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(b) Has in his possession, or in any vessel under his command, any seal, seal-oil, skins, for the lawful possession of which he cannot account satisfactorily.

Powers of Seal Fishery Officers.

10. For the purpose of enforcing the provisions of this Ordinance and of any regulation made by the Governor in Council under this Ordinance a seal fishery officer may, with respect to any vessel found within the limits of the territorial waters of the Colony engaged or believed to be engaged or concerned in seal fishing, exercise the following powers:

(1) He may go on board at any time,

(2) He may require the owner, master, or crew, or any of them to produce any certificate of registry, licenses, official log books, official papers, articles of agreement, muster rolls, and other documents relating to the vessel, which are in their respective possession or control on board the vessel and may take copies thereof or of any part thereof.

(3) He may muster the crew of the vessel.

(4) He may require the master to appear and to give any explanation concerning his vessel and the said certificates of registry, official log books, official papers, articles of agreement, muster rolls and other documents or any of them.

(5) He may make any examination or enquiry which he deems necessary to ascertain whether any contravention of the provisions of this Ordinance or of any regulation as aforesaid has been committed.

(6) In the case of any person who appears to him to have committed any such contravention he may, without summons, warrant or other process, both take the offender and the vessel to which he belongs and the crew thereof to a port of entry in the Colony or Dependencies, as defined by the Customs Ordinance, 1903, and bring him or them before a competent court and detain him, it and them in the port until the alleged contravention has been adjudicated upon, or until the master of the said vessel has given security to be approved by the Chief Justice or a Magistrate of the Colony to abide the event of any action, suit, or other legal proceeding that may be instituted in respect of such vessel or of any person belonging thereto, and to pay all penalties, costs and damages that may be awarded them. In any legal proceeding under this subsection the person giving security may be deemed to be the owner of the detained vessel.

Protection of Seal Fishery Officers.

11. No seal fishery officer shall be liable for any costs or damages in respect of any vessel detained under this Ordinance unless the detention is proved to have been made without reasonable grounds.

Vessel not bringing to when summoned or throwing overboard goods during chase to be forfeited.

12. If any vessel found in the waters of the Colony and suspected by a seal fishery officer to be engaged or concerned in seal fishing, shall not bring to upon signal made by any ship or boat in His Majesty's service or in the service of the Colonial Government, by hoisting the proper pendant or ensign, whereupon chase shall be given, and any person on board such vessel shall, during chase or before such vessel shall bring to, throw overboard any part of her lading, such vessel shall be forfeited.

Vessel not bringing to when required to, penalty £50.

13. If any vessel liable to seizure or examination under this Ordinance shall not bring to when required to do so, the master of such vessel shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds; and on such vessel being chased by any vessel in His Majesty's Navy, or duly employed for enforcing the provisions of this Ordinance, having a proper pendant or ensign hoisted, it shall be lawful for the captain, master or other person having the charge or command of such vessel in His Majesty's Navy, or employed as aforesaid (first causing a gun to be fired as a signal), to fire at or into such vessel, and such captain, master, or other person acting in his aid or by his direction shall be and is hereby indemnified and discharged from any indictment penalty, action, or other proceeding for so doing.

Armed Guard may be stationed at a Seal Reserve.

14. The Governor may cause an armed guard to be stationed at or in the vicinity of any Seal Reserve for the purpose of the further enforcement of the provisions of this Ordinance and may prescribe by order under his hand the manner in which such guard shall perform their duties.

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Penalty for not complying with directions of Seal Fishery Officer.

15. If any person refuses or neglects to comply with any requisition or direction lawfully made or given by, or to answer any question lawfully asked by any seal fishery officer or armed guard such person shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds and to imprisonment with hard labour for a period not exceeding six months.

Power to arrest for breaches of Ordinance.

16. (1) It shall be lawful for a seal fishery officer or an armed guard to arrest, detain, and bring before a competent court, any person committing or appearing to be about to commit, an offence against the provisions of this Ordinance, or any regulation made thereunder.

(2) A seal fishery officer or armed guard may use force for the prevention of any such offence, or for the purpose of effecting an arrest.

(3) If any person is killed, maimed or hurt by reason of his resisting a seal fishery officer or an armed guard in the execution of the duties of this Ordinance committed to such seal fishery officer or armed guard, neither the seal fishery officer nor the armed guard shall be liable to any punishment or to pay any damages by reason of the person being so killed, maimed or hurt.

Persons shooting at vessels or officers enforcing Ordinance, guilty of felony.

17. If any person shall maliciously shoot at any vessel or boat belonging to His Majesty's Navy, or in the service of the Colonial Government, or shall maliciously shoot at, maim, or wound any officer of the Navy or Colonial Government being duly employed in the prevention of offences against this Ordinance, or any person acting in his aid or assistance, in the execution of his office or duty, every person so offending, and every person aiding, abetting or assisting therein, shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of felony and shall be liable to be imprisoned with hard labour for any period not exceeding three years.

Prosecution of Offences.

18. Offences under this Ordinance, or under any regulation made thereunder, may be prosecuted, and penalties and forfeitures under this Ordinance, or any regulations thereunder, may be recovered before a Stipendiary Magistrate or any two Justices of the Peace in a summary manner, or by action in the Supreme Court of the Colony, together with full costs of suit;

Provided that any penalty imposed by a Stipendiary Magistrate or two Justices of the Peace shall not exceed one hundred pounds, exclusive of costs, and imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

Venue.

19. For all purposes of and incidental to the trial and punishment of any person, accused of any offence under this Ordinance and the proceedings, and matters preliminary, and incidental to, and consequential on his trial and punishment, and for all purposes of and incidental to the jurisdiction of any Court, or any constable, or officer with reference to such offence, the offence shall be deemed to have been committed either in the place in which it was actually committed, or in any place in which the offender may for the time being be found.

Recovery of penalties.

20. Any penalty adjudged under this Ordinance to be paid by the owner or master, or other person in charge of a vessel may be recovered in the ordinary way, or, if the Court think fit so to order, by distress or arrest and sale of the vessel to which the offender belongs, and her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and any property on board thereof or belonging thereto, or any part thereof.

Service of summons.

21. Service of any summons or other matter in any legal proceedings under this Ordinance shall be good service if made personally on the person to be served, or at his last place of abode, or if made by leaving such summons, or other matter for him on board any vessel, to which he may belong, with the person being, or appearing to be, in command, or charge of such vessel.

Special exemption.

22. The Governor may authorize in writing any person to kill or take, for a scientific or any other special purpose, any seal in the Colony or Colonial waters thereof, and in so doing the person so authorized shall be exempt from any penalties and forfeitures under this Ordinance.

Applocation of Ordinance to Dependencies.

23. This Ordinance shall be in force in the Dependencies as well as in the Colony.

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Ordinances 1 of 1899 and 6 of 1909 Repealed.

24. The Seal Fishery Ordinance, 1899, and the Seal Fishery Dependencies Ordinance, 1909, are hereby repealed.

Passed by the Legislative Council this 17th day of December, 1921.

G. R. L. BROWN,
*Clerk of the Legislative Council.*

Assented to by the Governor and given under the Public Seal of the Colony this 23rd day of December, 1921.

H. HENNIKER-HEATON,
*Colonial Secretary.*

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## No. 155.

*From His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio to the Governor General*

BRITISH EMBASSY,
TOKIO, May 18, 1926.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that I have received a Note from the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the effect that the number of fur sealskins taken on Robben Island during the year 1925 was 750 ordinary skins and 118 skins of old, large seals.

The Japanese Government desire, in accordance with the suggestion contained in Your Lordship's telegram of December 20th, 1924,[1] to sell the proportion of skins due to the Dominion Government (75 ordinary skins and 12 skins of old, large seals), together with their own share, and to account for the proceeds after the sale has taken place.

Copies of this despatch have been sent to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to the Canadian Trade Commissioner, Kobe.

I have, etc.,
JOHN TILLEY.

[1] No. 92.

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## No. 156.

*From the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs*

OTTAWA, May 18, 1926.

DEAR DOCTOR SKELTON,—In compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 12th instant,[1] I am attaching hereto a memorandum[2] explaining the modifications which this Department feels should be made in the Pelagic Sealing Treaty.

Yours truly,
A. JOHNSTON,
*Deputy Minister.*

Doctor O. D. SKELTON,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

[1] Not printed.
[2] Communicated to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on the 26th May, 1926.

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## ENCLOSURE IN No. 156

### MEMORANDUM

*Re* Modifications Desired in Pelagic Sealing Treaty

1. The modifications desired are in Articles X to XIII inclusive and for provisions for inspection of the rookeries.

2. Article X of the Treaty provides that at the end of each season 15 per cent gross in number and in value of the sealskins taken shall be handed over at the islands to an authorized agent of the Canadian Government and to an authorized agent of the Japanese Government respectively. The objections to this are:—

(*a*) It is hardly possible to be sure that the skins that would be handed over would represent 15 per cent in quality;

(*b*) It is not desirable, at least so far as Canada is concerned, that delivery of the skins should have to be taken at the islands. It would involve sending a vessel out there at a large cost. On the other hand the United States Government has to send a vessel to the islands in any event and this vessel can take all the skins to a mainland port without any extra cost.

3. The Article further provides that the United States may at any time or from time to time suspend altogether the taking of sealskins and impose restrictions on the number taken, as may seem necessary to protect and increase the herd. Some limitation should be placed on this power. Scientific advice is that 85 per cent of the three-year-old male seals may be taken without detriment to the herd.

4. It would seem to be good business for all concerned if the skins taken were marketed co-operatively and at such different markets in the world as might be found by the Governments interested to give the best returns. Also that the skins should be marketed in different states of preparation so as to ascertain the method that would yield the best financial returns or to meet changing conditions. Canada could then receive 15 per cent in cash of the net proceeds, costs not to be charged against the skins until they are delivered at a mainland United States port.

5. Article XI provides that in any year that the United States prohibits sealing, except to supply food, clothing and boat skins for the natives, Great Britain and Japan are to be paid $10,000 annually, which, however, is to form a charge against the skins to be received in future years when killing is resumed, and interest at 4 per cent is to be paid. There is no provision that Canada or Japan shall share in the returns from the skins taken from seals killed for the purposes of the natives in such years. While commercial killing should be stopped, if the seals herd gets too small, in any year, there seems to be no reason why Canada and Japan should not share in the value of the skins that are taken for the purposes of the natives in such years and there is not much to be said for the payment of $10,000 to Canada and Japan in such years, which is to be repaid plus interest at 4 per cent.

6. Articles XII and XIII have similar objections.

7. While the United States has invited inspection by the other Governments of conditions on the Pribilof Islands, it is considered desirable that the Treaty should provide that such inspection may take place by any of the representatives of the Governments interested at any time.

In the light of the above it is proposed that at a suitable time Canada would ask for the replacement of Articles X and XI by one which would be in substance as follows:—

> The United States agrees that the number of seals that will be killed annually on the Pribilof Islands, or on any other islands or shores of the waters mentioned in Article I that are subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, shall not be less than eighty-five

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per cent of the three-year-old male seals hauling in such year, provided, however, that if the total number of seals frequenting the aforesaid islands or shores in any year fall below one hundred thousand, enumerated by official count, all killing excepting the number needed to supply food, clothing and boat skins for the support of the natives, may be suspended until the number of seals exceeds one hundred thousand, enumerated in like manner.

The United States further agrees that the sealskins taken annually under its authority shall be marketed in such state or states of preparation and at such place or places and in such number or numbers in each state of preparation, at each place, as may be agreed upon from time to time by the Governments of the United States, Canada and Japan, and the United States agrees to account to the Governments of Canada and Japan for fifteen per cent each of the proceeds from the sale or sales of such skins, after deducting the costs that were incurred in preparing and marketing the skins from the time they were landed at a United States mainland port.

Articles XII and XIII to be similarly replaced.

An Article to be added for the right of inspection of the rookeries by representatives of any of the Governments interested.

OTTAWA, May 18, 1926.

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## No. 157.

*From His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio to the Governor General*

BRITISH EMBASSY,
TOKIO, May 21, 1926.

MY LORD,—With reference to Sir Charles Eliot's despatch of January 29th,[1] on the subject of the sale in Japan of a portion of the sealskins taken on Robben Island during 1924, I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, herewith, a copy of a note which I have received from the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that the two hundred skins which formed the subject of Your Excellency's despatch of August were sold at an average price of 27 yen per skin.

The note of July 9th of last year, No. 88, to which reference is made in Baron Shidehara's note, was transmitted to Your Excellency in Sir Charles Eliot's despatch of July 15th last.[2] The catch of 1925, to which reference is also made, formed the subject of my despatch of May 18th of this year.[3]

I have, etc.,
JOHN TILLEY.

His Excellency
The LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,
Governor General,
Ottawa, Canada.

[1] Not printed.
[2] No. 118.
[3] No. 155.

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### ENCLOSURE IN No. 157

*From the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio*

May 17, 1926.

SIR,—In my note No. 127 of September 22nd last year I had the honour to make a provisional reply with regard to the results of the sale of fur sealskins taken on Robben Island in 1924.

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C 93011



I have now received from the competent authorities a reply stating that, in accordance with an earlier communication (see my Note No. 88 of July 9th last year), 200 ordinary skins out of Japan's share of the fur sealskins taken in 1924 were sold in Saghalin at an average price of yen 27 per skin. The reasons why these skins did not fetch as high a price as expected are probably that there are as yet in Saghalin but few dealers in skins with adequate capital, that the scope for the utilization of the sealskins is limited, and that, as they have never before been sold on the market, their value was not generally appreciated. Still, unless a high price is realized by the sale of the skins taken in 1924 and 1925 which are now being exported and are to be dyed abroad, it is considered to be far more profitable to sell the skins in Japan than to ship them abroad in pickle; and it is proposed, therefore, to sell a portion of this year's catch also in Japan and at the same time to carry on propaganda with regard to them.

I avail, etc.,

JIJURO SHIDEHARA (L.S.),
*Baron: Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

H.E. Sir JOHN TILLEY,
H.B.M. Ambassador.

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## No. 158.

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential (2).

DOWNING STREET, June 18, 1926.

MY LORD,—With reference to my confidential despatch of the 5th of April,[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, for the information of your Ministers, the accompanying copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow forwarding translation of a decree of the Council of People's Commissaries (No. 154 of 2nd February, 1926) regarding restrictions on the hunting of seals and sea-otters.

No. 391, 20th May.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
General the Right Honourable
LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 150.

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### ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 158

*From His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*

BRITISH MISSION,
Moscow, May 20, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch No. 222 of 24th March, I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of a decree of the Council of People's Commissaries (No. 154 of February 2nd, 1926) regarding pelagic sealing.

2. I am awaiting a reply from the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the enquiry made by me in accordance with the instructions conveyed by the despatch under reference.

I have, etc.,
R. M. HODGSON.

The Right Honourable
Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, K.G., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

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I avail, etc.,

JIJURO SHIDEHARA (L.S.),
*Baron: Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

H.E. Sir JOHN TILLEY,
H.B.M. Ambassador.

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## No. 158.

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential (2).

DOWNING STREET, June 18, 1926.

MY LORD,—With reference to my confidential despatch of the 5th of April,[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, for the information of your Ministers, the accompanying copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow forwarding translation of a decree of the Council of People's Commissaries (No. 154 of 2nd February, 1926) regarding restrictions on the hunting of seals and sea-otters.

No. 391, 20th May.

I have, etc.,

L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
General the Right Honourable
LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 150.

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### ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 158

*From His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*

BRITISH MISSION,
Moscow, May 20, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch No. 222 of 24th March, I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of a decree of the Council of People's Commissaries (No. 154 of February 2nd, 1926) regarding pelagic sealing.

2. I am awaiting a reply from the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the enquiry made by me in accordance with the instructions conveyed by the despatch under reference.

I have, etc.,

R. M. HODGSON.

The Right Honourable
Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, K.G., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

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C 93012



**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 158**

COLLECTION OF LAWS OF THE U.S.S.R. No. 154 OF 1926

*Restrictions on the Hunting of Seal and Sea-otter*

The Council of People's Commissaries of the U.S.S.R., confirming the validity for the U.S.S.R. of the Convention respecting the international protection of seals concluded on July 7th, 1911, in order to put into execution the provisions of the said Convention decrees:—

1. Hunting seals and sea-otters is forbidden beyond the distance of three miles from the shore line. Hunting sea-otters and seals on dry land and within the limits of the said zone is only permitted in virtue of special decrees to that end.

NOTE: By hunting sea-otters and seals is meant the killing, catching or pursuing of the said animals in one form or another.

2. Ships and persons occupied in hunting seals and sea-otters or in the transport of the skins of seals belonging to the species Callorhinus alascanus, Callorhinus ursinus, Callorhinus kurilensis, or the skins of sea-otters (Enhidris marina), are forbidden the use of the ports or of any part of the territory of the U.S.S.R. unless the said vessels or persons are provided with special permits from the competent authorities of the U.S.S.R. or unless the skins bear special leaden-seals, stamps or certificates from the competent organs of the U.S.S.R. of foreign countries testifying that the skins have been obtained in a legal manner.

NOTE: The method of granting permits, leaden-seals and certificates, and also the application of exemptions in favour of the normal hunting of the local population shall be determined by special instructions (article 8).

3. It is forbidden to import into the U.S.S.R. skins of seals and sea-otters, whether entire or in pieces, undressed and dressed, if they do not bear leaden-seals or stamps or certificates from the competent organs of the U.S.S.R. or foreign countries testifying that the imported skins have been obtained in a legal manner.

4. It is forbidden to export from the U.S.S.R. the skins of seals and sea-otters, whether entire or in pieces, undressed or dressed, if they do not bear special leaden-seals or stamps or export certificates from the competent organs of the U.S.S.R. certifying that the skins were obtained in a legal manner.

5. If skins of sea-otters and seals are discovered in transit over the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. in violation of the regulations established in the preceding articles, such skins shall be liable to confiscation.

6. It is forbidden to trade within the U.S.S.R. in these skins of seals and sea-otters, undressed and dressed, whether entire or in pieces, unless these skins bear special leaden-seals or stamps or certificates from the competent authorities of the U.S.S.R. or countries abroad certifying that the skins have been obtained in a legal manner.

7. The penalty for prohibited seal or sea-otter hunting, for the illegal import into the U.S.S.R. or export out of the U.S.S.R. of the skins of seals or sea-otters and for illegal trading in the said skins shall be determined in accordance with the criminal legislation of the Republics of the Union.

8. The People's Commissariat for Foreign and Internal Trade of the U.S.S.R. shall issue, in agreement with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, instructions as to the application of the present decree.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the U.S.S.R. . . . . A. RYKOV.

Secretary-General of the Council of People's Commissaries of the U.S.S.R. . . . . N. GORBUNOV.

Moscow; KREMLIN, February 2nd, 1926.

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C 93013



## No. 159.

*From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

Confidential.

CANADA, GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, June 22, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your Confidential despatch of the 5th April,[1] my Government would be glad to know whether or not any reply has been received to the enquiry addressed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Representative at Moscow dated the 24th March, 1926,[2] on the subject of sealing operations on the Russian Seal Islands.

I have, etc.,
BYNG OF VIMY.

Lieutenant-Colonel
The Right Honourable
L. C. M. S. AMERY,
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

[1] No. 150.
[2] Enclosure in No. 150.

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## No. 160.

*From the Governor General to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio*

CANADA, GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, June 22nd, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's despatch of the 18th ultimo[1] on the subject of the number of sealskins taken on the Robben Island in 1925 and the disposal of the same, I have the honour to inform you that the Canadian Government agrees to the sale by the Government of Japan of Canada's share of the above-mentioned sealskins, together with their own, accounting to this Government for its proper share of the proceeds.

My Government also will be grateful to be informed, immediately following the close of the sealing season, as to the number of seals that may be taken this year.

I have, etc.,
BYNG OF VIMY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir J. A. C. TILLEY, K.C.M.G., C.B.,
H.B.M. Ambassador at Tokio.

[1] No. 155.

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## No. 161.

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, August 13, 1926.

MY LORD,—With reference to my Confidential despatch of the 15th of May,[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, for the infor-

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C 93014



No. 86,
12th May, 1926.

mation of your Ministers, the accompanying copy of a despatch from the Deputy Governor General of New Zealand giving information in respect of the conservation of fur seal and sea otter herds.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
General the Right Honourable
LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 154.

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**ENCLOSURE IN No. 161**

*From the Deputy Governor General of New Zealand to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

New Zealand.
No. 86.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
WELLINGTON, May 12, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch No. 43 of the 22nd February, relative to the enquiry of the United States Ambassador for certain information regarding the conservation of fur seal and sea otter resources, I have the honour to request, at the instance of Ministers, that you will be so good as to cause the Ambassador to be informed to the following effect:—

1. At the present time two small rookeries exist on the West Coast of the South Island of New Zealand, two or three on the Snares, and several on the Auckland, Campbell, Bounty and Antipodes Islands. No effort has ever been made to estimate the number of seals on the rookeries, or on the localities mentioned.
2. In the early days of sealing (about 1811-12) rookeries existed on parts of the coast of the North Island. There were numerous rookeries on the coasts of the South Island and Stewart Island, and also on the Snares, Campbell, Auckland, Bounty, Antipodes and Macquarie Islands.
3. There is no official information on Government records as to the years when the greatest number of seals were taken, but from historical information it would seem that the largest numbers were killed during the years from 1811 to about 1820, and that there was a serious decline in the number of skins which could be got in 1823 and 1824. The largest numbers were taken in 1814-15, when it is stated that from the Antipodes and other islands in the South 400,000 skins were obtained, the ship *Pegasus* taking in one cargo as many as 100,000 to London.
4. Diminution in numbers has been caused by indiscriminate killing without regard to age, or sex.
5. The steps which have been taken to conserve the herds were to prescribe close seasons at varying times since 1894. In fact the only periods during which the season has been open were from 1913 to 1916 in respect to the various rookeries, and in 1923 and 1924 in respect to the rookeries on Campbell Island. With regard to the latter, a special license was issued to the lessees of the island to take not more than 400 in each year, but, as a matter of fact, only 278 were taken in 1923, and 67 in 1924. On each occasion on which the season was open the killing of females, and of all seals under twelve months of age, was prohibited.

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6. The only steps taken to develop and expand the herds have been to make killing illegal over a period of years, but as the New Zealand Government has had no vessel to patrol the seas in the South, it is possible that there has been some illegal killing carried on during the close period.

I have, etc.,

C. P. SKERRETT,
*Deputy of the Governor General.*

The Right Honourable
L. C. M. S. AMERY, M.P.,
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

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## No. 162.

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential (2). DOWNING STREET, August 13, 1926.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Confidential despatch of the 22nd of June[1] and to transmit to you, for the information of your Ministers the accompanying copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Representative at Moscow regarding sealing operations on the Commander Islands.

No. 424, 10th June, 1926.

I have, etc.,

L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
General the Right Honourable
LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 159.

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## ENCLOSURE IN No. 162

*From His Majesty's Representative at Moscow to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*

BRITISH MISSION,
Moscow, June 10, 1926.

No. 424.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch No. 222 of March the 24th, I have the honour to report that, according to a note which I have received from the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the following are the numbers of seals taken on the Commander Islands during the years stated:—

| *Year.* | *Catch.* |
|---|---|
| 1920 | 897 |
| 1921 | 101 |
| 1922 | 113 |
| 1923 | 1,062 |
| 1924 | 857 |
| 1925 | 551 |

2. With reference to the last paragraph of the despatch under reference, Monsieur Tchitcherin a month or so ago mentioned to me that the Soviet Government was in contact with the Japanese and United States Governments with regard to the renewal of the Sealing Convention, but has so far had no communication on the subject from the British or Canadian Government.

I have, etc.,

R. M. HODGSON.

The Right Honourable
Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, K.G., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

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C 93016



## No. 163.

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, August 20, 1926.

MY LORD,—With reference to my telegram of the 1st of April,[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, for the information of your Ministers, the accompanying copy of correspondence with His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington regarding the proposed Conference to consider the question of a further extension of the Convention for the Protection of Fur Seals signed at Washington on 7th of July, 1911.

To H. M. Ambdr., Washington. 25-2-26.
Fr. do. ,5, 5, 26.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
General the Right Honourable
LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 148.

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### ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 163

*From the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington*

No. 265.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1, February 25, 1926.

SIR,—I transmit to Your Excellency herewith a copy of an official note from the Japanese Ambassador and of a semi-official reply regarding the desire of the Japanese Government to summon a conference to consider and, if possible, agree upon a further extension of the Convention for the Protection of Fur Seals, signed at Washington on July 7th, 1911, with such additions and modifications as may be desirable. The Government of Canada, who are more directly concerned than the other Dominion Governments, have been informed of this step and have been asked for an expression of their views. The Governments of the other self-governing Dominions have also been notified.

2. I should be glad if you could ascertain whether the United States Government have been approached by the Japanese Government in this matter, and if so, what their attitude towards the proposal is.

I am, etc.,
(For the Secretary of State)
ROBERT VANSITTART.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir ESME HOWARD, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.

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### ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 163

*From His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*

No. 748.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., May 5, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to refer to your despatch No. 265 of February the 25th last, instructing me to ascertain whether the Japanese Government had notified the United States Government of their desire

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to summon a Conference to consider the question of a further extension of the Convention for the Protection of Fur Seals, signed at Washington on July 7th, 1911.

2. My enquiries on this subject remained unanswered until yesterday when, on the invitation of the Under-Secretary of State, a member of my staff visited the State Department and was informed by Mr. Grew that the United States Government had received a communication from the Japanese Government similar to that addressed to His Majesty's Government by the Japanese Ambassador at the Court of St. James. Mr. Grew stated that whereas the United States Government regarded the 1911 Convention as being still in force as between the United States and Russia, it was not open to them to negotiate an extension of that treaty instrument with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics whom they had not recognized.

3. This aspect of the matter had been made clear to the Japanese Ambassador at this capital who had thereupon suggested that the proposed Conference should be held between representatives of Japan and Great Britain with representatives of the United States and Soviet Russia attending in an official capacity; the results of such a Conference could then be embodied in two Conventions, one of which could be signed as between the Government of Soviet Russia, His Majesty's Government and the Japanese Government; the other as between His Majesty's Government, the Japanese Government and the United States Government. Baron Matsudaira had been informed that his suggestion was impracticable since it would leave the United States Government without treaty protection against any action detrimental to their interests in this question which might be taken by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at some future date.

4. Mr. Grew went on to say that so far as the United States Government were aware the proposal of the Japanese Government to summon a Conference was solely prompted by the desire to secure a modification of the restrictions imposed upon pelagic sealing under the 1911 Convention so as to enable the Japanese authorities to cope more effectively with the depredations occasioned in Japanese territorial waters by the Robben Island seal herd. If this were so the end in view could, in the opinion of the United States Government, be attained by the Japanese authorities arranging for a larger number of seals to be killed on shore which would not necessitate a modification of the Convention inasmuch as Article IX thereof specifically defines the restrictions placed upon pelagic sealing as limited to "the killing, capturing or pursuing in any manner whatsoever of fur seals *at sea.*"

5. The view of the United States Government in this matter as described above have been communicated informally to the Japanese Ambassador who has also been requested to notify the United States Government in greater detail of the reasons which have led the Japanese Government to consider that an extension of the 1911 Convention is now desirable.

6. Mr. Grew said that no reply had as yet been received to this informal communication and he added that, in view of the unwillingness of the United States Government to agree to the proposed Conference, he thought it probable that the Japanese Government would decide to pursue the matter no further.

I have, etc.,

ESME HOWARD.

The Rt. Hon. Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, K.G., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

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## No. 164.

*From His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General*

No. 428.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MANCHESTER, Mass., August 23, 1926.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship, herewith, copies of the paper mentioned in the subjoined schedule.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
H. W. BROOKS.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

| Name and Date | Subject |
|---|---|
| From the Department of State dated August 21st, 1926, *enclosing cheque and statement.* | Moneys derived from the sale of 543 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands and sold in December, 1925, and January, 1926. |

Reference: Washington despatch No. 159 dated April 1st, 1926.[1]

[1] No. 149.

### ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 164

*From the United States Secretary of State to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, August 21, 1926.

EXCELLENCY,—At the request of the Department of Commerce and in accordance with the terms of the North Pacific Sealing Convention of July 7, 1911, I have the honour to transmit official check No. 3099, dated July 8, 1926, drawn to the order of your Government in the sum of $1,075.01, representing 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the monies derived from the sale of 543 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands and sold in December, 1925, and January, 1926.

There is also enclosed a copy of the statement in connection with this sale.

Accept, etc.,
For the Secretary of State:
J. BUTLER WRIGHT.

Enclosure: Check for $1,075.01; Copy of Statement.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir ESME HOWARD, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.V.O.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

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**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 164**

COMPUTATION of amounts due Great Britain and Japan account sales in December, 1925, of 50 fur sealskins, and in January, 1926, of 493 fur sealskins taken on Pribilof Islands, Alaska.

The sales consisted of a total of 543 skins taken in the calendar year 1924, dressed, dyed, and machined, dyed Bois de Campeche (Logwood Brown).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Gross sales* | | $15,321 30 |
| Less cash discounts allowed purchasers, 1 per cent on $15,321.30 | $ 153 21 | |
| | $15,168 09 | |
| Less commissions to selling agents, 4 per cent on $15,168.09 | 606 72 | |
| *Net on sale* | | $14,561 37 |
| Deductions: | | |
| Cost of dressing, dyeing and machining: 543 skins at $13.50 each | $ 7,330 50 | |
| Transportation between Pribilof Islands, Alaska and St. Louis, Missouri: 543 skins at $0.1181 each | 64 13 | |
| Total deductions | | $ 7,394 63 |
| *Balance on which distribution is based* | | $ 7,166 74 |
| United States' share, 70 per cent of $7,166.74 | $5,016 72 | |
| Great Britain's share, 15 per cent of $7,166.74 | 1,075 01 | |
| Japan's share, 15 per cent of $7,166.74 | 1,075 01 | |
| | | $ 7,166 74 |

## No. 165.

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, August 27, 1926.

No. 403, 21st June.

MY LORD,—With reference to my Confidential despatch of the 13th of August,[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency for the information of your Ministers, a copy of a despatch, with enclosures, from the Governor General of the Union of South Africa, giving information in respect of the conservation of fur seal and sea otter herds.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
General the Right Honourable
LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 161.

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**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 164**

COMPUTATION of amounts due Great Britain and Japan account sales in December, 1925, of 50 fur sealskins, and in January, 1926, of 493 fur sealskins taken on Pribilof Islands, Alaska.

The sales consisted of a total of 543 skins taken in the calendar year 1924, dressed, dyed, and machined, dyed Bois de Campeche (Logwood Brown).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Gross sales* | | $15,321 30 |
| Less cash discounts allowed purchasers, 1 per cent on $15,321.30 | $ 153 21 | |
| | | $15,168 09 |
| Less commissions to selling agents, 4 per cent on $15,168.09 | 606 72 | |
| *Net on sale* | | $14,561 37 |
| Deductions: | | |
| Cost of dressing, dyeing and machining: 543 skins at $13.50 each | $ 7,330 50 | |
| Transportation between Pribilof Islands, Alaska and St. Louis, Missouri: 543 skins at $0.1181 each | 64 13 | |
| Total deductions | | $ 7,394 63 |
| *Balance on which distribution is based* | | $ 7,166 74 |
| United States' share, 70 per cent of $7,166.74 | $5,016 72 | |
| Great Britain's share, 15 per cent of $7,166.74 | 1,075 01 | |
| Japan's share, 15 per cent of $7,166.74 | 1,075 01 | |
| | | $ 7,166 74 |

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*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, August 27, 1926.

No. 403, 21st June.

MY LORD,—With reference to my Confidential despatch of the 13th of August,[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency for the information of your Ministers, a copy of a despatch, with enclosures, from the Governor General of the Union of South Africa, giving information in respect of the conservation of fur seal and sea otter herds.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
General the Right Honourable
LORD BYNG OF VIMY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 161.

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## ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 165

*From the Governor General of South Africa to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

South Africa.
No. 403.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,
PRETORIA, June 21, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to your herewith with reference to your despatch No. 65 of the 22nd February, 1926, the document mentioned below, on the subject of the conservation of fur seal and sea otter resources.

I have, etc.,

ATHLONE,
*Governor General.*

The Right Honourable
L. S. AMERY, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Dominions Office, London.

| Date | Description of Document |
|---|---|
| 18th June, 1926. | Minute No. 542 from Ministers (with enclosure). |

## ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 165

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE,
CAPETOWN, June 18, 1926.

*Minute No. 542.*

With reference to Governor General's Minute No. 5/133 dated 22nd March, forwarding copy of despatch No. 65 from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (with enclosures) regarding the conservation of fur seal and sea otter resources, MINISTERS have the honour to attach hereto, for transmission to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, a statement giving as far as possible replies seriatim to the queries contained in the despatch from the American Ambassador.

J. B. M. HERTZOG.

## ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 165

DATA Relative to the Conservation of Fur Seal Resources
South African Coast

(1) Owing to the migratory habits of these animals, the number and sizes of the various herds frequenting the coast vary very considerably, from time to time, and according to the seasons of the year, so that it is quite impossible to give any reliable statistics in regard thereto.

Taking the respective "gatherings" of seals frequenting, or inhabiting, the several islands, rocks, etc., as separate units, the number of herds to be encountered around the coast is roughly sixteen to eighteen, and these herds, individually, may, at any time, at the more important centres, be comprised of anything from only a few to several hundreds and even thousands of these animals.

The sealing islands, etc., in consequence of their geographical positions on the coast, are divided into two groups, and, with the object of discriminating between them, they are known as the "Northern," or "Ichaboe," and the "Colonial" groups of islands, respectively.

In addition to these, there is also a "seal rookery" at Cape Cross, on the mainland, in South West Africa.

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## ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 165

*From the Governor General of South Africa to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

South Africa.
No. 403.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,
PRETORIA, June 21, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to your herewith with reference to your despatch No. 65 of the 22nd February, 1926, the document mentioned below, on the subject of the conservation of fur seal and sea otter resources.

I have, etc.,

ATHLONE,
*Governor General.*

The Right Honourable
L. S. AMERY, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Dominions Office, London.

| Date | Description of Document |
|---|---|
| 18th June, 1926. | Minute No. 542 from Ministers (with enclosure). |

## ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 165

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE,
CAPETOWN, June 18, 1926.

*Minute No. 542.*

With reference to Governor General's Minute No. 5/133 dated 22nd March, forwarding copy of despatch No. 65 from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (with enclosures) regarding the conservation of fur seal and sea otter resources, MINISTERS have the honour to attach hereto, for transmission to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, a statement giving as far as possible replies seriatim to the queries contained in the despatch from the American Ambassador.

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Taking the respective "gatherings" of seals frequenting, or inhabiting, the several islands, rocks, etc., as separate units, the number of herds to be encountered around the coast is roughly sixteen to eighteen, and these herds, individually, may, at any time, at the more important centres, be comprised of anything from only a few to several hundreds and even thousands of these animals.

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In addition to these, there is also a "seal rookery" at Cape Cross, on the mainland, in South West Africa.

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The Northern group, which is situated on the South West Africa Coast, between latitudes 24° 28″ S. and 27° 41″ S.—with the exception of the first-named island hereunder—lies within the limits of the territorial waters of that country, comprise the following:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Hollamsbird Island<br>Long Island<br>Sinclairs Island<br>Roast Beef and<br>South Islands | belonging to and worked on a/c of the Union Government. |
| Steeples Reefs and Rocks<br>Marshall Reefs and Rocks<br>Eighty-fours Reefs and Rocks<br>Dumfudgeon Rock<br>Black Rock | belonging to the S.W.A. Protectorate and worked by the Union Government for a/c of that Administration. |
| and<br>Cape Cross | do. |

The Colonial Group all lie within the territorial waters of the Cape Province and comprise the following:—

*On the West Coast*

*Elephant Rock,* situated near the mouth of the Oliphants River, Van Rhynsdorp Coast.

*Jacobs Rock,* situated about 10 miles north of Saldanha Bay, on the Malmesbury Coast.

*Robbesteen Reefs and Rocks,* Blaauwberg Beach, about 15 miles north of Capetown, on Malmesbury Coast.

*On the South Coast.*

*Seal Island,* in False Bay.

*Dyers Island and Contiguous Rocks,* situated off Danger Point, Bredasdorp Coast.

*Quoin Rock,* near mouth of Ratel River, on Bredasdorp Coast.

*Seal Island,* in Mossel Bay.

*Black Rock,* near Bird Island, off Port Elizabeth.

Although all the islands and rocks in this group are under the control of the Union Government Guano Department, only Elephant Rock, Quoin Rock and Dyers Island are worked for and on behalf of the Government—the remainder are thrown open to public enterprise and licenses for sealing on any or all of these, under certain prescribed conditions and regulations, and only during the period 16th February to 21st November (the open season) in each year, may be obtained, by any persons desirous of engaging in that pursuit thereon, upon application to the Department of Agriculture for the same.

(2) In former years, seals were very numerous in South African waters and took up in great numbers on certain of the islands and rocks around the coast; but, in consequence of the very assiduous and vigorous manner in which sealing operations had been carried on, in bygone days, by persons legitimately and otherwise engaged in this pursuit, these animals were killed off to such an extent, particularly on the then German South West African coast, that, at the time of the outbreak of the Great War, in 1914, the industry was almost entirely ruined.

Owing, however, to the suspension of all operations during 1915 and 1916, and the stoppage of all private sealing in those waters, the seals have, under the protection afforded them by the close season and Government control very considerably increased and are still steadily increasing in numbers.

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(3) The following are particulars of the season's catches for the years 1913-1925. These will also serve to indicate the steady increase in numbers of seals during recent years:—

| Year. | No. of Skins Secured. | | | | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Colonial Coast. — Seals taken by | | South West African Coast. — Seals taken for a/c. | | |
| | Union Govt. | Private Sealers. | Union Govt. | Prot. Admin. | |
| 1913 | 2,626 | 1,352 | 3,784 | ..... | 7,762 |
| 1914 | ..... | ..... | 4,174 | ..... | 4,174 |
| 1915 | ..... | 421 | ..... | ..... | 421 |
| 1916 | 878 | 375 | ..... | ..... | 1,253 |
| 1917 | 1,904 | 566 | 5,111 | ..... | 7,581 |
| 1918 | 902 | 1,205 | 6,241 | ..... | 8,348 |
| 1919 | 1,690 | 2,174 | 6,476 | ..... | 10,340 |
| 1920 | 3,405 | 1,639 | 7,479 | ..... | 12,523 |
| 1921 | 828 | 1,192 | 9,343 | ..... | 11,363 |
| 1922 | 3,336 | 833 | 8,234 | 931 | 13,334 |
| 1923 | 3,126 | 807 | 8,152 | 2,473 | 14,558 |
| 1924 | 3,303 | 918 | 7,197 | 5,938 | 17,356 |
| 1925 | 3,169 | 1,264 | 8,681 | 5,097 | 18,211 |

(4) See answer to (2).

(5) A close season for seals is fixed from 22nd November to 15th February and steps are taken by Government to protect the herds from any form of molestation during that period.

(6) Any question of the expansion of the seal herds must necessarily be considered in conjunction with the important fishing and guano industries, both of which might vitally be affected by over preservation of these herds. Therefore whilst every effort is made to allow an increase of the herds within reasonable limits, due regard must be had to the need of adequately protecting the above industries which affect directly the fishing and farming communities.

## No. 166.

*From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Finance*

OTTAWA, August 27, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a desptch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Governor General, dated 23rd August, 1926, No. 428,[1] forwarding cheque for $1,075.01, representing 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the monies derived from the sale of 543 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands and sold in December, 1925, and January, 1926, together with the statement of sale referred to in the said despatch.

I have, etc.,
O. D. SKELTON,
*Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

The Deputy Minister of Finance,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 164.

## No. 167.

*From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries*

OTTAWA, August 27, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose herewith for your information copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to

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His Excellency the Governor General, dated 23rd August, 1926, No. 428,[1] enclosing cheque for $1,075.01, representing 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the monies derived from the sale of 543 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands and sold in December, 1925, and January, 1926, together with the statement in regard thereto.

The cheque has been forwarded in the ordinary course to the Receiver General.

I have, etc.,

O. D. SKELTON,

*Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

The Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 164.

## No. 168.

*From the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs*

OTTAWA, September 1, 1926.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge a copy of a confidential despatch of the 13th ultimo from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs,[1] with which is forwarded a copy of a communication from His Majesty's representative at Moscow, with regard to the sealing operations conducted on the Russian Seal Islands since 1920 inclusive.

