

THE HISTORIC CHARLOTTETOWN CONFERENCE

Where Statesmen "Built Better Than They Knew"

Day-By-Day Description Of First Meeting Of The Confederation Fathers Seventy-Five Years Ago

Of the history-making conference of the Confederation Fathers at Charlottetown seventy-five years ago, no complete record remains. The conference was intended to give scope for free and informal discussion, and for that reason doubtless newspaper representatives were rigidly excluded. The following outline, from "The Maritime and Canada Before Confederation," by Prof. William Menzies Whiteley, is reprinted from "The Guardian" edition of June 10 last and is based chiefly on the account of Hon. Edward Whelan, himself a newspaper editor and one of the Charlottetown representatives at the conference.

Before the departure of Canadian executive councillors left Quebec they held several important sessions to discuss, and come to an agreement upon, the terms of union they would advocate at the Charlottetown Conference. The delegation consisted only of executive councillors and they therefore spoke with a united voice. In striking contrast was the situation in the Maritime Provinces. Not only was there no previous understanding among these Provinces, but in each case the delegation was made up of representatives of both government and opposition. The lack of a coalition government, the lack of this important matter in any of the Maritime Provinces was a distinct element of weakness in their position in contrast to Canada's united front.

The First Delegate

The first delegate from the Mainland Provinces to arrive at Charlottetown was R. B. Dickey, Reform leader in the Nova Scotia legislative council. Throughout the sessions of both this and the subsequent Quebec Conference he continued to play a lone hand. Several days before the Nova Scotia delegation reached Charlottetown on the "Heather Bell" from Brule, Nova Scotia on the afternoon of August 31.

They were not officially met on landing but made their way as best they could to the "Pavilion." The Prince Edward Island Government later justified itself in the apparently discourteous neglect by claiming that the Nova Scotians had arrived unexpectedly early. Several opposition papers, however, charged the members of the Government with having been at the circus when the delegates arrived, and the charge was not effectively answered.

Circus a Counter-attraction

Just before midnight on the same day the New Brunswick delegation arrived on the "Prince of Wales" from Shediac. Most of them made their way to quarters in the "Mansion House."

The Canadians arrived at noon on September first on the Canadian government steamer "Queen Victoria." They were met only by the Provincial Secretary, W. H. Pope, who rowed out to meet them "with all the dignity he could." As the only staunch advocate of Maritime Union it was perhaps fitting that he should meet this unofficial Canadian delegation to an official conference on Maritime Union.

The Canadians, or such of them as could be accommodated, were directed to the "Franklin." The others remained aboard their ship. Here too the Prince Edward Island Government explained their inability to find accommodations for all the Canadians as due to the fact that a larger number had come from Canada than had been expected. The truth seemed to be that the city was full of Islanders who had poured in from the country to see, not the Conference, but the Circus.

The Opening Day

The date of the Conference had been set for September first. The opening day, however, was taken up with formalities of proceeding. The Maritime delegates had no sponsor convened and selected as chairman Col. J. H. Gray, Prime Minister of the Island, than a telegram was read announcing the imminent arrival of the Canadians. It was thereupon agreed that the

Will Open Golf Course

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For this Alexander Galt the Canadian Minister of Finance had been held in reserve. On Monday he spoke. His speech was impressive. The delegates marvelled at his wizardry. In Canada people had become used to his mastery over figures in the service of politics. The Maritime Province delegates were hardly prepared. Even those who had heard Tilley were impressed with his discussion on the equitable distribution of provincial debts, and the nature and incidence of taxation under the proposed union, the presentation of the Canadian point of view was virtually complete.

There was a session on Tuesday, the sixth, at which several Canadians gave further elaboration to the Canadian point of view, and the project of a subsequent conference for the formal discussion

HON. T. A. CREECH
Minister of National Resources in the Dominion Government, who will formally open the new golf course at the P.E.I. National Park on Wednesday morning.

Will Welcome Distinguished Guests



LT.-GOVERNOR DEBLOIS

Will welcome guests to Confederation celebration at Exhibition Grounds on Monday evening.

of this larger union scheme was presented by the Canadian delegation.

