Road to Confederation

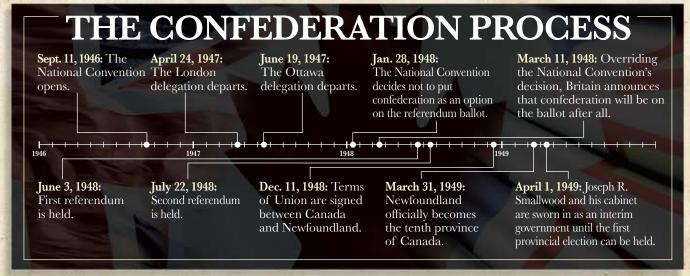
Did Newfoundland make the right choice when it joined Canada in 1949?

If Newfoundland had remained on its own as a country, what might be different today?



6.1 Smallwood campaigning for Confederation

6.2 Steps in the Confederation process, 1946-1949



The Referendum Campaigns: The Confederates

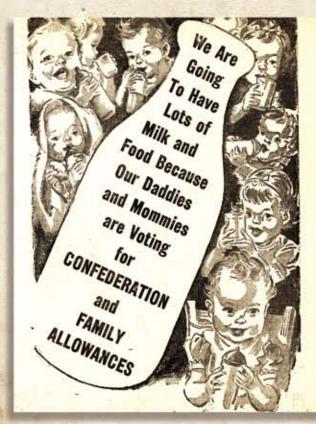
Despite the decision by the National Convention on January 28, 1948 not to include Confederation on the referendum ballot, the British government announced on March 11 that it would be placed on the ballot as an option after all. With the date of the first referendum set for June 3, this seemingly did not give either side of the debate much time to prepare for their campaigns. However, the Confederate Association, formed to advocate that Newfoundland join Canada, had a head start as it was created on February 21, 1948.*

The Confederate Association elected Gordon Bradley as president and Joseph Smallwood as campaign manager. Its campaign was officially launched on April 7, 1948, although it had really begun when the National Convention defeated Smallwood's motion to include confederation on the referendum ballot. Since that time, Bradley and Smallwood had given regular radio addresses over VONF and VOCM, condemning the delegates who had voted down confederation as the "29 dictators."

The Confederate Association was well-funded, wellorganized, and had an effective island-wide network. It focused on the material advantages of confederation, especially in terms of improved social services – family allowance (the "baby bonus"), unemployment insurance, better pensions, and a lower cost of living. At the same time, the confederates convinced voters that the anti-confederates represented the mercantile elite. They reminded voters of the corruption and poverty of the 1920s and 1930s, and suggested that a vote for responsible government would signal a return to depression-era poverty. These messages were combined in the confederates' strong appeal to families and the parents of young children. The Association's newspaper, The Confederate, described children as the future of Newfoundland, and argued that a brighter future lay with Canada. A vote for confederation was a vote for children.

"Playing on the fears and suspicions that Newfoundlanders associated with Responsible Government, and linking those fears explicitly to the well-being of the country's children, Smallwood and his fellow Confederates utilised ... the notion that a vote against Confederation was an abdication of parental responsibility ..."

- Karen Stanbridge, "Framing Children in the Newfoundland Confederation Debate, 1948," 2007



6.3 From *The Confederate*, June 23, 1948

The confederates used the idea that if one wanted to be a good parent, he or she needed to vote for confederation.



6.4 From *The Confederate*, **May 5, 1948**The confederates often depicted anti-confederates as the mercantile elite.

The Referendum Campaigns: The Anti-Confederates



6.5 Chesley Crosbie, leader of the Economic Union Party

Compared to the Confederate Association, the anticonfederates had less funding, were less organized, and lacked clear leadership. Indeed, the anti-confederates were disunited and consisted of several groups with differing interests: the Responsible Government League, the Economic Union Party, and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese. However, despite the shortcomings of the anti-confederate campaign, it had widespread support. Its appeal was nationalistic and anti-confederates implored people: "Don't sell your country."