The number of skins taken yearly since 1920 inclusive, as shown in the despatch, and the number thereof that should have been forwarded to Canada are as follows:—

| Year. | Number of Seals Reported as Taken. | Number to which Canada is Entitled under Treaty. |
|---|---|---|
| 1920 | 897 | 135 |
| 1921 | 101 | 15 |
| 1922 | 113 | 17 |
| 1923 | 1,062 | 159 |
| 1924 | 857 | 134 |
| 1925 | 551 | 83 |
| | | 543 |

As shown in previous correspondence twelve of the skins of Canada's share for the season of 1920 were shipped to Canada and were received though in a condition that was practically worthless. There is, therefore, still due to Canada 531 skins from those taken from 1920 to 1925, both years inclusive.

In all the circumstances settlement for Canada's share on the prices prevailing at London, as contemplated by Article XI of the Treaty, in connection with the settlement for advances made by the United States Government would appear to be the most satisfactory method, and this Department will be obliged if you will arrange accordingly.

In the communication above cited from His Majesty's Representative at Moscow it is explained that Monsieur Tchitcherin mentioned to him that the Soviet Government was in contact with the Japanese and United States Governments with regard to the renewal of the Sealing Convention, but has so far had no communication. This is not understood. In my letter of the 27th of March, 1924,[2] and again in that of the 1st of August, 1924,[3] it was intimated that the Treaty should be maintained in force and in the letter of the 24th of March last[4] from the Foreign Office to His Majesty's Representative at Moscow it is stated, "As

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you are no doubt aware, His Majesty's Government consider that the Convention remains in force as between them and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

I may add that this Department would be obliged for any information that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be able to furnish as to the census of the seal heard now frequenting the Russian Islands and as to why there was such a large fluctuation in the annual number of seals taken.

I am, sir,
Your obedient servant,
A. JOHNSTON,
*Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*

Dr. O. D. SKELTON,
Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 162.
[2] Not printed.
[3] Not printed.
[4] Enclosure in No. 150.

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## No. 169.

*From His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General*

No. 443.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., September 16, 1926.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship, herewith, copies of the paper mentioned in the subjoined schedule.

I have, etc.,
(For the Ambassador)
H. W. BROOKS.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

| Name and Date | Subject |
|---|---|
| From: Department of State, Washington, dated September 14th, 1926. | Moneys derived from the sale of 134 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands in March, 1926. |

Reference: Manchester despatch No. 428 of August 23rd, 1926.[1]

[1] No. 164.

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### ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 169

*From the United States Secretary of State to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, September 14, 1926.

EXCELLENCY,—At the request of the Department of Commerce and in accordance with the terms of the North Pacific Sealing Convention of July 7, 1911, I have the honour to transmit official check No. 3174, dated

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August 23, 1926, drawn to the order of your Government in the sum of $516.97, representing 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the monies derived from the sale of 134 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands in March, 1926.

There is also enclosed a copy of the statement in connection with this sale.

Accept, etc.,
For the Secretary of State,
J. BUTLER WRIGHT.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir ESME HOWARD, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.V.O.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

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**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 169**

COMPUTATION of amounts due Great Britain and Japan account sales in March, 1926, of 134 fur sealskins taken on Pribilof Islands, Alaska.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The sales consisted of: | | |
| Skins taken in the year 1925, dyed black | | 100 |
| Skins taken in the year 1925, dyed Bois de Campeche | | 34 |
| Total | | 134 |
| Gross sales | $5,396 75 | |
| Less cash discounts allowed purchasers, 1 per cent on $5,396.75 | 53 97 | |
| | $5,342 78 | |
| Less commissions to selling agents, 3¾ per cent on $5,342.78 | 200 35 | |
| Net on sales | | $5,142 43 |
| *Deductions—* | | |
| Cost of dressing, dyeing and machining: 134 skins at $12 each | $1,675 00 | |
| Transportation between Pribilof Islands, Alaska, and St. Louis, Mo.: 134 skins at $.1564 each | 20 96 | |
| Total deductions | | $1,695 96 |
| Balance on which distribution is based | | $3,446 47 |
| *Distribution* | | |
| United States' share, 70 per cent of $3,446.47 | | $2,412 53 |
| Great Britain's share, 15 per cent of $3,446.47 | | 516 97 |
| Japan's share, 15 per cent of $3,446.47 | | 516 97 |
| | | $3,446 47 |

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**No. 170.**

*From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

Confidential.

CANADA, GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, September 16, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch, Confidential (2), of the 13th August,[1] on the subject of the sealing operations conducted on the Com-

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CANADA

C 93025



August 23, 1926, drawn to the order of your Government in the sum of $516.97, representing 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the monies derived from the sale of 134 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands in March, 1926.

There is also enclosed a copy of the statement in connection with this sale.

Accept, etc.,
For the Secretary of State,
J. Butler Wright.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir Esme Howard, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.V.O.,
Ambassador of Great Britain.

---

**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 169**

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| Skins taken in the year 1925, dyed black | | 100 |
| Skins taken in the year 1925, dyed Bois de Campeche | | 34 |
| Total | | 134 |
| Gross sales | $5,396 75 | |
| Less cash discounts allowed purchasers, 1 per cent on $5,396.75 | 53 97 | |
| | $5,342 78 | |
| Less commissions to selling agents, 3¾ per cent on $5,342.78 | 200 35 | |
| Net on sales | | $5,142 43 |
| *Deductions—* | | |
| Cost of dressing, dyeing and machining: 134 skins at $12 each | $1,675 00 | |
| Transportation between Pribilof Islands, Alaska, and St. Louis, Mo.: 134 skins at $.1564 each | 20 96 | |
| Total deductions | | $1,695 96 |
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| Great Britain's share, 15 per cent of $3,446.47 | | 516 97 |
| Japan's share, 15 per cent of $3,446.47 | | 516 97 |
| | | $3,446 47 |

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## No. 170.

*From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

Confidential.

Canada, Government House,
Ottawa, September 16, 1926.

Sir,—With reference to your despatch, Confidential (2), of the 13th August,[1] on the subject of the sealing operations conducted on the Com-

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mander Islands since 1920 inclusive, I have the honour to state that the number of skins taken yearly since 1920 and the number thereof that should have been forwarded to Canada are as follows:—

| Year. | Number of Seals Reported as Taken. | Number to which Canada is Entitled under Treaty. |
|---|---|---|
| 1920 | 897 | 135 |
| 1921 | 101 | 15 |
| 1922 | 113 | 17 |
| 1923 | 1,062 | 159 |
| 1924 | 857 | 134 |
| 1925 | 551 | 83 |
| | | 543 |

Twelve of the skins for Canada's share for the season of 1920 were shipped to Canada and were received, though in a condition that was practically worthless. There are, therefore, still due to Canada 531 skins from those taken from 1920 to 1925, both years inclusive.

In all the circumstances, settlement for Canada's share on the prices prevailing at London, as contemplated by Article XI of the North Pacific Sealing Convention of 1911 and as already applied to the settlement for advances made by United States Government would appear to be the most satisfactory method.

I have, etc.,
BYNG OF VIMY.

Lieutenant-Colonel
The Right Honourable
L. C. M. S. AMERY,
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

[1] No. 162.

## No. 171.

*From the Dominions Office to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs*

DOMINIONS OFFICE,
DOWNING STREET, S.W.1, September 19, 1926.

DEAR DR. SKELTON,—With reference to the Secretary of State's official telegram of the 1st of April[1] regarding the proposed conference to consider the question of a further extension of the Fur Seals Protection Convention of 1911, I enclose a copy of correspondence between Sir V. Wellesley of the Foreign Office and the Japanese Ambassador. In the circumstances it is not proposed to return a formal reply to the Japanese Ambassador's note of the 5th of January,[2] pending the receipt of further information as to the views of the Japanese and United States Governments on the question of procedure. In this connection you will note what is said in Sir Esme Howard's despatch of the 5th of May, a copy of which was sent in the Secretary of State's official despatch of the 20th August.[3] I enclose a further copy of the former despatch for convenience of reference.

To Jap. Ambdr. 26-2-26.
From Jap. Ambdr. 31-3-26.
Fr. Mr. I. Joshida 4 Aug.
To Jap. Ambdr. 28 Aug,
Fr. Sir E. Howard 5 May

You will see that the Japanese Ambassador's letter of 31st March refers to a meeting of the delegates representing "Great Britain," etc. Should the Japanese Government pursue the question of the Conference, it is proposed to indicate to them that the Canadian Government are primarily interested in any revision of the Convention and that this will affect the question of representation, whether at the formal Conference of delegates or at any preliminary meeting of experts. In view, however, of the last paragraph of Sir E. Howard's despatch of the 5th of May, we do not propose to take any action on these lines for the present.

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It is not quite clear whether the Canadian Government, in putting forward their suggestions for a revision of the Convention, intended to include provision for the possible marketing in London of a proportion of skins taken. The matter, which has been the subject of correspondence between the Board of Trade and the London Fur Trade Association, is one to which His Majesty's Government attach some importance and we shall be grateful to receive any information which you may have on this point.

Your sincerely,
C. W. DIXON.

O. D. SKELTON, Esquire, M.A., Ph.D.

[1] No. 148.
[2] Enclosure 1 in No. 141.
[3] No. 163.

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**ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 171**

*From the Foreign Office, London, to the Japanese Ambassador*

No. A. 957/92/45.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1, February 26, 1926.

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR,—You were so good as to send us a note on the 5th January stating that your Government had decided to approach the Governments of all the signatory powers of the Convention for the Protection of Fur Seals, signed at Washington on July 7th, 1911, with a request for holding a conference to consider and, if possible, agree upon a further extension of the Convention with such additions and modifications as may be desirable. You mentioned in your note that the Convention had, in many respects, ceased to be responsive to the actual conditions of things.

We should be very grateful if, in order to facilitate our consideration of this question, you could let us know the nature of the modifications which your Government wish to see made in the text.

I should be glad if you could let me have this information at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
VICTOR WELLESLEY.

His Excellency
BARON KEISHIRE MATSUI.

---

**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 171**

*From the Japanese Ambassador to the Foreign Office, London*

(A. 1831/92/45.)

JAPANESE EMBASSY,
LONDON, W., March 31, 1926.

DEAR MR. WELLESLEY,—You were good enough, in your note A. 957/92/45, under date of the 26th ultimo, to ask the nature of the modifications which my Government wish to see made in the text of the Convention for the Protection of Fur Seals signed at Washington on July 7, 1911. I have asked my Government and have received an answer to the following effect.

My Government are not prepared at this moment to make known the desired modifications. They desire, however, to point out that the ever-increasing number of fur seals in the territorial waters of Japan is causing great losses to the Japanese fishing industry and they are confronted with the urgent necessity of taking such steps as may lead to the removal

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of the cause of those losses. It is also a desire of my Government that the present Convention should also, in other respects, be made, as far as possible, respondent to actual conditions.

It is added, for your information, that, in view of the apparent difficulties on the part of the United States to negotiate on this subject with the Soviet authorities, the attention of the United States Government has been called whether in pursuance of the precedent created on the occasion of the conclusion of the Universal Postal Convention by the United States and the Soviet Republic becoming joint signatories at Stockholm in 1924, she is prepared to take part in the proposed conference and to sign a convention to be concluded as it result together with the Soviet Republic, without touching the question of the recognition by the United States of the Soviet Republic.

The Japanese Ambassador at Washington has at the same time been instructed to suggest, in the event of the United States being unable to follow that precedent, that, prior to any formal meeting of the delegates of the states concerned, preliminary meetings should be held by technical experts of all the States, Parties to the present Convention with the object of investigating the subject and coming to an agreement thereon, it being understood, however, that so far as the United States is concerned, the Soviet expert, and so far as the Soviet Republic is concerned, the American expert, are to be regarded as observers respectively. Agreement, when attained, should be referred to a formal meeting of the delegates representing Great Britain, the Soviet Republic and Japan on the one hand and to a similar meeting of the delegates representing Great Britain, the United States and Japan on the other hand, with a view to the conclusion of two Conventions of entirely the same nature and contents, namely a convention between Great Britain, the Soviet Republic and Japan, and a convention between Great Britain, the United States and Japan.

Yours sincerely,
K. MATSUI.

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**ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 171**

*From the Japanese Ambassador to the Foreign Office, London*

(A 4314/92/45.)

JAPANESE EMBASSY,
LONDON, W., August 4, 1926.

DEAR SIR VICTOR,—With reference to my note of the 31st March last regarding the Convention for the Protection of Fur Seals signed at Washington on July 7th, 1911, I shall be much pleased if you could let me know the views of your Government on the matter.

Yours sincerely,
For the Ambassador,
ISABURO JOSHIDA.

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**ENCLOSURE 4 IN No. 171**

*From the Foreign Office, London, to the Japanese Ambassador*

(No. A. 4540/92/45.)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1, August 28, 1926.

MY DEAR AMBASSADOR,—In reply to Monsieur Yoshida's letter of the 4th instant, I write to let you know that the question in regard to the amendment of the Fur Seals Protection Convention of 1911, which was raised in Your Excellency's note of December 31st, 1925, and again in your private letter to me of the 31st March last, has been receiving the careful consideration of the various Government departments concerned.

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In the meantime, His Majesty's Government have been given to understand that the United States Government are opposed to negotiating any extension of the present Convention with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whom they have not recognized. So far as His Majesty's Government is aware the State Department have not hitherto seen their way to adopt either of the methods of overcoming this difficulty to which you were good enough to refer in your letter of the 31st March. In the circumstances, it was felt that no expression of views on the part of His Majesty's Government was likely to be useful until the difficulty in regard to negotiation between United States and Russian Delegates had been overcome.

Believe me,
My dear Ambassador,
Yours sincerely,
VICTOR WELLESLEY.

His Excellency
BARON KEISHIRO MATSUI.

## No. 172.

*From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries*

OTTAWA, September 20, 1926.

DEAR SIR,—I note that an answer has not been sent to your letter of September first[1] with reference to sealing operations conducted on the Russian Seal Islands since 1900, though the statement as to the number of skins to which Canada was entitled and the proposal as to method of settlement were duly forwarded.

I note that it is stated in your letter of September 1st that it is not understood why the Soviet Government has thus far had no communication on the subject of the renewal of the Fur Seal Convention with either the British or Canadian Government, particularly in view of the intimations in your letters of the 27th March, 1924,[2] and 1st August, 1924,[3] that the Treaty should be maintained in force, and in view of the recent statement of the British Government that they consider the Convention remains in force as between His Majesty's Government and the U.S.S.R. The explanation as to why the British Government has not intimated to Moscow the desire of Canada to have the Treaty renewed or made any representations on its own behalf, will doubtless be clear to you from the correspondence enclosed in the despatch from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs of the 20th August, 1926.[4] The difficulty lies in the absence of formal diplomatic relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Washington has never recognized the existing Soviet regime. When therefore the question arose of an international convention in which both the United States and the U.S.S.R. were to be formally represented, the difficulty at once suggested itself whether the United States could take part. Sir Esme Howard's communication of May 5th enclosed in the despatch of August 20th above referred to, makes it clear that, as might be anticipated, the United States has declined. Pending a decision on this matter, the British Government evidently considered it inadvisable to discuss the Convention with Moscow.

Yours sincerely,
O. D. SKELTON,
*Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

The Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 168.
[2] Not printed, see No. 84.
[3] Not printed, see No. 84.
[4] No. 163.

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C 93030



## No. 173.

*From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Finance*

OTTAWA, September 20, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to the Governor General, dated 16th September, 1926, No. 443,[1] forwarding cheque for $516.97, representing 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the monies derived from the sale of 134 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands in March, 1926, together with a statement of sale referred to in the said despatch.

I have, etc.,
O. D. SKELTON,
*Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

The Deputy Minister of Finance,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 169.

## No. 174.

*From the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries*

OTTAWA, September 20, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Governor General, dated 16th September, 1926, No. 443,[1] enclosing cheque for $516.97 representing 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the monies derived from the sale of 134 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands in March, 1926, together with a statement in regard thereto.

The cheque has been forwarded in the ordinary course to the Receiver General.

I have, etc.,
O. D. SKELTON,
*Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

The Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 169.

## No. 175.

*From His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio to the Governor General*

BRITISH EMBASSY,
TOKIO, September 22, 1926.

MY LORD,—With reference to my predecessor's despatch of July 16th, 1924,[1] regarding the apportionment of sealskins taken on Robben Island in 1923, I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency a copy of a note from the Japanese Government asking that freight expenses incurred in connection with this consignment amounting to the sum of yen 364.96 (yen three hundred and sixty-four and sen ninety-six) may be paid to the Japan-Russian Industrial Company, Limited, of Tokio.

I have sent a copy of the Japanese Government's note to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London.

I have, etc.,
JOHN TILLEY.

[1] No. 85.

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**ENCLOSURE IN No. 175**

*From the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio*

No. 140.

September 15, 1926.

SIR,—In my note No. 80 of June 20th, 1924, I had the honour to address Your Excellency's predecessor on the subject of the transportation to London of the sealskins allotted to His Majesty's Government out of the fur seals taken on Robben Island in 1923.

I have now the honour to inform Your Excellency that I have received a request from the competent authorities that the freight charges incurred, amounting to three hundred and sixty-four yen and ninety-six sen (yen 364.96) should be paid direct by the British authorities concerned to the Japan-Russian Industrial Co. Ltd. (Nichiro Jitsugyo Kabushiki Kaisha, 12 Ixumo-cho, Kyobashi-ku, Tokio).

I avail, etc.,

KIJURO SHIDEHARA, L.S.
Baron: Min. for F.A.

H.E. Sir JOHN TILLEY,
H.B.M. Ambassador.

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**No. 176.**

*From the Department of External Affairs to the Dominions Office*

OTTAWA, October 18, 1926.

DEAR SIR,—Referring to your letter to Dr. Skelton of the 19th September[1] regarding the proposed Conference to consider an extension of the Fur Seals Protection Convention of 1911 and asking for information as to whether the Canadian Government intended to include provision for the possible marketing in London of a portion of the skins taken, I may say that it is not proposed to specify in the amendment the particular markets in which the skins would be sold, but to provide that it should be decided from year to year or from time to time in a manner agreed upon by the Parties to the Convention in what forms, in what proportion in each form, at what places, and in what quantity at each place the skins would be sold, looking to the use of the markets that would afford the highest net prices. In the nature of things as London is one of the greatest fur markets of the world, if such modification in the Convention were made there would appear to be no room for doubt that it would be given a proper trial and receive such portion of the business as the results would warrant.

Yours very truly,
W. H. WALKER.

C. W. DIXON, Esquire, O.B.E.,
Dominions Office,
Downing Street,
London, S.W.1, England.

1 No. 171.

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**No. 177.**

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
No. 583.

DOWNING STREET, November 10, 1926.

MY LORD,—With reference to my despatch No. 207 of the 30th of April,[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency for the information of your Ministers, the accompanying copy of a despatch from

No. 458, 22 Sept.
15th Sept.

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C 93032



His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio regarding the sale of the Canadian Government's share of the sealskins taken on the Robben Islands in 1921 and 1922.

2. I shall be glad to learn what reply your Ministers would wish to be returned to His Majesty's Ambassador.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
The Right Honourable
VISCOUNT WILLINGDON, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.B.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 153.

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**ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 177**

*From His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*

No. 458.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
TOKIO, September 22, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch No. 94 of March 31st (A 1591/92/45) regarding the payment to the Canadian Government by the Japanese Government of the proceeds of the sale of the former's share of the sealskins taken on Robben Island in 1921 and 1922, I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith, a copy of a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs giving details of these sales.

I have received the sum of yen three thousand two hundred and twenty-eight sen nineteen and seven-tenths (yen 3,228.197) from the Japanese authorities and should be glad to receive instructions as to its disposal.

I have, etc.,
JOHN TILLEY.

The Right Honourable
Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, K.G., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

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**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 177**

*From the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio*

No. 139.

September 15, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to Your Excellency's Note No. 72 of May 7th on the subject of the proceeds of the sale of the sealskins to be allotted to His Majesty's Government out of the fur seals taken by Japan in the years 1921 and 1922, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that the Competent Authorities have intimated to me that the net proceeds, amounting as shown in the enclosure to yen 3,228.197 have been sent direct to His Majesty's Consul-General at Yokohama.

I avail, etc.,
KIJURO SHIDEHARA,
*Baron: Min. for Foreign Affairs.*

His Excellency
Sir JOHN TILLEY,
H.B.M. Ambassador.

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C 93033



ENCLOSURE.

| Year. | Number of Skins. | Proceeds. | Expenses. | Balance. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1921 | 55 | 2,017·000 | 352·880 | 1,664·120 |
| 1922 | 60 | 1,936·117 | 372·040 | 1,564·077 |
| Total | 115 | 3,953·117 | 724·920 | 3,228·197 |

## No. 178.

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, November 16, 1926.

30th September. MY LORD,—With reference to my Confidential despatch of the 27th of August[1] I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency for the information of your Ministers the accompanying copy of a despatch and enclosures from the Governor General of the Commonwealth of Australia, furnishing information in respect of the conservation of fur seal and sea otter resources.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
The Right Honourable
VISCOUNT WILLINGDON,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 165.

## ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 178

*From the Governor General of Australia to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

No. 252.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA,
GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,
MELBOURNE, September 30, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch dated 22nd February, 1926, No. 73, with which was enclosed a copy of a note from the United States Ambassador in London asking for certain information relating to the conservation of fur seal and sea otter resources, I have the honour to inform you that I am advised by my Acting Prime Minister that the questions set out in the note were referred to the several State Governments, this matter being within their control.

(8) I forward herewith, in duplicate, statements furnished by the Governments of Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania in respect to the questions set out in the Ambassador's note. Two copies (2) of a report prepared by the Director of the Australian Museum, Sydney, and forwarded by the Premier of New South Wales, are also enclosed. This Report covers the whole field of Australasian sealing. The New South Wales Government anticipates that the protection now afforded seals by the Birds and Animals Protection Act of that State will probably result in increasing breeding and chances of reaching maturity.

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ENCLOSURE.

| Year. | Number of Skins. | Proceeds. | Expenses. | Balance. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1921 | 55 | 2,017·000 | 352·880 | 1,664·120 |
| 1922 | 60 | 1,936·117 | 372·040 | 1,564·077 |
| Total | 115 | 3,953·117 | 724·920 | 3,228·197 |

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30th September.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency
The Right Honourable
VISCOUNT WILLINGDON,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 165.

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*From the Governor General of Australia to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

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GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,
MELBOURNE, September 30, 1926.

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C 93034



The Premier of Queensland informed my Acting Prime Minister that fur seal and sea otter do not exist in Queensland waters, and that there is no evidence that these animals have ever been found in that State.

I have, etc.,
STONEHAVEN,
*Governor General.*

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

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**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 178**

REPORT received from the New South Wales Government in connection with enquiries instituted by the United States Government as to fur seal and sea otter resources of Australia.

*Report prepared by Dr. Charles Anderson, Director of the Australian Museum, Sydney*

FUR SEALS

The commonest fur seal found on the Australian coasts is *Arctocephalus doriferus* Wood Jones, of which there are several herds, mostly of small size, extending from Seal Rocks, Port Stephens, New South Wales, to the islands of Bass Straits (where they are most numerous), the S.W. coast of Victoria, and the Recherche Archipelago in South Western Australia.

Mr. A. S. Le Souef, who has investigated the occurrence of the Australian fur seal (Australian Zoologist, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1925, pp. 112-116), estimates the numbers of the herds as follows:—

Seal Rocks, Port Stephens, about 500; Montague Island, off Narooma, N.S.W., about 200; Julia Percy Island, S.W. Coast of Victoria, 3,000 to 4,000; Seal Rocks off Western Port, Victoria, 3,000 to 4,000; White Rock, S.W. of Shooting Island, Bass Strait, 100; Council Rock, Bass Strait, 150; South West Isle, Kent Group, Bass Strait, 200; Barrenjoie, East of Launceston Heads, Tasmania, about 200; West Moncur, East of Wilson's Promontory, about 300; Hogan Group, about 300; Read's Rocks, East of King Island, 1,500-2,000; Anser Group, near Wilson's Promontory, about 600. Other estimates place the numbers on Council Rocks at 1,800 to 2,000, and on Barrenjoie, 1,000.

The fur seal was once common on Kangaroo Island, S. Australia, but they are now exterminated there, the last big haul of skins having been obtained about 40 years ago (Wood Jones). The Recherche Archipelago was apparently at one time the home of a herd of fur seals, but here too it has been practically exterminated by sealers.

The New Zealand fur seal, *Arctocephalus forsteri* Lesson, is sometimes found in Australian waters, but there is no record of its occurrence in large numbers.

SEA OTTER

There are no sea otters found on the Australian coasts.

SEALING INDUSTRY

This was established at a very early date, sealskins and seal and whale oil being the first exports sent from the Colony. Sydney was the headquarters of the trade in the early days, Sydney merchants equipping vessels which exploited the seal resources of New Zealand and Bass Straits, the cargoes being brought into Port Jackson. There was never, however, any considerable industry on the coast of New South Wales itself. In 1798 a vessel returned to Sydney from Tasmania bringing

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9,000 sealskins and several tuns of oil and the trade developed rapidly. At first the major supplies were obtained from Dusky Sound and other places in New Zealand, the Bass Strait sealing developing later, but it is not possible to obtain reliable figures of the numbers of skins obtained.

The first visits of sealers were to the mainland or to the islands in its immediate vicinity, but it was not long before the outlying islands were laid under toll. In 1797 a number of American vessels came to engage in the seal industry.

In 1802 there was a sealing " rush " to the islands of Bass Strait.

In 1804 the " Union " (Fanning & Co. of New York) under Captain Pendleton secured 12,000 to 14,000 sealskins at Kangaroo Island, South Australia.

About 1810 the industry seems to have attained its maximum dimensions. In one week no less than 45,000 skins were brought into port. The week's imports into Sydney from the Sealing Islands (New Zealand, Bass Straits, etc.) had a value in London of £102,500. It is evident that seals must then have been abundant in Australasian waters, though it is to be remembered that not all skins were those of the fur seal, for the sealers included the hair seals in their takings. Writing in 1806 Sir Joseph Banks says that " the island of Van Diemen (Tasman), the S.W. coast of New Holland (Australia), and the southern part of New Zealand produce seals of all kinds in quantities at present almost innumerable."

In 1809 two vessels, the *Pegasus* and the *Fox* came to Sydney with 12,600 and 13,000 to 14,000 skins respectively (obtained in New Zealand).

In 1815 there was a great falling off in the industry. The apparently inexhaustible supplies on Macquarie Island and the islands of Bass Strait were by this time seriously depleted. Three or four years previously 100,000 were procured in the season on Macquarie Island, but in 1815 the numbers had dwindled to 5,000 or 6,000 owing to indiscriminate slaughter.

In 1823 there seems to have been a slight revival in the industry, for sealing vessels once more began to come into Sydney, but it was evident that the industry was doomed.

In 1825, 19,734 sealskins (fur and hair) were brought to Sydney from New Zealand and in 1826, 18,570 skins, but the latter year witnessed the collapse of the industry, and by 1830 the great seal trade was at an end.

Since then there has no doubt been a certain amount of sealing done on the Australian coasts, but only sporadically.

There is evidence that the sealing herds are now recovering somewhat.

### CAUSES OF DIMINUTION IN NUMBERS

As regards this, there is no doubt that indiscriminate killing, the females as well as the young being slaughtered, was largely responsible.

### PROTECTIVE MEASURES

Seals are now totally protected in New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania. In South and Western Australia they are partially protected. In Western Australia there is an open season from 1st April to 31st October, but export must be with the consent of the Minister.

There is, however, no systematic policing of sealing grounds, and so far as known no special measures are taken to develop and expand the herds.

C. ANDERSON.

17.7.1926.

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## ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 178

REPORT by the Chief Inspector of Fisheries and Game of Victoria supplying particulars required by the American Ambassador in his Note of 31st December, 1925.

(Forwarded by the Victorian Government)

1. There are, to the best of my knowledge, about fourteen colonies of seals in and around Bass Straits between Victoria and Tasmania. Four of these colonies are under the jurisdiction of Victoria, namely, those of Lady Julia Percy Island off Pt. Fairy, the Seal Rocks off Phillip Island, the Glennies near Wilson's Promontory and the Skerries near the Wingan Inlet in East Gippsland. The colonies on Lady Julia Percy Island and the Seal Rocks are fairly extensive, but it is not known with any exactitude the numbers of seals thereon. A conservative estimate would probably be, Lady Julia Percy Island 3,000, the Seal Rocks 4,000, the Glennies 100 or 200, the Skerries about 100. The name of the seal inhabiting these colonies is the Australian fur seal (*Aretocephalus doriferus*). Occasionally sea otters and sea leopards become stranded on our coast, but these are visitors from the Antarctic and there are no colonies within the Victorian jurisdiction.

2. There is no exact record of the size of these colonies in the past, but I have seen it stated that about a hundred years ago hundreds of thousands of skins were taken yearly from the various colonies around southern Australia.

3. This industry was probably at its height from 1800 to 1820.

4. The cause of diminution in numbers was the unrestricted killing of animals of both sexes and all ages.

5. In Victoria seals are now protected throughout the whole year and no hunting or killing is permitted.

6. No steps have been taken to develop and extend the herds.

The seal rookeries now under the jurisdiction of Victoria have, I think, been restored, under complete protection, to something resembling their former numbers. I base this statement on the fact that the Seal Rocks near Western Port, which are easily accessible and handy for observation, are practically fully occupied during the breeding season in November and December. I doubt very much whether an industry of any value could be established in connection with the seals because, although they are classed as fur seals, the skins do not seem to fetch very high prices in the market and they do not appear to have fur of any quality thereon.

F. LEWIS,
*Chief Inspector of Fisheries and Game.*

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## ENCLOSURE 4 IN No. 178

REPLIES furnished by the Western Australian Government to questions contained in the American Ambassador's Note of the 31st December, 1925.

1. Fur seals are found in greater or smaller numbers upon the majority of the islands off the southern coast of this State, but this applies particularly to the islands of the Recherche Archipelago. As far as is known, no record has ever been obtained of the numbers frequenting the islands, which are rarely visited. No record is available of the appearance of sea otters in Western Australian waters.

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2. It is believed that many years ago a considerable number of seals were taken from the islands of the Recherche Archipelago, but during the last 15 years only one expedition has visited the islands, taking seals for commercial purposes. This was during 1920, when 494 fur seals were killed.

3 and 4. See 2.

5. Seals of all species are protected under the provisions of the Western Australian Game Act from the beginning of November to the end of March in every year.

6. Other than the protection afforded by the close period, steps have not been taken to increase the herd.

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**ENCLOSURE 5 IN No. 178**

REPLIES forwarded by the South Australian Government to questions contained in the American Ambassador's Note of the 31st December.

1. There are large numbers of hair seals on all the small islands and rocks between the eastern end of Kangaroo Island and the Western border of this State.

Fur seals are scarce and the only herd known to exist is on Casuarina Island.

2 and 3. Practically nothing is done in the way of marketing the skins of these animals and no record has been kept of value. No licenses have been issued for many years.

4. Hair seals are almost as plentiful now as they were thirty years ago.

5. All the islands and waters of St. Vincent and Spencer's Gulfs and Investigator Straits are closed areas.

Casuarina Island is also permanently closed.

6. The above closures and the general close season during the months of July, August, September, October, November, December and January in each year are enforced.

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**ENCLOSURE 6 IN No. 178**

REPLIES furnished by the Tasmanian Government to questions contained in the American Ambassador's Note of the 31st December, 1925.

1. It was not until recent years that an endeavour was made to decide whether the seal frequenting the islands adjacent to Tasmania was the true fur seal. (See the accompanying pamphlets issued under the auspices of the Royal Society of Tasmania). Information as to the size of the herds is not on record, but it is reported that the Tasmanian fur seals frequent several of the islands and rocks around Tasmania, including Bass Straits.

2 and 3. The Tasmanian Sea Fisheries Board has no data. Sealing has not been engaged in on industrial lines for many years. The only persons capturing them in limited numbers have been the half-caste residents of the Straits Islands. These people have been satisfied to now and again procure seal pelts supplementary to mutton bird hunting for a bare existence.

4. The Sea Fisheries Board has no data but apparently the mammals are taking time in assuming herds of anything like the dimensions of a half century ago.

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5. Except that regulations exist as to close season, etc., special steps to conserve the herds have not appeared necessary. As a fact, with the exception of the taking of a few seals they remain at the rookeries unmolested.

6. No special steps taken. The seals are left to multiply naturally, and it would seem that the number taken during open season must be proportionately very much lower than the yearly increase.

Attached for information is a summary of a paper read by Mr. Clive Lord, F.L.S., Director of the Tasmanian Museum, before the Royal Society of Tasmania in July, 1926.

Sea otters are not known in Tasmanian waters.

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**ENCLOSURE 7 IN No. 178**

*The Mercury*, 23rd July, 1926

## TASMANIAN FUR SEALS

### Need for Proper Control—Development of an Industry

The fur seals of the Tasmanian coast and of the islands, which come under the jurisdiction of the Tasmanian Government, were dealt with at length by Mr. Clive Lord, F.L.S., at a meeting of the Royal Society of Tasmania last night. Mr. L. Rodway presided.

Mr. Lord stated that as an outcome of the research work undertaken in conjunction with Mr. Scott it had been possible to show that the fur seal of Tasmania was a distinct species, and further, that its economic importance had been neglected in late years. Their work in one sense was drawing to a close for the economic aspect of the case would be for others and not for the society to deal with. The control of these mammals was vested in the Sea Fisheries Board, and any regulations on the subject would necessarily be framed by the members of that body. The great responsibility which rests upon them in that connection was probably not yet fully realized, for their control extended from a point close to the shores of the Victorian coasts, including the island of Bass Strait and the Tasmanian coasts to Macquarie Island in the distant south. Within this area were numerous scattered herds of fur seals of great economic value, the control and management of which called for the utmost care and consideration. There was an immense field of research awaiting workers in connection with the fisheries of Tasmania, and such research was essential if the industry was to be handled in a correct manner, for the past history of fisheries throughout the world was strewn with wreckage of industries due to a want of understanding of essential biological data and a true recognition of the fact that the foundation of commerce was science.

#### PRESENT POSITION OF SEALING

After enumerating the different varieties of both fur and hair seals of the Tasmanian waters, Mr. Lord went on to say that the position to-day was such that it demanded attention. Just how far our local authorities could go would depend upon future developments, but there were indications that it would be a matter for the Commonwealth as a whole to deal with. With regard to the far away Macquarie Island, he could not do better than quote the opinion of Sir Douglas Mewson, who stated "The effect of past sealing operations at Macquarie Island has proved disastrous to its economic and scientific interests, a statement which is quite indisputable." Coming nearer home to the islands of Bass Strait and the islands fringing our coasts the same words applied. In various places herds existed. They were, however, but a scattered remnant of former

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innumerable legions. They existed not only in the straits but on the southeast and west coasts, and his investigations went to show that they were probably more numerous than generally supposed. Within recent years a certain amount of indiscriminate sealing had been carried on by the half-castes of the Bass Strait islands, but owing to the wasteful and inefficient manner in which the sealing had been done it had produced little return to those engaged in the business a state of affairs which was not to be wondered at considering the circumstances.

For some years past Mr. Lord said he had been endeavouring to prove to the islanders the economic value of the seals, but the result to date appeared to be that he had earned the reputation of being a very elderly bespectacled old gentleman sitting in the Museum at Hobart, who desired to protect all animals from being killed, and above all, the seals, which did so much damage to the fish. Even a visit to Flinders Island did little to dispel the illusion, for there were none so blind as those who would not see. As a matter of fact the idea that seals destroyed the fishing grounds had been proved a fallacy. The so-called half-castes of Bass Strait were the quadroon descendants in most cases of the early sealing gangs. Their occupation nowadays was "mutton-birding" from which the returns were sufficient to carry the "birders" well through the year, but towards Christmas they liked to supplement their resources by descending upon the seal rookeries where the seals massed for breeding purposes, and indulged in indiscriminate slaughter. Within the last few years the seasons were altered to prevent this, but no legislation could be effective without adequate supervision. Then again, interested parties were continually bringing pressure to bear in order to have the sealing grounds thrown open. There was no question that the common seal of the Tasmanian waters was a true fur seal. The hair seal occurred in Tasmanian waters, but only as a straggler from the more southern regions. As a proof of the value of the skins, he might state that during Sir Frank Heath's visit to Tasmania in connection with the reorganization of the Institute of Science and Industry, he examined certain pelts at the Tasmanian Museum. He was so struck with the economic value of these that he offered if the Government would send home some pelts he would personally see that these were tested and a report made to the Government. It was to be sincerely hoped that the offer of Sir Frank Heath be accepted.

With regard to the claim that the seals destroy an immense number of edible fish, this fact, said Mr. Lord, had been exposed as a fallacy on so many occasions that there was no need to dwell upon it. As a matter of fact it was open to investigation as to whether a seal rookery was not an advantage as regards the edible fish supply, and some of the best fishing grounds of the world were in the vicinity of the seal rookeries. In the early days, Tasmanian seals were so numerous that Peron, the French historian, referred to them as being in "innumerable legions," and from all accounts the fishing then was far better than what it was to-day.

### FUTURE MANAGEMENT

The question of future management naturally rested with other authorities, and local biological investigations were essential if a prudent and profitable policy was to be laid down. It might be found profitable to alter the present season considerably, but that should not be done until the whole industry had been placed on a proper basis. One of the first items to be undertaken should be a census of the herds. It would probably be found advisable to place the whole industry under strict Government supervision and to brand all pups each season. The sexes were born in equal numbers and the American practice was to retain one bull for each 35 cows; the surplus three-year-old bulls were killed as they constituted the best fur. As the herds developed certain of the two and four-year-old bulls were also taken. The skins were best marked by a perforation. The bulls, including animals of seven years and over, caused

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increased fighting and disturbance in the rookeries and therefore constituted a decided loss, so they should be destroyed, but the pelts of even these animals were of value, certain returns showing an average price of over £5 per skin for Alaskan "Wigs," as the aged bulls were termed.

"While thus strongly recommending the protection of the fur seal rookeries and the taking of steps for restoring them to plentitude," Mr. Lord concluded, "I make no reference to the various species of hair seal, such as the sea leopard and the harbour seal. The harm done by these seals, I am of opinion is exaggerated, and scientific evidence does not support the contention that schools of hair seals seriously affect the supply of fish in the sea."

## No. 179.

*From His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington to the Governor General*

No. 509.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C., November 22, 1926.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship, herewith, copies of the paper mentioned in the subjoined schedule.

I have, etc.,
(For H.M. Chargé d'Affaires)
J. BALFOUR.

His Excellency
The Governor General of Canada.

| Name and Date | Subject |
|---|---|
| From: Department of State, Washington, dated November 20, 1926. | Cheque for $32,546.93,—15 per cent of net proceeds derived from the sale of sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands sold at public auction on May 24, 1926. |

Reference: Washington despatch No. 443 of September 16, 1926.[1]

[1] No. 169.

### ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 179

*From the United States Secretary of State to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, November 20, 1926.

At the request of the Secretary of Commerce and in accordance with the terms of the North Pacific Sealing Convention of July 7, 1911, I have the honour to transmit herewith official No. 3206, drawn to the order of your Government in the sum of $32,546.93, representing 15 per cent of the moneys derived from the sale of 14,602 fur sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands and sold at public auction on May 24, 1926.

There is also enclosed a copy of the statement with respect to this sale.

Accept, etc.,
For the Secretary of State,
JOSEPH C. GREW.

Enclosure: Check for $32,546.93; Copy of statement of sale.

Mr. HENRY CHILTON,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Great Britain.

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**ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 179**

COMPUTATION of amounts due Great Britain and Japan account sale on May 24, 1926, of fur sealskins taken on Pribilof Islands, Alaska.

The sale consisted of

| | |
|---|---|
| Skins taken in calendar year 1923, dressed, dyed and machined. | 1,529 |
| Skins taken in calendar year 1924, dressed, dyed and machined. | 7,643 |
| Skins taken in calendar year 1925, dressed, dyed and machined. | 5,255 |
| Skins taken in calendar year 1926, not dressed, dyed and machined | 175 |
| Total | 14,602 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Gross sales* | | $430,748 00 |
| Less cash discounts allowed purchasers: | | |
| 1 per cent on $407,791.00 | | 4,077 91 |
| | | $426,670 09 |
| Less commissions to selling agents: | | |
| 4 per cent on $270,485.72 | $10,819 42 | |
| 3¾ per cent on $156,184.37 | 5,856 91 | |
| | | $ 16,676 33 |
| *Net on sale* | | $409,993 76 |
| *Deductions:* | | |
| Cost of dressing, dyeing and machining: | | |
| 1,529 skins, taken in 1923, at $14.50 ea. | $ 22,170 50 | |
| 7,643 skins, taken in 1924, at $13.50 ea. | 103,180 50 | |
| 5,255 skins, taken in 1925, at $12.50 ea. | 65,687 50 | |
| | | $191,038 50 |
| Transportation between Pribilof Islands, Alaska, and St. Louis, Missouri: | | |
| 1,529 skins, taken in 1923, at $0.1464 ea. | $ 223 85 | |
| 7,643 skins, taken in 1924, at $0.1181 ea. | 902 64 | |
| 5,430 skins, taken in 1925, at $0.1564 ea. | 849 25 | |
| | | $ 1,975 74 |
| Total deductions | | $193,014 24 |
| Balance on which distribution is based | | $216,979 52 |

*Distribution*

| | |
|---|---|
| United States' share, 70 per cent of $216,979.52 | $151,885 66 |
| Great Britain's share, 15 per cent of $216,979.52 | 32,546 93 |
| Japan's share, 15 per cent of $216,979.52 | 32,546 93 |
| | $216,979 52 |

## No. 180.

*From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Governor General*

Canada.
Confidential.