That evening the weight of nation-building was sufficiently lifted from the shoulders of the delegates to permit of their participation in a ball at Government House, just west of the town.

McGee, true to form, remained in Charlottetown and gave a lecture on Burns.

Sceptical

On Wednesday, the seventh, the Maritime Province delegates met alone. They had been appointed for the exclusive purpose of considering a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, and so far they had given the matter but the slightest consideration. That little, however, had been sufficient to convince a proportion of the delegation, including some of its leading members, that such a union would be not only difficult but impossible. After the discussion on the seventh there could be less doubt about the matter.

There remained, however, the question as to whether, supposing the larger Union to be effected, the Maritime Provinces should enter it separately or as a unit. It was obvious that in the former case their position in relation to Canada would be weakened. On the other hand, such a preliminary union would seriously weaken the Maritime argument for a larger representation in the Central Upper

Brown, however, balanced the principle of apportionment in the Lower House with the principle of sectional equality in the projected Upper House. The inference was that Upper and Lower Canada were each "sections," and that the Maritime Provinces was a third section. Had this point not been stressed at the beginning the Canadians could hardly have been able subsequently to deny the Maritime Provinces provincial, as opposed to sectional, equality of representation in the federal Upper House. Certain it is that this principle was within a few days publicly advocated by Brown himself. Indeed, on the purely constitutional side, this may be regarded as Brown's distinctive contribution to the making of the new constitution.

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"John A.'s" Day

Saturday was the day of John A. Macdonald, and the Conference remained in session all day. Whatever tendency there might have been in the speeches of Cartier and Brown to emphasize the need for local autonomy was balanced by the insistence of Macdonald on the need for a strong central government which should control and dominate all the parts in their essential common life.

Macdonald was already known as an advocate of a legislative union of all British North America, indeed the very tardiness of Macdonald in his practical acceptance of the union movement may easily be condoned, if not actually explained, by the very magnitude and difficulty of his scheme. It was one that would inevitably have involved the creation of strong and efficient municipal governments, and although in the Canada considerable progress had been made in this direction, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that they were non-existent in the Maritime Provinces. It was natural that a great part of the Saturday session should have been occupied in establishing of Macdonald by Maritime Province delegates.

Galt's Wizardry

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House than that of either Upper or Lower Canada.

F. E. Island's Demand

But neither speculative advantages nor speculative disadvantages were to be weighed against the practically unanimous demand of Prince Edward Island that its legislature be not abolished. No scheme appeared to be possible that would give to the Island in a united Maritime Legislature any determined voice. What the Islanders actually insisted upon was the location of the capital on the Island. (Tupper Papers, Canadian Archives)

Considering the inaccessibility of the Island from the mainland during the winter when the legislative sessions of the provinces were held, this insistence amounted to a refusal to unite with the mainland provinces.

W. H. Pope remained the only consistent advocate of this act of self-abnegation; and, although he came of a great family on the Island, his connection with the proprietors was already weakened by his position with the people. Even Pope, however, had in the earlier assembly debate indicated a preference for the larger union.

The Maritime delegates thereupon adjourned their Union conference to meet in Halifax on Saturday, the tenth.

Maritime Union

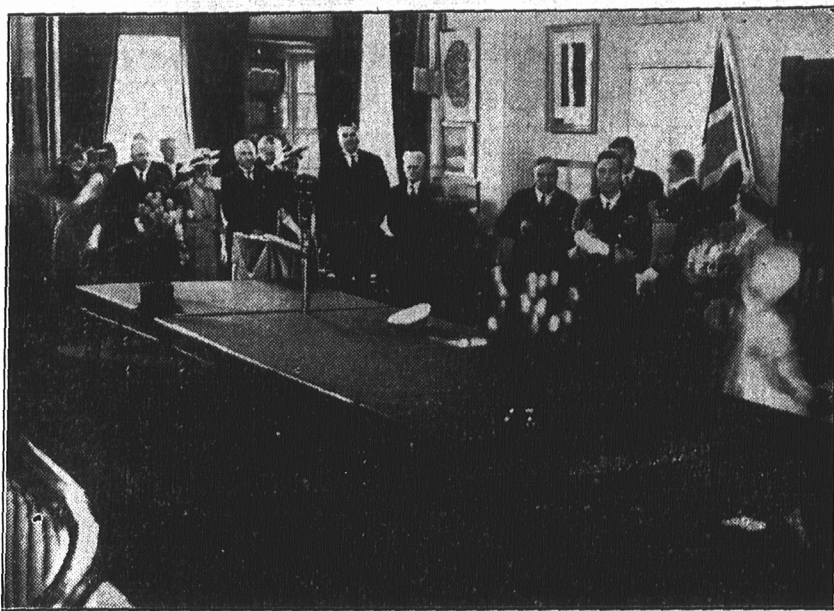
It has often been said, and it is the prevailing opinion, that the Conference at Charlottetown did nothing but listen to the Canadians discuss the Canadian project, and abandon their own. One Maritime

