

discussions, in Quebec and in London, the British North America Act of 1867 created a union of four provinces: Quebec (Lower Canada), Ontario (Upper Canada), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The new nation inherited from its component parts full internal autonomy to be exercised through a federal structure reflecting its varied ethnic and regional requirements.

It took four-score years for the dream of a country extending from sea to sea to become final reality. Two years after Confederation, Canada purchased the entire Northwest from the Hudson's Bay Company and from this frontier realm formed new provinces—Manitoba in 1870, Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905. The promise of a transcontinental railway had brought the Pacific colony of British Columbia into Confederation in 1871. Prince Edward Island joined in 1873. In 1895 Britain ceded the Arctic regions to Canada. In 1949, the federation of all British territory in North America was completed with the entry of Newfoundland.

### **The Emergence of a Sovereign Nation**

Sir John A. Macdonald was the first Prime Minister and one of the chief architects of modern Canada. In retrospect, his vision seems almost clairvoyant.

Macdonald's "National Policy" of transcontinental railways, protective tariffs and western settlement reflected and advanced the nation's determination to establish itself as an independent political entity in North America. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 opened the West for rapid expansion. Until that

time, this had been nearly empty country thinly sprinkled with trading posts, a few small settlements, and bands of buffalo-hunting Indians. The railway changed all that. In a single decade between 1901 and 1911 nearly two million immigrants, large numbers of them from Central Europe, entered Canada. Most of them settled on the black farmland of the prairies to produce a new Canadian staple, wheat.

In these early decades of national life, Canadian statesmen were beginning to voice the objective, later realized, of complete national autonomy, both internal and external, within the framework of a British Commonwealth of Nations. By 1900, the Prime Minister, the eloquent Sir Wilfrid Laurier, could say with pride: "I claim for Canada this: that in the future Canada shall be at liberty to act or not to act . . . and that she shall reserve to herself the right to judge whether or not there is cause for her to act . . ."

The story of the next half century is the story of Canada's gradual evolution to the position of an international power. As early as 1880 Canada sent a representative to Paris. He was a spokesman for the new nation but not a diplomat in the official sense; the country's relations with foreign powers were then still conducted by Britain. Canadian representatives played a part in diplomatic negotiations, however, and as time went on Canadian participation increased. By 1909 Canada had reached a stage in its development when a Department of External Affairs became necessary. At first the Department served as little more than the channel of communication be-

tween British and Canadian agencies on matters of external policy. But, as time went on, its importance increased and Canada began to take a more active part in those external matters which affected it directly.

The First World War marked the beginning of a new era in Canada's international relations. Its small permanent forces expanded two hundred-fold in four years and its industrial development was accelerated to the point where more than a billion dollars of war material was shipped overseas. When peace came, two Ministers of the Borden Government signed the Treaty of Versailles on behalf of Canada. When the League of Nations was being formed, Canada led the British Dominions in a successful claim for individual membership. In 1923, Canada signed its first bilateral treaty (with the United States).

This new status was formally defined at an Imperial Conference in 1926, when the Balfour Declaration stated that the nations of the Commonwealth were "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". Five years later these principles were incorporated in the Statute of Westminster.

Gradually, responsibility for the conduct of Canada's external affairs moved to Ottawa. The Governor General ceased to be the agent of the British Government and became instead the personal representative of the Sovereign. Communications between the two governments, which had once been conducted through the

Governor General, were now on a direct basis; both countries appointed High Commissioners to act as their representatives in mutual negotiations. Representation abroad gradually increased in importance: in 1925, Canada appointed an advisory officer to represent it at international conferences in Geneva; in 1927, it opened its first diplomatic mission abroad, the Canadian Legation in Washington. By 1939, Canada had established six offices abroad.

Just as the First World War had heralded a new era in Canada's relations with the world, so the Second World War marked a further step forward.

The convulsion of the Second World War, which Canada entered by its own war declaration on September 10, 1939, was to create wide political, economic and social repercussions for the country. Four out of ten men between the ages of 18 and 45 were in service. Canadian forces were among the first to land in Nazi Europe—at Dieppe—and were in the forefront of the assaults on Sicily, Italy and Normandy. The Royal Canadian Navy, increased from 1,700 to 95,000 in strength, served throughout the world. Total casualties in all services numbered 97,000. Canada developed, administered and largely financed the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, which trained more than 130,000 aircrew members for the air forces of Commonwealth countries.

In spite of its heavy manpower commitments, Canada was able to step up its industrial production until it placed second among the exporting nations of the allied coalition. Four-fifths of these exports were war goods for the Allies and, under the Mutual