DOWNING STREET, November 24, 1926.

MY LORD,—With reference to Viscount Byng's Confidential despatch of the 16th September,[1] regarding sealing operations on the Commander

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Islands, I have the honour to request Your Excellency to inform your Ministers that His Majesty's Representative at Moscow has been requested to bring the matter to the notice of the Soviet Government.

I have, etc.,
L. S. AMERY.

Governor General
His Excellency General
The Right Honourable
VISCOUNT WILLINGDON, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.,
etc., etc., etc.

[1] No. 170.

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## No. 181.

*From the Governor General to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*

No. 558.

CANADA, GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, November 25, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch No. 583 of the 10th instant[1] enquiring as to the reply to be returned to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokio with regard to the payment of the Canadian share of the proceeds of the sale of sealskins taken on Robben Island in 1921 and 1922, my Government desire that the net proceeds of the sale should be transmitted to them through the usual channels.

I have, etc.,
WILLINGDON.

Lieutenant-Colonel
The Right Honourable
L. C. M. S. AMERY,
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

[1] No. 177.

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## No. 182.

*From the Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Finance*

OTTAWA, November 26, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose, herewith, copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Governor General, dated 22nd November, 1926,[1] forwarding cheque for $32,546.93, representing 15 per cent of the net proceeds of the monies derived from the sale of sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands and sold at auction on the 24th May, 1926, together with a statement of sale referred to in the said despatch.

I have, etc.,
W. H. WALKER,
*Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

The Deputy Minister of Finance,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 179.

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## No. 183.

*From the Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries*

OTTAWA, November 26, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Governor General, dated 22nd November, 1926,[1] enclosing cheque for $32,546.93, representing 15 per cent of the moneys derived from the sale of 14,602 fur seals taken on the Pribilof Islands and sold at auction on the 24th May, 1926, together with a statement in regard thereto.

The cheque has been forwarded in the ordinary course to the Receiver General.

I have, etc.,
W. H. WALKER,
*Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

The Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 179.

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## No. 184.

*From the Governor General to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington*

No. 229.

CANADA, GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, December 9, 1926.

SIR,—With reference to your despatch No. 509 of the 22nd ultimo,[1] forwarding a cheque for the amount of the net proceeds derived from the sale of sealskins taken on the Pribilof Islands, I have the honour to state that it is pointed out by the Department of Marine and Fisheries that the statement enclosed in that despatch contains conflicting information in regard to the item 175 skins first mentioned as taken in the calendar year 1926, which appears to be included in the 5,430 skins subsequently mentioned as taken in 1925.

My Government would be grateful if an explanation could be obtained of this discrepancy.

I have, etc.,
WILLINGDON.

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires,
British Embassy,
Washington.

[1] No. 179.

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## No. 183.

*From the Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries*

OTTAWA, November 26, 1926.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to His Excellency the Governor General, dated 22nd November, 1926,[1] enclosing cheque for $32,546.93, representing 15 per cent of the moneys derived from the sale of 14,602 fur seals taken on the Pribilof Islands and sold at auction on the 24th May, 1926, together with a statement in regard thereto.

The cheque has been forwarded in the ordinary course to the Receiver General.

I have, etc.,
W. H. WALKER,
*Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

The Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries,
Ottawa.

[1] No. 179.

---

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No. 229.

CANADA, GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
OTTAWA, December 9, 1926.

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My Government would be grateful if an explanation could be obtained of this discrepancy.

I have, etc.,
WILLINGDON.

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires,
British Embassy,
Washington.

[1] No. 179.

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Pursuant to legislation enacted during the 1923 session of Parliament provision was made for the establishment of the Federal Appeal Board. The Board was appointed by the Governor-in-Council on August 17th, 1923 upon the recommendation of the Honourable the Minister of Justice. The following gentlemen were originally appointed to the Board -

Col. C.W. Belton, M.D., C.M.
C.B. Reilly, Esq., K.C.
Lt. Col. J.H. Roy, M.C.
Capt. C.W.E. Meath,
Capt. B.L. Wickware, M.D., C.M.

Two acting Members were subsequently appointed to facilitate the disposal of accumulation of appeals awaiting attention. One of the acting members since retired.

The function of the Board and the more important parts of the legislation under which it was established are set out in the following sections of the Pensions Act as amended by Chapter 62, 13-14, Geo. V. 1923.

11. (1) Upon the evidence and record upon which the Board of Pension Commissioners gave their decision an appeal shall lie in respect of any refusal of pension by the Board of Pension Commissioners on the grounds that the disability resulting from injury or disease or the aggravation thereof or that the injury or disease or the aggravation thereof resulting in death was not attributable to or was not incurred during military service.

(2) Every member of the Board shall also have the right to hear, but only upon the evidence and record upon which the Board of Pension Commissioners gave their decision, such appeals at such times and places as are fixed by regulations made and approved by the Board, and to give decisions thereon.

In setting up the machinery for appeals provision was made for the appointment of Official Soldiers' Advisers whose duties would be "generally to advise and assist ex-members of the forces in matters pertaining to re-establishment, treatment and pension, and to perform such duties as may be prescribed."

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The regulations governing the procedure of the Federal Appeal Board are contained in the Order in Council 212 of 1924, copy of which is attached hereto.

The Pension Act provides that an appeal shall lie on grounds of entitlement and that there shall be an appeal on said grounds against a decision of the Board of Pension Commissioners refusing pension, and against a decision of the department of Pensions and National Health refusing medical treatment with pay and allowances.

Application for appeal is made to the Federal Appeal Board on (1) Form F.A.B. 4 in the case of disability appeals by ex-members of the Forces and (2) F.A.B. 8 in the case of dependants appealing in respect of the death of an ex-member of the Forces.

Sessions of the Board are arranged in approximately fifty different centres in the Dominion. When new cases are received, they are classified geographically and listed for hearing at the nearest centre of population to the residence of the appellant concerned. The list of centres of population is flexible and whenever a sufficient number of cases develop in any one area, arrangements are made for a session in that arear whether such sessions have previously been held there or otherwise.

The sittings of the Board follow ordinary Court procedure to a great extent. A member of the staff of the Board accompanies the Commissioners and acts as Clerk of the Court and the Official Soldiers' Adviser or other counsel nominated by the appellant addresses the Commissioners in much the same way as the counsel appearing in the ordinary law court. The proceedings are recorded on Form 18 (attached).

The sessions are held usually in Court Rooms in the various Court Houses throughout the Dominion, or in the Council Chamber in the City Hall. These quarters are invariably placed at the disposal of the Board by the local authority without cost.

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An effort is made to avoid creating the impression that the Board is in any way controlled by the Department of Pensions and this is one of the reasons why the sessions are arranged away from the quarters of the Department.

In connection with these sessions the appellants are given the right of personal appearance before the Board and representation by the Official Soldiers' Adviser who may, on the appellants' authority, represent him in his absence. Appeals are also dealt with from documentary evidence at the Headquarters of the Board in cases where the appellant does not wish to be present or represented.

Upon receipt of the appeal form (application) an examination of the record (head office file) is made in order to establish the grounds of appeal and whether or not within the jurisdiction of the Board. The cases, if within jurisdiction (see Form 71), are then listed in their proper districts and the preparation for hearing is proceeded with.

Following the hearing the decision of the Commissioners is given and judgment allowing or disallowing the appeal is issued. Attached are two specimen judgments:-

(1) Judgment disallowing appeal in respect of disability or death.
(2) " " " " " of aggravation of pre-enlistment condition and allowing appeal in respect of one condition and disallowing appeal of other conditions.

An amendment to the Pension Act, passed in April 1927, provides that "if within one year after a decision by the Federal Appeal Board upholding a refusal of pension by the Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada or one year after the passing of this proviso, whichever is the later, the applicant submits newly discovered evidence which, in the opinion of a majority of the Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada, establishes a reasonable doubt as to the correctness of the previous decision, the Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada shall reconsider such case, and if refusal of pension be confirmed, the applicant

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shall have the right of a second appeal to the Federal Appeal Board and its decision thereon shall be final and shall be binding upon the applicant and upon the Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada".

The outstanding experience of the Appeal Board is that many hundreds of applications have been rejected by the Lower Tribunal owing to incomplete evidence. The initiation of appeal procedure has resulted in the production of new evidence which enables the Lower Tribunal to adjust claims without appeal hearing.

Local sittings of the Board in the presence of the appellant and those interested in his claim are of the utmost importance in determining the value of the evidence and are in the Board's view fundamental in any effective appeal procedure. Even unsuccessful appellants accept the decisions of the Board with a degree of satisfaction and many old contentious claims have been brought to a finality.

When the formation of the Appeal Board was discussed, it was expected that a tremendous number of appeals would be entered immediately. The expected volume however did not materialize. In any new scheme contemplated, therefore, would suggest the creation of a small central tribunal to be enlarged only as the work develops.

Entitlement is unquestionably the large subject in pension appeals. Strong demand has been made for assessment appeals, but in the opinion of the Board this would be impractical, except possibly in a strictly limited class in which a final award might be made.

In addition to the ordinary process of dealing with the appeals in respect of attributability covering service in the Canadian Forces the Board also acts as an agent of the Imperial Pensions Appeal Tribunal in dealing with assessment claims entered by the ex-members of the Imperial Forces. In these cases the appellant concerned is called before the Board and is medically examined by one of the members of the Board. The report of the finds is transmitted to the Pension Appeal Tribunal which body makes a final decision.

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The appellant is supplied with a railway transport warrant when notified to appear before the Board, and at the time of the hearing he is reimbursed for an out-of-pocket expenses in the way of subsistence, etc.

The total number of appeals registered up to August 31, 1928 was 13,539.

5,631 of these cases have been heard by the Board, and the remaining 7,918 were divided as follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| Definitely outside the jurisdiction of the Board | 3,757 |
| Re-opened and pensioned by the Pensions Dept. after the appeal was entered. | 1,066 |
| Awaiting further information (in most cases the advice of appellant's counsel that he is ready to proceed). | 1,280 |
| Awaiting hearing. | 1,825 |

Of the 5,631 cases heard, 1,315 were allowed and 4,316 were disallowed.

(It is to be noted that apart from the allowed cases mentioned, 1,066 were re-opened and pensioned by the Pensions Department without the necessity of an appeal hearing).

During the period August 31, 1927-28, 2,453 appealable cases were received, and 1,780 appeals were heard.

In the preparation of the case the following procedure is followed.

There are two sets of fyles: (1) Head Office and (2) District fyles.

In cases dealt with at Ottawa the Head Office fyle is used unless the appellant is a resident of Ottawa district when the district fyle is used.

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In all other centres the appeal is dealt with from Unit office fyle.

The first stage of the preparation is the "completion" of the said district fyle. The Head office fyle is examined and list is made of all relevant documents thereon and forwarded to the district office. At the district office the fyle is checked with the list and any of the listed documents which are missing are called for and copies thereof supplied by the head office. This ensures the presence on the District Office fyle of all relevant documents for examination at the hearing.

Following this a precis is made of the claim (see form used and sample precis attached). This contains the regimental and enlistment details of the appellant - the service medical history on record - the post-discharge medical history and a resume of the appellant's statement of claim. There is also recorded the specific decision of the Board of Pension Commissioners or the Dept. of Pension (ex-D.S.C.R.) against which the appeal is made.

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# PENSIONS DEBATE

## A Summary

Resolution introduced by Mr. Peter McGibbon,(Muskoka, Ontario):

That, in the opinion of this House, any ex-soldier who has served in any theatre of war, who applies for a pension or an increase of pension and submits evidence or an opinion from any reputable physician or surgeon in Canada, stating that his disability is directly or indirectly attributable to war services, the onus of disproof shall be upon the Board of Pension Commissioners and that unless the same be disproved a pension shall be granted to the said applicant in accordance with the schedule at present in force under the regulations of the Board of Pension Commissioners.

Amendment moved by Mr. Ernst, (Queens-Lunenburg):

That all words after the word "House" in the second line of the resolution be deleted and the following substituted therefor: "In all applications for pension where disability or death is proved such disability or death shall be presumed to have resulted from and to be attributable to military service unless and until the contrary be proved".

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Moved by Mr. Mackenzie King:

That the original motion and amendment be referred to the Committee appointed to deal with all matters connected with pensions and returned soldiers problems; and

That it be an instruction to the Committee that they have power to consider the advisability of giving discretionary powers to the Board of Pension Commissioners and the benefit of the doubt to the applicant for pension on the evidence adduced with respect thereto; and also to consider the advisability of applying the principles enunciated in the original motion and amendment.

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## POINTS MADE IN THE DEBATE

1. The resolution was directed to the class known as "Deferred Liabilities"

2. In many cases proof of disability could not be found in the in the records of the ex-soldiers

3. In making application for employment there was a prejudice against the ex-soldier, not because he had been a soldier but because of the belief that the effect of the war had left him less fit to undertake industrial duties

4. The resolution removed the onus from the applicant and placed it on the country

5. Interpretation by the Board of Pension Commissioners of the expression "chronologically ill" had caused much hardship

6. In every case the benefit of the doubt, where there was a reasonable one, should be given to the applicant for pension

7. The Board of Pension Commissioners could not deal effectively with the very large number of cases that came before it

8. The present organization should be changed so that the Federal Appeal Board would sit at Ottawa and the Board of Pension Commissioners tour the country

9. The cases of men who could not trace their disability directly to their war service were increasing rapidly

10. The existing machinery at the disposal of ex-soldiers for proving their claim to pension was not adequate

11. Premature old age was just as definitely a war disability as were amputation cases or shell-shock cases

12. Parliament must make provision for the men who deserve pensions and are unable to prove their cases

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13. Hospital medical treatment must be provided for those who need it

14. It was necessary to bring up in the Pensions Law a kind of equity jurispridence where justice would be done instead of adhering to the strict letter of the law.

15. The men most deserving of assistance found it most difficult to present a record of their disability or illness owing to the fact that their service was mostly in France

16. The Board when refusing an application for pension should give their reasons why they consider the disability of ante-war or post-war causation

17. There was unanimity of opinion among the members of the House that the ex-service men should receive the very greatest consideration which it was possible to give them.

18. Mr. Bourassa objected to the wording of the resolution as controverting the basic principles of law and evidence. Mr. Ernst declared this to be a mistaken point of view.

The Prime Minister, in the course of his remarks, said:

Wherever in the existing legislation either from the point of view of insufficient provision, or insufficient administration, or wrong administration in any part there is a limitation, this Committee that is to consider the matter should have a chance to pronounce upon it and make to the House such recommendations as it thinks most advisable with respect thereto.

The motion of Mr. Mackenzie King was agreed to on division.

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Amend the resolution

by deleting the words "the onus of disproof shall be upon the Board of Pension Commissioners and that unless the same be disproved a pension", in the 4th, 5th and 6th lines thereof, and substituting therefor the words:

"shall be entitled to the benefit of any reasonable doubt as to his right to a pension, and that unless the evidence he submits is disproved

and that this resolution and the principle embodied in it shall be submitted to the special committee to be appointed at the present session to consider further legislation respecting War Veterans and amendments to the Pension Act for its direction in dealing with the matter.

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DEBATE ON ALLOWANCES TO WAR VETERANS

Hansard, Page 261

The Honourable Dr. J. H. King, Minister of Pensions and National Health moved that the House go into committee to consider the proposed resolution,

"Resolved, that it is expedient to bring in a measure respecting allowances to war veterans, to provide assistance for certain veterans who are not in receipt of pensions, or who, if in receipt of pensions, are only partially pensionable, or who are unemployable, and to provide for an administration, amounts, terms, and conditions of such allowances, and for the payment of such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the proposed legislation."

In 1928 the Committee on pensions and soldier problems included in their return to the House this statement:

"This committee finds that one of the most serious situations confronting the Department and the country generally is that relating to the employment and care of ex-members of the forces suffering from disabilities, broken down or burnt out. A number of

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suggestions has been made to your committee for dealing with such cases. The committee recommends that information be gathered which will be of assistance in framing the Government policy. The committee considers this the most serious problem which has arisen in connection with our ex-soldiers".

Present pension legislation was specifically designed to compensate veterans whose disabilities were traceable to war service; but it had become increasingly apparent that some provision must be made for the aged and unemployable veteran whose condition could not be traced directly to his war service. A committee of the Department and an officer of the Soldier Settlement Board had been studying the question for some time and the Act introduced was the result.

The new legislation would be administered by a committee composed of the senior officials of the Department. The legislation was far-reaching as it recognized and made provision of the man who was discahrged fit, wan unemployable, but under present legislation not entitled to pension.

An allowance would be paid to men with front line experience, to pensioners, former pensioners no matter what their service at a stated age provided they were in necessitous circumstances. Men in this class who were found to be in necessitous circumstances and

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permanently unemployable would be paid an allowance irrespective of their age.

Mr. Clark (Vancouver-Burrard) The Pensions Board was not equipped to investigate and determine whether or not a man's disability was attributable to war service. The Board should be remodelled. No attention was paid by the Board to a local doctor's certificate of attributability. The personnel of the Old Age Pensions Act might administer the new act; that would mean that the medical men would be right where the man lived. As proposed by the Minister, the administration of the Act would become a political matter; only those of a certain political party would get a pension. The Government should elaborate the legislation in the House itself and not forward it to a committee.

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Mr. McGibbon (Muskoka, Ont.)

The legislation proposed would result in discrimination between two classes of ex-service men depriving one class of their rights and the rights of their wifes and children. The proposal was really an old age dole. The Special Committee should be asked to deal with the whole problem and to draft legislation.

Mr. Ross (Kingston)

The question before the country was that of war disability and the resolution did not deal with that. The men affected, many of them did not come under the provisions of this legislation until ten or fifteen years had passed. This was only a modified Old Age Pension for returned men. The whole Pension Act must be redrafted.

Mr. Bennett

In 1927 it had been understood in the House that the benefit of the doubt would be given to the man who had been passed by the medical authorities as being fit for military service, who had rendered service in the theatre of war and who is suffering from a disability. This proposal was not an amendment to the Pension Act and would not deal with the deferred disability cases.

It was not fair nor right that the Minister should constitute himself a ~~goat~~ Court of last resort to determine whether or not people in difficult circumstances should secure money compensation. The Government should bring in legislation to amend the Pension Act

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and they should provide a simpler method whereby applicants could have their cases considered. Qualification under the Old Age Pension Act was pauperism. This was not the attitude to take towards returned men.

Mr. Mackenzie King

The Leader of the Opposition appeared to be seeking to make party capital out of this question. In a previous debate the Leader of the Opposition had agreed that all the returned soldier problems should be dealth with in the first instance by a Committee of the House. This was the wish also of the returned men themselves.

With respect to any matter concerning the returned soldiers which they individually or the Legion or any other of the veteran's organizations wished to have taken up before this Special Committee, They would have the fullest opportunity to have it discussed there and the Committee might bring before this House whatever report, in its opinion, should be brought in. He was whole heartedly in accordance with the views expressed by Sir Arthur Currie. He hoped that Sir Arthur Currie and others would appear before the Committee and give to the members the benefit of their experience and wisdon. The cases of deferred disability apparently did not come within the scope of the present Pension Act. It was not a question of whether or not the disability could be proven to be due to war services but the simple fact that having served overseas a man found himself in such a condition of physical or

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mental impairment that he was unable to earn a living. To deal with these cases something supplementary to the existing pension legislation was necessary. The Government wished the returned soldiers to be heard in respect to any matter that vitally affected them as to disability or pension. They wished to avoid a political battle on the floor of the House with respect to a matter that was far to vital to be dealt with in a partisan manner.

Mr. Bennett

The legislation submitted to the House was the worse piece of political legislation any parliament had had to consider on the eve of an election. It put into the hands of a Minister the power to say yes or no to applicants that was not right, nor just, nor fair.

Mr. Mackenzie King

The experience with the Pension Act had revealed that there were many men today who were broken down as the result of strain during the period of war but they were unable to show that their impairment of health was attributable to any specific cause connected with the war itself. These men were not receiving from the State the consideration which Parliament believed they would receive when the Pension Act was passed. The Government had come to the conclusion that further legislation was necessary to meet this class of case. There had grown up certain prejudice against the Pension Board so the Government had prepared a separate measure to give relief to the returned soldier at

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an age earlier than that provided under the Old Age Pension Act. The Old Age Pension Act was not a pauper's act. One receiving an old age pension was not accepting charity but receiving from the State that to which he had a right in accordance with the provisions of the Act. In bringing down this legislation the Government had removed it from the prejudice which might attach to any amendment to the Pension Act. Their desire was to get this matter removed as far as possible from political control.

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ALLOWANCES TO WAR VETERANS

Mr. T. H. Lennox (North York)

The words limiting the class of veteran who was entitled to relief should be eliminated from the bill and the matter left to the new Board or Committee to decide.

Mr. L. T. Ladner (Vancouver South)

An amendment or amendments to the Pension Act would accomplish the same end and more easily.

Mr. R. G. Geary (South Toronto)

The Government should assure the House that any favourable recommendations of the Special Committee would be implemented at this session by means of legislation. The bill did not afford relief to a large enough class of men.

The Honourable R. B. Bennett

Two principles are involved in the bill. One was the aid to be given to veterans, the other was the method by which that aid would be dispensed. He protested against the provision for the appeal to the Ministerwho represented a political party. There should be an independent tribunal, capable of making an important decision. Further the measure of benefit and the terms under which the benefit was to be conferred involved the acceptance of a condition which the applicant should not be compelled to put forward before he was the recipient of the benefit.

The Honourable J. H. King: Minister of Pensions and National Health:

This was not ordinary pension legislation. The Government had always considered sympathetically the resolutions passed by the meetings

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of the Legion and these resolutions had been before the Special Committee of the House every session.

The idea of a pension to the aged soldier was not new to the House. The Government had been anxious to keep the matter out of politics. The matter will be discussed in Committee. He knew that the soldiers themselves did not wish the bill to be mixed up with pension matters. They did not wish it to be referred to and administered by the Pension Board or the Appeal Board. He did not think it necessary to set up another Board. The departmental officers would be able to deal with the bill and its administration better than any body that could be set up in way of a committee or a commission.

The Pension Board themselves had said they thought it would be a mistake to ask them to adminster this bill as it was outside their jurisdiction.

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C 93064

MEMORANDUM

Among the many problems which the Great War left behind is that of pensions to disabled veterans or their dependents. So many men were killed and so many disabled that this problem has in Canada, as in all other countries, attained to a size never before known in history. New administrative bodies, new regulations, new technique have had to be developed. From time to time problems have arisen in the administration of pensions, which have made necessary a complete revision of the whole question. As early as 1916 the Board of Pension Commissioners was set up and the basis on which pensions should be awarded was laid down. Since that time the question of war pensions has received almost uninterrupted examination and consideration.

In 1918 the Parliamentary Committee on pensions made a number of important changes in the regulations under which the Board of Pension Commissioners operated.

In 1919 two special committees sat and devolved the Pension Act, which was passed in that year.

In 1920 a committee on pensions and re-establishment made recommendations covering increases in pensions.

In 1921-22 further changes in the Pension Act were made as a result of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committees which sat in these years.

In 1923 the Royal Commission, under the Chairmanship

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MEMORANDUM

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of the present Minister of National Defence, was engaged in a thorough investigation, which was dealt with by the Parliamentary Committee of 1924, and in 1928 three important changes in the above act were brought about as a result of the work of the Parliamentary Committee of that year.

From this it will be seen that no hard and fast rules have been set down for the administration of pensions. The problem has been all along treated as a living and changing one.

As a result of the various amendments in pension legislation there has been a very real increase in the amount of pensions granted. In 1915 the amount paid for total disability was $264.00 a year. On June 3rd 1916 this was raised to $480.00. On the 20th of October 1917, to $600.00, on the 1st of September, 1919 to $720.00, and on the 1st of September 1920, to $900.00. In 1914-15, a totally disabled man, his wife and three children received $27.50 per month. Since September 1920 they have received $137.00 per month.

In 1923, following the investigation by the Commission, the Federal Appeal Board was appointed, for the purpose of reviewing decisions of the Pensions Board in cases where the pension had been refused on the ground that the injury

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or disease resulting in disability or death was not incurred during military service."(P.M.'s Brandon speech, August 6th, 1928, Page 19.) It cannot be too emphatically stated that the Pension Board and the Appeal Board have been set up in such a way as to take the whole matter out of the hands of the Government. They have been authorized to give to the regulations governing the administration of the pension law the most liberal interpretation.

Many of the protests in connection with pensions seem to arise out of the fact that there is no specific legislation covering the effect of war service upon the general condition of the returned soldier. It is reasonable to suppose that active service overseas will impair the vitality and energy. Even though a soldier was not wounded and did not experience any immediate serious after affects of war service, exposure, fatigue, and strain have made him liable to various forms of illness and general disability. It seems that during the last year or so a great number of cases have developed where complete or partial breakdown have developed as the result of war service. There is in the present legislation no authority for pension in such cases. Failure to forsee this development can hardly be blamed upon those who originated or revised pension legislation. It is but another instance of the complexity of the whole problem of

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C 93067



pensions and the need for careful and continuous revision of this particular phase of the problem. To the question of the personnel and administration of the Pensions and Appeal Boards themselves, and of many others will be drawn the attention of the Parliamentary Committee during the present session.

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f. 93068 P-1101

1924

(1.)

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

January 17, 1924.

**SUBJECT:** Speech from the Throne.
- Letter from Acting Minister of Finance re Superannuation Bill.

**PRECIS:**

Mr. Robb recommends:

(a) Reference to Bill in speech from Throne;
(b) Presentation of Bill as prepared by Mr. Finlayson (now ready);
(c) Reference to Special Committee.

**ACTION BY COUNCIL:**

~~Draft Can Sup~~ Bill.
arranged with Mr. Saunders to have para. drafted for Speech from Throne & sent when ready to Min's. Office.

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Questions re Canadian Pension Appeal System submitted by the Right Honourable the Prime Minister of Australia, with replies by the Federal Appeal Board

---

(a) What is the constitution of the appeal tribunal and does it operate as a thing apart from the normal pensions administration, and to whom is it responsible?

The Federal Appeal Board of Canada was constituted under the Pension Act which provides for a board of not less than three nor more than seven members, three of whom shall constitute a quorum. There are at present five members and one acting member. Present members are those originally appointed. The Chairman was formerly Chief Medical Adviser to the Board of Pension Commissioners. There is one other medical member who was also previously connected with the administration of pensions; one legal member and three lay men. All are ex-members of the forces. The Board is responsible to Parliament.

(b) Is the soldier or dependent, as the case may be, entitled to one or more appeals to the tribunal? Is there any limitation to the granting of second appeals, i.e. necessity for new evidence, etc.?

There is right of only one appeal with the proviso that, should fresh evidence of a material nature be submitted within one year of the date of disallowance of the appeal, a new appeal can be made if the Board of Pension Commissioners, after considering the fresh evidence again rejects the application. The decision of the Appeal Board after such a second hearing is final and binding upon all parties.

(c) What are the natures of the appeals, I.E. is the tribunal empowered to determine only the attributability of a disability to war service or the fact of a disability being aggravated by war service; or is it also empowered to determine the extent of war-caused incapacity and assess the rate of pension accordingly?

The jurisdiction of the Board is limited to the direst question of entitlement. It has no power to assess the rate of pension.

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C 93070



(d) Can the pensions authority appeal to the tribunal or does this privilege lie with the soldier or dependent only?

The right of appeal to a quorum of the Board lies with the soldier or his dependent only. There is statutory provision for the hearing of appeals by individual members of the Federal Appeal Board with the right of appeal from their decisions by both the appellant and the Board of Pension Commissioners. During the first year in which the appeal system was in operation a number of hearings before individual members of the Board took place but it was found that in nearly every instance an appeal to a quorum of the Board against the finding of one member was entered with the result that it was decided to discontinue individual hearings and have all cases brought before a quorum of the Board for final disposal.

(e) Does the appeal tribunal permit the appellant to appear before it, and if so, is legal representation permissible?

The appellant has the right of personal appearance before the Board and legal representation is permitted but at the expense of the appellant unless the representative is the Official Soldiers' Adviser who is appointed by the Government upon recommendation of organized ex-service men and paid from public funds. There are thirteen Soldiers' Advisers with headquarters in the principal centres of population.

(f) Has the tribunal power to have the appellant examined physically by specialists,and if so, does it meet the expense?

The Board has no statutory power to have an appellant examined physically by specialists but from time to time where it appears that such an examination is desirable this is arranged by the Department of Pensions, on request of the Appeal Board. The expense of such examinations is met by the Department.

(g) Are subordinate tribunals established, and what is their constitution and relationship to the higher tribunals? (This is important because of the distances separating the populous centres of the Commonwealth).

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C 93071



There are no subordinate appeal tribunals established in Canada. As stated in reply to question (d) above, the Pension Act provides for hearings by individual members of the Board with an appeal to a quorum, the object of this provision having been to meet the difficulty involved through the long distances separating centres of population in Canada and the desirability of disposing of accumulated appeals with as little delay as possible. This procedure, however, failed to prove effective for the reasons stated in the answer referred to above and was discontinued during the first year of the Board's work.

(SGD.) C. W. BELTON

Chairman
Federal Appeal Board

Ottawa, October 26th, 1928

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C 93072 D-5000-d Collateral

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
CANADA

Ottawa, .....

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of ....., which he was pleased to receive. Mr. King wishes me to say how much he regrets that the number of matters to which he is obliged to give attention in connection with the work of (approaching session) of parliament renders it impossible for him to send a personal reply to your letter. He would like you to know how much he regrets that apparently it has been found impossible by the Board of Pension Commissioners so to interpret the Pensions Act as to grant you the pension or allowance to which you feel you are entitled, also to explain the position in which the members of the Government have been placed by the legislation parliament has enacted with respect to the granting of pensions. (Take in re Acts, - then, re announcement and Board).

In the circumstances Mr. King feels that your interests will best be served by having your further representations brought to the immediate attention of the Minister of Pensions and National Health, with the request that they be considered anew in the light of any wider powers or latitude which may be granted the Board of Pensions as a result of such further legislation as may be enacted.

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C 93073

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
CANADA

Ottawa, December 1929.

Dear Mr.,

The Prime Minister, who is particularly busy at this period of the year in preparation for the opening of Parliament, has asked me to reply to your letter of

Mr. King would like you to know how sorry he is that apparently it has been found impossible by the Board of Pension Commissioners so to interpret the Pensions Act as to grant you the pension or allowances to which you feel you are entitled. You have probably read in the papers that for some time past the Government has felt that certain matters related to pensions for war veterans should be reconsidered by a non-party and non-partisan committee of the House of Commons. To this Committee the Minister of Pensions will submit certain recommendations, and you may be assured that the Act will receive such fair, large and liberal consideration and interpretation as will best insure the attainment of its object.

In the circumstances Mr. King feels that your interests will best be served by bringing your further representations to the immediate attention of the Minister of Pensions and National Health, which I am doing with the assurance that they will receive every consideration.

Yours faithfully,

Harry Baldwin
Secretary

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C 93074

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Monday,
February 10,
1930

AIDE MEMOIRE: Re: Pension Letter

In place of section beginning "You have probably read" and ending with "attainment of its object" write something in to the effect that it is the intention of the Government to appoint a parliamentary Committee (say nothing about non-party and non-partisan) to review the whole question of soldiers' pensions.

Mr. King also suggested to explain the present procedure and arrangements whereby the Pension Board and the Appeal Board were set up so as to take the whole matter out of the hands of the Government.

An Eleventh Hour stroke of genius on the part of Mr. Henry suggests something in the nature of a monograph on the question, which might be enclosed with a polite personal note with the Prime Minister's compliments.

HB.

C 93075

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Tuesday,
February 11,
1930

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: Soldiers' Letter

Perhaps you will be so kind as to consider the suggestion that in place of the Soldiers' letter about which we spoke yesterday, we should prepare a small but attractively printed pamphlet or leaflet in the terms of the letter suggested by you, and that this might be sent with your compliments, enclosed in a personal letter to each of the veterans, pensioners or would-be pensioners, from whom letters are received.

H.L.

Secretary.

Excellent.
11-2-30 MMcK. — Has more exactly what I suggested I had down in explaining Board Pension Commission to veterans on Monday?

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C 93074

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C 93075

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Secretary.

Excellent.
11-2-30 — Was more exactly what I suggested & had done in explaining Bill Lennie Bonnar etc letters re Pensions

C 93076

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

March 18, 1930

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I should perhaps have asked before if you would approve of the plan of postponing the printing of the booklet on soldiers' pensions until the special parliamentary committee on pensions and returned soldiers' problems has dealt with the question.

During the past few weeks, the pension letters have been so small in number that we have been able to handle them individually. It is more than likely that some aspect of the work of the special committee will again focus attention upon the question, and a volume of letters inundate this office. At such a time it would be invaluable to have a pamphlet, but it is thought that it might be advisable to keep the material already prepared and postpone the actual printing of the booklet in order to bring it up to date and include any material which would make it more effective from the point of view of dealing with any new angle of the problem.

Harry Baldwin
Secretary

b'l
1c
18-3-30

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Coll - Old Age Pensions
C 930177

Re Old Age Pensions

Only intention to correct wrong impression in P. M.'s remarks of yesterday.

Sought to have the House believe that, in my remarks, I was opposing measure.

- fortunately, Hansard report speaks for itself;
- on 2nd reading I sought to facilitate immediate passage by striking out paragraph re contributory basis.

My reference to inadvisability of making provincial grants was neither against principle of old age pensions, nor against increase of 75% payment by federal government.

- solely for purpose of hastening moment when entire administration of act would be completely under federal control;
- I pointed out that, with federal government paying 75%, that should be done without delay.

My reference to dominion-provincial conference solely in relation to financial readjustment - Conference might have been held this year.

P. M. sought to convey impression I had started grants in aid:

- they were in existence prior to pensions;
- grants in aid re highways, agricultural instruction, technical education, housing, unemployment relief.

Purpose of Liberal act re old age pensions was to secure uniform scheme throughout dominion and to prepare way for removal of constitutional difficulties.

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PETER HEENAN C 93078 (1925?)

Pensions - Old Age ✓ 9c.

# OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA

Studies 1924-1927

## 1924

The special committee of the House of Commons appointed in April, 1924, to make an enquiry into the question of an old age pension system for Canada, recommended in their second and final report to the House that the provincial governments should be asked to state what action, if any, they would be prepared to take in regard to the committee's main proposals. These proposals were to the effect that old age pensions should be provided, without contributions from the beneficiaries, for deserving indigent persons over 70 years of age, the cost of these pensions to be met by equal contributions from the Dominion and the respective provincial governments, the cost of administration also being borne by the provinces. The maximum rate of pension suggested was at $20 per month, which would be reduced proportionately to private income or partial ability to earn a livelihood. It was intimated that under such a system there would be approximately 98,841 eligible pensioners, and that the federal government's portion of the total yearly expenditure would amount to $11,860,920. This amount, however, would be reduced by any private income or partial earnings of the recipients.

## 1925

Early in the parliamentary session of 1925 (May 1st) a special committee was again appointed to make inquiry into an old age pension system for Canada and to which was also referred the correspondence which had been held by the government since the previous session with the several provincial governments arising out of the proposals of the special committee of 1924.

### Report of Special Committee

On June 16, Mr. W. G. Raymond (Brantford), as chairman of the special committee, presented a report to the House (see Hansard, p. 4301; also Journals, p. 455, Vol. LXII).

The report, after setting out the views of the several provincial governments, continued as follows:-

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"In view of the position taken by several of the provinces and more particularly by Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, and having in mind what the British North America Act, under sections 91 and 92, defines, your Committee resolved to obtain an authoritative opinion from the Department of Justice in respect of the points thus raised, and on the 23rd of May last, the Deputy Minister of Justice replied as follows:-

"Referring to your letter of the 12th instant, asking to be advised with regard to the authority of Parliament to legislate on the subject of old age pensions, I may say that this subject does not fall specifically within any of the enumerated subjects given to the Dominion under section 91 of the British North America Act, but does in my judgment fall within the subject "Property and Civil Rights in the Province" committed to the provinces under section 92. I am of opinion, therefore, that the subject matter of pensions has been entrusted to the provincial legislatures rather than to Parliament. I do not mean to suggest that Parliament has not the power to legislate upon the subject so as to assist the provinces or to establish an independent voluntary scheme, provided that in either case the legislation does not trench upon the subject matter of property and civil rights in the province, as for example by obligating any province or person to contribute to the scheme.

"The enactment of such legislation would, however, involve the assumption by the Dominion of obligations involving heavy expenditures with regard to a matter which does not fall specifically within the Dominion field of legislation."

Recommendations

Having given very careful consideration to the opinion submitted by the Department of Justice, and also to the respective views of the different provinces, your Committee have come to the following conclusions:-

Firstly, that if the Dominion Government were to proceed now with a scheme of old age pensions, it would have to be prepared to bear the entire expense, which

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C 93080

would approximately amount to twenty-three million ($23,000,000) dollars annually, according to the data contained in your Committee's investigations.

Secondly, that in view of the present financial conditions and heavy taxation of Canada, your Committee would not feel warranted at the present moment in recommending such a large additional expenditure, annually.

Thirdly, that this measure of social reform, in the opinion of your Committee, is very important, and

Fourthly, that since it is the opinion of the Department of Justice that the matter is one coming under the jurisdiction of the Provinces, although open to assistance from the Federal government, your Committee, therefore, strongly recommend:

1. That the Federal government arrange with the Premiers of the different Provinces for a conference to be held during the coming Recess of Parliament at which an old age pension system shall be given the fullest consideration with a view to securing co-operative action, and that the report of the said conference be laid on the Table at the next Session of Parliament for future consideration and action.

Conference

2. That the Chairman of your Committee, and one other of its members who would be familiar with the subject matter, be invited to attend the said conference.

3. That a copy of this report be forwarded to each Premier of the several Provinces."

On June 18, 1925, Mr. Raymond, in moving that the recommendations contained in the foregoing report be concurred in by the House (see Hansard, pp. 4425 - 34; also Journals p. 470, Vol LXII), stated that the committee's proposals "involved no expenditure or responsibility further than the continuance of the idea of establishing in Canada an old age pension system, which the committee thought to be very desirable, and would like to see proceeded with. I do not think," he continued, "it is necessary now to go into the general question of old age pensions. I think we have arrived at that degree of advancement and civilization in this country when it is generally conceded that we are

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looking in to this matter, and that we should have an old age pension scheme in Canada. This government has taken the initial step and we hope the matter will be proceeded with and prosecuted until it arrives at a successful conclusion in a co-operative movement between the federal government and the provincial governments."

Mr. William Irvine (East Calgary) moved as an amendment "that this report be referred back to the committee with instructions to consider and report back on a purely federal scheme." The amendment was defeated on a division by 139 votes to 17, and Mr. Raymond's motion was then agreed to.

Mr. King

My suggestion to Jon the other day was that when the Committee concured in the report, that the Committee adopted and accepted the Opinion of the Jstatice Department.

Of course by arguing this way the opposition could come back that the Committee ~~calls~~ voted for a Conference with the Provincial Premiers.

Peter Heenan

PETER HEENAN

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Coll - Pensions - old age.

C 93082

4 D 670 Jan

Convention for pensions of Indigents

Correspondence

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Open correspondence from Woodsworth

1. Summary of Old Age Pension Bill - Col. Biggar.

2. Woodsworth correspondence.

3. Memorandum - Mr. Finlayson.

4. Memorandum - Dr. Skelton.

5. Report of Special Committee - 1924.

6. Report of Special Committee - 1925.

7. Newspaper clippings.

Re Constitutionality

Refers to all provinces

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C 93083

Summary of Old Age Pension Bill

Col. Biggar.

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C 93084

Col. Biggar

SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS
OF
OLD AGE PENSION BILL

The central idea of this Bill is the establishment of an old age pension scheme under which the Dominion and such provinces as come into the scheme will each bear one-half of the pensions payable, any administrative expenses to be met by the several provinces concerned. It is expected that the administration will be entrusted to existing provincial organizations such as Workmen's Compensation Boards and that the administrative expense will thus be very small.