Chairman



Chairman of Confederation Celebration Committee.

At Shrine of Confederation



Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth in the Confederation Chamber, Charlottetown, June 14, 1939. Standing beside the table around which the Confederation met in 1864, they received the addresses of welcome from the Province and City.

delegate subsequently asserted that only one resolution of any sort, other than that to receive the Canadians and the later one to adjourn to Halifax, was even presented at Charlottetown, and that it was never put to the vote. (Public letter of E. Palmer, in Monitor, Dec. 22, 1864.)

On the other hand in Saunders' biography of Tupper, published only a year after the latter's death, there appears the text of a resolution said to have been moved by Tupper himself, and passed by the Conference. This resolution committed the Conference to the principle of Maritime Union without equivocation or reservation.

Although Saunders may easily have misinterpreted an item in the Tupper papers, it is impossible to think of this resolution as a deliberate falsehood. But on no other occasion would it have been apropos. A likely clue is found in the long letter of Edward Palmer of the Island, returning for a ball and banquet at Charlottetown that evening. He insisted that no resolution had passed the Conference; that one had been introduced, but that

no question had been taken on it. It would explain most of the facts to regard this resolution mentioned by Palmer as the one introduced by Tupper.

While the Conference was in session in Charlottetown a visitor had arrived, a Mr. Levesley, representing the Intercolonial Contract Company of London, seeking to secure a contract for building the line between Truro and The Bend. Negotiations were there begun which were carried on after the conclusion of the Conference. The New Brunswick Government accepted the offer conditionally on the acceptance by the Government of Nova Scotia. It seemed as if Tilley might be able to secure closer economic relations between the two provinces without the necessity of any political union.

Quebec Conference Planned

On Thursday the delegates made an excursion to the North Shore of the Island, returning for a ball and banquet at Charlottetown that evening. The following morning at four Canada's debutation and the Maritime delegates left to

gether on the "Queen Victoria" for Pictou. Some of the Canadians visited the coal mines and proceeded overland by carriage to Truro, and thence by rail to Halifax. The others remained on board ship and arrived at the Nova Scotia capital early Saturday afternoon, almost simultaneously with the overland party. At three the delegates were presented to the Lieutenant Governor; at four the Conference was reconvened, the Canadians again sitting in as visitors, and taking an active part in the plans for future discussion. After a brief session the Conference was adjourned till Monday at ten.

Between ten and eleven on Monday the Maritime delegates were cloaked by themselves discussing the bearings of the Maritime Union scheme on the larger plan presented by the Canadians. They did not come to any conclusion, and the Canadians were readmitted.

After a joint session of some three hours a decision was finally reached in favor of the Canadian proposal for a speedy convocation of a formal conference on the larger federal proposal. Macdon-

aid immediately took matters in hand, telegraphed to Quebec that the proposed conference would soon be held there, telegraphed to Newfoundland asking it to send representatives to the conference at Quebec. The date was set as October 10.

