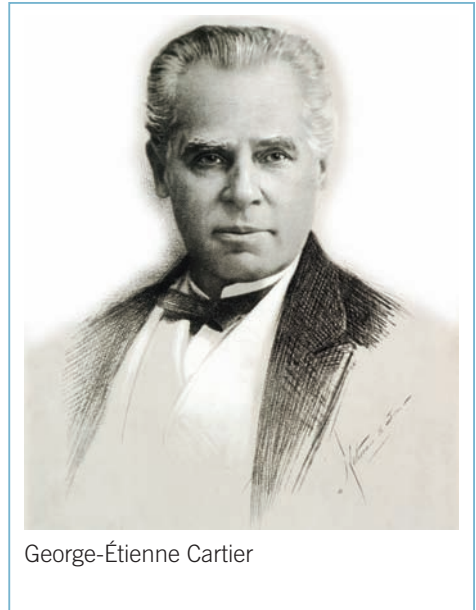
**representation by population.** These politicians began to press for representation by population. They calculated that if Canada East had 65 seats, Canada West should have 81 seats. They argued that Canada West should immediately get 16 additional seats. Three politicians became important as the debate raged. They were George Brown and John A. Macdonald from Canada West, and George-Étienne Cartier from Canada East.

### George Brown

The leading supporter of representation by population was George Brown. As owner of the *Globe*, Toronto's largest newspaper, he used its pages to write articles about the issue. In 1851, he entered politics, becoming a representative for the Toronto area in the legislature. He made fiery speeches there for representation by population.

## George-Étienne Cartier

George-Étienne Cartier was a lawyer from Montréal who entered the legislature in 1848. When representation by population became a major issue, he became a strong enemy of the proposal. The **Canadiens** were already a minority in the Canadas and in the legislature, he said (because not all the Canada East citizens or representatives were of French extraction). Canada West was largely English-speaking. So giving it more seats would only increase the English majority in the legislature. English Canada might use its increased powers to push through the new laws that were harmful to French society. The Canadiens would never agree to this, Cartier said. Cartier and Brown became bitter political enemies as they fought over this issue.



## John A. Macdonald

John A. Macdonald was a lawyer from Kingston who had gained a reputation for fairness and political skill. He entered the legislature in 1844. Macdonald recognized that the fiery speeches of Brown and Cartier were not going to solve the representation by population issue. He realized that what Cartier really wanted was to ensure protection for the Canadiens, their language, and their customs, not to preserve the voting system. Macdonald eventually saw a better solution, one that might give both Brown and Cartier what each really wanted: representation by population for Brown, and protection for the Canadiens for Cartier. You will learn in the following chapter how Macdonald accomplished this.

### WORDS MATTER

**Canadiens** Canadians of French descent

**riding** the area represented by an elected official

**proportional representation** a voting system in which a political party gets the same proportion of seats in government as the proportion of votes it received

**referendum** a vote by the citizens on a proposed government action

## The Representation Issue Today

Under the traditional Canadian voting system, in each **riding**, the candidate who gets the most votes wins. This often leads to a political party getting the majority of seats even though it may not have the majority of votes. For example, if Candidate A gets 40 percent of the votes, Candidate B gets 25 percent, and Candidate C gets 35 percent, Candidate A wins even though 60 percent of the people who voted did not vote for her or him. Some reformers want to introduce **proportional representation**, under which a party getting, for example, 40 percent of the votes, gets that number of the seats. In 2007, a **referendum** was held and Ontario voters rejected a version of this system.



These voters are acting as "Doctors of Democracy," encouraging the reform of Ontario's electoral system. They support a mixed-member proportional (MMP) voting system, which is a form of proportional representation.

## Stalemate in the Legislature

Politicians from Canada West wanted to improve transportation systems to increase trade between the Canadas. They wanted canals and railways expanded. Politicians from Canada East, however, did not feel that such improvements were necessary. Because Canada East and Canada West each had the same number of seats, the issue could not be properly solved. Every time a major bill came to debate in the legislature, politicians from the Canadas debated and voted each other into political deadlock.

Macdonald was trying to keep together a union that had been fragile ever since its controversial beginning with Lord Durham and his report, which you learned about in Grade 7. Macdonald desperately wanted all sides to work together—English and French, Canada West and Canada East. How could he find the solution?








## Who Was Left Out of the Discussions?

Women were largely left out of all political life at this time. They were not allowed to vote, and could not hold government office. This lack of representation made it difficult for women to have their issues addressed by politicians. Many women were interested in political matters, however, and discussed issues with their husbands and friends. In this way, their ideas might have had indirect influence.

Similarly, Aboriginal people were left out of public life and political affairs. Traditional First Nations culture did not believe in individual property ownership, so they generally did not own land. Nor were they generally regarded as British subjects. Since both property ownership and citizenship were requirements for voting, many First Nations were excluded from this right. As a result, the views and hopes of many First Nations were largely ignored during the discussions about the future of British North America.

Things have since changed. During the 1980s, when Canada's Constitution was reformed, women and Aboriginal people were consulted. The new Constitution includes protection and consideration for both groups, as well as many others that had previously been ignored.