In order to ensure that provinces which come into the scheme shall be able to rely upon the continuance of the Federal grant, it is proposed that this should depend upon an agreement between the Dominion and each of the several provinces, the agreement to be terminable only upon the repeal of the provincial legislation authorizing the payment of pensions or upon ten years' notice by the Dominion. This length of notice is that, upon its being given, the province may cease granting fresh pensions and thus find itself at the end of the term of the notice free from liability except in respect of such negligible number of pensioners as may have continued to receive pension for at least ten years.

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It is considered desirable that the scheme should be identical in all the provinces and the Bill, therefore, specifies the classes of persons who will be entitled to pension. They must be British subjects of 70 years of age and upwards who have been resident in Canada for at least twenty years before making application, and who have lived in the province in which the application is made for at least five years.

The maximum amount of any pension is to be $240 a year, and from this is to be deducted any income receivable by the pensioner in excess of $125, the upward limit of any pensioner's income, including pension, being thus $365 a year, or $1 a day. No one is pensionable who makes a voluntary transfer of property in order to qualify for pension, but the dwelling house in which the pensioner resides may be transferred to the pension authority, in which case its annual value is not to be counted as income. Any excess payment of pension on this account, is, however, to be recoverable out of the sale of the house by the pension authority when the pensioner ceases to live in it. Provision is also made for the recovery of all pension payments when a pensioner's estate at his death goes to someone who, during his life, has not made a regular and reasonable contribution to his support.

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Where, although the pensioner has resided in Canada for twenty years, his residence has been partly in one province and partly in another, the several provinces of residence which have come into the scheme are to contribute to the pension in proportion to the length of the pensioner's residence in each. If he has lived for part of the time in a province which has not come into the scheme, the total pension which would otherwise be payable is to be proportionately reduced.

The Bill contains the general principles governing the scheme and provision is made for details as to evidence, method of payment, reports and other like matters being covered by regulation. These, before they are put into force, it is proposed to discuss with the provinces desirous of making agreements with the Dominion in accordance with the Act.

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C 93087

Woodsworth correspondence

(filed in correspondence catalogue)
JC.

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C 93088

Memorandum - Mr. Finlayson

(filed in correspondence catalogue)
J.C.

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C 93089

Memorandum - Dr. Skelton

(filed in correspondence catalogue)
K.

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C 93090

Report of Special Committee - 1924.

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C 93090

Report of Special Committee - 1924.

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No. C 93091 to C 93097

Missing.

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C 93098

# REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON

# OLD AGE PENSIONS, 1924.

Labour Gazette, July, 1924.

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C 93099



after at the rate of 5 per cent and the period for which contributions have been made to Superannuation Fund No. 1 or No. 2 will be counted in full in computing the contributor's superannuation and retiring allowances but only to the extent of one-half in computing widow's and children's allowances. Such period may be counted in full for the latter allowances on payment of the arrears of the difference between the rate actually contributed and 5 per cent. The period of service, if any, in respect of which contributions have not been made to the Superannuation Funds will be counted only to the extent of one-half in computing all allowances, but may be counted in full on payment of arrears of contributions at the rate of 5 per cent without interest.

13. Permanent civil servants who have never contributed to either Retirement Fund or the Superannuation Fund may, at their option, elect to come under the new act and on such election they shall thereafter contribute at the rate of 5 per cent and their period of service shall be counted for all allowances to the extent of one-half, but may be counted in full on payment of arrears of contributions at 5 per cent without interest.

14. In all cases arrears of contributions may be paid in one sum or in equivalent instalments as may be prescribed by regulation.

It is believed that the cost of the benefits proposed by the bill will be equally borne by the contributor and the government; that is, that the government's share of the cost will be 5 per cent of the salaries. There will be in addition an initial liability created in respect of the past service of persons now in the service who elect to come under the provisions of the act. The amount of this liability will depend upon the numbers transferring, their length of service and their dependents. On being ascertained, the amount of this initial liability can be extinguished by an annual charge extending over the probable period of service remaining to those contributors.

That amount can be spread over a period of 25 or 30 years. In the case of the British Local Government scheme it extends over 40 years.

The bill as originally introduced in the House of Commons was amended in the House in some of its provisions, the principal amendments being as follows: The term "dependents" was defined as including the father, mother, brother, sister or child of a contributor, dependent on the contributor for support. The value of living and residential allowances, but not bonuses, etc., is to be included in the calculation of salary. If a deceased contributor leaves no widow or child, the Governor in Council may grant to his dependents an amount equal to his contribution without interest. Temporary employees in positions under the Civil Service Commission were placed on the same footing as permanent employees, that is, by contributing five per cent of the salaries received during the period of their temporary service. Employees working under certificates of temporary employment were excepted.

The House of Commons amendment in reference to temporary employees was modified when the bill came before the Senate. The Senate considered that an injustice was done to permanent employees who were required by the Act to pay into the fund not only a contribution of five per cent of their salaries, but also four per cent simple interest on that amount. Accordingly the act was amended so as to require the temporary staff to contribute not only five per cent of their salaries for the number of years of their service, but interest at the rate of four per cent as well. This amendment was accepted by the House of Commons, and with this change the Act was finally passed by both Houses.

## Conference to be Held on Old Age Pensions

The special committee of the House of Commons appointed last April to make an enquiry into an old age pension system for Canada presented its second and final report on July 1. Earlier proceedings of this committee were noted in the last issue of the LABOUR GAZETTE (June, page 477). The committee's final report was as follows:—

Your committee has inquired into the systems which are in operation in England, Australia, New Zealand and certain other countries, examined witnesses, carefully considered their suggestions, and compared the information obtained from thirty-one municipalities throughout Canada, in reply to a questionnaire sent to one hundred and thirty-five mayors of cities and towns in every province.

This question has been before this House at different times since 1907, but no definite recommendation was made by any of the communities to which it was referred.

After careful consideration of the information obtained from the sources enumerated, your committee respectfully recommends:

1. That an old age pension system be established at the earliest possible date for deserving indigent persons to seventy (70) years of age and upwards.

2. That applicants for pension must be British subjects of at least twenty (20) years' residence in Canada, or naturalized subjects of at least fifteen (15) years' naturalization and twenty-five (25) years' residence.

3. (a) That the maximum rate of pension be twenty ($20) dollars per month which will be lessened by private income or partial ability to earn:

(b) That one-half the amount of pension payable be borne by the federal government; the other half, by the provincial governments of such provinces as express by legislation their desire to adopt the system —the cost of administration to be borne by the provincial governments.

Your committee has estimated that under such a system there would be approximately 98,841 eligible pensioners, and that if all of these were to receive the maximum rate of pension, namely, twenty ($20) dollars per month, the federal government's portion of the total yearly expenditure would amount to $11,860,920. This amount, however, would be reduced by any private income or partial earnings.

Your committee further recommends that the government communicate with the various provincial governments to ascertain if they are disposed to adopt the above system and enact the necessary legislation.

Your committee also begs to recommend that its proceedings together with the evidence taken, be printed as an appendix to the journals of this House.

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C 93100



The Senate, on the return of the bill from the House of Commons, resolved, by a vote of 34 to 10, to insist upon their amendments, for the following reasons:—

The amendments of the Senate must be read with the other amendments to the Industrial Disputes Act which impose heavy penalties in certain contingencies. The employer and the employees will each have a representative on the board, and it is in accord with natural justice that the third arbitrator should be chosen as far as is legislatively possible, by a method that will guarantee an appointment free of political or economic influences. The amendment is fair and just to both parties to disputes arising under the Industrial Disputes Act.

A free conference was subsequently held between representatives of the two Houses, in order, if possible, to effect a compromise in regard to the Senate's amendments. No agreement or understanding, however, was reached as a result of this conference, and accordingly the bill was dropped.

## Civil Service Superannuation

An act to provide for the superannuation of civil servants was passed by parliament toward the close of the late session. The act was based upon a recommendation contained in the report of the special committee appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the operation of the Civil Service Act (1918-19, chapter 12), which report had been presented to the House of Commons on June 22, 1923. The committee's recommendation regarding superannuation was as follows:—

### Committee's Recommendations

"The general principles on which modern superannuation schemes are based appear to be fairly definitely agreed upon. The basis most favoured is that under which both the employees and the employer contribute to the support of the scheme, the entire cost as a rule being borne approximately equally by both. The benefits derived or provided for include allowances on retirement after attainment of a stipulated age; allowances to widows and minor children in the event of the death of the employee during service or after retirement, the widow's allowance being usually one-half of the employee's allowance; and allowances to the employees on retirement from disability regardless of age. There is also usual provision made for the return of the employee's contributions without interest in the event of his voluntary retirement after a minimum period of service had been rendered.

"Your committee is of the opinion that the adoption of a superannuation scheme substantially on the lines of that above described would remove one of the greatest deterrents to efficiency and curtailment of staffs in many of the departments of the public service and it therefore commends that such a scheme be adopted by parliament at the earliest possible date."

### Provisions of Act

Mr. James Malcolm, chairman of the special committee which made the above report, outlined the provisions of the bill when it was under consideration in the House of Commons on July 3 as follows:—

1. The bill will apply to whole-time permanent civil servants receiving an annual salary of $600 or over.

2. The rate of contribution is 5 per cent of the salaries, limited to the first 35 years of service.

3. The superannuation age is 65 optional and 70 compulsory, with a modification applicable for the next ten years to persons now 60 years and over.

81581—4

4. The superannuation allowance, assuming at least ten years' service, is one-fiftieth of the average salary for the last ten years multiplied by the number of years of service, not exceeding 35. This applies to new appointees. The committee recommends that a change be made in this provision as regards those already in the service, reducing the time from ten to five years.

5. The retiring allowance available after ten years' service on disability or retirement from abolition of office is computed on the same basis as the superannuation allowance.

6. The withdrawal allowance available after ten years' service on voluntary retirement is the total amount of contributions without interest.

7. The widow's allowance is one-half the allowance the contributor received or would have received if superannuation had been payable at the time of death.

8. The children's allowance is 10 per cent of the contributor's allowance payable to each child until age 18, the total children's allowance not to exceed 25 per cent of the contributor's allowance if the widow survives. If the widow does not survive each child's allowance is 20 per cent, the total children's allowance not to exceed 50 per cent of the contributor's allowance.

9. In the event of disability or abolition of office before ten years' service has been rendered, a gratuity of one month's pay for each year of service may be granted, and, in the event of retirement on marriage being required, a gratuity of the contributor's contributions without interest. In the event of death in the service before ten years' service has been rendered a gratuity equal to the disability gratuity is payable to the widow and children.

10. In the event of dismissal from the service at any time the contributor's contributions may, in the discretion of the Governor in Council, be returned without interest.

The foregoing applies primarily to persons hereafter entering the service. Provision is made, however, for the optional transfer to the new scheme of permanent employees now in the service.

11. Persons now under the Retirement Fund having contributed thereto for their whole period of service may, at their option elect to come under the new act, and on such election the amount now standing to their credit in the Retirement Fund is transferred and they will become entitled to all the benefits of the new act to the same extent as if it had been in force from the date of their entry to the service. If they have not contributed for the full period of service the non-contributing period will be counted to the extent of one-half in computing all the benefits but such period may be counted in full on payment of arrears of contributions without interest.

12. Persons now on the Superannuation Fund may, at their option, elect to come under the new act, and on such election contributions, if any, will be there-

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C 93101

For the information of the House, a copy of the proceedings and evidence, a synopsis of the communications received from the municipalities, and a statement of the expectation of life prepared by the Department of Insurance, are appended to this report. All of which is respectfully submitted.

The Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons on July 16 that in view of the recommendations contained in the foregoing report, the Dominion Government would during the coming recess communicate the report to the Provincial Governments and ascertain for the information of Parliament what action, if any, they are prepared to take with reference to its recommendations.

### Municipal Poor Relief

In the course of their proceedings the committee issued a circular letter to 135 mayors of cities and towns throughout Canada where measures of relief had been instituted for the aged poor, in order to ascertain their views as to the desirability of establishing a federal pension system, and also to secure particulars as to local systems of poor relief. The information thus obtained as to local conditions may be summarized in the following table, which is based on information given in the committee's report:—

| —— | Approval of federal pensions | Number of persons over 65, qualified for federal pensions | Number relieved by municipality in 1924, with amount paid to each | Number maintained in institutions, with cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brandon, Man. | Yes. | Not known. | 10 men, 7 women. | 5 men, 8 women (costs $1,500 per year). |
| Brantford, Ont. | Yes. | 85 men and 95 women. | 35 persons. 70 cents per day or $20 per week. | 18 men, 17 women besides others in philanthropic institutions. |
| Campbellton, N.B. | Yes. | About 20. | 10 or 12 persons receiving $3 to $5 per week. | Not stated. |
| Farnham, Que. | Yes. | 3 men, 4 or 5 women. | 3. | 7, at $10 to $12 per month. |
| Fernie, B.C. | Council's opinion divided. | 10 to 20. | None. | 3 at cost of $700 per year. |
| Grand' Mère, Que. | Yes. | Not stated. | Not stated. | Not stated. |
| Hull, Que. | Not stated. | Not stated. | Not stated. | 15 men, 4 women 35 cents a day each. |
| Lethbridge, Alta. | Yes. | 10 women, 9 men. | 10 women, 9 men, 60 cents a day each. | Not stated. |
| Magog, Que. | Yes. | 6 men, 4 women. | 2 men and 2 women. | 4 men and 2 women. |
| Medicine Hat, Alta. | Yes. | Not known. | 13 men, 11 women, $8 to $30 a month each. | None. |
| Moncton, N.B. | Yes. | Not known. | About 40 (occasional relief). | 14 persons (municipal home costs $6,000 a year). |
| New Westminster, B.C. | Yes. | About 50 (more women than men). | 5 men and 8 women, about $10 per month each. | 2 men and 2 women in hospital at $2.50 a day each: One man in private ward at $20 a month; 5 men in Provincial home costing $283 per month. |
| Ottawa, Ont. | Yes. | Not known. | 60 men, 76 women. | 88 men, 171 women, at about $3.50 a month each. |
| Paris, Ont. | Yes. | Not stated. | 2, about $20 altogether. | 2 men, 3 women in House of Refuge at 14½ cents per day each. |
| Pembroke, Ont. | Yes. | About 9 men and 6 women. | One man at $26 a month (several others privately maintained). | 6 inmates of County House of Industry. |
| Peterborough, Ont. | Not stated. | 449 men; women not known. Not all these are unprovided for. | 8. | 11 men and 7 women at $3.50 per week; 5 men and 18 women in House of Providence to which lump sum is paid yearly. |

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C 93102



| —— | Approval of federal pensions | Number of persons over 65, qualified for federal pensions | Number relieved by municipality in 1924, with amount paid to each | Number maintained in institutions, with cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Port Arthur, Ont. | Yes. | Not known. | 4 men and 8 women, from $10 to $25 a month each. | 4 men and 2 women in homes, one at $75 per year and the rest at $150 a year. |
| Portage la Prairie, Man. | No. | 11 men, 10 women. | 2 men and one woman, costing $500 a year in all. | 2 men and one woman at 50 cents a day each. |
| Regina, Sask. | Yes. | Not stated. | 5 men and 3 women, costing about $30 a month. | 3 men and 2 women at $1 a day. |
| Prince Albert, Sask. | Yes. | Not stated. | 8 to 12 each year at about $1 a day. | 3. |
| St. Catharines, Ont. | No. | Not stated. | About 100. | 12 men and 7 women in institutions; 2 women boarded out. City paid $6,092 in providing homes for the aged. |
| St. Stephen, N.B. | Yes. | Not stated. | One man at $20 a month | 2 in hospital, besides 5 or 6 men and more women supported privately. |
| Stellarton, N.S. | Yes. | Not stated. | 3 women, costing $16 a month. | |
| Sussex, N.B. | Not stated. | Not stated. | 2 men, one at $1 a day, the other at $3 a week. | None. |
| Three Rivers, Que. | Yes. | Not stated. | 7 men and 20 women at 50 cents a day. | 38 men and 69 women at 45 cents a day each. |
| Westmount, Que. | Yes. | 194 men; number of women not known. | Not stated. | One woman in hospital. |
| Woodstock, Ont. | No. | Not known. | One man and one woman at $2 a week each. | 8 men and 5 women; cost to city $2.50 a week. |
| Saskatoon, Sask. | Yes. | Not stated. | 6 men and 5 women. | 5 men and 3 women at Wolseley Home at $1 a day each. |
| St. Lambert, Que. | Yes. | Not stated. | None. | None. |
| Sault Ste. Marie, Ont. | Not stated. | Not stated. | Very few. | Very few. |
| Brantford, Ont. | Yes. | About 100 men and women. | About 50 at about $10 a month. | 50 men and 30 women, costing $5 per week. |
| Charlottetown, P.E.I. | Yes. | 140 men and 155 women. | About 147 aided by societies, but none by municipality. | 37 men and 44 women. |
| London, Ont. | Yes. | About 3,000 men and women over 65, but not all destitute | About 35, costing probably $2,500 a year. | 20 men and 15 women at 75 cents a day, 16 men and 7 women at $1.50 a day, besides those in private institutions. |
| St. Thomas, Ont. | Yes. | Not known. | None. | 15 men and 7 women, in private institutions. |
| Winnipeg. | Yes. | Not known. | 101 men and 47 women assisted by Social Welfare Commission. | 42 men and 21 women at 50 cents a day from city and same from Province. |
| Montreal. | No. | No information other than in Census. | Old men's homes are supported by private charity assisted by municipality, 90% of the homes administered by religious communities. | |

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C 93103

Report of Special Committee - 1925.

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C 93104

# REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON

# OLD AGE PENSIONS, 1925.

Labour Gazette, July, 1925.

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C 93105



# OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA

## Dominion-Provincial Conference to be Held Before Next Session of Parliament

THE special committee of the House of Commons, appointed in April, 1924, to make an enquiry into the question of an old age pension system for Canada, recommended in their final report to the House last year that the provincial governments should be asked to state what action, if any, they would be prepared to take in regard to the committee's main proposals. These proposals, which were stated in the issue of the GAZETTE for July, 1924, were to the effect that old age pensions should be provided, without contributions from the beneficiaries, for deserving indigent persons over 70 years of age, the cost of these pensions to be met by equal contributions from the Dominion and the respective provincial governments, the cost of administration also being borne by the provinces. The maximum rate of pension suggested was at $20 per month, which would be reduced proportionately to private income or partial ability to earn a livelihood. It was intimated that under such a system there would be approximately 98,841 eligible pensioners, and that the federal government's portion of the total yearly expenditure would amount to $11,860,920. This amount, however, would be reduced by any private income or partial earnings of the recipients.

Early in the parliamentary session of 1925 a special committee was appointed having the same reference as the special committee of 1924, namely, to make inquiry into an old age pension system for Canada. The second committee consisted of the following members of the House: Messrs. Fontaine, Irvine, Logan, McConica, Munro, Neill, Preston, Raymond, Robichaud, Sexsmith, Spence and St-Père. To this committee was referred the correspondence which had been held by the government since last session with the several provincial governments arising out of the proposals of the special committee last year.

On June 16, Mr. W. G. Raymond (Brantford), as chairman of the special committee, presented the following report in the House of Commons:—

### Report of Special Committee

The Special Committee, appointed on the 1st of May last to make an inquiry into an old age pension system for Canada, to which was referred the correspondence arising from the proposal recommended to Parliament on the 1st of July, 1924, for co-operative action on the part of the Federal government and the governments of the several Provinces, has the honour to report as follows:—

Your Committee has given careful consideration to the aforesaid correspondence, and also to the correspondence more recently received from Premiers and Ministers of several Provinces. Briefly, the views of the several Provincial governments are as follows:—

1. *New Brunswick.*—Under date of May 23rd, 1925, the Premier (Hon. Mr. Veniot) writes: "This Province is now considering the establishment of what is known as Widows' Pension, and we are not prepared to take any decision in the matter of an Old Age Pension. While I do not disapprove of the Old Age Pension, and feel that it would be a good thing, yet it would be impossible for me to commit the Province to any action in this matter at the present moment."

2. *Quebec.*—Under date of February 17th, 1925, the Minister of Public Works and Labour (Hon. Mr. Galipeault) writes: "On the occasion of the recent visit of the delegates of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, this question was taken up and, although it was not submitted in the regular way to the Cabinet, I understood from the remarks of my colleagues, that it could be no question for the Province of Quebec, considering the obligations actually imposed upon it, of adopting a law which would take care of the old age pensions in this Province."

3. *Nova Scotia.*—Under date of June 2nd, 1925, the Premier (Hon. Mr. Armstrong) writes: "In view of the importance of the subject-matter, and the lack of an opportunity to fully consider the same, I was instructed to advise you that without a further and better understanding of the subject-matter and without an opportunity to fully discuss it with your Committee, no action would be taken upon the matter at present."

4. *Prince Edward Island.*—Under date of May 22nd, 1925, the Premier (Hon. Mr. Stewart) writes: "In this Province, as you probably are aware, except in the towns, we have no municipal government, consequently all assistance to indigent and aged persons is furnished directly by the Provincial government, either in the Provincial Infirmary or by monthly contributions to private persons who become responsible for their support. I have read over your letter and the accompanying report with interest. I shall place the matter before my government at its next meeting and will then advise you of its decision."

5. *Ontario.*—Under date of 24th November, 1924, the Premier (Hon. Mr. Ferguson) writes: "I shall be glad to consider the matter."

6. *Manitoba.*—Under date of 25th February, 1925, the Attorney General (Hon. Mr. Craig) writes: "We are in the midst of our Session just now with the multiplicity of matters requiring immediate disposition. I shall, however, take up the matter with the Premier and the Minister of Public Welfare at the earliest opportunity."

7. *Saskatchewan.*—Under date of 19th November, 1924, the Minister of Labour and Industries (Hon. Mr. Gardiner) writes: "The Government of Saskatchewan is of opinion that an old age pension scheme for Canada can best be adopted by the Federal government alone. There would seem to be so much difficulty in the way of providing any scheme that would be suitable to all the nine provinces of Canada as to make it almost impossible, and it will be readily understood that if any number of the provinces were to remain out, it would be almost impossible to adopt any scheme that would not subject those provinces within the arrangement to considerable expense that should rightfully be borne by those outside the scheme. While we are disposed to think that an old age pension scheme should be undertaken, the difficulties in the way of the suggested scheme appear almost, if not entirely, insurmountable."

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C 93106



8. *Alberta.*—Under date of June 2nd, 1925, the Acting Premier (Hon. George Hoadley) writes: "This Government has reviewed the recommendations of the Committee and approve the general principle of old age pensions. We are not prepared, however, to accept the recommendations of the Committee. The three main objections are: (1) We believe that the Federal government should assume a larger share in the financing of an old age pension scheme as it is more a Federal obligation than a Provincial one; (2) We are not satisfied that a *non-contributing* scheme is the best one; and (3) There is no guarantee that the Federal government would continue for a definite time to carry out the mutual arrangements with respect to financing the scheme."

9. *British Columbia.*—Under date of February 5th, 1925, the Minister of Labour (Hon. Mr. Manson) writes: "This matter has been carefully considered by the Government and also by the Provincial Legislature at its last Session, and the consensus of opinion is that the matter of old age pensions is one entirely in the sphere of the Federal Parliament and this Government does not concur in the suggestion made by the Committee that a portion of the cost of such pensions be borne by the Provincial Crown."

In the resolution passed unanimously by the British Columbia Legislature on the 18th December, 1924, the following statement is noted: "State responsibility in the matter of the proper maintenance of aged citizens has been recognized by Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and a number of the nations of the continent of Europe."

In a letter dated March 5th, 1925, the Minister of Labour of the Province of British Columbia (Hon. Mr. Manson) writes:—

"I beg to say that the matter has had very serious consideration on the part of this Department and the opinion is confirmed that the matter of old age pensions is a subject for the consideration of the Federal and not the Provincial Parliament."

On June 2nd, 1925, the Premier of the Government of British Columbia (Hon Mr. Oliver), writing to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Raymond, says: "Your explanation of how the proposed scheme was expected to work certainly tends towards a better understanding. Should the Parliament of Canada pass legislation along the lines suggested in your printed report of last year, I presume the question would then arise as to whether or not the Province would co-operate."

In view of the position taken by several of the Provinces and more particularly by Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, and having in mind what the British North America Act, under sections 91 and 92, defines, your Committee resolved to obtain an authoritative opinion from the Department of Justice in respect of the points thus raised, and on the 23rd of May last, the Deputy Minister of Justice replied as follows:—

"Referring to your letter of the 12th instant, asking to be advised with regard to the authority of Parliament to legislate on the subject of old age pensions, I may say that this subject does not fall specifically within any of the enumerated subjects given to the Dominion under section 91 of the British North America Act, but does in my judgment fall within the subject "Property and Civil Rights in the Province" committed to the provinces under section 92. I am of opinion, therfore, that the subject matter of pensions has been entrusted to the provincial legislatures rather than to Parliament. I do not mean to suggest that Parliament has not the power to legislate upon the subject so as to assist the provinces or to establish an independent voluntary scheme, provided that in either case the legislation does not trench upon the subject matter of property and civil rights in the province, as for example by obligating any province or person to contribute to the scheme.

"The enactment of such legislation would, however, involve the assumption by the Dominion of obligations involving heavy expenditures with regard to a matter which does not fall specifically within the Dominion field of legislation."

RECOMMENDATIONS

Having given very careful consideration to the opinion submitted by the Department of Justice, and also to the respective views of the different provinces, your Committee have come to the following conclusions:—

Firstly, that if the Dominion Government were to proceed now with a scheme of old age pensions, it would have to be prepared to bear the entire expense, which would approximately amount to twenty-three million ($23,000,000) dollars annually, according to the data contained in your Committee's investigations.

Secondly, that in view of the present financial conditions and heavy taxation of Canada, your Committee would not feel warranted at the present moment in recommending such a large additional expenditure, annually.

Thirdly, that this measure of social reform, in the opinion of your Committee, is very important, and

Fourthly, that since it is the opinion of the Department of Justice that the matter is one coming under the jurisdiction of the Provinces, although open to assistance from the Federal government, your Committee, therefore, strongly recommend:

1. That the Federal government arrange with the Premiers of the different Provinces for a conference to be held during the coming Recess of Parliament at which an old age pension system shall be given the fullest consideration with a view to securing co-operative action, and that the report of the said conference be laid on the Table at the next Session of Parliament for future consideration and action.

2. That the Chairman of your Committee, and one other of its members who would be familiar with the subject matter, be invited to attend the said conference.

3. That a copy of this report be forwarded to each Premier of the several Provinces.

On June 18, Mr. Raymond, in moving that the recommendations contained in the foregoing report be concurred in by the House, stated that the committee's proposals "involved no expenditure or responsibility further than the continuance of the idea of establishing in Canada an old age pension system, which the committee thought to be very desirable, and would like to see proceeded with. I do not think," he continued, "it is necessary now to go into the general question of old age pensions. I think we have arrived at that degree of advancement and civilization in this country when it is generally conceded that we are lacking in this matter, and that we should have an old age pension scheme in Canada. This government has taken the initial step and we hope the matter will be proceeded with and prosecuted until it arrives at a successful conclusion in a co-operative movement between the federal government and the provincial governments."

Mr. William Irvine (East Calgary) moved as an amendment "that this report be referred back to the committee with instructions to consider and report back on a purely federal scheme." The amendment was defeated on a division by 139 votes to 17, and Mr. Raymond's motion was then agreed to.

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Cold - Pensions - Old Age.

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C 93109

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

J-1401-

Subject.....

Date Feb 2/26 Publication Toronto Globe

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS ELSEWHERE.

It is interesting to note, in view of Canada's move toward old-age pensions, that in the general acceptance of the principle that an obligation rests somewhere to care for those approaching advanced years without adequate funds, opinion varies greatly in many countries as to whether this obligation is with the State in general, with smaller political divisions, with industry, or with a combination of two or more of these.

The economic value of a life devoted to producing is reflected in the prosperity of both State and industry; if the producer fails to attain prosperity, is it the fault of State, industry or himself? There are those wh. contend that industry alone should care for its employee, and see in the failure of the latter to provide a competence for later years a life of toil for inadequate wages. There is, however, the experience of men starting in the same industry with equal opportunity and finishing up in vastly different economic spheres. Perhaps the man who lagged behind lacked the qualities for material success; perhaps he was the victim of circumstances beyond his control. In either case industry could not be held responsible. Still, there are many industries which retire employees at a certain age upon pension without any other consideration than that of long and faithful service. In the case of Canada it might be said that the Province, assuming responsibility for life's preparation through general and technical education, and assuming responsibility for the health of the people, is also responsible for old age. It could also be argued that the county, having assumed care of the indigent aged through county houses, should provide old-age funds to be expended otherwise.

Notwithstanding the fact that the welfare of the country is in its citizenship, such old-age pension schemes as have been adopted in the United States are accepted as State responsibilities, but the methods of raising and administering the funds vary. In Pennsylvania the law provides for State contributions; in Montana the contributions come from the counties, and in Nevada they are obtained by special levy on taxable property. Alaska began an old-age pension scheme in 1906 by establishing what was known as the "Alaska Fund" by setting apart for this purpose receipts from liquor licenses and occupation and trade licenses. Although several changes have been made in the law, pensions are still paid from a State fund.

In Great Britain, as is well known, old-age pensions are based upon compulsory insurance, to which employers and employees contribute. The compulsory system prevails in France, but contributions are divided among State, Departments, Communes and insurance institutions. Belgium requires both employer and employee to contribute an amount equal to 5 per cent. of the latter's wages, and a Government subsid, helps out the fund. In Spain pensions are compulsory, with employers providing the funds. Czechoslovakia adopted compulsory insurance for pensions in 1924 along lines somewhat similar to those of Belgium. Bulgaria also has a threefold contributing plan. While Argentina has compulsory legislation, the fund is provided by employers and employees, and is administered in groups of industries by Boards of Management composed of a President appointed by the State and one representative each from employers and employees. Sweden also has a compulsory pension system, the fund being obtained by a tax on income collected by national and municipal tax collectors, with the municipalities making up any deficits. In Denmark contributions are apportioned between State and Communes.

New Zealand and Australia have advanced pension legislation in which the burden is assumed by the State. On June 30, 1924, Australia had a pension liability of nearly £7,000,000. In the year ending March 31, 1925, New Zealand paid out more than £800,000.

In the matter of age limit there is also a difference of opinion. Pennsylvania and Montana made pensions payable at 70 years, as is proposed in Canada, but Nevada set the limit at 60. Great Britain has reduced the age limit to 65. In New Zealand pensions are payable to men at 65 and to women at 60. In Sweden pensions begin at 67 years, in Czechoslovakia at 65, and in Bulgaria at 60. Denmark found 60 too expensive, and raised the limit in 1922 to 65.

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C 93110

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

*Subject*.....

*Date*.....*Publication*.....

Many other illuminating points exist in the various schemes, but the outstanding contrast is between the insurance system in which the employee makes a contribution to his future welfare and the purely paternalistic attitude of the State. In the former the evident desire is to avoid the appearance of charity and the tendency toward socialism implied in the latter method. As between the two there is little doubt that the average employee in this country, if given his choice, would prefer the former, accepting his pension as something for which he had paid, even though his contribution might be so small that national and Provincial subsidies were necessary to make the fund self-sustaining.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

C 93111
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Subject.....

Date March 17/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

## Old Age Pensions.

This Dominion cannot be accused of rushing extravagantly into the socialist elysium. Decentralization of authority throughout the provinces has tended to retard social legislation like old age pensions. Co-operation of the provinces will be necessary to bring this session's measure into effective operation. But the federal government is taking the first practical step. Without waiting for the unanimous approval of the provinces the proposed Old Age Pensions Act make it possible for the federal government to co-operate with any province, wherever the provincial authorities care to avail themselves of it.

There has been an insistent demand from the Conservative side, particularly from Ontario federal members, for an old age pensions' measure. Perhaps the parties may be persuaded to consider this humane measure from the constructive point of view, rather than from the angle of destructive politics. Big-hearted Canadians like the member for Northwest Toronto, Thomas L. Church, must surely welcome the opportunity to do something practical in parliament for the veterans of Canada's industrial army.

It is to the credit of farmer members in the Progressive group that they are prepared to co-operate with Labor and the Liberals in putting through the measure, although old age pensions must mean more to city industrial workers than to the farmers. Support should be forthcoming, too, from Maritime Provinces' members on the opposition side. A small pension of $20 per month would be a boon to Nova Scotia fishermen who, after a lifetime of hard work, find themselves at the age of seventy without means.

Doctrinaire objections to old age pensions may quite possibly be advanced from various parts of the House. But conditions warrant some such action as the government is initiating. Canada is proposing to do no more for the veteran workers than Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand have been doing for years. It should pass the House with a minimum of obstruction. The handsomely pensioned upper chamber cannot consistently reject it.

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Sept 2 1926
old age pensions

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 93112

Subject.....

Date Feb. 6/26 Publication Edmonton Bulletin

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1926

## RECOGNIZING A DEBT

A bill is to be brought in at the present session of Parliament to provide pensions for persons who have passed beyond the age at which one is commonly able to earn a living for himself. This is a new departure in national policy, the provinces hitherto carrying the responsibility of taking care of aged people who find themselves without means. The measure is being introduced by the Government, and the political prophets at the capital think that it will pass. The details of the plan are as yet unknown, and upon these will depend to some degree the reception it will get at the hands of the public.

On the general principle that the state has a duty to keep its older citizens from want there can hardly be disagreement. And in one way or another the public do, as a matter of fact, extend a helping hand to indigent veterans of the industrial fray, though sometimes the measure of relief is altogether inadequate and the manner of giving one to humiliate the recipients. The proposed legislation will, it is to be hoped, remove any suggestion of charity from the payment of the old age pension, and establish this to be a matter of simple justice, the payment of a debt for service already rendered.

If there is any truth in the assumption that the individual is an economic asset to the country, it follows logically that the country owes him a living when he is no longer capable of working. He has contributed the results of his labor to the increase of the national wealth and the well-being of society. If he has not succeeded in collecting in full for his services in the ordinary way as he went along, or in accumulating enough of his earnings to provide for his declining years, that surely is the poorest possible reason why he should be left to suffer want.. Rather, the fact of his poverty argues that he has been willing to allow others to gather the fruit of his industry.

It will be the business of Parliament to see that the pension scheme is surrounded with safeguards against abuse. There is no reason why the country should pay a pension to an aged man or woman who has no need of it. Nor why a well-to-do man should be excused from taking care of a needy parent and thrusting that burden upon the tax-payers. Nor why Canada should provide pensions for persons who only come here, after having given their productive years to some other country. These and some other possible abuses barred, there will be, and ought to be, a very general and hearty approval of the undertaking.

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O.D. SKELTON

C 93113 (1926)
J.C.
Extract from Mems by
Dr. Skelton
Pensions - Old Age Pensions
Social Security

OLD AGE PENSIONS

The Liberal platform of 1919 included the following resolution:

> "That, in so far as may be practicable, having regard for Canada's financial position, an adequate system of insurance against unemployment, sickness, dependence in old age, and other disabilities, which would include old age pensions, widows' pensions, and maternity benefits, should be instituted by the federal Government in conjunction with the Governments of the several provinces."

The Committee on Old Age Pensions appointed by the House of Commons in 1924 recommended that old age pensions should be provided without contributions from the beneficiaries for deserving persons in need over seventy years of age; the maximum rate to be $20. a month, reduced proportionately to other sources of income; the cost of the pensions to be met by equal contributions from the Dominion and provincial Governments, with the cost of administration also being borne by the provinces. It was estimated that under such a system there would be approximately 98,841 eligible pensioners, with a total expenditure, if all received the maximum amount, of $23,721,840, subject

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to reduction by private income or partial earning of the recipients. The federal Government 's maximum share would then be $11,860,920.

This report was communicated to the provincial Governments for their consideration. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Ontario postponed consideration; Quebec, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia more or less formally declined to co-operate, in most cases on the ground that the obligation was federal rather than provincial. Saskatchewan added that the scheme appeared unworkable if all the provinces did not go in, and Alberta took objection to the non-contributory basis.

In view of the position taken by several of the provinces, an opinion was secured from the Department of Justice on May 23, 1925, in which it was stated that the subject-matter of pensions was considered to fall within provincial rather than federal jurisdiction. The Departmental opinion added:

> "I do not mean to suggest that Parliament has not the power to legislate upon the subject so as to assist the provinces or to establish an independent voluntary system, provided that in either case the legislation does not trench upon the subject-matter of property and civil rights in the provinces, as, for example, by obligating any province or person to contribute to the scheme."

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The second committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1925, after considering the correspondence, reported that it did not seem advisable for the Dominion Government to proceed with a scheme of old age pensions if it had to bear the entire expense, and recommended that the federal Government arrange with the provinces for a conference during the coming recess of Parliament. On June 18 Mr. Raymond moved the adoption of this report, Mr. William Irvine moving an amendment that this report be referred back to the committee with instructions to bring in a purely federal scheme. The amendment was defeated on division by 139 votes to 17, June 18, 1925.

Since that time a communication has been received from the Province of Ontario, stating that the provincial Department of Labor had been instructed to prepare a complete report upon the subject of dependent old age in that province. The Province of British Columbia has since reversed its attitude; the British Columbia Legislative Assembly on Dec. 7, 1925, unanimously voted in favor of taking steps to formulate some plan, in conjunction with the Dominion Government, to provide old age pensions, and requesting the other provinces of the Dominion to take similar action.

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In view of this situation, the following proposals are submitted:

1. While the problem of dependency in old age is less serious in Canada than in lands of less favored opportunity, and while the primary responsibility for provision for old age must rest upon the individual and the family, it is clear that there is room and need for state assistance in solving the problem.

2. Primarily, such state assistance as is necessary should be provided by the province and the municipality, as in the case of mothers' pensions. The Government, however, might undertake to recommend the enactment of a measure whereby the federal revenues would bear half the amount of pension payable, the other half, with the cost of administration, being borne by such provinces as agree to adopt the plan. It might further be decided to request the provincial Governments to appoint representatives to a conference at the earliest possible date, with a view to reaching an agreed basis for a measure to be submitted during the present session of Parliament.

3. It is not considered as established that old age pensions should be granted permanently on a non-contributory basis. It is, however, clear that in the case of those already

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on the verge of dependent old age no adequate contribution could in any case be received. It is therefore proposed that in the initial stages, for those who are now of the pensionable age or will attain it within a period to be specified, the pensions should be on a non-contributory basis. It is proposed further, that a general inquiry, preferably by a Royal Commission, and with the co-operation of the provinces, should be set on foot into the whole subject of social insurance in Canada, with special reference in the first instance to provision for old age, and with the understanding that both contributory and non-contributory plans will be considered, and that all the agencies of provision for old age, whether through government or private old age annuities and insurance, collective self-help or employers' pension funds, should be reviewed, in the endeavor to develop a sound and co-ordinated permanent system.

Note - Adoption of Contributory Old Age Pensions Scheme in Great Britain.

In January, 1926, there went into force in Great Britain the new Widows', Orphans, and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act adopted at the last session of the British

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Parliament. This is an elaborate scheme for co-ordinating the present plans of compulsory health insurance and unemployment insurance, as well as workmen's compensation, into a unified scheme of social insurance, including pensions for widows and dependent children and old age pensions, commencing after 1928 at the age of 65. All these pensions are on a contributory basis, or rather, a single insurance premium is payable by the contributors, entitling them to their share of benefits under all the above heads. The contribution in respect of each man is ninepence a week, or which half is borne by the workman and half by his employer. Hereafter, then, old age pensions will cease to be non-contributory and be part of a general compulsory social insurance scheme.

The federal Government, it will be recalled, could not, according to the opinion of the Department of Justice, establish a compulsory insurance scheme; that would require action by the provinces.

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G.D. FINLAYSON C 93119 (1926)

Mr. Finlayson d.c.

MEMORANDUM ✓ Pensions - Old Age Pensions

## Old Age Pensions

Mr. Church has given notice of the following Resolution:-

> "That in the opinion of this House Canada should provide a measure of old age pensions for its people."

The subject of old age pensions has been before the House of Commons for a considerable number of years. A resolution moved by Mr. R. A. Pringle in the session of 1906-07 was discussed by the House but the resolution was not brought to the vote.

In the session of 1907-08 Mr. Pringle moved for a select committee to enquire into the proposal for an old age pension scheme and a committee was appointed with R. Lemieux as Chairman. No report other than a verbal statement made by the Chairman was presented to the House.

In 1912 a select committee was appointed on the motion of Mr. Burnham, which committee reported that further information regarding the operation of old age pension systems in other countries be obtained. The committee continued to sit during the next session of the House.