Lieut. Governors Of P. E. Island

From 1770 to Confederation in 1870

Capt. Walker Patterson	1770-1786
(app'd. 1768-assumed office 1770)	
Gen. Edmund Fanning	1786-804
Col. Joseph F. W. Desbarres	1805-1813
Col. John Ready	1814-1821
Sir Arctur W. Young	1821-1825
Sir John Harvey	1826-1837
Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy	1837-1841
Sir Henry Vere Humbley	1841-1847
Sir Donald Campbell	1847-1850
Sir Alexander Bannerman	1851-1854
Sir Dominick Daly	1854-1854
George Dundas, Esquire	1854-1859
William Cleaver Francis Robinson, Esquire	1859-1873

From 1873 Till Present Time

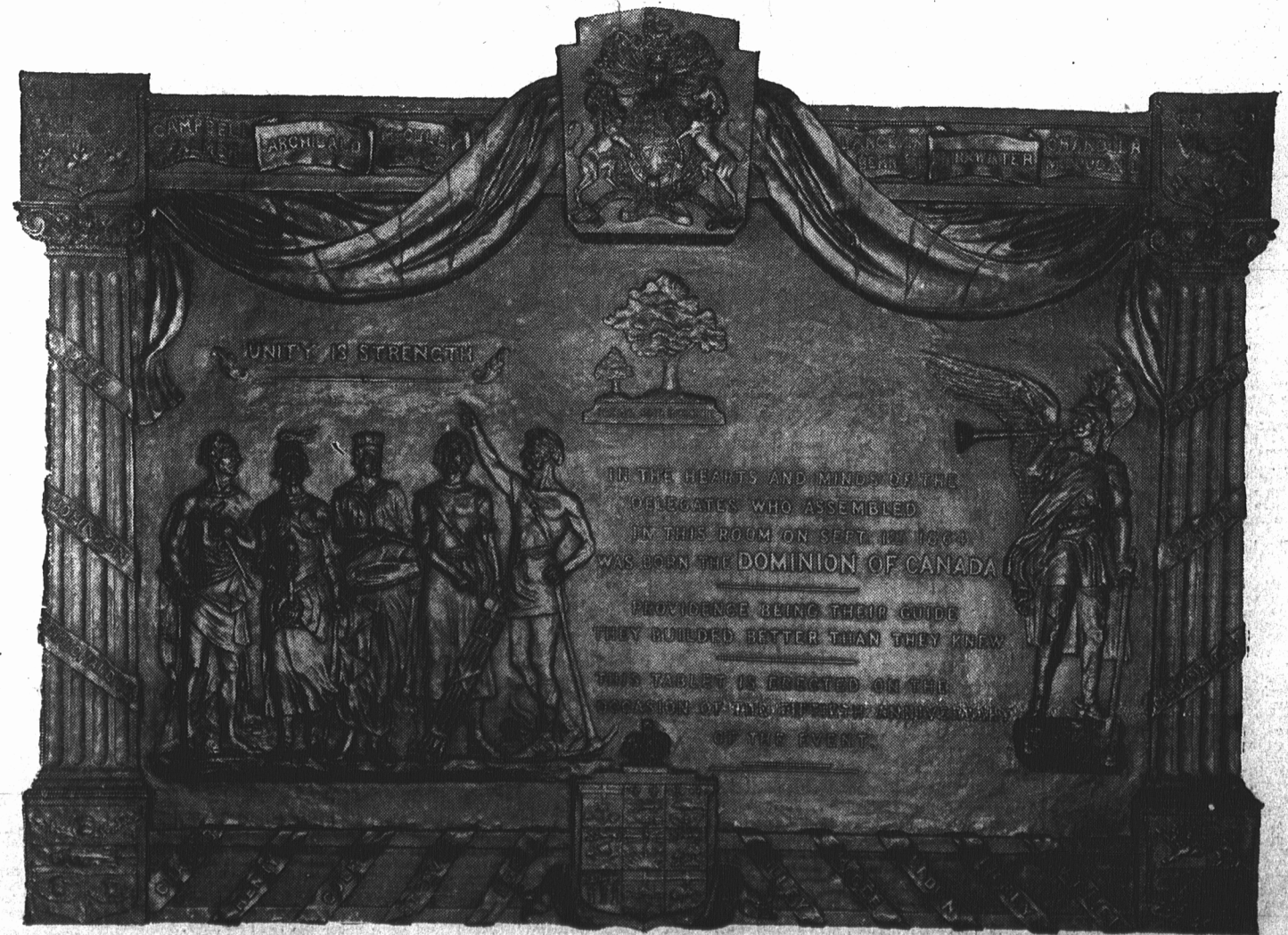
Sir Robert Hodgson	1873-1876
Thomas H. Haviland	1876-1884
Andrew A. Macdonald	1884-1889
J. C. Carvell	1889-1894
George W. Howland	1894-1896
P. A. MacIntyre, M.D.	1896-1904
D. A. MacKinnon, K.C.	1896-1904
Lt. B.	1904-1910
Benjamin Rogers	1910-1913
Augustine C. Macdonald	1913-1919
Murdoch MacKinnon	1919-1924
Frank R. Hearst	1924-1934
Charles Dalton	1934-1935
George D. DeBlois	1935-