The Responsible Government League (RGL) argued that Newfoundland was economically and financially healthy, with rich natural resources and a strategic location in the North Atlantic. It thought that confederation was unnecessary and that the proposed terms of union posed a threat to the fisheries and the local industries that were protected by Newfoundland tariffs. Its platform was that responsible government should be restored first. Newfoundlanders could then decide whether or not confederation was the best option for the future and only then negotiate terms of union.

The Economic Union Party (EUP) argued for economic union with the United States. It was led by successful businessman Chesley Crosbie,* who believed that if Newfoundland could export its resources to the United States, the economy would be strong enough for responsible government to succeed. However, since that was not an option on the referendum ballot, the Economic Union Party supported responsible

6.6 A cartoon from The Independent, March 29, 1948, promoting economic union with the United States



government as a step towards that goal.

The Roman Catholic Archdiocese also argued for the restoration of responsible government, which it had been active in attaining in 1855. At the very least, it argued, responsible government should be restored before consideration was given to confederation with Canada. In particular, the Church was concerned with keeping the denominational school system, which it feared would be destroyed with confederation.

6.7 A letter from the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. John's supporting responsible government, from *The Monitor*, April 1948

6.8 A cartoon from *The Independent*, April 5, 1948, suggesting joining Canada would mean extra taxes for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians



His Grace The Archbishop Speaks To Young Newfoundland

[Extract from letter to St. Bonaventure's Alumni July, 1947]

"There would seem to be ground for the criticism we sometimes hear that our people, our young people especially, are indifferent to matters vitally affecting the welfare of our country. That is due partly to the fact that the present generation of youth has grown up in an undemocratic atmosphere, and with no practical experience of democratic government. It may also be due to some extent to the prosperity which came to us as a result of the war. There is a wealth of wisdom in the well-known lines of the Irish poet Goldsmith:

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

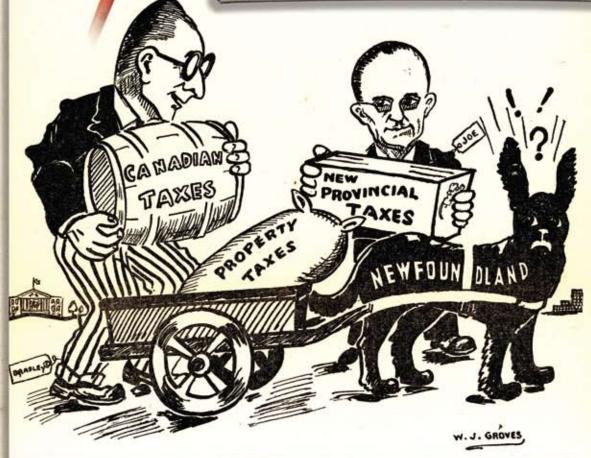
"But whatever the cause, there is a general apathy among the younger generation from which we must awake if we are to avert a national disaster. It is to the younger generation we must look for the leadership of the future. There is no dearth of men in the country eminently qualified for positions of trust and responsibility in any field, but they fail to give the leadership which the country has a right to expect from them.

"I do not think it any exaggeration to say Newfoundland today is stronger than at any period in her history. Her strength is due to circumstances and causes which are not ephemeral or passing but are permanent and lasting. It is for this reason that the decision that Newfoundland will be called upon to make is so vitally important. The present generation are the trustees for posterity in a sense that no previous generation could claim to be. It would surely be the supreme tragedy of our history, if through apathy, indifference, lack of enlightened leadership, or the influence of sinister propaganda, we were to alienate irretrievably an inheritance which was won for us by our patriotic forebears, and which is a sacred heritage from the past. These are serious matters to which we should give grave and anxious thought, and in which the enlightened educated youth of the country should make their influence felt in the times which lie immediately ahead.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

† E. P. ROCHE, Archbishop of St. John's.

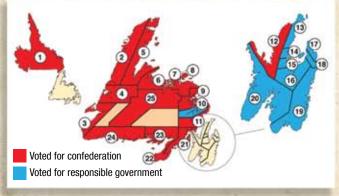


Referendum Results

The first referendum occurred on June 3, 1948. Voters had three options: responsible government, confederation, or continued Commission of Government. In the first referendum, there were more votes against than in favour of responsible government. But in order to definitively settle the matter, a second referendum was scheduled for July, this time with the last-place Commission of Government option removed. The confederates realized that victory was within their reach, and they entered the second campaign with energy and enthusiasm. In the meantime, the anti-confederates remained disorganized and their morale was shaken.