In 1914 Mr. Kyte moved that an old age pension system for Canada should be inaugurated. This motion was discussed and the debate was adjourned by Sir Thomas White, then Minister of Finance.

In 1922 Mr. Fontaine moved that the Government should consider the advisability of devising ways and means for the establishment of a system of old age pensions in Canada. This motion was agreed to.

At the session of 1924 a select committee considered the question under the Chairmanship of Mr. Raymond. This committee reported on July 1st, 1924, and recommended that the various provincial governments be communicated with to ascertain if they were disposed to adopt a system of pensions providing for a pension of $20 per month to deserving indigent persons of age 70 and upwards, one half of the annual pension to be borne by the Federal Government and the other half

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by the Provincial Governments of such provinces as adopt the system, and the cost of administration to be borne by the provincial governments.

This committee continued to sit during the session of 1925 and their report was submitted to the House on June 16, 1925. This report summarized the views of the provinces obtained during the Parliamentary recess. Generally speaking, the proposal to have pension systems established by the provincial governments was not approved by those governments and the conclusions of the committee were

1. that the cost of the proposed scheme, about $23,000,000 annually, would fall entirely on the Dominion Government;

2. that in view of the present financial conditions and heavy taxation the committee would not be warranted in recommending such a large additional expenditure;

3. that such a measure is very important; and

4. that since the matter is one which, in the opinion of the Department of Justice, comes under the jurisdiction of the provinces rather than under the Federal Government there should be arranged during the recess a conference with the premiers of the different provinces and that a report of the said conference be laid on the table at the next session of Parliament.

It would appear from the discussion in the House that it was not intended that the proposed conference of the provincial premiers with the Dominion Government should be specially called to consider old age pensions, but that advantage be taken of a conference which it was proposed to convene for the discussion of other matters.

I understand that the conference proposed has not materialized and that, therefore, the question is at the same stage as it was at the end of the last session of Parliament. The discussion in the House last session was participated in by the Chairman, Mr. Raymond, Mr. Irvine, Mr. Church, Mr. Neill, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Sutherland. Mr. Irvine moved an amendment to the Committee's report to the effect that the report be referred back to the Committee with instructions to consider a report on a purely Federal scheme. The vote on the amendment was

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17 for and 139 against. The discussion occurs on pages 4605 to 4614 of Hansard for last year. Those members voting in favour of the amendment were Messrs. Bancroft, Bird, Black (Yukon), Campbell, Church, Coote, Davis, Gardiner, Garland (Bow River) Good, Irvine, Kellner, Kennedy, (Edmonton) Leader, Shaw, Ward and Woodsworth. - 17.

The movement in European countries in the direction of old age pensions commenced with the institution of the German system in 1891. This was a contributory scheme, one half of the premium being payable by the employee, the other half by the employer, an addition to the allowances being made by the State. In the same year a system was established in Denmark, the cost being borne partly by the municipality and partly by the State.

The Old Age Pension Act of Great Britain was passed in 1908 and has been extended and modified by the Acts of 1911 and 1919. The system is a non-contributory one with maximum pensions, at first of five shillings a week, increased in 1919 to ten shillings per week, or approximately $125. a year. Non-contributory systems were established in New Zealand in 1908, although pa partial schemes had been in force since 1898, and in Victoria in 1900. An Australian Act was passed in 1908.

There is no system of national old age pensions in the United States.

The tendency on this continent for making provision for the comfort of indigent persons in old age has been rather in the direction of voluntary pension schemes by employers of labour, the cost being partly borne by the employee and partly by the employer. Employees have been encouraged to make contributions for the purpose of providing allowances in old age, the employer undertaking to duplicate, or to contribute in some other proportion towards, the provision made by the employees.

Many of the large industrial companies, banks, railways and other companies have schemes to this kind, and it would appear that the system is becoming more common every year.

It was evidently the intention of the founders of the Dominion Government Annuities system that this system could be used by employers of labour to make provision for the old age of their employees, but it is doubtful whether advantage has been taken of the system

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by employers to the extent anticipated.

If the Dominion Government decides to give assistance to any scheme of the nature of old age pensions it would appear that it can be best done by giving encouragement to voluntary contributions by workers, and to assistance in that direction by employers, by undertaking to bear a percentage of the cost of such annuities taken out by or on behalf of workers for this purpose. If such a system were undertaken it would have the advantage of maintaining the independence of the pensioner and reducing the cost to the Government, and of removing any danger that a gratuitous provision for old age on the part of the Government might weaken the individual effort on the part of citizens towards providing for their old age.

The objection to the foregoing is mainly that large numbers of aged women never having been employees of an employer, would be unprovided for, but this objection could probably be overcome by permitting the purchase of annuities by organized groups of women, the same assistance being given to such groups by the Government as is given to groups of employees.

Such a system would also have the objection that it would not make immediate provision for all persons over seventy years of age. This is an objection which it is impossible to overcome except by a financial burden suggested in the report of the Committee. If that burden is to be avoided the ideal condition must be approached gradually, that is, by provision now being made for old age by the younger members of the community, so that when they reach old age they will not be in the condition in which many aged members of the community now find themselves.

If the Government decides to confer with the provinces on this question it might be well to consider whether the provinces, or any of them, would agree to join with the Dominion Government in offering inducements to employers of labour to institute pension schemes, either creating their own funds or purchasing Dominion Government annuities. The system might provide for the cost of the total allowance to the employee on reaching age 70 being borne in the proportion of one-third by the employee, one third by the employer, and one sixth each by the Dominion Government and the provincial government. A system of this sort would remove practically every objection that now can be urged against free old age pensions, with the exception that it does not provide for aged women, and as above stated, this objection can probably be overcome in some other way.

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The question as to whether the proposed conference with the provinces shall be proceeded with is one of Government policy, but in view of the recommendation of the Committee last session and the very strong support given by the House to the report of that Committee, it does not appear that, pending such a conference, any good purpose would be served by reconstituting the Committee at the present session.

(Sgd.) G. D. Finlayson

F/Mc

Superintendent of Insurance.

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The question as to whether the proposed conference with the provinces shall be proceeded with is one of Government policy, but in view of the recommendation of the Committee last session and the very strong support given by the House to the report of that Committee, it does not appear that, pending such a conference, any good purpose would be served by reconstituting the Committee at the present session.

(Sgd.) G. D. Finlayson

F/Mc

Superintendent of Insurance.

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Collateral - Pensions - Old age.

C 93124

## Old Age Pensions

Revised Hansard
March 26, 1926. Pages 1943, 1944.
Sir Henry Drayton

"Simply this: if you make the scheme contributory you enter at once upon the domain of property and civil rights, and that is absolutely in the hands of the provinces. The whole thing is provincial and my hon. friend's point is well taken. No contributory scheme, no insurance, nor anything of that kind could be worked out through the agency of the Dominion. It must be left to the provinces."

"It is just as well, Mr. Speaker, that we look at these things fairly and honestly. In principle every right thinking man wants to help those who should be helped, but there are limits beyond which we should not go. Every right thinking man knows that taxation is one of the things which is making for unemployment, a condition which prevents these people whom we think ought to be helped from looking after themselves. Every student of economy knows, for example, that the cost of living in free trade England has gone up enormously as the result of taxation, and everyone knows that an enormous contributing cause to that taxation is the dole system. I believe that the very first thing to be done in Canada is to make our country a place where people may live and get their jobs before they are seventy years old. One of the best ways to do that is to cut down the cost of government administration."

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Collateral - Pensions - Old age

C 93124

## Old Age Pensions

Revised Hansard
March 26, 1926, Pages 1943, 1944.
Sir Henry Drayton

"Simply this: if you make the scheme contributory you enter at once upon the domain of property and civil rights, and that is absolutely in the hands of the provinces. The whole thing is provincial and my hon. friend's point is well taken. No contributory scheme, no insurance, nor anything of that kind could be worked out through the agency of the Dominion. It must be left to the provinces."

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C 93125

Old Age Pensions

Revised Hansard
March 26, 1926, Pages 1970, 1971 and 1972.
Hon. R. B. Bennett.

"In the first place, it is quite clear, although it has never been exactly determined, that the provinces have perhaps sole jurisdiction with respect to the granting of old age pensions, and secondly, that this parliament has power by the grant of money to supplement the action of the provinces in that regard."

"Faulty legislation placed upon the statute books the effect of which is to bring about chaos is very much to be deprecated. Anyone who has followed the course of legislation in any country, especially legislation of this character, will realize that where you rely solely and entirely upon experiement you have nothing but political action following political action and what was intended to be a great benefit has in many instances been a positive disadvantage to the very class it was intended to benefit."

"I do contend, Sir, that in this new country, with our great undeveloped natural resources, with our necessarily very large number of young people, it is of the utmost importance that we should have some contributory system of pensions rather than a non-contributory system. I say that for two reasons: First, because there is nothing more serious in a new country than that men should grow up with the idea or thought that they are to rely upon what is now called in England the dole; and secondly, that habits of thrift and economy should be encouraged and developed among the people if we are to take our place among the great nations of the world. I am convinced of that."

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## Old Age Pensions

Revised Hansard
March 26, 1926. Page 1941.
Sir Henry Drayton

"I am not at all certain that it is a good thing for this parliament to try to look after other business than its own, to try to look after provincial business, when I do not think the most enthusiastic supporters of this government can say it is looking after, as they should be looked after, matters of pressing Dominion importance. This is an entirely provincial matter."

Revised Hansard
March 26, 1926. Page 1974.
Hon. R. B. Bennett

"...I rose tonight to plead with the administration and more with the members of this House who are forcing the legislation upon the administration--I do not use the words in any offensive sense--the desirability of not now passing this resolution. I implore them to give to this matter further time and consideration."

Revised Hansard
April 16, 1926. Page 2531.
Mr. McGibbon (Muskoka-Ontario)

"In opening, I would like to put myself on record as being in favour of civilized countries looking after their aged poor, but I want to bring to the attention of the committee one or two points in connection with this matter. We are a young country; we have today resources greater than many other countries; we have the largest amount of agricultural land per capita; we have the greatest mines, the greatest forests, the greatest natural resources--and we have a

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## Old Age Pensions

(Mr. McGibbon)

population of about nine million people. Are we prepared at present to put everyon the pay roll of the country? It seems to me that we are getting the habit in this parliament of going--I was going to say 'mad'--in the way of legislation."

Revised Hansard
April 15, 1926. Page 2472.
Mr. Cahan

"On these general grounds, therefore, without occupying the attention of the House further for the moment, I wish to express my opposition to the scheme as a whole. It has been conceived without due consideration; it has never enlisted the co-operation and approval of the provinces and municipalities, although the former are bound to contribute one half the amount involved; and finally it has never contemplated providing assistance for those who are just as much entitled to aid as others, who, having attained the age of seventy, are incapacitated by physical or mental ~~in~~ disability."

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CANADA

Collateral - Pensions - Old age
C 93128

## Old Age Pensions

Revised Hansard
March 26, 1926, Pages 1943, 1944.
Sir Henry Drayton

"Simply this: if you make the scheme contributory you enter at once upon the domain of property and civil rights, and that is absolutely in the hands of the provinces. The whole thing is provincial and my hon. friend's point is well taken. No contributory scheme, no insurance, nor anything of that kind could be worked out through the agency of the Dominion. It must be left to the provinces."

"It is just as well, Mr. Speaker, that we look at these things fairly and honestly. In principle every right thinking man wants to help those who should be helped, but there are limits beyond which we should not go. Every right thinking man knows that taxation is one of the things which is making for unemployment, a condition which prevents these people whom we think ought to be helped from looking after themselves. Every student of economy knows, for example, that the cost of living in free trade England has gone up enormously as the result of taxation, and everyone knows that an enormous contributing cause to that taxation is the dole system. I believe that the very first thing to be done in Canada is to make our country a place where people may live and get their jobs before they are seventy years old. One of the best ways to do that is to cut down the cost of government administration."

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Old Age Pensions
C 93129

Summer Boy.
G.B.S.

Old Age Pensions

MR. KING: (Mar. 26, 1926, Revised Hansard p. 1977)

In this country, I should like to see the annuities plan which, as my hon. friend has said, was inaugurated by Sir Richard Cartwright, developed into a comprehensive system of social insurance. But I do not believe that this can be accomplished solely by the federal government; it would have to receive the co-operation of the provinces. We must in some way establish that link between the provinces and the dominion which will conduce to the working out of a great social insurance scheme along these lines. That will not be achieved in a year; as in other countries it will require time. The old age pension phase of the question is one that has an immediate bearing in respect of people of advanced years. Surely, then, we shall not be running any great risk so far as future generations are concerned if we put upon the statutes this year legislation which will hold out an inducement to the provinces to come together in conference for the purpose of discussing social legislation generally.

(Mar. 26, 1926, Revised Hansard p. 1978)

So far as the purpose of the immediate legislation is concerned, it looks to providing a pension for men and women of the generation that is passing away, or will have passed away in the course of a very few years. That is primarily what we are considering at this moment, and in considering men and women of that category we will, I think, be taking the first necessary step to bring about that larger measure of contributory social insurance which is one of the great needs of our time.

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Collateral - Pensions - Old age

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

March 26, 1926. C 93130

Sir Henry Drayton:

"Simply this: if you make the scheme contributory you enter at once upon the domain of property and civil rights, and that is absolutely in the hands of the provinces. The whole thing is provincial and my hon. friend's point is well taken. No contributory scheme, no insurance, nor anything of that kind could be worked out through the agency of the Dominion. It must be left to the provinces.

Page 1943 of Hansard.

"It is just as well, Mr. Speaker, that we look at these things fairly and honestly. In principle every right thinking man wants to help those who should be helped, but there are limits beyond which we should not go. Every right thinking man knows that taxation is one of the things which is making for unemployment, a condition which prevents these people whom we think ought to be helped from looking after themselves. Every student of economy knows, for example, that the cost of living in free trade England has gone up enormously as the result of taxation, and everyone knows that an enormous contributing cause to that taxation is the dole system. I believe that everyone thinking of this question seriously believes that the very first thing to be done in Canada is to make our country a place where people may live and get their jobs before they are seventy years old. One of the best ways to do that is to cut down the cost of government administration."

Page 1944 of Hansard.

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March 26th, 1926.

Hon. R. B. Bennett (West Calgary)

"In the first place, it is quite clear, although it has never been exactly determined, that the provinces have perhaps sole jurisdiction with respect to the granting of old age pensions, and secondly, that this parliament has power by the grant of money to supplement the action of the provinces in that regard."

Page 1970 of Hansard

"Faulty legislation placed upon the statute books the effect of which is to bring about chaos is very much to be deprecated. Anyone who has followed the course of legislation in any country, especially legislation of this character, will realize that where you rely solely and entirely upon experiments you have nothing but political action following political action and what was intended to be a great benefit has in many instances been a positive disadvantage to the very class it was intended to benefit."

Page 1971 of Hansard.

"I do contend, Sir, that in this new country, with our great undeveloped natural resources, with our necessarily very large number of young people, it is of the utmost importance that we should have some contributory system of pensions rather than a non-contributory system. I say that for two reasons: First, because there is nothing more serious in a new country than that men should grow up with the idea or thought that they are to rely upon what is now called in England the dole; and secondly, that habits of thrift and economy should be encouraged and developed among the people if we are to take our place among the great nations of the world. I am convinced of that."

Page 1972 of Hansard.

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Power to be had Opinion of Law Officers of Crown

~~Privy Council~~ Sec 5-5 - Chap 35 Supreme Court Act

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C 93131

February 18, 1927.

Mr. Bennett:

"I believe in a contributory system - I have never hesitated to say that I believe in it. The father of the old age pensions scheme of England said that without it you are doing a great injury to the very people whom you would benefit. I believe that; my reading induces me more and more to believe it is right. When the hon. member for Comox-Alberni (Mr. Neill) speaks of annuities I venture again to point out what I referred to last year and it is this - that a small contribution made by men from month to month and week to week that will ensure them an annuity at sixty-five or seventy years of age is one of the most desirable things that you can have in any country. It is true that the Australian system has been changed, and they have now gone on a contributory basis. The Department of Labour furnished last year a little memorandum showing what each country in the world is doing. I suggest to the hon. minister that it might be desirable to reprint it in order that the House might have the benefit of that information. I did not have that information at the time I made a few observations last year based largely on information collected from the report of the select committee appointed in Massachusetts, and from the documents that were laid before the English House when the last measure was being considered by them.

"Now, it might be well to look on the political side of the matter. You know what took place in Australia under conditions such as these. You are going to have a system that is not contributory. An election is coming on. They go out and say that more money should be given, that $20 is not enough. "Well, we will give them $25 if we get into power." says the hon. member for Regina."

Mr. Dunning:

"Pardon me -

Mr. Bennett:

"My hon. friend is not premier yet. I was simply pointing out what might be said with respect to such a matter as this. That is the position. That is what happened in Australia."

Page 481 of Hansard.

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March 3rd, 1927.

Mr. Cahan:

"The bill is a sorry political gesture, made for the purpose of creating confusion in the minds of those who would be entitled to pensions, those who are promoting the bill knowing full well that under existing conditions it is utterly impossible to carry the proposed legislation into effect throughout the Dominion."

Page 838 of Hansard.

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March 3rd, 1927.

Mr. Bennett:

"I am very glad the Solicitor General agrees more or less with the observations I made the other evening, that the weakness of the legislation is that it endeavours to impose upon the provinces the will of this parliament willy nilly, and I had not expected when I made the observations that one of the law officers of the crown would so soon agree with what I said."

Page 870 of Hansard.

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Old Age Pensions No need for

C 93132



Mr. Cahan states:-

"Mr. Chairman, I am altogether opposed to the scheme of old age pensions as placed before the House in this resolution".

Mr. Cahan undertook on that occasion to speak for, or express his opinion in relation to two provinces. He told the House on Page 2568, unrevised Hansard,"so far as I can ascertain there is no demand from and no need in the province of Quebec for a Federal subsidy to assist in maintaining what I might almost call the corporate existence of family life". and with respect to Nova Scotia Mr. Cahan told us on the same page - "In my own native province of Nova Scotia, there is no need for old age pensions to those who are suffering special disability owing to blindness or being deaf and dumb. That province has undertaken for years past tp educate its deaf and dumb and blind. That work has been so extremely well managed and so extremely beneficial that it will compare with similar works in any other civilized state in the world."

Mr. Cahan went on to say further with regard to the province of Nova Scotia "They regard this as a provincial and municipal affair and they are prepared, I believe, unless there has been a change of sentiment in recent years to continue it in the same vigorous and successful way in which they have carried it out in the past".

Mr. Cahan then put himself on record on that occasion as against the co-operative between the Federal and Provincial Governments, and you will find in his address that he states:-

"I do not wish to stress the matter, but I want through for weeks as counsel, an investigation in my native province of Nova Scotia which clearly disclosed to me that when Provincial governments or provincial legislatures are expending monies which are not raised on their own credit and responsibility is that of expenditure, it leads to wasteful expenditure

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C 93133

Unrevised Hansard
April 15, ~~1936.~~ 1936
p. 2568

(Consideration in Committee of the proposed resolution with respect to Old Age Pensions).

MR. CAHAN:

"Furthermore, this scheme contemplates that in its operation there shall be co-operation between the provincial governments and the federal government. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that in the recent political history of this country we have proceeded altogether too far in the way of co-operation between the federal government and the provincial governments in respect, for instance, to road appropriations, which are within the proper jurisdiction and control of local legislatures. The same refers also to certain building schemes in which there was co-operation, but in respect of which the federal treasury, which provided the money, really had little or no control over the management of the funds and little or no supervision over the actual expenditures made. I do not wish to stress the matter, but I went through for weeks, as counsel, an investigation in my native province of Nova Scotia which clearly disclosed to me that when provincial governments or provincial legislatures are expending monies which are not raised on their own credit and responsibility, and in respect to which their sole responsibility is that

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of expenditure, it leads to wasteful expenditure and very wide latitude indeed in the making of those expenditures."

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Coll - Pensions - Old Age

C 93135

(A)

Re Grants to aid

Political competition between parties

Mr. Bennett - Argument against - on Old Age Pensions

(Hansard Feb. 18, 1927 - p. 481)

"Now it might be well to look on the political side of the matter. You know what took place in Australia under conditions such as these. You are going to have a system that is not contributory. An election is coming on. They go out and say that more money should be given, that $20 is not enough. 'Well, we will give them $25 if we get into power,' says the hon. member for Regina. . . My hon. friend (Mr. Dunning) is not premier yet. I was simply pointing out what might be said with respect to such a matter as this. That is the position. That is what happened in Australia. Each party tried to - . . . . The contending parties, the government and the opposition, were endeavouring to outbid each other in the matter of old age pensions, and in this particular election we have an illustration - - - The commission did that, but the general election had no reference to the commission, and the contending leaders were intending to secure the popular vote by promising to make an increase in old age pensions. Those are the facts. Consider what would happen in Canada."

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Old Age Pensions

Revised Hansard
February 18, 1927, Page 481.
Hon. R. B. Bennett.

"I believe in a contributory system - I have never hesitated to say that I believe in it. The father of the old age pensions scheme of England said that without it you are doing a great injury to the very people whom you would benefit. I believe that; my reading induces me more and more to believe it is right. When the hon. member for Comox-Alberni (Mr. Neill) speaks of annuities I venture again to point out what I referred to last year and it is this - that a small contribution made by men from month to month and week to week that will ensure them an annuity at sixty-five or seventy years of age is one of the most desirable things that you can have in any country. It is true that the Australian system has been changed, and they have now gone on a contributory basis. The Department of Labour furnished last year a little memorandum showing what each country in the world is doing. I suggest to the hon. minister that it might be desirable to reprint it in order that the House might have the benefit of that information. I did not have that information at the time I made a few observations last year based largely on information collected from the report of the select committee appointed in Massachusetts, and from the documents that were laid before the English House when the last measure was being considered by them."

"Now, it might be well to look on the political side of the matter. You know what took place in Australia under conditions such as these. You are going to have a system that is not contributory. An election is coming on. They go out and say that more money should be given, that $20 is not enough. 'Well, we will give them $25 if we get into power.' says the hon. member for Regina."

Mr. Dunning: "Pardon me -

Mr. Bennett: "My hon. friend is not premier yet. I was simply pointing out what might be said with respect to such a matter as this. That is the position. That is what happened in Australia."

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C 93137

Old Age Pensions

Revised Hansard
March 3, 1927, Page 870.
Hon. R. B. Bennett.

"I am very glad the Solicitor General agrees more or less with the observations I made the other evening, that the weakness of the legislation is that it endeavours to impose upon the provinces the will of this parliament willy nilly, and I had not expected when I made the observations that one of the law officers of the crown would so soon agree with what I said."

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Collateral – Pensions – Old age pensions

C 93138

## OLD AGE PENSIONS

Dominion-Provincial Conference
Thursday P.M.
November 10th, 1927.

Shorter Discussion

Quebec - The Hon. J. Nicol, K.C:

On behalf of the Province of Quebec, Mr. Nicol stated that the adoption of the present Old Age Pensions Act in his province would mean an expenditure of about two million dollars, involving about seven per cent of the entire budget. He felt that it was impossible for Quebec to come in under the legislation with its present revenue. In the second place he did not believe the Pensions Act was required at this time in the province of Quebec, inasmuch as the Provincial Government had its own provision for old age. He suggested that the law should be amended in such a way as to allow the Dominion Government to pay $120.00 to those eligible for the grant without requiring the provinces to pay an equal amount. He thought Quebec would be satisfied with such an amendment.

New Brunswick - The Hon. L. P. D. Tilley, K.C:

In Mr. Tilley's opinion it was impossible for New Brunswick to adopt the Old Age Pensions legislation at the present time, in view of the difficult financial situation of the province.

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Quebec - The Hon. L. A. Taschereau:

Mr. Taschereau felt that the present legislation was objectionable in that it placed an unfair onus on the provincial government.

Saskatchewan - The Hon. J. G. Gardiner:

Mr. Gardiner concurred with Mr. Taschereau.

Nova Scotia - The Hon. Mr. Harrington:

Mr. Harrington pointed out that his province was now under heavier financial obligations than it could discharge. The adoption of the Old Age Pensions Act would involve a further annual expenditure of about half a million dollars in Nova Scotia. He supported the position taken by the representatives from the Province of Quebec.

Prince Edward Island - The Hon. G. S. Inman:

Mr. Inman pointed out that while throughout the Dominion there were twenty-eight in every thousand of the population who would be eligible for assistance under the Pensions Act, the proportion in Prince Edward Island was sixty to every thousand of the population. He approved of the principle of the Act, but in view of the condition stated above felt it would be impossible for the provincial government to undertake the additional financial burden it would entail.

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Alberta - The Hon. J. E. Brownlee:

Mr. Brownlee felt that one-third of the total subsidy would be required to adopt this legislation in Alberta. The only way to meet it would be by imposing a separate tax. He did not believe this would be satisfactory to the people of his province.

British Columbia - The Hon. J. D. MacLean, M.D:

Dr. MacLean pointed out that the care of the aged was really a provincial and municipal responsibility. British Columbia was pleased with the Act and was quite willing to undertake the burden. He added that the Old Age Pensions Act was not compulsory and that it was left for each province to decide whether its benefits would be extended.

Ontario - The Hon. G. H. Ferguson:

Mr. Ferguson felt that the care of the aged was a problem of national citizenship, somewhat similar to the pensions for soldiers. Mr. Ferguson thought there was an element of danger in the lack of uniformity among the provinces in the adoption of Old Age Pension legislation. If Ontario came under the present Act it would cost the province three or four million dollars a year. He did not believe that the additional burden should be undertaken, in view of the fact that this province was now having difficulty in balancing the budget. He also

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objected that the provinces had not been previously consulted when the legislation was under consideration.

Manitoba - The Hon. John Bracken:

Mr. Bracken agreed with the principle of the Old Age Pension benefits but said he could not compliment the Government on the manner in which it had been carried out. He felt that at least the Dominion Government should share in the cost of the administration of the Act.

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Collateral - Pensions - Old Age.

C 93142

[1930?]

Old Age Pensions

MEMORANDUM

Re Conn. attitude to;
Jurisdiction re;
Non-Contributory matter.

The report of the Committee which dealt with Old Age Pensions during the session of 1925 was presented to the House of Commons under date of June 16, 1925 (see page 4301) of Hansard. The report did not appear in Hansard but will be found in the Votes and Proceedings, pp. 455-458.

The terms of the report are contained on pp. 9, 10 and 11 of the attached pamphlet, marked "A", entitled "Old Age Pensions in Canada", which was published by the Department of Labour in December 1929.

The said report embodies the written opinion of the Deputy Minister of Justice to the effect that the subject matter of pensions has been entrusted to the provincial legislatures rather than to Parliament. The opinion will be found at the bottom of page 10 and top of page 11 of "A" attached.

In connection with the statement which is being made by the Honourable Mr. Bennett that the Conservative Party if returned to power will adopt a purely Federal Old Age Pension scheme (this was also one of the planks in the Conservative Winnipeg convention platform), it should be borne in mind that when the report of the Committee was moved in the House of Commons under date of June 18, 1925, an amendment was introduced by the Member for East Calgary (Wm. Irvine) in the following terms:

> "that this report be referred back to the Committee with instructions to consider and report back on a purely federal scheme"

and that on a record vote which appears on pp. 4433 and 4434 of Hansard the motion was defeated by 139 to 17. The following are the names of the 17 members who supported the amendment:

Bird,
Bancroft, Black (Yukon), Campbell, Church, Coote, Davis, Gardiner, Garland (Bow River), Good, Irvine, Kellner, Kennedy (Edmonton), Leader, Shaw, Ward and Woodsworth.

Following the division on the Irvine amendment the main motion was agreed to.

A reference to the matter immediately above referred to appears in the middle of page 11 of "A" attached.

The attitude of the Conservative Party with respect to Old Age Pensions is clearly described in the remarks of the Honourable Peter Heenan, Minister of Labour, in his budget speech of March 19, 1929, see pp. 1146-7-8-9 of Hansard, marked "B" attached, noting in particular the remarks of Sir Henry Drayton and the Hon. Mr. Bennett on pp. 1146 and 1147 respectively.

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Several Conservative Members in speaking to the subject matter expressed the opinion that the scheme would be unworkable in its present form. In this connection enclosed financial statement marked "C" indicates that at the end of March 31, 1930, the sum of $7,542,579.12 was paid out to 42,553 pensioners in the Provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and the North West Territories.

There is also attached a copy of the proceedings of the Old Age Pension Committee of 1924, marked "D", the second and final report appearing on p. 4 thereof.

Old Age Penion Schemes in most countries of the world are on a contributory basis although in the first place started on a noncontributory basis. If a contributory scheme were to become effective in Canada, and there are those who advocate a contributory scheme (see attitude of Alberta set out in section 8, page 10 of exhibit "A" attached), it would seem clear that the Federal Government would not be in a position to deal with the matter, except to contribute to a provincial scheme as now in effect, on account of interfering with provincial rights, a matter definitely within the jurisdiction of the provinces under the provisions of the British North America Act.

Article marked "E" attached is a memorandum outlining Federal and Provincial legislation, Interprovincial Board and summary payments.

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Several Conservative Members in speaking to the subject matter expressed the opinion that the scheme would be unworkable in its present form. In this connection enclosed financial statement marked "C" indicates that at the end of March 31, 1930, the sum of $7,542,579.12 was paid out to 42,553 pensioners in the Provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and the North West Territories.

There is also attached a copy of the proceedings of the Old Age Pension Committee of 1924, marked "D", the second and final report appearing on p. 4 thereof.

Article marked "E" attached is a memorandum outlining Federal and Provincial legislation, Inter-provincial Board and summary payments.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

Minister, Hon. PETER HEENAN — Deputy Minister, H. H. WARD

# OLD AGE PENSIONS
# IN
# CANADA

Together with a Summary of Old Age Pension Systems in Other Countries

DECEMBER, 1929

OTTAWA
F. A. ACLAND
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
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Votes & Proceedings
Contains Raymond Report

Hansard of June 18
showing nominal vote of
vote against federal salaries

Cons. Convention
Clipping of motion in
pencil re O A P

Date
year 8 No. of Persons

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# OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA

## INTRODUCTION

Chapter I of this volume contains a résumé of activities of the Parliament of Canada pertaining to old age pensions, together with a short history of old age pension legislation in the various provinces. Generally the provincial Acts are alike in that each of them authorizes the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to enter into an agreement with the Governor in Council as to the payment of old age pensions in accordance with the terms and provisions of the Dominion Act and the regulations made thereunder. Payment of old age pensions in British Columbia and Saskatchewan is made from Consolidated Provincial Revenue. The Manitoba Act provides for a special levy on the municipalities of fifty per cent of the amount payable for old age pensions, the other fifty per cent being recovered by the province from the Dominion Government. In Alberta the provincial Act provides that ten per cent of the amount payable for pensions in each municipality shall be repaid to the provincial treasury by such municipality. Fifty per cent is repaid by the Dominion, leaving a balance of forty per cent to be provided for from the provincial exchequer. In Ontario the proportion is fifty per cent from the Dominion, thirty per cent from the province and twenty per cent from the municipalities, except in the provisional judicial districts where no municipal or local contribution is required.

Chapter II is a history of the administration of old age pensions in Canada from the time of the adoption of the Dominion scheme by the province of British Columbia in 1927 until September 30, 1929, when the system had been adopted by four other provinces, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Saskatchewan, and had been made effective in the Northwest Territories by Dominion Order in Council. It is of interest to note that the scheme of administration in Ontario differs materially from that of the other provinces in that it provides for the establishment of local boards, which boards are charged with the consideration of all applications for old age pensions in the first instance. From any decision of this board an appeal may be made to a central authority in Toronto. This central body is charged with the payment of all pensions. In Alberta a Board of Review is established, the duties of which board are to investigate cases brought to its attention by the pension authority and issue a ruling accordingly.

Chapter III is a summary of the old age pension systems in force in other countries. This information is taken mostly from the reports of the parliamentary committees established during the sessions of 1924 and 1925, together with such later data as became available in the library of the Department of Labour.

Chapter IV contains the texts of the Dominion and provincial Acts, the Dominion and provincial regulations, and the agreements made between the Dominion Government and the Governments of the provinces.

Chapter V lists the names and addresses of the Dominion and provincial officials by whom old age pensions are administered in Canada.



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# I.—Legislation

## DOMINION

The subject of old age pensions has received the attention of the Canadian Parliament at various times in the course of the past twenty years. During the session of 1906-07 the following resolution was introduced in the House of Commons:—

That in the opinion of this House the subject of improving the condition of the aged, deserving poor, and of providing for those of them who are helpless and infirm, is worthy of and should receive the early and careful attention of the government and of parliament.

The motion was debated at some length and withdrawn.

On February 3, 1908, after considerable discussion, the House of Commons adopted the following motion:—

That a select committee of nine be appointed to inquire into and consider a scheme or schemes by state aid or otherwise for making provisions for the aged and deserving poor, with special regard in case of any proposals of which they may approve, to their cost and probable financial results, and that the committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, and to examine witnesses on oath and affirmation.

On February 10 of the same year on motion of Sir Wilfred Laurier the following committee was appointed: Messrs. Lemieux, McIntyre (South Perth), Sinclair, Ralph Smith, McKenzie, Verville, Monk, Pringle and McCarthy (Calgary).

On July 11 the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Postmaster General, stated that there had been three sittings of this committee before the morning sessions of the House began and that in as much as the business of the House had become strenuous it was found impossible to reconvene the committee during that session. Mr. Lemieux further stated that he had arranged with Mr. Blue, Dominion Statistician, Professor Shortt, Mr. Acland and Mr. Mackenzie King (who unfortunately was absent when the committee sat) to prepare some evidence which would be available and that the work of the committee might well be resumed during the next session of Parliament when favourable progress might be made.

Following the discussion of a resolution on Government Annuities agreed to by the House of Commons on the 10th of March, 1908, the Hon. W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance, introduced a Bill to authorize the issue of Government Annuities for Old Age. This Bill went through the committee stage and was passed by the House of Commons on July 6, 1908. Some slight amendments were made by the Senate during that session when the Act was finally passed and it is now known as the "Government Annuities Act," R.S.C. 1927, chapter 7.

On January 24, 1912, the House of Commons adopted the following resolution:—

That in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that a Select Special Committee should be appointed by this House to make an inquiry into an Old Age Pension System for Canada, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to report from time to time.

On January 31 on the motion of the Right Hon. Mr. Borden the following were appointed as members of this committee: Messrs. Burnham, Bradbury, Buchanan, Carroll, Currie, Goodeve, Guthrie, Jameson,



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Macdonald, Mondou, Verville and W. T. White. Four sittings of the committee were held during this session and on March 25, 1912, the committee presented the following report:—

Your committtee has received many communications in answer to a circular letter addressed to clerks of municipal councils, and to secretaries of trades and labour councils, etc., throughout Canada and elsewhere. It has also examined witnesses, but it has not been able to arrive at proper conclusions respecting this important subject owing to lack of time. Further information has been requested by members of the committee which it has not yet had time to gather.

Your committee would therefore recommend that further information in respect of the operation of Old Age Pension Systems in Canada and other countries be asked for and prepared by the clerk of the committee, and also that he file all communications received in connection therewith.

Your committee also begs leave to present the evidence it has taken, which is hereto appended.

(For the evidence, etc., accompanying this report, see Appendix to Journals, No. 2.)

During the next session of Parliament the same committee was appointed to make an inquiry into an old age pension system for Canada, with power to send for persons, papers and records and to report from time to time. The committee held fifteen sittings and examined many witnesses and a large amount of data and on May 22, Mr. Burnham moved that its report be adopted by the House. The report was in the terms following:—

Your committee has held this session fifteen meetings, and has examined forty-one witnesses, fifteen representing agricultural occupations officially and otherwise, fourteen representing industrial occupations officially and otherwise, and twelve representing officially provincial, governmental and public institutions, municipalities and voluntary and religious societies, for the purpose of taking evidence with respect to economic and social conditions in Canada.

As will be noticed the witnesses have come from all parts of Canada. In addition, your committee has sent out a circular letter to one hundred and fifty-six wardens in the counties in Canada, setting out the objects of your committee, and requesting replies thereto. Up to date, sixty replies have been received. All these are in addition to what was done last year as embodied in the first part of the report herewith presented.

Your committee has also collected valuable information from British, and other governments in addition to that obtained last year relating to pension systems for the aged deserving poor.

Reports of the evidence taken in detail have been distributed to members of both Houses of Parliament, the press, etc., from time to time.

Following the course which the committee of 1911-12 adopted further information will be sought by your committee if reappointed by your House of Commons next session. It is expected that it will be possible to close the enquiry and the taking of evidence at an early date.

Your committee would therefore recommend that the clerk of the committee be permitted to send out communications as directed by your committee and that he classify and file all correspondence concerning such communications.

Your committee also beg leave to present the evidence it has taken, which is hereto appended, and respectfully request that the memoranda comprising the evidence, minutes of proceedings, exhibits, reports, correspondence, communications, etc., be printed as an appendix to the Journals of the House, of 1912-13, and that one thousand additional copies in English and four hundred additional copies in French, of the same, be printed and bound, for distribution.

Your committee desires to recognize the faithful services of its secretary who did a great deal of extra work in connection with the preparation of a Memorandum on Old Age Pensions, dated October, 1912.

(For the evidence accompanying this report see Appendix to Journals, No. 4.)

During the 1914 session Mr. Geo. W. Kyte (Richmond) moved:—

That in the opinion of this House an Old Age Pension System for Canada should be inaugurated.

There was considerable debate on this motion and references were made to the evidence taken by the special committee during the preceding session.

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However, the policy of the then Government on this subject was expressed in the following terms by Hon. Thos. White (Minister of Finance) who moved the adjournment of the debate:—

But my view is that, having regard to all the considerations I have mentioned—the state of public opinion in the matter and the obligations that will devolve upon Canada to furnish money for the development of the country, its coasts, waterways, transportation routes and public buildings—having regard to all these considerations and the fact that Canada can be differentiated without difficulty from other countries that have successfully adopted old age pension systems, I am of the view, and the Government is of the view, that the legislation contemplated by this resolution is premature and in advance of necessity and public opinion.

From 1914 to 1921 there were no further references in Parliament to old age pensions. The problems of world war and, at its close, civil re-establishment, became matters of paramount importance to the Government and to Parliament. At the opening of the session of 1921 on February 14, the Speech from the Throne contained the following statement:—

An investigation is being conducted by the Department of Labour into systems of unemployment insurance and old age pensions.

Nothing further was done by Parliament during that session. On May 1, 1922, Parliament agreed to the following motion by Mr. J. E. Fontaine (Hull):—

That in the opinion of this House, the Dominion Government should consider the advisability of devising ways and means for the establishment of a system of old age pensions in Canada.

During the 1923 session the matter was discussed in the House of Commons with particular reference to the question of jurisdiction as between Parliament and the provincial legislatures, and on April 29, 1924, the Prime Minister moved:—

That a special committee be appointed to make an inquiry into an old age pension system in Canada, with power to send for persons, papers and records and to report from time to time and that the said committee do consist of the following named members, namely: Messrs. Fontaine, Irvine, Logan, McConica, Munro, Neill, Preston, Raymond, Robichaud, Sexsmith, Spence, and St. Pere.

This motion was agreed to by the House. On July 1, 1924, the Chairman of this Special Committee (Mr. W. G. Raymond, Brantford), presented the following final report to Parliament:—

Your committee has inquired into the systems which are in operation in England, Australia, New Zealand, and certain other countries; examined witnesses, carefully considered their suggestions, and compared the information obtained from thirty-one municipalities throughout Canada, in reply to a questionnaire sent to one hundred and thirty-five mayors of cities and towns in every province.

This question has been before this House at different times since 1907, but no definite recommendation was made by any of the committees to which it was referred.

After careful consideration of the information obtained from the sources enumerated, your committee respectfully recommends:—

1. That an old age pension system be established at the earliest possible date for deserving indigent persons of seventy (70) years of age and upwards.

2. That applicants for pensions must be British subjects of at least twenty (20) years' residence in Canada, or naturalized subjects of at least fifteen (15) years' naturalization and twenty-five (25) years' residence.

3. (*a*) That the maximum rate of pension be twenty ($20) dollars per month, which would be lessened by private income or partial ability to earn;

(*b*) That one-half the amount of pension payable be borne by the federal Government; the other half, by the provincial Government of such provinces as express by legislation their desire to adopt the system—the cost of administration to be borne by the provincial governments.

Your committee has estimated that under such a system there would be approximately 98,841 eligible pensioners, and that if all of these were to receive the maximum rate of pension, namely, twenty ($20) dollars per month, the federal Government's portion of the total yearly expenditure would amount to $11,860,920. This amount, however, would be reduced by any private income or partial earnings.