Vice-Chairman



HON. DR. W. J. P. McMILLAN
Vice Chairman of the Confederation Celebration Committee.

CONFEDERATION PLAQUE IN LEGISLATURE BUILDING



A wealth of symbolic detail is given in the mural bronze in the Confederation Chamber, Charlottetown, shown above. It commemorates the fiftieth Anniversary of the Charlottetown Conference, Sept. 1, 1864.

The crests of the uniting Provinces are shown in each corner, Ontario and Quebec being at the top left and right respectively, and at the bottom Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, right and left.

The names of the delegates appear in the margin and at the top centre the Arms of England—on a keystone—are resting on the folds of the Union Jack and at the bottom centre the Canadian Arms. At the right the herald is announcing the event. The line "Providence being their Guide" comes from Milton's "Paradise Lost," and "They builded better than they knew" from Emerson.

The trees in the centre represent the large oak of England and the small trees the colony of Prince Edward Island, the Latin inscription reading "Parva sub Ingenio"—Small under Great. The crest was designed and used at the time government was set up in Prince Edward Island—then the Island of St. John—following the conquest.

On the left of the table are five statesmen from the Provinces concerned, from left to right respectively: Sir John A. Macdonald from Ontario or Upper Canada; Sir Georges Cartier from Quebec or Lower Canada; Sir Leonard Tilley

from New Brunswick; Colonel John Hamilton Gray from Prince Edward Island, and Sir Charles Tupper from Nova Scotia. The heads are from portraits.

At Tupper's feet are a pick-axe and a fish, representing the basic industries of Nova Scotia—mining and fishing. Regarded as the finest orator of the group, he is shown as pointing to the words "Unity is strength."

Colonel Gray was chairman of the Charlottetown Conference and he holds the Roman symbol of unity—the fasces—four staves bound together, representing the first four Provinces to be united through the medium of the Conference.

Sir Leonard Tilley holds a scroll, on which appears the word "Dominion." It was he, according to tradition, who quoted the scriptural prophecy, "Thy Dominion shall extend from sea to sea and unto the rivers' end."

Sir George Cartier holds a torch and a sword of justice, symbolic of his great professional achievement in recording the laws of his native Province.

Sir John Macdonald holds the symbol of medicine—the winged serpents—recalling the biblical story of Moses holding the brazen serpent before the gaze of the children of Israel. Sir John was the outstanding exponent of the ideal of union at his feet are a sheaf of wheat and a locomotive, recalling the part played by the railway in opening up the great unsettled western areas, and bringing them into Confederation.

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- 1-1938 Hudson Deluxe
- 1-1936 Olds Sedan
- 1-1937 Dodge Deluxe Sedan
- 1-1937 Plymouth Deluxe Sedan
- 1-1935 Chev Coach
- 1-1937 Lafayette Coach
- 1-1936 Studebaker Sedan
- 1-1931 Chev Coach
- 1-1938 Dodge 3/4 Ton Truck

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NEW ERE SPEAKER
(By The Canadian Press)
DUBLIN.—Eamon O'Neill, Fianna Fail deputy for Cork West, has been elected deputy speaker of the Dail Eireann in succession to P. J. O'Leigh, who resigned because of ill health.

Use Mincard's for dandruff.