In order to win additional votes, the confederates adopted two new tactics. First, they emphasized the role played by the Roman Catholic Church in the first referendum, which they hoped would swing Protestant votes to confederation. In early July, as a result of confederate pressure, the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Association issued a circular letter to all members. It cited the role played by the Roman Catholic Church, condemned "such efforts at sectional domination," and warned Orangemen of the dangers of such influence, which they should resist.

Second, the confederates attacked the members of the Economic Union Party for being disloyal, anti-British, and pro-republican. Confederation was presented as pro-British, and "British Union" became a new slogan. An anti-confederate response was to plaster St. John's with posters reading "Confederation Means



6.9 Electoral boundaries and results of the first referendum, 1948 Based on an illustration by Duleepa Wijayawardhana, 1999

10. Bonavista South

13. Carbonear-Bay de Verde

11. Trinity North

12. Trinity South

14. Harbour Grace

15. Port de Grave

16. Harbour Main-Bel

- Labrador St. Barbe
- St. George's-Port au Port Humber
- White Bay
- Green Bay
- **Twillingate** Fogo
- Bonavista North
- Island
- 17. St. John's East
- 18. St. John's West
- 19. Ferryland
- 20. Placentia-St. Mary's
- 21. Plancentia West
- 22. Burin
- 23. Fortune Bay-Hermitage
- 24. Burgeo-La Poile
- 25. Grand Falls
- N/A Not applicable-no district

Note: The result shown for each district in the map above is how the majority of that district voted. Information on the percentage vote received by each option is in the tables below.

	Votes	Percentage
Responsible Government	69 400	44.6%
Confederation	64 066	41.1%
Commission Government	22 311	14.3%

		Responsible Government	Confederation
Avalon	8%	67%	25%
Other Districts	20%	26%	54%

6.10 From The Daily News, June 4, 1948



THE WEATHER

The Daily News

Newfoundland's Only Morning Newspape



DECISIO

ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND, FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1918

Heaviest Poll In History Of Island Recorded Yesterday

Responsible Government, Confederation Wage Stiff Battle For Leadership

COMMISSION OF GOVERNMENT REJECTED OVERWHELMINGLY

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24th Session Of

Nfld. Conference

Of United Church

Canadian Govt. Officials Refuse To Comment

Two Sisters Are Graduates In Nursing

New Plan For Union Of The Maritimes ily And Newfoundland

Creation Of One Giant Marithme Province Combining Nova Scotis New Brunswick. P.E.I. And Newfoundland Suggested

Recovers Body Of A Recent Drowning Victim

on Netting

Commission To Study f Quebec Rivers

y Morning Newspaper

o Year Ba

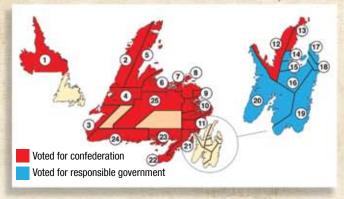
EDNESDAY, JULY 28, 1948

7 (C.P.)-A Newfoundland fish off Port aux Basques may spoil a Quebec river 1,000 miles away.

British Union with French Canada."

Between the two referenda, the confederates were able to convince most of the Commission of Government supporters to vote for confederation. As a result, the second referendum, held on July 22, 1948, resulted in a narrow victory for confederation over responsible government. There was a sectarian element to voting patterns – most, but not all, Roman Catholics voted for responsible government while most, but not all, Protestants voted for confederation. However, the greatest division among voters was regional – in both referenda the majority of Avalon Peninsula districts voted for responsible government, while the majority of the other districts voted for confederation.

After the second referendum, the Roman Catholic Church abandoned its opposition to confederation and the Responsible Government League disbanded. However, some of its members did try to stop confederation. They sponsored a petition calling for a return to responsible government, and gathered 50 000 signatures. Peter Cashin and others took it to London, hoping to influence British parliamentarians, but it had little or no effect. They also took court action against the Commission of Government, claiming that the legislation authorizing both the National Convention and the referenda were unconstitutional, and that confederation could only be brought about by an elected legislature. However, the action was thrown out.