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Your committee further recommends that the Government communicate with the various provincial governments to ascertain if they are disposed to adopt the above system and enact the necessary legislation.

Your committee also begs to recommend that its proceedings, together with the evidence taken, be printed as an appendix to the Journals of this House.

For the information of the House, a copy of the proceedings and evidence, a synopsis of the communications received from the municipalities, and a statement of the expectation of life prepared by the Department of Insurance, are appended to this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. G. RAYMOND,
*Chairman.*

On July 16 in replying to a question as to the attitude of the Government in connection with this report the Prime Minister stated:—

The report of the committee to which my honourable friend refers, I think, contemplated that any action by this Parliament would be contingent upon co-operative action on the part of the provinces. The Government intends during the recess to communicate to the provincial governments the report which the committee has brought down and ascertain for the information of Parliament what action, if any, they are prepared to take with reference to those recommendations.

On May 1, 1925, the House of Commons adopted the following motion by the Prime Minister:—

That a special committee be appointed to make an inquiry into an old age pension system for Canada, with power to send for persons, papers and records and to report from time to time, and that the said committee do consist of the following named members, namely: Messrs. Fontaine, Irvine, Logan, McConica, Munro, Neill, Preston, Raymond, Robichaud, Sexsmith, Spence and St. Pere, and that there be referred to such committee for examination and report the correspondence which has occurred since the last session between the several provincial governments.

On June 16, Mr. W. G. Raymond, Chairman of the Special Committee, presented to the House the following report:—

Your committee has given careful consideration to the aforesaid correspondence, and also to the correspondence more recently received from premiers and ministers of several provinces. Briefly, the views of the several provincial governments are as follows:—

1. *New Brunswick.*—Under date of May 23, 1925, the Premier (Hon. Mr. Veniot) writes: "This province is now considering the establishment of what is known as widow's pension, and we are not prepared to take any decision in the matter of an old age pension. While I do not disapprove of the old age pension, and feel that it would be a good thing, yet it would be impossible for me to commit the Province to any action in this matter at the present moment."

2. *Quebec.*—Under date of February 17, 1925, the Minister of Public Works and Labour (Hon. Mr. Galipeault) writes: "On the occasion of the recent visit of the delegates of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, this question was taken up and, although it was not submitted in the regular way to the Cabinet, I understood from the remarks of my colleagues, that it could be no question for the province of Quebec, considering the obligations actually imposed upon it, of adopting a law which would take care of the old age pensions in this province."

3. *Nova Scotia.*—Under date of June 2, 1925, the Premier (Hon. Mr. Armstrong) writes: "In view of the importance of the subject-matter, and the lack of an opportunity to fully consider the same, I was instructed to advise you that without a further and better understanding of the subject-matter and without an opportunity to fully discuss it with your committee, no action would be taken upon the matter at present."

4. *Prince Edward Island.*—Under date of May 22, 1925, the Premier (Hon. Mr. Stewart) writes: "In this province, as you probably are aware, except in the towns, we have no municipal government, consequently all assistance to indigent and aged persons is furnished directly by the provincial government either in the Provincial Infirmary or by monthly contributions to private persons who become responsible for their support. I have read over your letter and the accompanying report with interest. I shall place the matter before my government at its next meeting and will then advise you of its decision."

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5. *Ontario.*—Under date of November 24, 1924, the Premier (Hon. Mr. Ferguson) writes: "I shall be glad to consider the matter."

6. *Manitoba.*—Under date of February 25, 1925, the Attorney General (Hon. Mr. Craig) writes: "We are in the midst of our Session just now with the multiplicity of matters requiring immediate disposition. I shall, however, take the matter up with the Premier and the Minister of Public Welfare at the earliest opportunity."

7. *Saskatchewan.*—Under date of November 19, 1924, the Minister of Labour and Industries (Hon. Mr. Gardner) writes: "The Government of Saskatchewan is of opinion that an old age pension scheme for Canada can best be adopted by the Federal Government alone. There would seem to be so much difficulty in the way of providing any scheme that would be suitable to all the nine provinces of Canada as to make it almost impossible, and it will be readily understood that if any number of the provinces were to remain out, it would be almost impossible to adopt any scheme that would not subject those provinces within the arrangement to considerable expense that should rightfully be borne by those outside the scheme. While we are disposed to think that an old age pension scheme should be undertaken, the difficulties in the way of the suggested scheme appear almost, if not entirely, insurmountable."

8. *Alberta.*—Under date of June 2, 1925, the Acting Premier (Hon. George Hoadley) writes: "This Government has reviewed the recommendations of the committee and approve the general principle of old age pensions. We are not prepared, however, to accept the recommendations of the committee. The three main objections are: (1) We believe that the Federal Government should assume a larger share in the financing of an old age pension scheme as it is more a federal obligation than a provincial one; (2) we are not satisfied that a *non-contributing* scheme is the best one; and (3) there is no guarantee that the Federal Government would continue for a definite time to carry out the mutual arrangements with respect to financing the scheme."

9. *British Columbia.*—Under date of February 5, 1925, the Minister of Labour (Hon. Mr. Manson) writes: "This matter has been carefully considered by the Government and also by the Provincial Legislature at its last session, and the consensus of opinion is that the matter of old age pensions is one entirely in the sphere of the Federal Parliament and this Government does not concur in the suggestion made by the committee that a portion of the cost of such pensions be borne by the provincial Crown."

In the resolution passed unanimously by the British Columbia Legislature on December 18, 1924, the following statement is noted: "State responsibility in the matter of the proper maintenance of aged citizens has been recognized by Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and a number of the nations of the continent of Europe."

In a letter dated March 5, 1925, the Minister of Labour of the province of British Columbia (Hon. Mr. Manson) writes:—

> "I beg to say that the matter has had very serious consideration on the part of this department and the opinion is confirmed that the matter of old age pensions is a subject for the consideration of the Federal and not the Provincial Parliament."

On June 2, 1925, the Premier of the Government of British Columbia (Hon. Mr. Oliver), writing to the chairman of the committee, Mr. Raymond, says "Your explanation of how the proposed scheme was expected to work certainly tends towards a better understanding. Should the Parliament of Canada pass legislation along the lines suggested in your printed report of last year, I presume the question would then arise as to whether or not the province would co-operate."

In view of the position taken by several of the provinces and more particularly by Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, and having in mind what the British North America Act, under sections 91 and 92, defines, your committee resolved to obtain an anthoritative opinion from the Department of Justice in respect of the points thus raised, and on May 23, last, the Deputy Minister of Justice replied as follows:—

> "Referring to your letter of the 12th instant, asking to be advised with regard to the authority of Parliament to legislate on the subject of old age pensions, I may say that this subject does not fall specifically within any of the enumerated subjects given to the Dominion under section 91 of the British North America Act, but does in my judgment fall within the subject "Property and Civil Rights in the Province" committed to the provinces under section 92. I am of opinion, therefore, that the subject-matter of pensions has been entrusted to the provin-

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cial legislatures rather than to Parliament. I do not mean to suggest that Parliament has not the power to legislate upon the subject so as to assist the provinces or to establish an independent voluntary scheme, provided that in either case the legislation does not trench upon the subject matter of property and civil rights in the province, as for example by obligating any province or person to contribute to the scheme.

"The enactment of such legislation would, however, involve the assumption by the Dominion of obligations involving heavy expenditures with regard to a matter which does not fall specifically within the Dominion field of legislation."

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Having given very careful consideration to the opinion submitted by the Department of Justice, and also to the respective views of the different provinces, your committee have come to the following conclusions:—

Firstly, that if the Dominion Government were to proceed now with a scheme of old age pensions, it would have to be prepared to bear the entire expense, which would approximately amount to twenty-three million ($23,000,000) dollars annually, according to the data contained in your committee's investigations;

Secondly, that in view of the present financial conditions and heavy taxation of Canada, your committee would not feel warranted at the present moment in recommending such a large additional expenditure, annually;

Thirdly, that this measure of social reform, in the opinion of your committee, is very important; and

Fourthly, that since it is the opinion of the Department of Justice that the matter is one coming under the jurisdiction of the provinces, although open to assistance from the Federal Government, your committee, therefore, strongly recommend:—

1. That the Federal Government arrange with the premiers of the different provinces for a conference to be held during the coming recess of Parliament at which an old age pension system shall be given the fullest consideration with a view to securing co-operative action, and that the report of the said conference be laid on the Table at the next session of Parliament for future consideration and action.

2. That the chairman of your committee, and one other of its members who would be familiar with the subject matter, be invited to attend the said conference.

3. That a copy of this report be forwarded to each Premier of the several provinces.

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On June 18 Mr. Raymond moved the adoption of this report and Mr. Wm. Irvine (East Calgary) moved the following amendment:—

That this report be referred back to the committee with instructions to consider and report back on a purely federal scheme.

After some discussion the amendment was defeated on a division by 139 votes to 17 and Mr. Raymond's motion was then agreed to.

On January 28, 1926, Hon. Ernest Lapointe announced that it was the intention of the Government to submit to the House a Bill respecting old age pensions and that such Bill would be based on the recommendations of the committee of the House which investigated and reported on the subject in 1924. On March 18 Hon. J. H. King, Acting Minister of Labour, introduced such legislation by moving that the House go into committee to consider the following proposed resolution:—

Resolved, that it is expedient to bring in a measure respecting old age pensions, and to provide,—

1. That the Governor in Council may make an agreement with the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of any province for the payment to such province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by such province for pensions pursuant to a provincial statute authorizing and providing for the payment of such pensions to the persons and under the conditions hereinafter specified and regulations made under the proposed legislation.

2. That every agreement so made shall continue in force so long as the provincial statute remains in operation or until after the expiration of ten years from the date upon which notice of an intention to determine the agreement is given by the Governor General to the Lieutenant-Governor of the province with which the same was made.

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3. That before any agreement so made comes into operation, the Governor in Council shall approve the scheme for the administration of pensions proposed to be adopted by the province, and no change in such scheme shall be made by the province without the consent of the Governor in Council.

4. That all sums payable to any province in pursuance of any such agreement shall be payable from time to time on the certificate of the Treasury Board out of any moneys belonging to the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada not otherwise appropriated, and the Governor in Council may borrow from time to time such sums as may be required for the purpose of making such payments.

5. That provision shall be made for the payment of a pension to every person who, at the date of the proposed commencement of the pension,

(*a*) is a British subject, or, being a widow, was such before her marriage;
(*b*) has attained the age of seventy years;
(*c*) has resided in Canada for the twenty years immediately preceding the date aforesaid;
(*d*) has resided in the province in which the application for pension is made for the five years immediately preceding the said date;
(*e*) is not an Indian as defined by the Indian Act;
(*f*) has not made any voluntary assignment or transfer of property for the purpose of qualifying for a pension.

6. That the receipt of a pension shall not by itself constitute a disqualification from voting at any provincial or municipal election.

7. That the maximum pension payable shall be two hundred and forty dollars yearly, which shall be subject to reduction by the amount of the income of the pensioner in excess of one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year.

8. That provisions be made as to the credit to the pension authority of the annual value of a pensioner's residence, and the recovery of pension payments out of deceaced pensioner's estate, and for the distribution of pension burden among provinces by proportionate reimbursement or proportionate reduction where the pensioner resided in more than one province or transfers his permanent residence to another province, and for ceasing payments where he transfers his residence to some place out of Canada, and the revival of his rights upon again becoming a resident of Canada.

9. That no pension shall be subject to alienation or transfer by the pensioner, or to seizure in satisfaction of any claim against him.

10. That on or before the thirtieth day of April in each year, the Minister of Finance shall make a full report to parliament of the operation of the agreements made pursuant to the proposed act, and of the moneys of Canada paid to the provinces under each of the several agreements entered into pursuant thereto.

11. That the governor in Council shall have power from time to time, on the recommendation of the Minister of Labour, and with the approval of the Treasury Board, to make regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of the proposed Act, with regard to the pensions herein provided for, and such regulations shall be published in *The Canada Gazette,* and be laid before parliament.

A lengthy debate ensued and on April 15 the motion was agreed to and a Bill, based on the resolution, introduced by the Acting Minister of Labour. This Bill was passed by the House of Commons on May 28, 1926.

The Bill was then discussed at some length in the Senate and rejected by a division of 45 votes to 21.

Soon afterwards a general election took place and during the first session of the Sixteenth Parliament a Bill in the same terms as that passed by the House of Commons in 1926 was introduced by the Hon. Peter Heenan, Minister of Labour, and was passed by this House for the second time on March 4, 1927. The Bill was discussed again at considerable length in the Senate and a division occurred on motion of the Hon. Mr. Dandurand for its second reading, which motion carried by 61 votes to 14. On the Hon. Mr. Dandurand's motion to go into committee the following amendment was moved by Hon. Mr. Beique:—

That this Bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce with the following instructions:—

1st. To invite the Prime Minister of each province to give his own opinion or that of his Government on the Bill with all suggestions he may be prepared to make.

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2nd. To obtain from the Dominion Government or proper departments, and experts in the matter, statements showing approximately the total amount of the expenditure involved from year to year, for say twenty years, by the operation of the Bill.

3rd. To cause to be prepared by experts in the matter, draft Bills as per old age pensions systems in force in Great Britain, in France, in Germany and in Belgium, respectively, with such modifications as may be necessary to make such draft Bills applicable to and workable in Canada.

4th. To examine and report back Bill No. 70, with such amendments as the committee may deem advisable and with the statements and draft Bills above mentioned.

This amendment was defeated by 58 votes to 17 and the Bill was read the third time and passed by the Senate on March 24, 1927. It received the Royal Assent on March 31, 1927, and now appears as chapter 156 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927.

## ALBERTA

On April 1, 1926, the following resolution was introduced in the Alberta Legislature:—

Whereas the system of providing for the care of indigents as set out in the Municipal District Act places too great a financial burden upon municipal districts having a population engaged in other than agricultural pursuits and who do not pay municipal taxes;

Therefore be it resolved, that this House recommend that the Municipal District Act be amended so as to provide that where the amount incurred for the relief of indigent persons exceeds five per cent of the levy of taxes for municipal purposes by the municipal district such amount shall be paid by the municipal district and the province, in proportion to the amount incurred for the relief of indigent persons of the agricultural class and the amount incurred for the relief of indigent persons of other classes, respectively.

After discussion the debate on this resolution was adjourned and on April 7, 1926, the House adopted the following resolution:—

Whereas the Acting Minister of Labour on March 18, 1926, moved in the House of Commons that the House go into committee to consider a plan to provide a system of old age pensions, based on the reports of the special parliamentary committee of 1924, which report contemplated joint action by the Federal Parliament and provincial legislatures;

Therefore be it resolved that this House endorses an old age pension scheme, but believes that a conference should be called by the federal authorities with the provincial Government immediately, in order to complete financial arrangement satisfactory to each party before the passing of the proposed Act.

On February 22, 1927, the following resolution was introduced:—

Resolved, that in the opinion of this House, the Government should introduce at this session, an old age pension bill in harmony with and complementary to the federal legislation now before the Parliament of Canada, in order that pensions may be made available with the least possible delay to the deserving, qualified and aged people of this province.

After debate an amendment was moved as follows:—

That all the words in the resolution after the word "should" be struck out and the following substituted therefor: "bearing in mind that there presently is legislation before the Dominion Parliament with respect to old age pensions, provide an opportunity for the members of this House to consider and discuss the whole question of old age pensions and if thought fit introduce an old age pensions bill so soon as federal legislation upon this subject has been enacted by the Dominion Parliament.

The next day the Hon. Mr. Brownlee, Prime Minister, moved an amendment to the amendment as follows:—

That all the words after the word "pensions" in the third line of the amendment be struck out and the following substituted therefor:—

"Urge upon the Dominion Government the necessity for a purely federal plan in order to adequately provide for old age pensions throughout the Dominion."

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After debate the amended amendment was carried by a division of 41 to 16. The following further amendment was then moved:—

That all the words after the word "Resolved" in the first line of the resolution be struck off and the following substituted therefor:—

"That this House, while regretting the meagre pension and the 70-year age qualification to deserving aged people under the proposed Old Age Pension Act now before the Federal Parliament, believes that the best interest of those who will require this assistance will be served by the acceptance of the proposed Act and therefore this House agrees that with the passing of the federal legislation the necessary legislation be enacted in Alberta bringing the Federal Old Age Pensions Act into operation,"

and after debate was lost on division of a vote of 45 to 12. The motion as amended being then proposed, it was declared carried by the Speaker.

On February 20, 1928, Hon. Mr. Brownlee moved the following:—

Whereas representatives of the Government of Alberta, along with representatives of other provinces at the Dominion-Provincial Conference urged upon the Dominion Government the reconsideration of the Old Age Pension Bill passed at the last session of the Dominion Parliament, to the end that the Dominion Government might assume the whole or a larger share of financial responsibility under the Act;

Now, therefore, this House is of the opinion that any consideration of the said Old Age Pension Bill should be deferred until the next session of the legislature, and that in the meantime the Government should continue to urge upon the Dominion Government that it assume the whole or a larger share of responsibility under the said Act.

After debate an amendment was moved as follows:—

By striking out the second paragraph thereof and substituting the following:—

"And while this House concurs in the representations made by this Government on the aforementioned occasion, and believe that negotiations should be continued to bring this increased financial responsibility to a successful conclusion with the federal authorities;

"Be it resolved, that in the opinion of this legislature old age pension legislation should be introduced at this session, in order to make effective the present provisions of the Federal Old Age Pensions Act, thereby assisting the aged and needy persons of this province during the period of further negotiations."

After debate the amendment was lost on division of 34 to 16 and Mr. Brownlee's motion carried on a further division of 36 to 15.

At the opening of the Third Session of the Sixth Legislature on January 31, 1929, the Speech from the Throne contained the following announcement:—

In accordance with the intimation given to this House during the last session, my ministers have inquired and considered the needs of the province in the matter of old age pensions, as well as the problems involved in framing and financing a scheme suited to the needs and circumstances of the province and in conformity with the Old Age Pensions Act of the Dominion. A Bill for the purpose of providing Old Age Pensions will be brought before you for your consideration.

On March 5, 1929, a Bill for an Act respecting Old Age Pensions was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Reid and on the 20th day of March, 1929, the Act was duly passed by the Assembly and received the Royal Assent. It now appears as chapter 24 of the 1929 Statutes of Alberta. The text of the Act is quoted hereafter on page 62.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

On December 18, 1924, the following resolution was carried unanimously by the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia:—

Whereas it is the announced policy of the federal Liberal Party in Canada that an "adequate system of insurance against dependence in old age should be provided in so far as is practical and having regard for Canada's financial position";

And whereas it is accepted as between the Dominion Government and the provincial governments that the Dominion has jurisdiction in respect of questions

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having to do with health insurance, unemployment, and old age pensions, and the provinces in respect of such other social legislation as may be in the public interest;

And whereas the Government of the province of British Columbia passed "Mothers' Pensions Act" in the year 1920, and has since been administering it at a cost of approximately $500,000 per annum;

And whereas State responsibility in the matter of the proper maintenance of aged citizens has been recognized by Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and a number of the nations of the Continent of Europe;

Therefore be it resolved, That this House puts itself on record as approving the principle of old age pensions and as being favourable to the enactment of legislation by the Dominion Government bringing the same into effect in Canada at an early date.

And be it further resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, praying that he will cause to be conveyed to the Secretary of State for Canada the foregoing Preamble and Resolution."

On December 7, 1925, the House unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

Whereas at its 1924 session this legislature unanimously went on record as approving the principle of old age pensions, and as being in favour of the Dominion Government enacting legislation which will bring the same into effect at an early date;

And whereas the Dominion Government has expressed its willingness to co-operate with the provinces in establishing an old age pension scheme;

Therefore be it resolved, That this House reaffirms its decision of last year; that the necessary steps be taken to formulate some plan, in conjunction with the Dominion Government, to provide old age pensions; and that the other provinces of the Dominion be requested to take similar action.

And be it further resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, praying that he will cause to be conveyed to the Secretary of State for Canada and the provincial secretaries of the various provinces this Preamble and Resolution.

On January 19, 1927, the Prime Minister (Hon. John Oliver) introduced a Bill to provide for old age pensions. The Bill was duly passed by the Assembly on February 28, receiving the Royal Assent on March 7, 1927, and now appears as chapter 50 of the Statutes of British Columbia, 1926-27. On February 8, 1928, the following motion was made in the Assembly:—

Whereas the Parliament of Canada, by an Act assented to on March 31, 1927, enacted certain provisions dealing with the subject of old age pensions;

And whereas it was by the said Act provided that the Canadian Government pension authority would make payment of a pension to such persons who, *inter alia:* (1) had attained the age of 70 years; and (2) were not in receipt of an income of as much as $365 per year;

And whereas the payment of the said pension to any person is by the said Act conditioned upon: (*a*) the right of the said pension authority to make the interest of any pensioner in his or her dwelling-house subject to be realized upon for the repayment to the said pension authority of the amount of all payments made to such pensioner, together with interest on such payments at the rate of 5 per cent per annum compounded annually; and (*b*) the right of the said pension authority to recover out of the estate of any deceased pensioner, as a debt due by the said pensioner to the pension authority, the sum of the payments made to such pensioner, together with interest on such payments at the rate of 5 per cent per annum compounded annually;

And whereas the said provisions of the said Act have in effect: (1) the virtual pauperization of all successful applicants for an old age pension; (2) the denial of a pension to any persons who, not having reached the age of 70 years, are nevertheless by reason of premature old age entitled to a pension equally with persons who have reached the age of 70 years; and (3) the granting of aid in many cases only out of the assets which the pensioner may be able to furnish, thus pauperizing such pensioner's dependents;

And whereas the aforesaid conditions are inimical to the interests of many persons who should be entitled to apply for old age pensions as well as to the interests of their dependents;

Be it therefore resolved, That this Legislative Assembly, endeavouring to represent the just cause of the aged persons of this province and of their dependents, hum-

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bly petition the Canadian Government to alter the said Act so as to provide: (*a*) that the dwelling-house of any pensioner shall not be subjected to the repayment of any amounts paid to such pensioner by said pension authority; (*b*) reduction of the pension age from 70 to 65 years; (*c*) that an applicant for a pension shall be entitled to same regardless of such applicant's income up to an amount of at least $365 per annum; and (*d*) exemption of the estate of a pensioner from repayments to the pension authority of amounts paid by way of pension in all such cases where such pensioner leaves him surviving any dependent.

And be it further resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, praying that he will cause to be conveyed to the Secretary of State for Canada the foregoing Preamble and Resolution.

The Attorney-General raised a point of order and the Speaker ruled that in accordance with the Standing Rules of the House, "No resolution leading up to the expression of an express or abstract opinion of the House recommending the expenditure of the public money shall be put from the Chair, unless recommended by the Crown." The Speaker's ruling was sustained on a division by 24 votes to 18.

## MANITOBA

On March 5, 1925, the following questions were asked in the Manitoba Legislature:—

1. Has the Government received from the Federal Government during the recess any communication *re* Old Age Pensions? If so, what is the nature of such communication?

2. What is the opinion of the Government as to the competency of the Provincial Legislature to pass an Old Age Pensions Act?

3. If no consideration has been given to this question heretofore by the Government, is the Government prepared to consider the whole question at an early date?

The Government made answer as follows:—

1. On February 10, 1925, a communication from the Federal Government *re* old age Pensions was received. This communication enclosed a report of the Special Committee of the House of Commons at Ottawa on Old Age Pensions, and requested the Government of Manitoba to give consideration to the said report.

2. The Government has not had an opportunity to fully consider such a matter.

3. Yes.

On March 16, 1926, Mr. Ivens moved the following resolution in the Legislative Assembly:—

Whereas the Dominion Government has expressed its willingness to co-operate with the provinces in establishing an old age pensions scheme; and

Whereas on January 28, 1926, the Hon. Ernest Lapointe informed the Federal Parliament that the Government intended at the present session to introduce a Bill, based on the report of the special parliamentary report of 1924, which report contemplated common action by the Federal and Provincial Parliaments;

Therefore be it resolved that this House is of the opinion that the Government should at once take steps to formulate in common with the Federal Parliament, some definite plan to provide a system of old age pensions, and that those provinces which have not already taken similar action, be urged to do so without delay;

And be it further resolved, that an humble address be presented to His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, praying that he will cause to be conveyed to the Secretary of State for Canada and the provincial secretaries of the various provinces this Preamble and Resolution.

After some debate Mr. Campbell, on March 25, moved the following amendment:—

That the resolution be amended by deleting all the words thereof after the word "whereas" in the first line, substituting therefor the following: "the Acting Minister of Labour on March 18, 1926, moved in the House of Commons that the House go into Committee to consider a plan to provide a system of old age pensions, based on the report of the Special Parliamentary Committee of 1924, which report contemplated joint action by the Federal Parliament and provincial legislatures."

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Therefore, be it resolved that this legislature, while endorsing the principle of old age pensions, is of the opinion that any scheme of old age pensions should be administered by the Department of Labour of the Federal Government at the expense of the Dominion.

And be it further resolved, that an humble Address be presented to His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, praying that he will cause this resolution to be conveyed to the Secretary of State for Canada.

Further debate took place on the amendment and the House finally adopted the amended resolution.

On March 31, 1927, the following resolution was moved by Mrs. Rogers:—

Whereas, legislation which provides for the institution of an old age pension scheme has been passed by the Parliament of Canada; and

Whereas, it is apparent from the discussions which have already taken place at Ottawa that some measure of co-operation or joint action by the province is essential to the success of a federal scheme of this kind; and

Whereas, information has come to this House to the effect that the Dominion Government proposes to call a conference to which all the provinces will be asked to send representatives for the purpose of considering this legislation and the requisite ancillary legislation;

Therefore, be it resolved that this House reaffirms its endorsation of the principle of old age pensions and notes with satisfaction the enactment of legislation on this subject at Ottawa; and

Be it further resolved, that the Government is instructed to take definite and effective action, by participation in the proposed conference and subsequently by introducing the requisite ancillary legislation to bring into operation in Manitoba an old age pension scheme suited to the conditions which prevail in this province.

On April 4, the resolution was adopted by the House, amended to read as follows:—

Whereas, legislation which provides for the institution of an old age pension scheme has been passed by the Parliament of Canada; and

Whereas, it is apparent from the discussions which have already taken place at Ottawa that some measure of co-operation or joint action by the province is essential to the success of a federal scheme of this kind; and

Whereas, it has been intimated that the Dominion Government proposes to call a conference to which all the provinces will be asked to send representatives for the purpose of considering this legislation and the requisite ancillary legislation;

Therefore, be it resolved, that this House reaffirms its endorsation of the principle of old age pensions, and notes with satisfaction the enactment of legislation on this subject at Ottawa, and is of the opinion that representatives of the province of Manitoba should participate in such conference with a view to making effective in Manitoba an old age pension scheme as early as possible.

At the opening of the first session of the Eighteenth Legislature on December 1, 1927, the following statement was made in the Speech from the Throne:—

Among the matters of special importance which my Government will bring before your attention is the question of the provision of a measure of co-operation with the Dominion Government for the establishment of a system of old age pensions in Manitoba, in the event of the Dominion Government deciding not to proceed to finance and administer the scheme as a purely federal one.

On February 21, 1928, the Prime Minister introduced a Bill to provide for Old Age Pensions in the Province. On the motion for a second reading of the Bill on February 24 the following amendment was moved by Mr. Evans:—

That while concurring in the second reading of the said Bill, the House is of the opinion that the Law Amendments Committee should be instructed to delete from the said Bill clauses 2 and 3 of paragraph 5, and that the money necessary to provide the pensions provided for in this Act, should be raised by the Government without adding any direct tax upon the municipalities of the province.



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After debate on the amendment it was negatived on a division of 25 votes to 14. The Bill was passed on March 13 and received the Royal Assent on March 16, 1928, and now appears as chapter 44 of 18 George V (Statutes of Manitoba, 1928). The Act was amended during the 1929 session of the Manitoba Legislature. The text of the amended Act will be found on page 68.

## NEW BRUNSWICK

At the opening of the fourth session of the Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick on February 21, 1929, the following statement was made in the Speech from the Throne:—

The subject of old age pensions has occupied the attention of my Government and in view of the uncertainty as to the probable cost of the administration of that measure it has been decided to appoint a commission to investigate and report upon the subject.

In the summer of 1929 the following commissioners were appointed in accordance with the above resolution: Mr. Justice W. C. H. Grimmer of the New Brunswick Supreme Court, Chairman; Mrs. H. F. McLeod, Fredericton; Mrs. J. B. Chouinard, St. Quentin; Oscar J. Dick, Saint John; George A. Stone, Moncton, and R. A. Cross, St. George, Secretary.

## NOVA SCOTIA

On March 30, 1921, a Bill was introduced in the Nova Scotia Legislature entitled "An Act to provide for an inquiry respecting unemployment, old age pensions and health insurance," and on the same day the Bill was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time. On the motion for second reading on April 5, 1921, the Honourable the Commissioner of Public Works and Mines moved an amendment as follows:—

That all the words after "that" be struck out and the following substituted:—

Whereas any scheme for unemployment insurance, old age pensions and health insurance, to be effective must obviously be national in its character and application;

And whereas any such scheme applicable only to the province of Nova Scotia as suggested by proposed Bill No. 52, would be ineffective and impracticable;

And whereas the whole question of unemployment insurance and old age pensions was the subject-matter of a recommendation of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, to the Federal Government, as follows:—

"We recommend immediate enquiry by expert boards, into the following subjects, with a view to early legislation;

"(*a*) State insurance against unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age."

And whereas said recommendation was adopted by the National Industrial Conference held at Ottawa in September, 1919, which conference further recommended for the effective carrying out of its recommendation:—

1. That such board or boards shall be representative of the interests participating in this Conference, namely, the Government, the public, the employer, and the employee, and shall include a representative of the women of Canada.

2. That in order to collect the necessary data, the Government shall forthwith attach to the proper branches of the Labour or other departments concerned, experienced investigators who shall do the necessary research work and furnish to the Board at the earliest opportunty, the results of their investigations.

3. That the Government shall set a time limit for the receipt of the report and recommendations as to the advisability of enacting legislation.

And whereas at the opening of the present session of the Federal Parliament, the Speech from the Throne contained the following clause:—

"An investigation is to be conducted by the Department of Labour into the systems of unemployment insurance and old age pensions."

Be it therefore further resolved, that this House is of the opinion that pending the completion of such investigation by the Federal Department of Labour, the appointment of such a commission as is proposed by Bill No. 52 is unnecessary and inadvisable and that in view of the foregoing it be read this day three months.

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After debate
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Further resolved, that this House place on record its approval and sympathy with such an inquiry as is now being held by the Federal Department of Labour and expresses the hope that such enquiry will be completed at the earliest possible date.

Further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be transmitted by the Clerk of this House to the Federal Minister of Labour."

After debate on the amendment it was adopted on a division by 20 votes to 12.

At the opening of the session on February 14, 1928, there was announced in the Speech from the Throne that the Government "is taking the necessary steps to obtain full information relative to old age pensions as appertaining to this province." On February 16, an amendment to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was made as follows:—

Resolved, that this House regrets that the Speech from the Throne contains no intimation of the intention of your Government to enact at the present session of the legislature an old age pension bill or legislation making effective in Nova Scotia the federal statute providing for old age pensions.

This amendment was negatived by a division of 27 votes to 3.

On August 28, 1928, Harry Edmund Mahon, of Halifax was appointed as a Royal Commissioner to inquire into and concerning the following public matters and to report thereon, that is to say:—

1. To determine the number of persons who—
   (*a*) are British subjects or, being widows not being British subjects were such before their marriage; and
   (*b*) have attained the age of seventy years and
   (*c*) have resided in Canada for the last twenty years and in the province of Nova Scotia for the last five years; and
   (*d*) are not in receipt of an income of as much as $365 a year.
2. To determine the proportionate cost of providing such persons with a pension as provided by chapter 156 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927.
3. To determine the cost of administration in connection with the payment of any such pensions.
4. To determine what persons, if any, otherwise entitled to a pension under the said Act are in receipt of a pension from any other source.
5. To inquire into and report upon what alternative measures of taxation could be imposed or other means taken to provide the increase in revenue that would be necessitated by the adoption of such scheme.

At the next session of the legislature the commission made an interim report on February 22, 1929. This interim report contained a short history of old age pensions and a résumé of the Dominion Act. The third section of the report deals with statistical inquiries made by the commission. It is stated therein that questionnaires were prepared and all persons seventy years of age and over were invited to give information about themselves. Advertisements to this effect were inserted in the provincial press and it was made possible for informants to obtain the questionnaires through their local post office. Up to February 5, 3,400 of these forms had been returned. The commission stated that the questionnaires returned provided an index as to the interest potential beneficiaries are taking in old age pension legislation and probably indicated the minimum number eligible in the province. It was also stated that the questionnaires served as a check on the reliability of the work of the various agents engaged in a subsequent stage of the investigation, and were intended as a basis for weighing its results had this proven necessary. The report states that as there were no means at hand to estimate how many eligibles failed to fill in the questionnaires, it was necessary for the commission to undertake a survey of the entire aged population of the province. It was not thought to be necessary for reliable accuracy to take a complete census and it was further considered that this was impracticable by reason of expense,



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so recourse was had to the method of sampling. Six counties and the city of Halifax were selected for investigation, being the places considered to be representative both in respect to wealth and to relative numbers. After the investigation in Hants county had been completed it was necessary to postpone further work in rural districts during the winter. The interim report, therefore, is based on the returns from Hants county only. The report further states that in Hants county the commission interviewed through field agents about 1,180 persons, of whom 924 were seventy years of age and over. The method adopted obtained nearly 100 per cent of the names of persons over seventy years of age as compared to the total number of septuagenarians in Hants as supplied by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. In tabulating the data, a person's age was taken as at the last birthday. Real estate was taken at its assessed value, clear of all encumbrances. A person's own valuation of his personal property was accepted, all investments being taken at their market value. Income was taken to include:—

(*a*) The yearly value of investments (e.g., houses not personally occupied, stock, bonds, etc.),

(*b*) Earnings not arising from investments or property.

(*c*) The benefit of any property personally used or enjoyed (e.g., homestead, etc., calculated at 5 per cent of its capital value).

(*d*) The yearly value of any other regular or periodic benefit to which the person is legally entitled.

The commission estimated the number of persons seventy years of age or over in Nova Scotia on June 1, 1928, to be in round numbers 25,500, and stated this estimate was obtained by taking the percentage 4·7 (the percentage in this age group according to the 1921 census) of 543,000, which was the total population for that date as given in the Canada Year Book, and that the last census disclosed that only 73 persons seventy years of age and over in Nova Scotia would be disqualified for old age pensions on account of being aliens. Two hundred was subtracted from the total estimated number of persons over seventy years of age to provide for Indians, in addition to the aliens above mentioned, thus arriving at 25,300 as the number of persons who, subject to the means and residence qualifications, would be eligible for old age pensions in Nova Scotia. The following table was given showing the financial status of the persons interviewed in Hants county:—

| Annual Income | Number of Persons | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|
| $400 and over | 161 | 17·5 |
| $300 to $399 | 48 | 5·3 |
| $200 to $299 | 69 | 7·5 |
| $100 to $199 | 126 | 13·6 |
| Les than $100 | 125 | 13·4 |
| None | 395 | 42·7 |
| Total interviewed | 924 | 100·0 |

Basing its calculation on the estimation that the financial condition of the entire aged population of the province is similar to that of Hants county above given, and no account being taken of the number of persons who would be excluded from receiving pensions on account of residence qualification, since the survey disclosed this to be negligible, the Commission made the following estimate:—

Annual Income

$400 and over..
$300 to $399..
$200 to $299..
$100 to $199..
Less than $100..
None..

On the basis of
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INCOME DISTRIBUTION

| Annual Income | Per cent of British Aged Population | Total Number of Persons |
|---|---|---|
| $400 and over | 17·5 | 4,427 |
| $300 to $399 | 5·3 | 1,341 |
| $200 to $299 | 7·5 | 1,897 |
| $100 to $199 | 13·6 | 3,441 |
| Less than $100 | 13·4 | 3,391 |
| None | 42·7 | 10,803 |
| | 100·0 | 25,300 |

On the basis of this distribution of incomes the report computed the present annual cost of paying old age pensions to the aged citizens of Nova Scotia as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10,803 | pensioners with no income at $240 each | $2,592,720 |
| 3,391 | pensioners with income less than $100 at $240 each | 813,840 |
| 3,441 | pensioners with average income $150 at $215 each | 739,815 |
| 1,897 | pensioners with average income $250 at $115 each | 218,155 |
| 872 | pensioners with average income $330 at $35 each | 30,520 |
| 20,404 | | $4,395,050 |

The commission reported further:—

As the Federal Government does not pay its proportion of the amount of pensions expended in one quarter till the beginning of the next quarter, the province would therefore have to bear the interest charges on the amount of the Federal allowance from the time the pensions were paid until reimbursed.

Another item to be taken into consideration when counting the cost of old age pensions in this province arises out of a provision made in section 10 of the Federal Act as follows:—

> "Where a pensioner has during part of the twenty years immediately preceding the date of the proposed commencement of pension resided in more than one province in which he would have become pensionable if he had continued to reside therein, the province in which the pension is granted shall be entitled to be reimbursed by the other province or provinces in which the pensioner has resided, as aforesaid, a proportion of the pension equal to the proportion which the duration of the pensioner's residence in such other province bears to twenty years."

The effect of this clause would be to further increase the number of pensioners for whom Nova Scotia would be partly responsible, and since most migration has been from east to west, rather than in the opposite direction, it is improbable that Nova Scotia could claim reimbursement from any of the other provinces under this provision of the Act. This clause would also add to the cost of administration owing to the difficulties in verifying the correct length of residence in the different provinces.

The commission does not feel it can comment on the accuracy of the above computations until the investigation is complete, and in addition to the allowance necessary on account of the incompleteness of the data it is essential to provide for a margin of error to insure against contingencies unforeseen in making this estimate and such purely conjectural factors as the strictness or looseness of the administration, and the effect that old age pensions would have on the amounts the beneficiaries would provide for themselves.

The commission estimated that the cost of administration of old age pensions, if this administration were delegated to the Workmen's Compensation Board, should not exceed $20,000 annually.

In its report on the fifth and last of the matters referred to it the commission submitted the following sources of revenue which might be used either singly or in conjunction to provide for the cost of old age pensions:—

1. A levy on the municipalities.
2. A provincial poll tax.
3. A provincial income tax.
4. Liquor control.
5. Fees payable by applicant.
6. A further federal allowance.

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2. A provincial poll tax.
3. A provincial income tax.
4. Liquor control.
5. Fees payable by applicant.
6. A further federal allowance.

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## ONTARIO

On April 29, 1921, the Legislative Assembly adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved, that in the opinion of this House it is desirable that at the earliest possible date a conference should be arranged between representatives of the Dominion Government and the Governments of the various provinces in Canada, for the purpose of considering the advisability and practicability of legislation covering unemployment insurance, old age pensions, eight-hour day, and other matters affecting labour conditions which were dealt with by the Peace Conference at Versailles; the conference to consider what legislation is desirable and practical upon the various subjects submitted to it and the question as to the enactment of such legislation by the Dominion and the provinces; that, in the event of the conference deciding that any of the questions submitted are provincial in their scope, that the Labour Department of Ontario be authorized to make an investigation and report to this House with a view to enacting legislation in this province covering these questions.

On February 14, 1928, in the debate on the motion for consideration of the Speech from the Throne, the following was moved as an amendment by the Leader of the Opposition:—

That all the words in the Motion after the first word "that" be struck out and the following substituted therefor:—

"This House regrets the failure of the Government to announce in the Speech from the Throne that legislation will be introduced at this session authorizing an agreement between the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of Ontario and the Governor in Council of Canada, under section 2 of 17 George V, chaptered 35, Canada, the Old Age Pensions Act, 1927."

On February 16, during the debate on this motion, a further amendment was moved as follows:—

That all the words in the amendment after the first word "That" be struck out and the following substituted therefor:—

"The following clause be added to the Address: This House receives with satisfaction the announcement that steps are being taken to gather information regarding the better care of our dependent aged population, so that the people of the province may have a proper understanding of the importance of this great problem and of the financial obligation to be assumed by them under a plan of old age pensions, framed to meet the needs of this province and to receive the approval of this legislature."

On February 29, 1928, the main motion with the amended amendment was adopted on a division by 68 votes to 27.

At the opening of the 1929 session on January 30, the Speech from the Throne announced that legislation would be submitted respecting old age pensions and a Bill to this effect was introduced by the Prime Minister on March 15, 1929. The Bill was duly passed and received the Royal Assent on March 28. It now appears as chapter 73 of the 1929 Statutes of Ontario. For the text of this Act see page 71.