### THINKING It Over

1. Imagine you are one of the following people:  
a) George Brown, b) George-Étienne Cartier, or  
c) John A. Macdonald. Write a speech to explain your position on the representation issue.  
2. With a partner, discuss which politician had the best position on the representation issue.  
3. Think about the representation of First Nations people in parliament. Even though First Nations were consulted during the constitution reform process in the 1980s, they do not have guaranteed representation in parliament. Why? Discuss your views in a small group.   

## Aboriginal People and Government

### Then

Politicians regarded the First Nations as outsiders with no real interests in what was decided about the future of British North America. First Nations representatives did not take part in the decisions that were eventually made.

The federal government became responsible for the affairs of First Nations people and the lands reserved for them.

In unit 2, you will learn that the federal government used its powers to force First Nations to sign treaties. These treaties relocated First Nations onto reserves, often with poor land quality. For generations, First Nations people have struggled to regain the rights to their lands and for better representation. Though all Aboriginal rights have not yet been addressed, people remain hopeful with recent developments.



The men shown in this painting are often referred to as the “Fathers of Confederation.” Analyze this image. How does it support the text above it?

### Now

In 1999, the Northwest Territories was divided into two and the territory of Nunavut was created. Nunavut is the largest administrative area in Canada, but has a population of only about 31 000 people. More than 80 percent of the population is Inuit. “Nunavut” means “Our Land” in Inuktitut, the main language of the area. Nunavut elected its own territorial government, which delivers government programs to the people.

In 2007, the governments of Québec and Canada signed an agreement recognizing a new administrative region in northern Québec called Nunavik. It is home to about 10 000 Inuit in 14 remote communities.

Nunavik is not a separate territory, but it will have many of the same powers as a territory. It will receive provincial funding to deliver provincial services such as education and health care, just as Nunavut, Yukon, and the Northwest Territories receive federal funding to deliver such programs.

The creation of Nunavut and Nunavik shows that Canada is striving to find better ways to deliver services to First Nations. It more importantly acknowledges self-governance and shows that the North is becoming an increasingly important part of the nation’s development.



The Inuit culture of the Nunavut government is reflected in details such as the ceremonial mace, made of a narwhal tusk.

## What You Will Need

- a game board (provided by your teacher)
- one list of Key Developments (provided by your teacher)
- 2 counters of different colours
- 1 die
- a coloured pencil or marker of your choice

## How to Play

**A.** Work with a partner. Imagine it is the mid-1860s. One of you represents George Brown, the other represents George-Étienne Cartier. You are competing to see who can win the political struggle over representation in the legislature.

								YOU WIN!
4	5	12	13	20	21	28	29	36
3	6	11	14	19	22	27	30	35
2	7	10	15	18	23	26	31	34
1	8	9	16	17	24	25	32	33
START								

**B.** On the game board, colour the squares as shown on the mini game board below.

**C.** Place your counters on START. Take turns rolling the dice and move your counter the number of squares you roll. If you roll a 6, you lose your turn.

**D.** If you land on a coloured square, look at the Key Developments item for that number. Follow the instructions given for that square.

## How to Win

Play the game until someone reaches the YOU WIN! square. You do not need to roll the exact number to land on the YOU WIN! square. After the game, discuss the Thinking It Over questions with your partner.

## THINKING It Over

1. Why do you think players had to lose a turn if they rolled a 6? **t k**
2. Which Key Developments made Brown more likely to win? Cartier? Explain your choices. **k t**
3. What two additions would you make to the Key Developments so that they better illustrate the factors or events involved in the representation by population issue? **k t a**

# PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

You have learned that in the mid-1800s, some politicians began to think about uniting the BNA colonies into a single country. There were internal reasons, such as the desire to build a railway to increase trade and the challenge of political deadlock in the legislature. There were external factors as well. These included security issues. Another external factor was Britain's move to reduce the favoured treatment in colonial trade. Finally, you learned that people had different points of view about the best solution to the challenges faced by the colonies. It still was not known if political leaders could unite the colonies.

After

## READING

### Synthesizing Information

Review your completed Consider Both Sides organizer. With a partner, have a mini-debate.

Debate the reasons for and against signing the British North America Act. Together, reach the best decision. Record the main reasons for your choice.

#### CONSIDER BOTH SIDES: Should the Colonies Sign the BNA Act?

Colony or Region	Evidence that Supports	Evidence that Opposes	Decision	Reasons

## THINKING It Through

Think of four questions that will help guide your inquiry about the two colonies' attitudes toward joining together. Use primary and secondary materials to research (see pages S 4 and S 5 in the Skills Tool Kit for help with primary and secondary sources). You are going to compare Canada West with one of the Maritime colonies. Select one of the following colonies.

- Prince Edward Island
- New Brunswick
- Nova Scotia

1. Locate and use some primary and secondary materials to research the two colonies' attitudes

toward joining the colonies together (see pages S 4 and S 5 in Skills Tool Kit for help with primary and secondary sources). Create a decision-making chart showing the advantages and disadvantages of joining for each colony. Consider both internal and external factors. **K T**

2. Create a display board in which you present the results of your findings. Include some visual items as well as text items. Some of these can be illustrations or extracts from primary materials. **C**
3. Use as many key terms as possible in your display. **C**