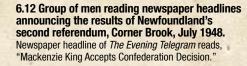
6.11 Electoral boundaries and results of the second referendum, 1948 Based on an illustration by Duleepa Wijayawardhana, 1999

	Labrador	10. Bonavista South	18. St. John's West
	St. Barbe	11. Trinity North	19. Ferryland
3.	St. George's-Port au Port	12. Trinity South	20. Placentia-St. Mary's
١.	Humber	13. Carbonear-Bay de Verde	21. Plancentia West
.	White Bay	14. Harbour Grace	22. Burin
ì.	Green Bay	15. Port de Grave	23. Fortune Bay-Hermitage
	Twillingate	16. Harbour Main-Bell	24. Burgeo-La Poile
3.	Fogo	Island	25. Grand Falls
).	Bonavista North	17. St. John's Fast	N/A Not applicable-no district

Note: The result shown for each district in the map above is how the majority of that district voted. Information on the percentage vote received by each option is in the tables below.

	Votes	Percentage
Confederation	78 323	52.3%
Responsible Government	71 334	47.7%

	Responsible Government		Confederation
1	Avalon	66%	34%
	Other Districts	30%	70%



6.13 From The Daily News, July 28, 1948



ghtning Causes amages Burin eninsula Area

Communication Services Were Out of Order For Some Hours

we from the Burin Peninsulation a report of some damages of there recently by a storm. lighting was particularly efwe in some of the Peninsula's

e lightning was particle in some of the Peninsula's insumities.

At Grand Bank, the storm disoled the telephone and telephone wrstems. Both systems and telephone for several hours.

Referendum Result
Now Being Studied
ByCanadianCabinet

Growing Belief In Ottawa That Dominion Will Admit Nfld. Into Union Despite The Very Small Majority



(DIMENSIONS) (OF THINKING) PERSPECTIVE

—Was Confederation a conspiracy?—

Did Newfoundlanders and Labradorians freely choose Confederation? Or were they herded through the National Convention and referendum process by Britain and/or Canada to ensure they arrived at a predetermined end? Historians have different views on this.

6.14 Joseph R. SmallwoodSigning Terms of Union



Most historians seem to agree that, from Britain's perspective, it was in their best interests to promote Newfoundland's confederation with Canada. In the postwar period, Britain's own financial situation was weak, which made expenditures on reconstruction in Newfoundland impossible. The British Empire and Commonwealth was also going through its first phase of decolonization (1946-49), in which the empire withdrew from colonial administration and encouraged some colonies to move towards independence. Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada must be understood within these financial and political contexts. From Britain's point of view, as historian Jeff Webb points out, "the best way of ensuring that the Newfoundland government did not look to Britain for further financial aid was therefore to have Canada take responsibility for the island."

The question for you to decide is whether or not Britain simply acted to encourage confederation or if they used inappropriate influence to shape the future for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. For instance, some historians point out that despite the National Convention's recommendation that the referendum ballot include only two options – the restoration of responsible government

versus the continuation of Commission of Government – Britain included confederation on the ballot anyway. Historian James Hiller argues that "it made the Convention seem like a waste of time, and convinced many that the British were more interested in manipulating events than listening to Newfoundlanders." Hiller suggests that the British should have restored responsible government first and then put their faith in the pro-confederates to win a general election and negotiate Newfoundland's union with Canada.

In the 60-plus years since Confederation, there has been much discussion on Britain's and Canada's involvement in these referenda and their legality and results. A few scholars have argued that Britain and Canada conspired secretly to get Newfoundland into confederation and that the outcome was somehow rigged. However, most historians reject the conspiracy theory and claim that there was nothing unlawful about the event. Indeed, some scholars suggest that, through the 1948 referenda, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had more of a democratic say in their future than the residents of the four original provinces of Canada. What do you think?

"When the colonies of British North America united in 1867 it was primarily through accommodations made by elites, for voters in most colonies did not have the opportunity to accept or reject confederation. In Newfoundland in 1948 not only did voters have the opportunity to vote in a national referendum, but they were fully informed of the specific implications of the terms of union through the broadcasts of the debates."