## QUEBEC

On March 22, 1929, the Leader of the Opposition made the following motion in the Quebec Legislative Assembly:—

Whereas one of the members of the Government has declared that he held the "Old Age Pension Act" to be anti-social, and that certain jurists who were consulted by the Government have decided it is unconstitutional, this House is of opinion that

(*a*) it is expedient to seek for and to find what method could best be followed to protect our indigent old people, without any injustice and without affecting the economic system of the province;

(*b*) that it is opportune to entrust the study of this entire question to a special committee composed of representatives of the Government, of the Opposition, of

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(*c*) that this co
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the universities, of the School of Higher Commercial Studies, and of the labour and agricultural unions;

(*c*) that this committee, authorized to meet even during the parliamentary recess, be instructed to inquire into the different systems adopted or suggested elsewhere, to study the consequences thereof and to report at the opening of the next session of the legislature.

An amendment to the motion was made as follows:—

That all the words after "That" be struck out and replaced by the following:—

"This House, content with the statement made by the Government that it is studying the problem of assistance to old age so as to find a satisfactory solution and confident that its appeal to the Federal Government to confer with the provinces will be heard, do now proceed to consider the next order of the day."

The amendment was adopted by the House on division by 31 votes to 5.

## SASKATCHEWAN

On February 7, 1927, a motion was introduced in the Legislative Assembly as follows:—

That, in the opinion of this Assembly, the subject of improving the condition of the aged deserving poor is worthy of and should receive the early and careful consideration of the Government.

This motion was adopted by the House unanimously.

At the opening of the third session of the Sixth Legislative Assembly on January 24, 1928, the following clause appeared in the Speech from the Throne:—

Among other important legislation with which you will be asked to deal are measures providing for old age pensions, the consolidation and revision of the Village Act, and amending bills relating to municipalities, highways, insurance, co-operative associations and many other matters.

On February 2, 1928, an Act to Provide for Old Age Pensions was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Hamilton, Minister of Agriculture. The Bill was amended in committee, read the third time, passed by the Assembly on February 10, and received the Royal Assent on March 7, 1928. It now appears as chapter 75 of the 1928 Statutes of Saskatchewan.

At the next session of the legislature an amendment to this Act was made by inserting therein section 5 (*a*) to provide for the payment, in the case of the death of a pensioner, of the proportion of the monthly pension in respect to the part of the month up to the date of death to such person as the pension authority may direct; and by subsection (*b*) to provide for the payment to such person as the pension authority may direct of the amount of any cheque to or in behalf of a pensioner and which cheque remained unendorsed at the date of the pensioner's death.

The text of the Saskatchewan Act as amended is quoted on page 75.

## NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

By Order in Council (P.C. 114) dated January 25, 1929, the Department of Labour was made the pension authority for the Northwest Territories. This Order also sets out the scheme of administration. The text of this Order appears in chapter IV.

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## YUKON TERRITORY

During its session in the summer of 1927 the Yukon Territorial Council enacted an Old Age Pensions Ordinance, which appears as chapter 4 of the Territorial Ordinances for that year. This legislation authorized the commissioner to enter into an agreement with the Governor in Council for the purpose of putting into effect in the Territory an old age pension scheme. The text of this Ordinance appears in chapter IV. Subsequently during 1927 Mr. Percy Reid, the then Gold Commissioner, while on his way from Dawson City to Ottawa, died at Toronto. His successor, Mr. George Ian Maclean, was appointed in the early part of 1928 and negotiations were immediately entered into between the Hon. Mr. Heenan and Mr. Maclean contemplating an old age pensions agreement. However, before any such agreement becomes effective, the scheme of administration proposed to be adopted in the Yukon must be approved by the Governor in Council.

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## II.—Administration

### DOMINION REGULATIONS

Pursuant to the provisions of section 19 of the Dominion Act, Regulations governing old age pensions were made by Order of the Governor in Council (P.C. 42/1232) on June 25, 1927. By Order in Council (P.C. 1328) on July 15, 1927, the administration of the Act and Regulations thereunder was vested in the Minister of Labour. After consultation with the provincial pension authorities and the Federal departments concerned the Dominion Regulations were amended by Orders in Council (P.C. 66/1882 and P.C. 66/81) on September 16, 1927, and January 16, 1928, respectively.

On October 2, 1928, by Order (P.C. 1806), the Governor in Council, under the provisions of section 19 (*r*) of the Act, established an Interprovincial Board to interpret and recommend alterations in the regulations and appointed as members thereof a representative of the Department of Labour and a representative of each of the three provinces with which an old age pensions agreement had been made. This Board met in Ottawa on the 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th days of October and reported to the Minister of Labour recommending that Regulation No. 13 be amended to cover the case of the absence of persons who had been employed out of Canada by the Imperial Government with the consent of the Government of Canada. The Board also recommended the following two new regulations:—

> The pension authority may, however, adopt such other methods as may be deemed equitable in determining the income of the pensioner.
>
> In the event of the incapacity of any pensioner or if the pension authority considers that the pensioner is using or is likely to use his pension otherwise than for his own benefit, the pension authority may pay the pension of such pensioner to a trustee or trustees approved by such pension authority to be expended for the benefit of the pensioner.

The provinces with which agreements had been made consented to these recommendations and they were finally adopted by Order of the Governor in Council (P.C. 119/2298) on December 21, 1928, which Order provided for the consolidation of all Old Age Pension Regulations made under the Act. For the text of the regulations see page 78.

By Order in Council (P.C. 2260) dated November 14, 1929, representatives of the provinces of Alberta and Ontario respectively were appointed as additional members of the Interprovincial Board.

### PROVINCIAL REGULATIONS

On August 17, 1927, the British Columbia Act was proclaimed by the Lieutenant-Governor and on the same day regulations applicable to this province were made by Order in Council. The regulations were approved by the Governor in Council on September 28, 1927. The Saskatchewan Act was brought into force on May 1, 1928, by Proclamation. Its administration is vested in the Bureau of Child Welfare. On April 27, 1928, provincial regulations were made to govern old age pensions in Saskatchewan. These regulations were duly approved by the Governor in Council on May 8, 1928. In Manitoba, by Proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Old Age Pensions Act was brought into effect on September 1, 1928. Pro-



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vincial regulations for its administration were duly made by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and approved by the Governor in Council on November 3, 1928. By Proclamation the Alberta Act was brought into force on August 1, 1929. The provincial regulations passed for its administration were approved by Order of the Governor in Council on September 18, 1929 (P.C. 1820). The Proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario bringing the Old Age Pension Act into force in this province on November 1, 1929, was published in the *Ontario Gazette* on August 10, 1929. Provincial regulations for the administration of the Act in Ontario were approved by the Governor in Council on June 1, 1929 (P.C. 949). The regulations made by these provinces are quoted in full in chapter IV.

## PAYMENT OF OLD AGE PENSIONS

Agreements for the payment of old age pensions have been entered into between the Governor in Council and the Governments of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario and Saskatchewan. The texts of these agreements are quoted in full in chapter IV. The agreements provide for the payment of pensions in Alberta from August 1, 1929; in British Columbia from September 1, 1927; in Manitoba from September 1, 1928; in Ontario from November 1, 1929; and in Saskatchewan from May 1, 1928. Quarterly statements are rendered by these provinces to the Dominion Government and one-half the amount paid by the provinces for Pensions is repaid to the respective provincial treasurers by the Minister of Finance. The following is a summary of the amounts paid by these provinces for pensions to September 30, 1929:—

FISCAL YEAR 1927-28

| — | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ cts. | | | $ cts. |
| September and October | 23,569 60 | ..... | ..... | 23,569 60 |
| November | 42,088 07 | ..... | ..... | 42,088 07 |
| December | 44,143 34 | ..... | ..... | 44,143 34 |
| 1928 | | | | |
| January | 46,747 59 | ..... | ..... | 46,747 59 |
| February | 52,199 04 | ..... | ..... | 52,199 04 |
| March | 54,278 67 | ..... | ..... | 54,278 67 |
| Total | 263,026 31 | ..... | ..... | 263,026 31 |
| Total deductions (a) and (b) | 122 27 | ..... | ..... | 122 27 |
| Net amount paid for pensions | 262,904 04 | ..... | ..... | 262,904 04 |

The following amounts were recovered by Pension Authorities:—

1927-28

(a) From estates of deceased pensioners under provisions of Section 9 (3).

| 1928 | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ cts. | | | $ cts. |
| February | 7 10 | ..... | ..... | 7 10 |
| March | 48 24 | ..... | ..... | 48 24 |
| | 55 34 | ..... | ..... | 55 34 |

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(b) Improperly paid and recovered under Regulation 28.

| 1928 | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ cts. | | | $ cts. |
| January | 43 87 | ..... | ..... | 43 87 |
| February | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| March | 23 06 | ..... | ..... | 23 06 |
| | 66 93 | ..... | ..... | 66 93 |

| | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | 55 34 | ..... | ..... | 55 34 |
| (b) | 66 93 | ..... | ..... | 66 93 |
| Total | $ 122 27 | ..... | ..... | $ 122 27 |

FISCAL YEAR 1928-29

| — | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ cts. | $ cts. | $ cts. | $ cts. |
| 1928 | | | | |
| April | 57,557 67 | ..... | ..... | 57,557 67 |
| May | 59,169 54 | ..... | ..... | 59,169 54 |
| June | 61,607 59 | ..... | ..... | 61,607 59 |
| July | 62,703 98 | 5,086 97 | ..... | 67,790 95 |
| August | 62,213 76 | 6,747 40 | ..... | 68,961 16 |
| September | 63,045 48 | 25,198 49 | 45,343 09 | 133,587 06 |
| October | 67,265 74 | 20,214 02 | 52,834 16 | 140,313 92 |
| November | 76,799 91 | 47,407 07 | 64,633 85 | 188,840 83 |
| December | 73,183 08 | 48,774 61 | 81,853 74 | 203,811 43 |
| 1929 | | | | |
| January | 72,037 48 | 90,587 09 | 77,143 21 | 239,767 78 |
| February | 71,839 82 | 57,581 71 | 84,414 46 | 213,835 99 |
| March | 71,572 95 | 84,241 44 | 78,490 61 | 234,305 00 |
| Total | 798,997 00 | 385,838 80 | 484,713 12 | 1,669,548 92 |
| Total deductions (a) and (b) | 315 10 | 3,754 86 | 105 42 | 4,175 38 |
| Net amount paid for pensions | 798,681 90 | 382,083 94 | 484,607 70 | 1,665,373 54 |

The following amounts were recovered by Pension Authorities:—

1928-29

(a) From estates of deceased pensioners under provisions of Section 9 (3).

| 1928 | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ cts. | | | $ cts. |
| September | 33 02 | ..... | ..... | 33 02 |

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(b) Improperly paid and recovered under Regulation 28.

| — | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ cts. | $ cts. | $ cts. | $ cts. |
| 1928 | | | | |
| April | 115 87 | ..... | ..... | 115 87 |
| May | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| June | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| July | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| August | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| September | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| October | ..... | 147 66 | ..... | 147 66 |
| November | 90 21 | 142 09 | ..... | 232 30 |
| December | ..... | 303 57 | ..... | 303 57 |
| 1929 | | | | |
| January | 76 00 | 1,179 35 | ..... | 1,255 35 |
| February | ..... | 1,376 68 | ..... | 1,376 68 |
| March | ..... | 605 51 | 105 42 | 710 93 |
| | 282 08 | 3,754 86 | 105 42 | 4,142 36 |

| | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | $ 33 02 | ..... | ..... | $ 33 02 |
| (b) | 282 08 | 3,754 86 | 105 42 | 4,142 36 |
| Total | $ 315 10 | $ 3,754 86 | $ 105 42 | $ 4,175 38 |

APRIL 1, 1929, TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1929

| — | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Alberta | Northwest Territories | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ cts. | $ cts. | $ cts. | $ cts. | $ cts. | $ cts. |
| April | 75,633 25 | 71,455 64 | 95,398 11 | ..... | ..... | 242,487 00 |
| May | 75,459 92 | 62,123 44 | 79,707 67 | ..... | ..... | 217,291 03 |
| June | 75,522 12 | 68,085 96 | 107,820 80 | ..... | ..... | 251,428 88 |
| July | 76,238 98 | 1,771 47 | 97,810 22 | ..... | 9 68 | 175,830 35 |
| August | 77,392 31 | 142,138 50 | 92,850 83 | 7,162 84 | 22 00 | 319,566 48 |
| September | 78,820 13 | 77,305 47 | 94,517 24 | 7,360 48 | 20 00 | 258,023 32 |
| Total | 459,066 71 | 422,880 48 | 568,104 87 | 14,523 32 | 51 68 | 1,464,627 06 |
| Total deductions (a) and (b) | ..... | 3,808 38 | ..... | 7 00 | ..... | 3,815 38 |
| Net amount paid for pensions | 459,066 71 | 419,072 10 | 568,104 87 | 14,516 32 | 51 68 | 1,460,811 68 |

The following amounts were recovered by Pension Authorities:—

(a) From estates of deceased pensioners under provisions of Section 9 (3).

| — | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Alberta | Northwest Territories | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | $ cts. | | | | $ cts. |
| April | ..... | 91 42 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 91 42 |

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(b) Improperly paid and recovered under Regulation 28.

| — | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Alberta | Northwest Territories | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | $ cts. | | $ cts. | | $ cts. |
| April | | 2,156 23 | | | | 2,156 23 |
| May | | | | | | |
| June | | 208 00 | | | | 208 00 |
| July | | 336 00 | | | | 336 00 |
| August | | 398 66 | | | | 398 66 |
| September | | 618 07 | | 7 00 | | 625 07 |
| | | 3,716 96 | | 7 00 | | 3,723 96 |

| | British Columbia | Saskatchewan | Manitoba | Alberta | Northwest Territories | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | | $ 91 42 | | | | $ 91 42 |
| (b) | | 3,716 96 | | 7 00 | | 3,723 96 |
| Total | | $ 3,808 38 | | $ 7 00 | | $ 3,815 38 |

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STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA AS AT SEPTEMBER 30, 1929

| — | British Columbia | | Manitoba | | Saskatchewan | | Alberta | | Northwest Territories | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of pensioners | 4,214 | | 4,743 | | 3,920 | | 416 | | 1 | | 13,294 | |
| Percentage of pensioners to total population | 0·71% | | 0·71% | | 0·45% | | 0·06% | | 0·01% | | | |
| Percentage of pensioners to population over 70 years of age | 38·71% | | 42·38% | | 38·83% | | 5·50% | | 0·92% | | | |
| Total amount of pensions paid by province | $1,520,652 64 | | $1,052,712 57 | | $ 801,156 04 | | $ 14,516 32 | | $ 51 68 | | $3,389,089 25 | |
| Average monthly pension | $ 18 12 | | $ 18 43 | | $ 19 10 | | $ 17 65 | | $ 20 00 | | | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| *Conjugal Condition—* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Married | 946 | 468 | 1,447 | 752 | 1,279 | 608 | 125 | 51 | 1 | ..... | 3,798 | 1,879 |
| Single | 645 | 123 | 247 | 103 | 210 | 51 | 30 | 12 | ..... | ..... | 1,132 | 289 |
| Widowed | 699 | 1,114 | 806 | 1,379 | 719 | 1,034 | 79 | 116 | ..... | ..... | 2,303 | 3,643 |
| Living apart | 169 | 50 | 8 | 1 | 15 | 4 | 3 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 195 | 55 |
| | 2,459 | 1,755 | 2,508 | 2,235 | 2,223 | 1,697 | 237 | 179 | 1 | ..... | 7,428 | 5,866 |
| *Classification of British Subjects—* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Birth | 3,831 | | 3,373 | | 2,484 | | 352 | | 1 | | 10,041 | |
| Naturalized | 342 | | 1,362 | | 1,407 | | 63 | | ..... | | 3,174 | |
| Marriage | 41 | | 8 | | 29 | | 1 | | ..... | | 79 | |
| | 4,214 | | 4,743 | | 3,920 | | 416 | | 1 | | 13,294 | |
| *Number of Pensioners, with previous residence in other Provinces during the past 20 years—* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alberta | 350 | | 37 | | 74 | | ..... | | ..... | | 461 | |
| British Columbia | ..... | | 60 | | 47 | | 14 | | ..... | | 121 | |
| Manitoba | 229 | | ..... | | 311 | | 14 | | ..... | | 554 | |
| New Brunswick | 49 | | 10 | | 19 | | 4 | | ..... | | 82 | |
| Nova Scotia | 86 | | 15 | | 24 | | 7 | | ..... | | 132 | |
| Ontario | 334 | | 222 | | 410 | | 53 | | ..... | | 1,019 | |
| Prince Edward Island | 13 | | 2 | | 6 | | ..... | | ..... | | 21 | |
| Quebec | 60 | | 28 | | 51 | | 8 | | ..... | | 147 | |
| Saskatchewan | 245 | | 196 | | ..... | | 22 | | ..... | | 463 | |
| North West Territories | 2 | | 8 | | 1 | | ..... | | ..... | | 11 | |
| Yukon Territory | 26 | | ..... | | ..... | | ..... | | ..... | | 26 | |
| | 1,394 | | 578 | | 943 | | 122 | | ..... | | 3,037 | |

COU

Country of C

Canada
England
Scotland
Austria
Ireland
United States
Iceland
Poland
Russia
Sweden
Germany
Norway
Roumania
France
Hungary
Belgium
Newfoundland
Italy
Finland
Denmark
Wales
Holland
Czecho-Slovakia
Australia
Jugo-Slavia
British West Ind
India
Channel Islands
Switzerland
South Africa
Ukrania
Bahamas
British Guiana
Peru
Syria
Algeria
British East Indi
Chile
Isle of Man
Japan
Latvia
Luxemburg
New Zealand
Persia
Spain
Turkey
Madeira
Labrador
Malta
Bulgaria
Serbia
Greece

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## COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF OLD AGE PENSIONERS IN VARIOUS PROVINCES

| Country of Origin | British Columbia | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Northwest Territories | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 1,864 | 2,170 | 1,666 | 185 | 1 | 5,886 |
| England | 1,237 | 717 | 503 | 117 | ..... | 2,574 |
| Scotland | 429 | 285 | 204 | 28 | ..... | 946 |
| Austria | 8 | 403 | 422 | 4 | ..... | 837 |
| Ireland | 210 | 146 | 81 | 20 | ..... | 457 |
| United States | 178 | 71 | 179 | 22 | ..... | 450 |
| Iceland | 5 | 324 | 39 | ..... | ..... | 368 |
| Poland | 6 | 213 | 142 | ..... | ..... | 361 |
| Russia | 3 | 110 | 165 | 7 | ..... | 285 |
| Sweden | 53 | 75 | 77 | 6 | ..... | 211 |
| Germany | 43 | 46 | 78 | 6 | ..... | 173 |
| Norway | 26 | 28 | 99 | 5 | ..... | 158 |
| Roumania | 1 | 18 | 79 | ..... | ..... | 98 |
| France | 10 | 45 | 31 | 4 | ..... | 90 |
| Hungary | 1 | 15 | 87 | ..... | ..... | 103 |
| Belgium | 14 | 31 | 11 | 3 | ..... | 59 |
| Newfoundland | 28 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 28 |
| Italy | 26 | 3 | 2 | ..... | ..... | 31 |
| Finland | 18 | 2 | 10 | ..... | ..... | 30 |
| Denmark | 11 | 6 | 7 | 4 | ..... | 28 |
| Wales | 1 | 12 | 6 | 2 | ..... | 21 |
| Holland | 5 | 4 | 2 | ..... | ..... | 11 |
| Czecho-Slovakia | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | ..... | 11 |
| Australia | 8 | 1 | 1 | ..... | ..... | 10 |
| Jugo-Slavia | ..... | ..... | 9 | ..... | ..... | 9 |
| British West Indies | 5 | 2 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 7 |
| India | 4 | 1 | 1 | ..... | ..... | 6 |
| Channel Islands | 2 | 2 | 1 | ..... | ..... | 5 |
| Switzerland | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | ..... | 6 |
| South Africa | 4 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 4 |
| Ukrainia | ..... | ..... | 4 | ..... | ..... | 4 |
| Bahamas | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| British Guiana | 1 | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2 |
| Peru | 2 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2 |
| Syria | 1 | 1 | 1 | ..... | ..... | 3 |
| Algeria | ..... | 2 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2 |
| British East Indies | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Chile | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Isle of Man | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Japan | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Latvia | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Luxemburg | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| New Zealand | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Persia | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Spain | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Turkey | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Madeira | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Labrador | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Malta | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| Bulgaria | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | 1 |
| Serbia | ..... | ..... | 2 | ..... | ..... | 2 |
| Greece | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | 1 |
| | 4,214 | 4,743 | 3,920 | 416 | 1 | 13,294 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nova Scotia | 13 | 463 | | | | |
| Ontario | 60 | 11 | | | | |
| Prince Edward Island | 245 | 26 | | | | |
| Quebec | 2 | | | | | |
| Saskatchewan | 26 | | | | | |
| North West Territories | | | | | | |
| Yukon Territory | 1,394 | 3,037 | | | | |

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## III.—Old Age Pension Systems in Countries other than Canada

British and other governments of foremost nations, within the last half century, have been humanely impelled to establish provident systems of state aid for the partial support of deserving aged poor.

Industrial development, the apparent necessity of social reform, the displacement of the older by the younger handicraftsmen in the labour world, and the increased rates levied under poor laws may have urged the enactment of measures respecting assisted insurance and provisions for the payment of pensions by the state.

Insurance against incapacity to work, due to old age, has been provided by a number of different methods. Probably the earliest systems were those established by fraternal and benefit societies and trade unions for their members. Schemes for voluntary insurance were later introduced, subsidized in some cases by the State. The British Post Office inaugurated a voluntary insurance system in 1833. Voluntary insurance assisted by state subventions is found in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Hungary, Italy, New Zealand, Portugal and two of the Swiss cantons. The failure of the voluntary system, even when assisted by public funds, to attract the majority of citizens led, in many countries, to the adoption of compulsory insurance laws. The latter laws fall into two classes: those under which the beneficiary makes a contribution to the pensions fund and those under which pensions are paid from public moneys. The former type is to be found in Argentina, Belgium, Chile, France, Finland, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Iceland, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, Germany, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Greece, the Swiss canton of Glarus and Austria. Non-contributory systems are in force in Australia, Canada, Greenland, Irish Free State, New Zealand, Uruguay, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Newfoundland, South Africa, and some states of the United States of America. In Spain and Uruguay the employers contribute toward the fund although contributions are not demanded from the beneficiaries. The British law as amended in 1925 combines the contributory and non-contributory systems.

It will be noted that many of the laws are of very recent date and in some instances replace earlier enactments, as is the case in Belgium and Denmark. Czecho-Slovakia, which passed an old age pension law in 1924, was formerly under the Austrian old age pensions law. Similarly the Austrian and Serbian laws governed portions of what is now Jugo-Slavia.

In the present survey no reference is made to the voluntary systems which have been established in various countries permitting of the purchase and sale of annuities to individuals who desire to make this form of provision for their old age. In most countries the sale of annuities is carried on by the state and to some extent by insurance companies.

### GREAT BRITAIN

Previous to the earliest Imperial Act passed in a European country—the German Act in 1889—a select committee had been appointed by the British Parliament in 1885 to inquire into the proposals for a National



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Scheme of Provident Insurance against Pauperism. This inquiry practically narrowed itself into an examination of one particular scheme, which had been formulated by the Reverend W. L. Blackley, Hon. Canon of Winchester. The committee reported in 1887. (See Reports Committees, 5, 1887.)

It is not the purpose of this volume to enter largely into the various schemes that had been advocated previous to the Act passed by the British Parliament in 1908, nor is it possible to give adequate expression to the reports of Royal Commissions and Select Committees (five in number) that were, subsequent to that of 1887, presented to Parliament, but of the schemes that were advocated in Great Britain, commencing with Canon Blackley's before the Select Committee of 1885 and ending with Sir John Pilter's proposals, it is said by an author on old age pensions that they were almost as numerous as autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa. They have been sifted and resifted by the committees and Royal Commissions above mentioned until there remained but four which seriously engaged the attention of British statesmen and legislators.

Canon Blackley's scheme may be briefly described as one for the compulsory insurance of all persons, of both sexes, and of every class, by the prepayment of £10 between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one years into a national friendly or provident society, thereby securing to the wage-earners 8s. per week sick-pay and 4s. per week superannuation pay after the age of seventy years. The chief objection to this scheme was its compulsory feature.

The universal scheme advocated by Mr. Charles Booth was rejected for several reasons. It proposed to grant a pension from public funds amounting to 5s. a week to all persons on attaining the age of sixty-five years, without contribution on the part of the pensioners. In 1907, estimating the old age population of sixty-five years and upwards at 2,116,000, the cost for the United Kingdom, at the outset, would have amounted to £27,508,000.

This scheme is popular; there are no qualifications required except that of age. "The universal scheme," said Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in 1899, "that will give pensions to everybody is beyond the resources of the state. Further, it would make no distinction between the provident, thrifty, and industrious, the drunkard and the spendthrift." Mr. Chamberlain's plan would have been a voluntary scheme on lines of assisted insurance. Alluding to compulsory schemes, he added, "we must put aside at once every further attempt to secure compulsory contributions from working classes which is the system in operation on the continent." (See Parliamentary Debates, 1899, Vol. 69.)

In 1908 the Old Age Pensions Act was passed. It established a non-contributory system of pensions. This Act was amended in 1911, 1919, 1924 and again in 1925, the last amendment providing for contributory pensions for certain classes of persons.

*Qualifications.*—Under the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908-1924, a person must be at least seventy years of age and a British subject of ten years' standing in order to qualify for a pension. If a natural-born British subject, he must have resided in the United Kingdom for at least twelve years in the aggregate since attaining the age of fifty years, and if not a natural-born British subject, for an aggregate of twenty years since reaching fifty years of age. An inmate of a workhouse or other poor-law institution is disqualified, as is also any person in receipt of an income in excess of £49 17s. 6d. ($242.72) per annum.

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The Act of 1925 provides for contributory pensions payable to persons between the ages of sixty-five and seventy years who have been insured for not less than five years and have paid at least 104 contributions. A further condition is that the insured person must have been continuously resident in Great Britain for at least two years prior to attaining the age of sixty-five, and his last employment, excluding temporary employment, must have been in Great Britain. Every person in receipt of a pension under this scheme will on reaching the age of seventy be entitled to an old age pension under the Old Age Pensions Acts 1908-1924, regardless of means, residence or nationality.

*Pensions.*—The amount of the pension under the 1908-1924 Acts varies with the means of the pensioner, from 10s. ($2.43) per week for one whose income is less than £26 5s. ($127.75) per annum, to 1s. (24 cents) per week in the case of a claimant with a yearly income of £47 5s. ($229.95), to the limit of £49 17s. 6d. ($242.72). In the calculation of means, the yearly value of the first £25 ($121.67) of capital value is excluded; that of the next £375 ($1,825) of capital value is taken to be one-twentieth of the capital value, and that of capital value in excess of £400 ($1,946.67) is taken to be one-tenth of the capital value. No account is taken of sickness benefit, or of the value of furniture or personal effects.

The pensions payable to persons between sixty-five and seventy years of age under the contributory scheme of 1925 is 10s. ($2.43) per week to insured men and women, and 10s. per week to wives, between the ages of sixty-five and seventy, of insured men who are themselves entitled to pensions. A wife who has reached the age of seventy years when her husband becomes entitled to a pension may herself receive a pension under the Acts of 1908-1924 without application of the means, residence and nationality tests. Special provision is made for widows and children of insured men who died before the 1925 law came into operation and also for insured persons who have reached the age of seventy before the date on which pensions are payable under the scheme.

*Pension Fund.*—The expenses incurred under the Old Age Pensions Acts 1908-1924 are met by funds from the treasury. The cost of pensions under the 1925 Act is covered by contributions from the employer and the insured plus a state subsidy. The weekly contribution for a man is 9d. (18 cents)—of which 4½d. (9 cents) is paid by the insured. For a woman the employer contributes 2½d. (5 cents), and the insured 2d. (4 cents), making 4½d. (9 cents) in all.

*Administration.*—Forms for claims are furnished to applicants by postmasters who also make the payments. The claim is referred to the local pension committee and investigated and reported upon by a pension officer appointed by the Treasury. The central authority is now the Ministry of Health, to which on its formation in 1919 were transferred the powers and duties of the Local Government Board which formerly administered the Act. The minister decides appeals and, with the assistance of the Treasury and the Postmaster General, makes regulations for carrying out the provisions of the Acts. Pensions are paid through the post office.

The 1925 Act provides for administration of the scheme by the Minister of Health with the assistance of local authorities. Claims for pensions are to be made to the minister. Pensions are paid in the same manner as under the older Acts.

There were 1,071,093 persons in receipt of old age pensions on the 31st of March, 1926, 398,945 being men and 672,148 women. Ninety-

seven per cent of the
per week. The num
during the year was
from £8,468,000 ($41
£28,055,000 ($136,349

The Invalid and
amended in 1916, 19
In September, 1
duced in the House
provides for compul
against old age and
employees and the
would be payable t
at the age of sixty
paid and other cond
rate as under the p
would be administer
including an actuary
Provisions of the Ac

*Qualifications.*—
years and to women
incapacitated may, h
pensioner must have
years, but continuou
by occasional absen
total period of resid
and the desertion, w
dren under fourteen
may not possess pro
deprive himself of p
gate income, inclusi
annum. Exception
whose total income,
pensioner's wife or
such other amount
in which he or she
Great War or their
friendly society, pro
purposes of the Act
home is deducted fr

*Pensions.*—The
the Act, is empower
to all circumstances
exceed £52 ($252.72
($4.87) a year for e
value of the property

*Administration.*—
who number about
trates. At each of t
at Melbourne a con
the administration o



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seven per cent of the pensions were at the maximum rate of 10s. ($2.43) per week. The number of pensioners who were reported to have died during the year was 105,740. The total amount paid in pensions rose from £8,468,000 ($41,210,933.33) in the year ending March 31, 1910, to £28,055,000 ($136,349,730) in the year ending March 31, 1926.

## AUSTRALIA

The Invalid and Old Age Pensions Act was passed in 1908 and amended in 1916, 1919, 1920, 1923, and 1925.

In September, 1928, a Bill providing for national insurance was introduced in the House of Representatives but was not passed. This Bill provides for compulsory and voluntary insurance on a national basis against old age and other contingencies. Contributions from employers, employees and the State would make up the insurance fund. Pensions would be payable to men at the age of sixty-five years and to women at the age of sixty years provided 104 weekly contributions had been paid and other conditions fulfilled. Pensions are provided at the same rate as under the present Act, viz., 20 shillings per week. The scheme would be administered by an Insurance Board of three or five members including an actuary and also representatives of workmen and employers. Provisions of the Act now in force are as follows:—

*Qualifications.*—Pensions are payable to men at the age of sixty-five years and to women at the age of sixty years. A man who is permanently incapacitated may, however, begin to receive a pension at sixty years. A pensioner must have resided in Australia continuously for at least twenty years, but continuous residence is not deemed to have been interrupted by occasional absence not exceeding in the aggregate one-tenth of the total period of residence. Evidence of good character must be produced and the desertion, within the previous twelve months, of consort or children under fourteen years of age disqualifies an applicant. A pensioner may not possess property in excess of £400 ($1,946.67) or in any manner deprive himself of property in order to qualify for a pension. His aggregate income, inclusive of pension, must not exceed £78 ($379.60) per annum. Exception is made in the case of a permanently blind person whose total income, including pension, together with the income of the pensioner's wife or husband, may reach £221 ($1,075.53) per annum, or such other amount as is declared to be the basic wage for the district in which he or she resides. Pensions to members of the forces in the Great War or their dependants, and payments from any trade union, friendly society, provident society or other association are not, for the purposes of the Act, treated as income. The value of the pensioner's home is deducted from the value of accumulated property.

*Pensions.*—The commissioner, or deputy commissioner appointed under the Act, is empowered to determine a reasonable amount having regard to all circumstances of the case, but in no instance may the pension exceed £52 ($252.72) per annum. The allowance is reducible by £1 ($4.87) a year for every complete £10 ($48.67) by which the net capital value of the property owned by the pensioner exceeds £50 ($243.33).

*Administration.*—Claims are received and registered by registrars, who number about seven hundred, and they are investigated by magistrates. At each of the state capitals there is a deputy commissioner and at Melbourne a commissioner and assistant commissioner charged with the administration of the Act.

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In the year ending June 30, 1927, there were 133,234 old age pensioners, or 218·04 per ten thousand of the population of whom 106,162 or 79·68 per cent were in receipt of the maximum pension of £52 ($252.72) per annum. The total liability for the year was approximately £6,628,908 ($32,216,492.88), the cost of administration covering both invalid and old age pensions was £116,008 ($563,798.88).

## NEW ZEALAND

An Old Age Pension Bill was introduced into the New Zealand legislature in 1896 but was rejected. In 1898, however, the Bill became law. From 1898 to 1901 amendments were made which improved the working of the Act, and in 1905 the amount of the pension was increased. In 1913 the law was consolidated. In 1917 the Finance Act provided for a bonus to pensioners which in 1920 was incorporated in the statutory pension. In 1924 and 1925 the pensions to the poorest class of pensioners were increased. The Pensions Act, 1926, is a consolidation of previous legislation on the subject.

*Qualifications.*—Pensions are payable to men at the age of sixty-five years and to women at the age of sixty years, unless the applicant is a parent of two or more dependent children under fifteen years of age, in which case the age limit is reduced by five years. The pensioner must have lived in New Zealand continuously for twenty-five years, but continuous residence is not deemed to be interrupted by absences not exceeding two years in the aggregate. An additional six months' period of absence is allowed for every additional year of residence, in excess of the twenty-five years immediately preceding the date of application, provided that the applicant has lived in New Zealand during the twelve months prior to the date of application. In the case of seamen, continuous residence is not interrupted by absences on board a ship which is registered in New Zealand, provided that the applicant establishes the fact that his home is in New Zealand. Imprisonment for a term of five years during his twenty-five years of residence disqualifies an applicant, as does also imprisonment during the past twelve years for a term of four months or on four occasions for an offence punishable by twelve months' imprisonment. The law also excludes from its benefits any one who has not lived a sober and reputable life during the past year, or who has deserted wife (or husband) and children at any time during the past twelve years. Aliens and subjects who have been naturalized less than a year are disqualified, as are also Asiatics, whether naturalized or not, and whether British subjects by birth or not, and Maoris who receive votes other than pensions. The yearly income of the applicant, if single, must not exceed £97 10s. ($473.85) or, if married, £143 ($694.98). The accumulated property may not exceed £460 ($2,235.60) and no person may deprive himself of property in order to qualify for a pension. Furniture and personal effects are excluded when computing income, and the pensioner's house is exempt. Income includes board and lodging up to £26 ($126.53) per annum but does not include: benefits from a friendly society; money received from the sale or exchange of land or property; capital expended for the benefit of the applicant or his consort; property inherited from a deceased husband or wife; money received from any fire insurance. In computing income, additional exemption is granted for any one of the following: pensions under the War Pensions Act, 1915; other money not exceeding £39 ($189.80) in any year.

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*Pensions.*—The maximum pension granted under the Act is £45 10s. ($221.13) per annum, or 17s. 6d. ($4.20) per week, but an additional allowance, not exceeding £13 per annum is provided for pensioners over sixty years of age if men or fifty-five years of age if women who have two or more dependent children under fifteen years of age and who have no accumulated property and no income other than the pension. The pension is reducible by £1 ($4.87) for every complete £1 ($4.87) of income over £52 ($253.07), for every £10 ($48.67) of the net capital value of accumulated property and for every year or part of a year by which the age of the applicant is less than sixty-five years.

*Pension Fund.*—The entire cost of pensions is borne by the state.

*Administration.*—The country is divided into seventy-three districts each in charge of a pension registrar. Claims are investigated by the magistrates, who are empowered to grant or refuse applications. The Commissioner of Pensions at Wellington administers the Act and is responsible to the Minister of Finance.

During the fiscal year ending March 31, 1927, there were 23,751 persons who were in receipt of pensions. The amount expended during the same period was £982,356 ($4,774,250.16) or approximately £41 8s. ($201.18) per pension.

## SOUTH AFRICA

The Commission on Old Age Pensions and National Insurance appointed by the Government in 1926 made its first report dealing with old age and invalidity insurance in May, 1927; and recommended that pending the institution of a contributory scheme the Government should institute without delay a system of non-contributory pensions. It was recommended that the pensionable age be sixty-five years and the amount of the pension 10s. a week. One member of the Commission made certain reservations from the report suggesting that the pensionable age of women should be sixty years and the pension £1 a week. The commission further recommended that pensions should be granted only to those applicants who have been British subjects for five years and have been ordinarily resident in the Union for fifteen out of the twenty years immediately preceding the date of application, and that pensions should lapse during absence from the Union unless the country to which the pensioner has gone has entered into a reciprocal arrangement with the Union. Natives would not be eligible for pension. A means limit would be fixed, the amount of the pension being determined by deducting the claimant's income from £52 and dividing the balance by two. Thus a claimant having an income of £48 would receive a pension of £2. Gifts and allowances from children and grandchildren, free board and lodging, charitable gifts, casual earnings, or benefits paid by friendly societies or trade unions would not be regarded as income.

In June, 1928, a law was gazetted establishing a system of old age pensions to come into force on January 1, 1929.

*Qualifications.*—Every white person and every coloured person is entitled to a pension at the age of sixty-five years provided such person is a British subject, domiciled in the Union and resident therein for fifteen out of the twenty years immediately preceding the date of his application for a pension. No provision is made for the payment of pensions to natives. Marriage with an alien does not disqualify a woman for receipt

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of a pension if she is otherwise eligible under the Act. Pensions will not be granted to any person whose annual income or earnings exceed £51 in the case of Europeans and £33 in the case of coloured people. In calculating the yearly means of an applicant, funeral or sale benefits, gifts, furniture and personal effects are not taken into account. Free board and lodging are also excepted unless they are given as remuneration for services rendered. In calculating the means of a married man who is living in the same house as his wife his income is to be reckoned as one-half of their total means. In case of joint ownership of property each spouse is deemed to be entitled to one-half that property. No person may deprive himself of property in order to qualify for a higher pension. Provision is made for reciprocal arrangements to be made with any country whose old age pension scheme gives benefits substantially corresponding to those provided by the Act, whereby residence in the one country will, for purposes of qualification, be treated as residence in the other country and pensions payable in the one country be payable to persons while resident in the other country.

*Pensions.*—The pension payable to white persons varies, according to the income of the pensioner, from £3 per annum for persons with yearly incomes of £48-£51, to £30 per annum for those whose yearly incomes are £24 or less. The pension payable to coloured persons ranges from £3 a year to those whose annual income is £30-£33, to £18 to those whose means are £18 a year or less. If any child of a pensioner is, in the opinion of the commissioner, able to maintain him or to contribute towards his maintenance, the pension payments made such pensioner may be recovered from his child or children unless the commissioner is of the opinion that the measure of maintenance accorded to the pensioner by such child is reasonable, having regard to his means.

*Administration.*—The Act is administered by a Commissioner of Pensions.

## ARGENTINA

An Act of November, 1923, provides for compulsory insurance against old age.*

*Qualifications.*—Insurance is compulsory for all wage-earners and salaried workers in the mercantile marine, industrial establishments and commercial houses, as well as for journalists and those employed in printing and publishing houses. Wage-earners and salaried employees in benefit societies and trade unions may come under the Act on condition that they pay the employer's contribution. Persons under eighteen years of age and home workers are exempt.

*Pensions.*—The amount of the pensions and conditions upon which they are granted are fixed by the management committee.

*Pension Fund.*—The burden of insurance is borne entirely by the employers and the workers, without the aid of a state subsidy. The insured person contributes a sum equal to five per cent of the monthly wage up to a maximum wage of 1,500 pesos ($1,447.14), together with an amount equal to the first month's wages or salary paid him on his entry into his employment. This payment may be made in ten monthly instal-

* The Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution by the Senate in 1925, suspending the operation of this Act.

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*Administration.*—The administration of the fund is entrusted to a board of management on which the Government, employers and workers are represented.

## AUSTRIA

A compulsory system of old age insurance was provided by an Act effective January, 1909, and amended in 1914 and 1920.

*Qualifications.*—Only salaried employees fall within the scope of this law. Salaries must range from 600 krone ($121.80) to 18,000 krone ($3,654), and contributors must pay for forty years or have paid for five years on reaching the age of sixty-five. In the case of women these figures are thirty-five and fifty-five respectively.

*Pensions.*—The amount varies with the number of contributions and the salary, the minimum of the lowest class being 180 krone ($36.54), and the maximum of the highest class, 900 krone ($182.70). The amendment of 1920 increased the maximum amounts for each class, that for the highest class being now 5,400 krone ($1,096.20).