Jeff Webb, The Voice of Newfoundland: A Social History of the Broadcasting Corporation of Newfoundland, 1939-1949 (2008)

"When it came to Confederation, the United Kingdom led, Canada followed, and Newfoundland consented."

Peter Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949 (1988)

"The events of the late 1940s were finely orchestrated by the United Kingdom and Canada to produce an outcome that was legally and constitutionally correct and which Newfoundlanders and Labradorians freely voted for in the July 22, 1948 referendum."

Melvin Baker, Falling into the Canadian Lap: The Confederation of Newfoundland and Canada, 1945-1949 (2003)

Questions:

- 1. Using the quotes in this dimension of thinking as evidence, whose perspective of Confederation seems most plausible?
- 2. What is your perspective on the quote from Dr. James Hiller that Britain should have restored
- responsible government and put their faith in the pro-confederates to win the election?
- 3. If there was a vote in Newfoundland and Labrador today to leave Confederation, what perspective would you take?

Excerpt from A Secret Nation, a screenplay written by **Edward Riche**

The feature film A Secret Nation was released in 1992. The screenplay, written by Edward Riche, follows the fictional story of history student Frieda Vokey, who stumbles upon what appears to be a conspiracy around Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada. A mix of historic facts and fictional twists, the film looks at Confederation in a different light.

6.15

CUT TO:

063 INT. PARKINSON'S OFFICE. DAY.

A dark, heavily furnished St. John's lawyer's office. The place looks as though it has escaped passage into the 20th century. From behind his desk the jowled lawyer, PARKINSON scans several letters of reference FRIEDA has presented. Occasionally he breathes with uncommon weight, forcing gales of wind through his hairy nostrils. The breathing actually rustles the papers on his desk. This effect adds to FRIEDA's discomfort as she sits in a chair on the opposite side of the desk. He places the letters on the desk.

PARKINSON
Well you certainly seem to have the credentials.

FRIEDA

Thank you.

You understand why the Smallwood family has me screen persons such as yourself?

I know that Mr. Smallwood is not in very good health.

PARKINSON
Exactly. Now then what is this thesis of yours all about?

Well, the decline of the notion of the sovereign Newfoundland state. I'm investigating how a people

VYICH Draft 5-8, August 25, 1990

FRIEDA (cont'd)

with national status could so quickly be integrated into Canada.

PARKINSON

(laughing - tones of condescension)

It's not another one of these conspiracy theories is it? Another unsubstantiated claim that the confederation referendum was ... rigged ... or ...

No. The vote itself is not the focus of my work.

If not the focus, what then?

Well, it's significant in that the confederation option received a majority of less than a two percentage points.

PARKINGON
Why now is that significant?

Isn't it strange that with 48 percent of the population opposed to the idea the voice of dissent was so quickly silenced. Isn't it extremely strange that in the twentieth century ...

PARKINSON

Cutting her off.
... yes, yes, yes, I'm sure I've heard these arguments. I'm sure you see Newfoundlanders as victims awaiting some kind of emancipation, some kind of heroic, revolutionary gesture. But alas, we just weren't made for it. We just weren't made for it. What we have in Canada is far better than our lot. What is it Mr. Smallwood said? "The sport of historic misfortune, the Cinderella of empire".

PRIEDA And confederation the glass slipper?

PARKINSON
I suppose, yes! Yes, quite clever.

PARKINSON smiles, then glances at his watch.

A SECRET NATION Druk S-B, August 25, 1990

PARKINSON

.. 7:30 visit? I'll make arrangements for a

FRIEDA

Yes, that will be fine. Thank you, Mr. Parkinson.

FRIEDA leaves. PARKINSON calls after her.

My regards to your father.

bits

Intimacy Canada

e directed by Debbie McGee, Canada tour in St. 7:30 p.m. at the

ee, along with pro-ert (from Montreal) nen featured in the rrell and Gail St ent at this special

cy is a compelling women with dis-physical and attiregarding their remarkable canshare their stories eem and stereo-

Canada, all spon-ed Women's Netrd of Canada.

Alliance the Ship ade at The Ship

adings by Joan Bernice Morgan, Gordon Pinsent uction and tick-ry Squires print, take place, on, 30

Secret Nation/delving into the past

It's both ironic and appropriate to be reviewing a film about New-foundland's 1949 referendum on the very eve of Canada's constitutional conundrum.

at community.

Ironic, because Newfoundlanders are now helping to decide Canada's fate instead of just their own. Appropriate, due to the controversy that surrounds the '49 referendum in this surrounds the '49 referendum in this process, and the rearning it serves of

printe, one to the companies that of the companies of the companies of political ripides most people never hear about until it's too late. In a completely enthralling plot surrounding a young graduate student finishing her thesis on Newfoundland Nationalism, director Michael Jones spins a web of historical and fictional intrigue.

Cathy Jones plays Frieda Vokey, the lead character, with a forceful and compelling urgency. Her desire to uncover the truth about the 1949 referendum leads Frieda away from her comfortable academic world at a Quebec university. She adopts the a Quebec university. She adopts the shady cloak of the journalist/spy to delve into the reality surrounding that

The movie blends historical seg-ents of debates between Smallwood and Cashin, then uses fictional

The Quidi Vidi Canadian Progr HALLOWE'EN MASQUE

hot and cold be

6.17 From The

Nov. 27, 1990

Evening Telegram,

"Masquerade | A haunting evening with a m a palm read

characters and hypothetical details to mortar the whole thing together. In the midst of this wild mosaic, Frie-

to mortar the whole thing together. In the midst of this wild mosaic, Frieda uncovers a British plot in which the 1949 political leaders are supposed to have sold Newfoundland to the Dominion of Canada.

The fact that her father is supposed to have been one of the fathers of confederation, complicates the whole mess when she uncovers the truth. Smallwood's emaciated frame lying in a hospital tent is an excellent analogy for Newfoundland's slow death by asphyxiation after confederation. The music of Thomast Trio and the Red Albino at a wonderfully weind costume party near the climax of the fifm serves to heighten the tension to a screaming point. The subplots surrounding Frieda's serious discoveries are incredibly entertaining. They serve to lighten the load of the message the movie is carrying. Rick Mercer as her brother Chris. a cab dispatcher, makes for a more than bilarious scene when he delivers an incredible advice column spiel over the air for the cabbies.

Secret Nation is



Rick Mercer and Kay Anonsen, just two of the large cast of Newfoundland stars in Secret Nation.



Page 22, The Evening Telegram, Tuesday, November 27, 1990

A Secret Nation "fun look" at history of Newfoundland

The neoclassical facade of the old grey Colonial Building is obscured by a sea of cameras, lights and people talking into portable phones. Inside the former legislature, a film crew sets the scene: a modern-fay graduate student has come to comb the archives — research for her thesis on Newfoundiand's vote to join Confederation.

Was the 1948 referendum rigged! Did Confederates tamper with votes to produce a narrow margin of victory?

Paul Pope, producer of A Second

Paul Pope, producer of A Secret Nation, says the film offers no con-clusion to the query that has in-trigued historians and politicos for

over 0 years.

"She finds out stuff but it's not definitive," says Mr. Pope, a small, energetic man with windswept hair.

"The film doesn't answer the ques-

tion."
Besides, this movie from independent film company Black Spot is hardly a stuffy docudrama.
He describes it as an adventure-connely about the decline of Newfoundland nationalism amid one family's troubles: "It's a fun look at our bastory."

our bistory.
The National Film Board, Telefilm
Canada and the Newfoundland Inde-pendent Filmakers Co-operative all
memory for the project. t up money for the proje RETURNS TO ROCK



6.16 From The Express, Oct. 28, 1992



111 - Classified Display



· WHEE NON-SMOKING

Experiencing The Arts

Now is the time to explore film as a medium to create your final artwork for this course. Your assignment in this chapter is to select a theme related to the material you studied in this course and create a short film (four-seven minutes in length) about it. You may choose to do this solo or as part of a small group. Some possible themes include:

- Early peopling of "this place"
- The landscapes of Newfoundland and Labrador

- Your community (past, present, or future)
- Changes in the culture of this province
- A current issue

Once you identify your theme, begin the tasks of preproduction. This should include having your screenplay and storyboard prepared, as well as ensuring your actors, location, and equipment are ready for the production stage.



The Daily News



NATIONAL SAVINGS CAMPAIGN The Savings

ST. JOHN'S NEWFOUNDLAND MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1918

Terms Confederation Signed Lowered Freight Rates May Be In 36 Minute Ceremony In Ottawa Saturday Afternoon

Ornate Senate Chamber Crowded To Claim Ceiling Capacity For History-Making Event Price of Salmon Which May Change Whole Course Is Too Low Of Newfoundland's Future

Retroactive Wages Railway Paid

Extended To Nfld.

Buys 4 Bottles Rum Same Week Chest X-Rays To Check On TB



Storm Causes Power Shortage

Visiting Here From

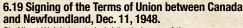
Charlottetown

Confederation Is Another Step Closer
To Newfoundland

Saturday's Ceremony Was A Step-Nearer To Realization Of Dream Of Fathers Of Confederation

Full Text Of Terms Published In This Issue

6.18 From The Daily News, Dec. 13, 1948



Sir Albert Walsh (seated, right), chairman of the Newfoundland delegation, signs the Terms of Union at the Senate Chamber, Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. Seated next to him is Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. Standing (left to right): Hon. Milton F. Gregg, Minister of Veterans' Affairs; Hon. J.J. McCann, Minister of National Revenue; Hon. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence; F.G. Bradley; G.A. Winter; Philip Gruchy; J.R. Smallwood; and J.B. McEvoy.

Shown are sculptor C. Secretary of State Gordon Minister Louis St. Laurent.

6.21 Not everyone celebrated the result of the second referendum.

Although there was much jubilation on the confederate side after they won the second referendum in 1948, other patriotic Newfoundlanders declared it to be a dark day in Newfoundland's history. In their grief, some anti-confederates flew flags at half-mast outside their homes and businesses to symbolize mourning.

6.20 Initiating the carving of Newfoundland's coat of arms at the **Parliament Buildings** after Newfoundland joins Confederation Soucy, Newfoundland Bradley, and Prime

Terms of Union

The Terms of Union between Newfoundland and Canada were signed on December 11, 1948. The document contained 50 terms outlining how Newfoundland would fit into the existing Canadian Confederation. The first 16 of these detailed the shape of the Newfoundland provincial legislature and constitution, its electoral districts, and its representation in the Canadian House of Commons and the Senate. The remainder dealt with issues negotiated during the National Convention in 1947 – that is, the "proposed arrangements" that were offered by Canada. These terms, unique to Newfoundland, included: the protection of the denominational school system (term 17); the continuation of existing laws in Newfoundland after union (term 18); and the maintenance of the Newfoundland Fisheries Board* (term 22).

This was followed by considerable discussion about how the new province should be governed between the date of union – set for March 31 – and the first provincial election. After many consultations, Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent appointed Sir Albert Walsh, who had served as a Commissioner for the Commission of Government, as the first lieutenant-governor. It was understood that he would in turn invite Smallwood to form an interim government. Gordon Bradley, who had been President of the Confederation Association, received a position in the federal cabinet.

On April 1, 1949, Walsh swore in Smallwood and his cabinet. On Parliament Hill in Ottawa, Bradley was sworn in as Secretary of State. He said:

This is a day which will live long in North American history ... It is a day of fulfillment – fulfillment of a vision of great men who planned the nation of Canada more than 80 years ago; and as we stand here on this day of destiny, our thoughts fly back through the years to those farseeing men of the past – Macdonald, Brown and Cartier in Canada and Carter and Shea in Newfoundland ... In fancy we see them now, bending over this scene in silent and profound approval ... Thus we begin life as one people in an atmosphere of unity. We are all Canadians now ...



6.22 The signed Terms of Union of Newfoundland with Canada

Questions:

- 1. What advantages did the confederate campaign have over the anti-confederate campaign?
- 2. What was the most significant reason(s) why confederation won a narrow victory over responsible government in the second referendum?
- 3. Was the decision for Newfoundland to confederate with Canada in 1949 a good decision? Support your answer.