*Pension Fund.*—Before the war, monthly premiums ranged from 6 krone ($1.21), to 30 krone ($6.09). These were increased in 1920 and the employed compelled to pay two-thirds of the premium for the four lower classes, and one-half the premium in the next two classes. In case of an income of over 7,200 krone ($1,461.60) the insured person pays the whole premium.

*Administration.*—There is a central pension office and local branches. There is also a compulsory old age pension fund for the Government mining employees which was established in 1854.

An Act passed in April, 1927, provides for a system of workers' pensions to come into force on a date to be determined by Decree. The scheme provides for pensions at the age of sixty-five years for those who have completed a waiting period of 104 months, of which 52 must have been completed during the three years previous to application for a pension. The pension, which varies with the wage of the insured person, is supplemented by a fixed public subsidy of 6 shillings a month.

## BELGIUM

Belgium established a non-contributory system of old age pensions by an Act dated August 20, 1920, which is still in force for those persons who were born before October 1, 1861. A new Act dated December 10, 1924, was put into effect on January 1, 1926, but does not apply to salaried workers who will come under a special Act of March, 1925, which becomes operative on January 1, 1927, but which from January 1, 1926, will bring salaried workers into the general scheme. Miners are also protected by a special Act passed 1924. In 1927, the law was again amended.

*Qualifications.*—Insurance is compulsory for all persons who work for an employer at an annual remuneration not exceeding 12,000 francs

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($2,316). This maximum is increased 1,000 francs ($193) for each dependent child under sixteen years of age. State and municipal employees, miners and others who are provided for by special laws are exempt. In January, 1926, two Decrees were issued, extending the benefits of the Act to irregular or migratory workers employed in loading and unloading and repairing boats and ships and to those employed by the day or half-day at the homes of several employers. Foreigners working in Belgium are subject to the provisions of the law, but are not entitled to the benefit of the state and employers' contribution unless their country of origin gives reciprocal benefits to Belgians.

*Pensions.*—Except in the case where an insured person dies unmarried or a widower, the contribution of the state constitutes either an old age annuity of 240 francs ($46.32) for the insured, or a similar annuity for the wife if she has reached the age of sixty-five years. Before that time the maximum survivors' annuity is fixed at 120 francs ($23.16).

The minimum old age pension is 720 francs ($138.96) of which 480 francs ($92.64) is paid from the fund formed by the workers' and employers' payments, and 240 francs ($46.32) from the contribution of the state. One-third of the widows' pension of 360 francs ($69.48) is paid. An annuity of 120 francs ($23.16) for each child under sixteen years of age is payable to the widowed mother or, in case of her death, to the guardian of the child. The widow's pension is increased to 480 francs ($92.64) after she has passed the age of sixty-five years.

An amending Act of July, 1927, provides for supplementary pensions to meet the increase in the cost of living and the fall in the value of the currency. The additional amounts granted are as follows:—

| Income | Supplement |
|---|---|
| 720 fr. plus | 720 fr. |
| 721-1200 fr. | 600 fr. |
| 1201-1680 fr. | 480 fr. |
| 1681-2160 fr. | 360 fr. |

In the case of a married couple the amount of the supplement is 1·75 times the above rate. In the case of miners similar regulations are made having regard to the fact that extra allowances to miners paid by the National Miners' Pensions Fund are much larger than those granted by the Government under the general system. The supplementary allowance is therefore smaller being 360 fr. a year for a bachelor, widower or divorced man whose income does not exceed 720 fr. in addition to his pension. If his resources exceed that amount he is not entitled to a pension. In the case of a married man the supplementary allowance is at the same rate as under the general system save that old age and insurance benefits are taken into account in determining the resources of the beneficiary.

The supplementary survivors' and orphans' allowances are raised from 120 to 180 francs a year.

*Pension Fund.*—Unmarried boys under eighteen years of age, and girls and women contribute one franc ($·193) per month and all other persons contribute three francs ($·584). An equal amount is paid by the employer. The state contribution is on a sliding scale according to the age of the person insured with a maximum annual payment of 288 francs ($55.58) per person.

*Administration.*—Contributions of employers and insured persons are deposited in the General Savings and Pension Fund, which is responsible for the management of the capital and the constitution of the pensions.

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Regulations for the administration of the Act must be approved by the Ministry of Industry, Labour and Social Welfare. An annual subsidy to cover expenses is granted to approved societies whose object is to affiliate their numbers to the General Savings and Pension Fund.

## BULGARIA

By an Act of March 6, 1924, compulsory insurance against old age was established.

*Qualifications.*—All wage-earners and salaried employees without distinction of age, sex or remuneration come under the law, the only exceptions being made for those covered by special acts, such as civil servants. Small employers, agriculturists and non-salaried intellectual workers have the option of insuring themselves. Foreign salaried employees are insured if their country of origin gives reciprocal benefits to Bulgarians. Pensions are granted to persons sixty years of age who have paid 1,040 weekly contributions.

*Pensions.*—Pensions are composed of a fixed portion of about 30 per cent of the annual remuneration corresponding to the wage class to which the insured person belonged when he retired, and a variable portion proportionate to the number of weekly payments made over and above 156. Contributions of insured persons who paid 156 weekly payments and died without receiving a pension revert to the nearest relatives of the deceased if the income of the said relatives does not exceed 6,000 levas ($1,158).

*Pension Fund.*—Expenses are covered by a three-fold contribution by the insured, the employer and the state. Each contributes an equal amount which ranges from 1·66 per cent to 1·11 per cent of wages.

*Administration.*—The Act is administered by the Social Insurance Office established in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labour.

## CHILE

Decree No. 34, dated January 22, 1926, promulgated the text of the Act of 1924 as amended to that date. The Act provides for compulsory insurance including old age pensions.

*Qualifications.*—Insurance is compulsory for all persons under the age of sixty-five years who normally have no income or means of subsistence, other than the wages or salary paid them by an employer, provided that the wages or salary does not exceed 8,000 pesos ($2,880) a year. Persons employed on probation, or apprentices are also liable to insurance even if they do not receive a wage or salary. Workers, artisans, or craftsmen who work independently, persons who perform service directly for the public in streets, public gardens, galleries or shops, small manufacturers, and small tradesmen are also liable to insurance provided that their annual income does not exceed the fixed amount given above. Persons in any of the above classes who are members of an approved society which grants benefits to its members equal to those payable under the insurance scheme are exempt. Voluntary insurance is provided for persons under forty-five years of age whose income does not exceed 8,000 pesos a year but who are not liable to compulsory insurance. Pensions are payable at

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the age of fifty-five years but insured persons may declare at the time of registration that they wish to draw the pension at sixty or sixty-five years of age instead of fifty-five.

*Pensions.*—Insured persons will state at the time of registration whether they choose for the constitution of the pension the system of alienated contributions or repayable contributions. In the former case the insured, in order to obtain a larger pension, cedes definitely to the fund the total amount of his contributions, and if he dies before the age which has been fixed for the payment of the pension, the amount of his contributions will not be repayable. Under the system of repayable contributions, if the insured person dies before drawing his old age pension and without having held an invalidity pension, his heirs are entitled to a sum equal to the amount of his personal contributions. The amount of the pension is not stated.

*Pension Fund.*—The pension fund is made up of contributions from insured persons, employers and the state, together with interest on the capital, the proceeds of fines imposed under certain specified Acts, donations, and the proceeds of taxes imposed on foreign insurance companies doing business in Chile, and a tax of one per cent on all payments made by municipal or state councils, unless these payments are for foreign debt, grants to charitable institutions and education, and the purchase of materials in foreign countries. Wage payments and old age pensions are also exempt. The compulsorily insured person contributes two per cent, the employer three per cent, and the state one per cent of the weekly wage or salary of the insured. Persons insuring voluntarily pay three and one-half per cent of their weekly income and the state contributes an equal amount. The amounts to be paid for apprentices are the amounts corresponding to the lowest wages paid for the kind of work on which they are employed, the master paying both his own contribution and that due from the insured in this class.

*Administration.*—An organization consisting of a central fund and local funds will be set up. The direction of the local funds is entrusted to a governing body of nine members. Three members are elected by the insured persons, three by their employers and the remaining three are appointed by the President of the Republic. One of the last-mentioned members is to be a medical practitioner.

## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

An Act of November, 1924, amended as from January 1, 1929, provides for compulsory insurance against old age for all wage earners except those who already enjoy the benefits of the schemes already in existence. These include one covering salaried employees passed in 1906 and amended in 1914, and one for miners enacted in 1922.

*Qualifications.*—The law of 1924 covers all Czecho-Slovak subjects, including apprentices, home workers and seamen. Insured persons become entitled to pensions at the age of sixty-five years after paying 150 weekly contributions, at least thirteen of which must have been paid in the two years preceding receipt of benefit. In order to benefit under the former laws for salaried employees pensioners must have contributed for forty years in the case of men and for thirty-five years in the case of women, membership to begin at eighteen years of age and income to be not less than 600 krone ($121.80) or more than 3,000 krone ($609). By the

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amending Act which came into force on January 1, 1929, persons under sixteen years of age will not be compulsorily insured against old age except by special decree. Home workers, seasonal workers and persons working now for one employer and now for another may, if their wages are below a certain figure, be exempted from compulsory insurance but retain the right to voluntary insurance.

*Pensions.*—The pension is composed of a basic pension fixed on a standard basis for all beneficiaries at 500 Czecho-Slovak crowns per annum with increases amounting to 3·50 crowns for each monthly payment made by the insured person. Thus an insured person who has paid contributions without interruption for thirty-five years will receive an annual pension of 1,970 crowns. Bonuses are payable for dependent children under seventeen years of age. Contributions and pensions for salaried workers under the 1906 and 1914 laws are similar to those in Austria.

*Pension Fund.*—Under the 1924 law as amended workers are divided into five classes. Contributions which originally ranged from 4·30 (87 cents) to 8·80 krone ($1.78) a week in contributions payable one-half by the worker were reduced from January 1, 1929, by 16·5 per cent in the lower wage groups and by 4 per cent in the highest group. A subsidy is given by the state.

*Administration.*—The Act is administered by the Central Insurance Institution at Prague.

## DENMARK

Denmark was the first country to establish a non-contributory system of old age pensions under a law passed in 1891. In 1922 a new Act was passed, which was in its turn replaced in 1927.

*Qualifications*—Every Danish citizen who is domiciled in the country, or is employed on a Danish vessel for five years, is entitled to an old age annuity when he has attained the age of sixty-five years if he can fulfil certain general conditions which guarantee respectability. Under special circumstances pensions may be paid from the age of sixty years. Persons who have been in receipt of poor relief during the three years previous to their applications are not eligible.

*Pensions.*—The amount of the pension is fixed in consideration of the place of residence, sex and matrimonial status of the pensioner, and in such a way that the pensioner receives about 10 per cent additional for each year that he postpones enjoyment of the annuity between the sixty-fifth and sixty-eighth year. In Copenhagen, the fixed amount for a married couple who have both attained the age of sixty-five years is 1,008 kr. ($270.11), and for a single man 552 kr. ($147.92). A cost of living bonus is also granted and communal authorities may make an allowance for medical treatment, medicine, etc. The full amount of the annuity is only paid to persons whose annual income does not exceed the following: For married couples in Copenhagen and the larger towns, 200 kr.; for married couples in the smaller towns, 150 kr., and for married couples in rural districts, and single persons irrespective of place of residence, 100 kr.

*Pension Fund.*—The pensions are paid by the municipalities, seven-twelfths of the expenses being borne by the state.

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## FINLAND

In November, 1928, the President of the Republic of Finland approved the introduction in Parliament of a Bill providing for compulsory old age and invalidity insurance. All Finnish citizens twenty-one years of age and over would be insured. Pensions would be payable at the age of sixty-five years. The financial resources of the scheme would be provided by contributions from insured persons, the state and the local authorities.

## FRANCE

An old age pensions law was enacted in France in 1910 and amended in 1912 and 1915. In 1928 an Act was passed providing for compulsory insurance including old age pensions. The Act does not apply to the Department of the Haut Rhin, the Bas Rhin, and the Moselle, where a system of insurance is already in force. A special Act will be required to substitute the general system for this local scheme.

*Qualifications.*—Insurance is compulsory for all wage-earners of either sex whose total annnual remuneration does not exceed 15,000 francs, or in the case of wage-earners having a dependent child under 16 years of age, 18,000 francs. The maximum wage is further increased by 2,000 francs in respect of each child after the first. Share farmers, who usually work alone or with their families and who do not own part of the stock, are included in the scheme, as are also foreign wage-earners who have permanent domicile in France. These latter, however, do not benefit by certain of the allowances and pension additions. Employees of the state, departments, communes, railways and tramways, miners and slate quarry men and seamen are already insured and a special law will be passed to co-ordinate their systems with the general scheme.

Pensions are payable at the age of sixty years but the insured person is entitled to delay payment from year to year until the age of sixty-five years. In order to obtain the full pension at the normal rate contributions must be paid for thirty years of at least 240 working days each. During the transition period contributions must be paid each year for at least 240 working days from the coming into force of the Act to the time of claiming the pension. Voluntary contributions under the general regime may claim pension at sixty years of age if at least ten years' contributions have been completed, or at fifty-five years of age if twenty-five years' contributions have been paid. Under the special regime, contributions must have been paid for at least five years of 240 working days each. Voluntary insurance is provided under a general regime for persons who, without being in receipt of a salary, live principally on the produce of their labour, and under a special regime for the non-wage-earning wives of compulsorily or voluntarily insured men. Admission to voluntary insurance cannot take place after the age of fifty years except in the case of those insured in workers' and peasants' funds whose contributions are up to date. Applicants must also fulfil the conditions as to nationality, health and income.

*Pensions—Normal Rate for Compulsorily Insured.*—An insured person who is able to establish at the age of sixty years or up to the age of sixty-five years that he has to his credit thirty years of contributions each consisting of at least 240 working days, is entitled to a pension which must not be less than 40 per cent of his average annual wages calculated from the compulsory contributions paid in respect of each year from the age of sixteen years. If he
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sixteen years. If he is unable to establish the required minimum of contributions, he is only entitled to the annuity resulting from the capitalization of the amounts paid into his personal account.

*Rate during Transition Period for Compulsorily Insured.*—During the transition period insured persons who since the coming into force of the new law have to their credit each year, in respect of wages which constitute their principal income, contributions corresponding to at least 240 working days, will be entitled to an old age pension at least equal to as many thirtieths of the normal pension as they have years of contributions to their credit. The amount of the pension will not, however, be less than 600 francs a year. If the minimum of contributions has not been attained, the pension is reduced to the annuity resulting from the capitalization of the amounts credited to the pensioner's personal account.

*Rate for Voluntarily Insured Persons.*—Persons voluntarily insured under the general regime are entitled to an annual pension not exceeding 8,000 francs. Under the special regime half the contribution is applied to the constitution of an old age annuity capitalized in an individual account. The minimum annual pension of 600 francs provided for compulsorily insured women of the transition period is reduced to 250 francs for the women beneficiaries of the special regime.

*Pension Fund.*—The financial resources of the scheme consist of contributions from insured persons and employers and a subsidy from the state. For compulsory insurance the contributions of the insured person and of the employer amount together to 10 per cent of wages up to 1,500 francs. Five per cent is contributed by the insured and an equal amount by the employer, who makes payment of the whole sum, deducting on pay day from the wages of each contributor the amount of the contribution. The amount of the state subsidy will equal the credit opened by the Finance Law of 1926 and will amount to 240,000,000 francs. This will be increased by one-half the savings which the state will effect through the social insurance scheme.

Under the general regime of the voluntary insurance plan the insured person is free to fix his own contribution at between 5 and 10 per cent of his annual income, with a minimum of 300 francs payable in instalments at least once a quarter. Contributions payable by those voluntarily insured under the special regime are fixed at 10 francs a month.

*Administration.*—The general administration and supervision of the whole social insurance scheme will be in the hands of the Superior Social Insurance Council, the National Office and the departmental and inter-departmental social insurance office, and the General Supervisory Department of the Ministry of Labour.

## GERMANY

The Old Age Insurance Act passed in 1889 by Germany was the first enactment providing for a national system of compulsory old age insurance. The Act and its amendments were consolidated in 1899 and in 1924.

*Qualifications.*—The original Act fixed the pensionable age at seventy years, but an Imperial law of 1916 reduced the eligible age to sixty-five years. In order to qualify for an old age pension, 200 to 500 weekly

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contributions must have been made. An invalidity pension is obtainable by all persons unable to earn one-third of the normal wages in the same occupation and locality.

Insurance is compulsory for all workers, journeymen, domestic servants, home workers, crews of German vessels, assistants and apprentices employed for remuneration. Small employers, temporary employees and those who receive no remuneration except free maintenance may insure voluntarily.

*Pensions.*—The annual basic pension is 168 marks plus a state subsidy of 72 marks and an increment of 20 per cent of all contributions paid after January 1, 1924. An additional 90 marks is paid in respect of each child under eighteen years of age who is dependent on the pensioner. The average pension amounts to 25 marks a month, a skilled industrial worker receiving about 30 marks.

*Pension Fund.*—The system of contributions is more complicated than in France. Wage-earners are divided into six groups and the weekly contribution increases with the wages, the amount contributed weekly since 1917 by persons receiving less than 6 marks ($1.43) per week being 25 pf. (5·6 cents), and the weekly premium on wages over 30 marks per week ($7.14) being 140 pf. (33·3 cents). Of these amounts the employer and employee each contribute one-half, the employer being responsible for the payment. The state adds 72 marks ($17.15). The rate of contribution has been increased from time to time, the last revision being in 1925.

*Administration.*—The state bears the cost of administration. There are special institutions for administering the law with regard to employees in mines, navigation and on the railroads. These bodies were in existence at the time of the passing of the Act and their pensions are on a more liberal scale. There are about fifty large territorial divisions each with an administrative office which must accumulate a reserve fund, the limits of which are fixed by the law.

## GREECE

An Act respecting the Compulsory Insurance of Wage-Earners was passed in July, 1922, but will only become operative by Royal Decree.

*Qualifications.*—Wage-earning and salaried employees and servants of both sexes employed for remuneration are compulsorily insured. Voluntary insurance is provided for persons engaged in home industries alone or with members of the family. Pensions are payable in cases of incapacity for work due to old age.

*Pensions.*—The amount of the pension is fixed by the regulations. Pensions are also granted to the widow and minor children of a deceased insured person.

*Pension Fund.*—The rates of contribution are fixed by regulations issued on the recommendation of the Ministry of National Economy.

*Administration.*—Insurance is carried by workers' insurance institutions under supervision of the Ministry of National Economy.

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## ICELAND

Provision for old age insurance was made in Iceland in 1909. All persons between eighteen and sixty years of age are liable to contribute, with the exception of persons receiving poor-relief, disabled persons and those supporting needy relatives, convicts, and persons entitled to pensions amounting to at least 150 kronen ($40.20). Men contribute 1·50 kronen (40 cents) annually and women 0·75 kronen (20 cents). The state adds to each 0·50 kronen (13 cents). In each commune, two-thirds of the contributions received by the old age relief funds, half of the state contributions and half of the interest accumulated is distributed among deserving necessitous persons. Relief is granted only for one year in each case and the amount must fall between 20 and 200 kronen ($5.36-$53.60).

## ITALY

Compulsory insurance against old age and invalidity was introduced in Italy by a Decree of April 21, 1919. A number of disputes over the operation of the law culminated in a decision of the Court of Cassation which made it appear that as the Decree of 1919 had not been ratified by the Chambers, it could not have the force of law. The Government then issued a Royal Decree in December, 1923, replacing that of 1919. The system, however, remained practically unchanged. In 1928 an amending Act was passed.

*Qualifications.*—Pensions are payable at the age of sixty-five years provided that at least 240 fortnightly contributions have been paid. If permanent incapacity to work is proved, pensions are granted at any age provided 120 fortnightly contributions are paid. Insured persons between the ages of sixty and sixty-five years who have paid 240 fortnightly contributions may receive pensions at reduced rates while continuing to pay premiums toward the full pension which they will receive at sixty-five years of age.

Insurance is compulsory for all Italian subjects between the ages of sixty and sixty-five years, who work for an employer in any industry, trade or profession, in agriculture or the public services, or who are engaged in domestic service or in home industries. Aliens are subject to the law but do not receive the benefit of the state subsidy unless their country of origin grants reciprocal benefits to Italian citizens.

Salaried employees and persons of similar standing whose average salary exceeds 800 lire ($154.40), maritime workers during their period of service on Italian ships if they contribute to the Mercantile Marine Invalidity Fund, and public officials, are exempted from the operation of the law.

Voluntary insurance is provided for independent workers whose annual earnings do not exceed 500 lire ($96.50), for women engaged in domestic work and for persons who have ceased to be liable to compulsory insurance.

*Pensions.*—The state contributes 100 lire ($19.30) to each pension, which is made up of 66 per cent of the first 120 fortnightly contributions, 50 per cent of the next 102 and 25 per cent of the remaining contributions. When an insured male worker dies without receiving his pension, his widow or children under fifteen years of age are entitled to receive fifty lire ($9.65) per month for six months after his death. One-half of this amount is paid by the state. The amending Act of 1928 provides for an increase

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in the pension rate of 75 per cent in the case of the minimum rate and of 33⅓ per cent in the ordinary rates. In addition a supplementary benefit of 10 per cent in respect of each dependent child will be paid.

*Pension Fund.*—An insured person and his employer contribute to the fund in equal proportions, the amount varying with the income of the insured. When the daily wage is two lire (39 cents) or less the fortnightly contribution is fifty centesimi (9·6 cents); when the daily wage exceeds ten lire ($1.93), the premium is three lire (58 cents).

*Administration.*—The scheme is administered by the National Social Insurance Institution working through social provident institutes established in every province. The governing body of the institution consists of eight members representing employers and eight representing compulsorily insured persons who are appointed by the principal organizations of their respective groups; four members selected from experts in social insurance questions, the Director General of the National Insurance Institution and the Director General of the National Industrial Accident Insurance Institution, one official representative each of the Ministry of National Economy and the Minister of Finance. A chairman must be selected from amongst persons other than those mentioned above.

## JUGO-SLAVIA

The Act respecting Workers' Insurance passed in May, 1922, provides for old age pensions.

*Qualifications.*—Insurance is compulsory for every person who performs manual or mental work for remuneration without distinction of age, sex or nationality. Agricultural workers, prisoners and persons employed occasionally in household tasks are exempt. Voluntary insurance is provided for those not liable to compulsory insurance. Pensions are payable at seventy years of age to those who have paid five hundred weekly contributions.

*Pensions.*—The pension is a sum equal to twelve times the average annual contribution. The widow of an insured person or pensioner receives an annuity for three years at an annual rate of one-fourth of the pension received by or due to the husband. Children receive benefits at the same rate until the age of sixteen years. The pension of widow and children together must not exceed the amount to which the deceased would have been entitled.

*Pension Fund.*—Employers and workers each contribute one and a half per cent of the daily basic wage. A state subsidy is granted for the purpose of increasing pensions amounting to less than 1,500 dinar (about £60) ($289.50).

*Administration.*—A Central Workers Institution is established for the whole Kingdom, working through local workers benefit societies.

## LUXEMBURG

An Old Age and Invalidity Insurance Act was passed in 1911.

*Qualifications.*—The age at which a person may be pensioned was reduced in 1914 from sixty-eight to sixty-five years. The scheme embraces all workmen, assistants, companions, apprentices and domestic

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servants and employees in industries, offices, etc., foremen and technical experts, clerks and commercial apprentices, whose annual remuneration does not exceed 3,750 francs ($723.75). Provision is made for the extension of the Act to other callings by regulation. Certain classes whose earnings are over 3,750 francs but less than 4,500 francs ($868.50) are permitted to insure if they are under forty years of age.

Public employees are excluded if at least as favourable treatment is already accorded them. Special provisions relate to railway employees.

A Luxemburger must have worked in the Grand Duchy for at least 2,700 days in order to qualify for an old age pension, and for 1,500 days for a disability pension. In the case of a foreigner the number of days' work required is fixed at 2,700 in both cases. Provision is made for suspension of this clause in connection with the subjects of countries according benefits to aliens.

*Pensions.*—The amount of the pension paid to those who have worked 1,350 days, whose annual earnings were 500 francs ($96.50) or less is fixed by the Act at 180 francs ($34.74) for men and 144 francs ($27.79) in the case of women. These rates are subject to increases as the wages increase.

In addition, 8 centimes (1·5 cents) and 16 centimes (3 cents) respectively are added to the pension for each period of six days' work in excess of 1,350 days.

In the event of death before a pension is granted 50 francs ($9.65) is paid monthly for six months to three or more children under sixteen years of age, for five months to two such children or for four months to one. A widow without children under sixteen is granted 50 francs ($9.65) for 3 months.

*Pension Fund.*—The law fixes the rate of contribution for the first five years at 2·1 per cent of the wages paid, one-half of this amount to be borne by the workers and the other half by the employers who are responsible for the payment. The state contributes one-third of the minimum annuity.

*Administration.*—The State Insurance Institution is charged with the administration of the Act, which refers also to sickness insurance. One-half of the expenses of the institution is borne by the state but one-fifth of this amount is refunded by the Communes.

A new law has been passed providing for compulsory insurance of all workers over sixteen years of age except salaried employees earning more than 10,000 francs per year, civil servants, agricultural labourers, domestic servants and foresters. Voluntary insurance is provided for workers under forty years of age who are not subject to compulsory insurance and whose annual salaries do not exceed 10,000 francs per annum. The pension is in proportion to the annual rate of wages, with a minimum of 360 francs. The state, the communes, employers and employees contribute to the pension fund, the amount of premium paid by the insured being four per cent of earnings.

## NORWAY

In December, 1923, an Old-Age Assistance Act was passed but will not be put in force until a date which will be determined.

*Qualifications.*—Persons entitled to pensions are Norwegian citizens who have resided in the country or have sailed under the Norwegian flag at least one-half of the period since their attaining sixteen years of age



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and at least five years before the formulation of the claim to pensions. Persons whose civil rights have been legally suspended or who have been convicted of vagrancy, drunkenness, begging or neglect to support their families during the five years previous to making claim for pensions are disqualified. Pensions are payable at seventy years of age. In the case of a married couple, it is sufficient if conditions are fulfilled by the partner on whose age the claim is based.

*Pensions.*—The annual old-age pension is sixty per cent of the sum by which the annual income of the pensioner falls short of a basic pension. This basic pension is fixed by the communal authorities in each commune and must be such that sixty per cent of it suffices to maintain a single person or a married couple without their income. In the case of a married couple with children under sixteen years of age, the basic pension is proportionately increased. In computing income 450 kroner ($120.60) are left out of account in the case of married persons where both have attained the age of seventy years. In other cases, the amount is 300 kroner ($80.40).

*Pension Fund.*—Pensions are paid by the municipal authorities who are entitled to claim a subsidy from the state of fifty per cent of their expenditure with a maximum amount of 450 kroner ($120.60) for each married couple and 300 kroner ($80.40) for each single pensioner. The state subsidy may be increased in the case of municipalities with small financial resources.

*Administration.*—The administration of the Act is entrusted to Municipal Old Age Assistance Commissions which are under the supervision of the State Insurance office.

## PORTUGAL

In 1919 Portugal set up a system of compulsory old age insurance in connection with a broader scheme of social insurance.

*Qualifications.*—A full pension is paid at the age of seventy years, provided premiums have been paid for thirty years. Earnings must not exceed 900 escudos ($972). The following are excluded from the scheme: public officials otherwise pensioned, soldiers employed as labourers; infirm persons unable to earn more than a third of the average wages of ordinary labourers, those who earn only their subsistence and wage-earners and other employees already insured.

*Pensions.*—At the age of seventy years, a pension equal to the whole of the wages is paid. In case of invalidity, the amount of the pension varies with the number of contributions made.

*Pension Fund.*—The employee must contribute to the fund one and one-half per cent of his daily wages, one per cent being for insurance against invalidity and one-half per cent to insure against old age. The employer is obliged to pay an amount equal to six per cent of the wages of his employees, four per cent being allocated to the insurance against invalidity and two per cent to the old age insurance fund. The state is liable for a payment equal to seven and one-half per cent of the average wages of those wage-earners who are annually on military service.

If an insured person has contributed for five years and dies before he has received a pension, his children are entitled to 10 escudos ($10.80)

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monthly for the first six months after his death. A widow having no children receives 50 escudos ($54).

*Administration.*—The cost of administration is borne by the state. An institute of Compulsory Social Insurance was established to administer the system of old age insurance together with other forms of social insurance.

## SPAIN

In 1908, Spain passed a law providing for voluntary old age insurance, subsidies being granted by the state. In March, 1919, a Royal Decree created a compulsory system.

*Qualifications.*—A pensioner must be sixty-five years of age. Total income must not exceed 4,000 pesetas ($772) per annum. The system applies only to industrial workers, but in the Decree, provision was made for investigation into the problem of its application to agriculture.

*Pensions.*—The Decree states that for persons under forty-five years of age at the date of enactment, the "initial" pension shall be 365 pesetas ($70.45) per annum. At a later date the pension is to be converted into a "'normal" pension by means of a compulsory contribution levied on all insured workers for the purpose of increasing the pension. The minimum contribution may be increased voluntarily up to an amount sufficient to furnish an income of 2,000 pesetas ($386).

For wage-earners over forty-five years of age at the date of the publication of the decree, the pension will vary with the voluntary contributions of the worker and other factors. Contribution by employer and state are similar to those in the case of workers under forty-five years of age. If the amount to his credit is sufficient to provide a life annuity of 180 pesetas ($34.75), this annuity is created. If this is not the case, the money is transferred to a public or social institution on which the law imposed the task of assisting the worker for the remainder of his life.

If an insured person dies before reaching the age of sixty-five years, the amount to his credit is paid to his heirs, in the event of disablement, the beneficiary may withdraw the amount or claim certain benefits provided by the Act of 1908.

*Pension Fund.*—The state contributes 12 pesetas ($2.32) per annum to each pension and the employer's contribution is the sum required to be added in order to provide the fixed amount. In the case of a worker over forty-five years of age, the sum paid by any employer is the average of his contributions on behalf of other workers.

*Administration.*—The general provisions of the Act of 1908 are applicable to the carrying out of the Decree of 1919. In addition to the officers of the National Institution of Public Welfare, a special council is created. An advisory commission is also provided for, composed of representatives of employers and workers. Insurance institutions in the various districts must partially insure their operations in an independent savings bank which in turn must insure in the National Institution of Public Welfare.

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## SWEDEN

A law providing for compulsory old age insurance in Sweden was passed in 1913 and put into force at the beginning of the next year.

*Qualifications.*—Insurance against old age is not confined to wage-earners in Sweden but applies to every registered citizen of sixty-seven years of age or when permanently disabled. Each applicant for benefits must file and prove his claim. Employees of state railways and telegraph service, civil servants, elementary school teachers, members of the army and navy, and the clergy of the established church together with their wives, are exempted from the scheme since they are otherwise pensioned by the state. Persons in receipt of poor relief, habitual drunkards and idlers are not eligible for pensions.

Through voluntary insurance, the amount of a pension may be increased to a certain extent, the state adding one-eighth to the amount of the contributions for this purpose.

*Pensions.*—The amount of the pension varies with the contribution made, the fixed rate in the case of men being 30 per cent of the total amount of premiums paid. In the case of women the percentage is 24, the lower rate being thought justified on actuarial grounds.

If the income at the age of sixty-seven is less than 300 krone ($80.40), an additional pension is paid from a fund provided by taxation (three-fourths from the state and one-fourth from the commune). The amount of this state pension varies inversely with the income up to 150 krone ($40.20), (10 krone ($2.68) less for a woman).

By an amendment of October, 1921, which came into force at the beginning of 1922, additional pensions will be paid to persons having an annual income of less than 425 krone ($113.90) in the case of men and 400 krone ($107.20) in the case of women and will amount to 225 krone $60.30) for men and 210 krone ($56.28) for women with a reduction of six-tenths of the amount by which the annual income exceeds 50 krone ($13.40). These new regulations apply only to persons who became unable to work since the beginning of 1922. The earlier provisions will still apply to those whose invalidity began before the date mentioned even though application for a pension was not made until after the beginning of 1922.

A further amendment also effective from January 1, 1922, allows additional pensions to a married man unable to work who has children under fifteen years of age dependent upon him even though his wife is not an invalid.

Applicants whose invalidity began before January 1, 1922, will receive as an additional pension for children a maximum of 74 krone ($19.83); those who become invalids after that date receive a maximum of 102 krone ($27.34) for each child.

*Pension Fund.*—Contributions to the old age insurance fund are payable from the sixteenth year and vary with the income, the population being divided into four classes according to the annual income received. A person in receipt of less than 500 krone ($134) annually pays 3 krone (80·4 cents) and one with an income of more than 1,200 krone ($321.60) is liable for 13 krone ($3.48). If a citizen is unable to pay, his premium must be made up by the commune where he is registered.

*Administration.*—There is a central administrative body which has a representative in every commune. This officer is assisted by a local committee and is charged with the collection of premiums and the assignment of pensions.

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## SWITZERLAND

In the Canton of Glarus a compulsory, contributory system of old age insurance was adopted in 1916.

*Qualifications.*—Contributions are compulsory for all persons between seventeen and fifty years of age and pensions are payable at the age of sixty-five. Disability pensions are payable after five years.

*Pensions.*—The amount of the pension increases by 30 francs each year after the sixty-sixth year of age, the initial pension being 180 francs ($34.74) in the case of men and 40 francs ($7.72) less in each case for a woman.

*Pension Fund.*—The canton gives 85,000 francs ($16,405) and the communes give one franc (0·193 cents) per head of population to the general pension fund annually. Each insured person pays 6 francs ($1.16) yearly.

In December, 1925, the Swiss people approved by referendum a revision of the Constitution which would enable the federal Government to legislate on the subject of old age pensions. Formerly such legislative power rested with the Cantons. In 1928 the Department of Public Economy of the Swiss Confederation published a report accompanied by the text of a Bill for the introduction of a general scheme of insurance against old age and death. Insurance would be compulsory for all persons between the ages of nineteen and sixty-five years and pensions would be payable at sixty-six years of age. Funds would be obtained by contributions from employers, insured persons and subsidies from the Confederation and the Cantons.

## UNITED STATES

A number of old age pension bills have come before the United States Congress, the last having been introduced in 1924, providing pensions for persons sixty years of age who had been citizens of the United States for sixteen years the amount of pension varying with the income of the recipient and ranging from $4 to $8 per week.

In addition to the attention given to the subject of old age pensions in the federal field a Bill known as "The Standard Bill" was prepared in 1922 for introduction in state legislatures. This Bill is the basis of legislation passed in Pennsylvania, Montana and Nevada and of recent amendments to the Alaska law of 1915. In 1925, a Bill providing for old age pensions passed both Houses of the California Legislature, but was vetoed by the Governor as "harmful to the spirit of thrift and economy". A similar situation has arisen in Washington. The State Legislature at a special session of 1925-26 passed the Standard Bill, modified so as to make acceptance of the pension scheme optional for each county. The governor of the state, however, vetoed the measure.

In two states, Massachusetts and Indiana, commissions appointed to consider the subject of old age pensions brought in reports during 1925. The Massachusetts report contains both majority and minority recommendations. The majority of the Commission report favours a pension for persons over 70 years of age whose property does not exceed $3,000 or whose annual income is less than $365. The maximum pension suggested is $1 a day to be reduced by the amount of income of the pensioner, except in so far as that income consists of personal earnings not exceed-

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ing $150 per annum. The pension would be non-contributory. The minority report calls attention to the fact that in its consolidated Insurance Act of 1925 Great Britain has definitely departed from the non-contributory principle in old age pensions and that in both Australia and New Zealand responsible authorities have recommended that a contributory system be substituted for the present non-contributory system. The minority report then recommends that the State Department of Public Welfare should be empowered to supervise the measures taken by local bodies for the care of aged citizens. In return for the right of supervision, the State would reimburse the local authorities to the extent of one-third of the expenses they incur in caring for the aged. The Legislature has granted further time for consideration of the question of general old age pensions. The Indiana Commission's report was favourable to the adoption of a pension scheme. In Virginia an official committee created by the legislature recently reported in favour of old age pensions and a Bill is now being considered in that state. Bills are also pending in New Jersey and Rhode Island.

A résumé of the Standard Bill follows, together with an account of the action taken by those states in which laws providing for old age pensions are or have been in force. Only those provisions of the state laws which differ from the provisions of the Standard Bill are given.

The Standard Old Age Pension Bill for state legislation makes available a maximum income from all sources of $1 a day, including the pension, for persons who have attained the age of seventy years or upwards and have qualified by their record of good citizenship and residence within the state for not less than fifteen years. Economical administration is provided for through a salaried state superintendent working through local boards. The state furnishes the pension and bears the expense of state-wide administration, but county or local boards meet the expense of local administration.

ALASKA.—In 1915, the Legislature of Alaska provided that anyone of sixty-five years of age, who has lived in Alaska for ten or more consecutive years since 1905, may apply for an allowance in lieu of making application to be received in a home for indigents. According to an amendment in 1917, the maximum pension is $12.50 monthly except in the case of women of sixty years of age who are in urgent need when the maximum amount is $25 monthly. No more than $15,000 may be expended on allowances in one year.

ARIZONA.—In 1915 Arizona established a system of non-contributory pensions for all needy American citizens of sixty years of age, who have resided in Arizona for at least five years prior to making application. The pension is $15 per month. This Act was declared unconstitutional by the Superior Court of Arizona in November, 1915, and appeal was made to the Supreme Court of the State which rendered an opinion to the effect that the law, while not unconstitutional, was inoperative by reason of the failure of the measure to provide machinery for carrying out its provisions.

CALIFORNIA.—In 1929 an old age pension law based on the Standard Bill was passed in California. Pensions are payable at the age of seventy years to persons who have been citizens of the United States for fifteen years and have resided in the state for fifteen years and in the county for one year. Persons possessing property exceeding $3,000 in value are not eligible. The maximum pension is $1 per day. The law is administered by county or city and county boards of supervisors. The state provides

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one-half of the funds for the payment of pensions, the other half being contributed by the county or city and county.

COLORADO.—The Standard Old Age Pension Bill was passed by the Legislature of Colorado and has been signed by the Governor.

KENTUCKY.—The State Legislature of Kentucky enacted during the 1926 session an old age pension law which was duly signed by the Governor and went into force on June 24, 1926. The Act, like that of Wisconsin, provides that any county may adopt or refuse the pension plan and when adopted it is administered by the county. The maximum pension is $250 per annum.

MARYLAND.—The Legislature of Maryland has passed a law providing for old age pensions.

MINNESOTA.—In 1929 an old age pension law based on the Standard Bill was enacted in Minnesota. The law authorizes any county in the state to establish a system of old age pensions if a majority of the voters of the county favour such action. Pensions are payable at the age of seventy years and a residence of fifteen years is required in both state and county. The applicant must also have been a citizen of the United States for fifteen years. Persons having property valued at more than $3,000 are not eligible. Administration is in the hands of the district judge and each city, town and village must reimburse a county for pensions provided the length of residence is at least five years.

MONTANA.—In 1923, a modified form of the standard Bill was passed by the Legislature. Pensions do not exceed $25 per month. The Act is administered by boards of county commissioners acting as old age pension commissions. Pensions are payable from county poor funds in accordance with specified procedure.

NEVADA.—In 1923, the Legislature of Nevada passed a law establishing a system of old age pensions. The standard bill was used as a basis but modified as regards the age of pensioners which was fixed at sixty years. This law was never in operation owing the inadequate financial provision and was repealed in 1925 and replaced by another providing for a county system similar to that in force in Montana. The Boards of County Commissioners are authorized to provide funds for the payment of pensions, which are granted at the age of sixty-five years. The rules regarding length of residence are made more strict.

PENNSYLVANIA.—In 1923, the Standard Old Age Pension Bill was passed and forty-five county boards were organized, of which thirty-eight sent in a total of 3,347 applications. The Act was declared unconstitutional by the County Court in August, 1924, and this decision was confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States two months later.

UTAH.—In 1929 a compulsory old age pension law based on the Standard Bill was enacted in the state of Utah. Pensions are payable at the age of sixty-five years and may not exceed $25 per month. In order to qualify for a pension an applicant must have resided fifteen years in the state and five in the county and have been a United States citizen for fifteen years. Persons having an income exceeding $300 per annum are not eligible for pension. The law provides for administration by county boards and pensions are paid from county funds.

WISCONSIN.—In 1925, the State Legislature of Wisconsin passed a law providing for a system of old age pensions which might be adopted

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by any county by two-thirds vote of its elected board. The rules as to residence, age, etc., follow the lines laid down in the Standard Bill. The Act is administered by county judges subject to the approval of the State Board of Control. Expenses incurred under the Act are paid from the county treasury which is reimbursed by each city, town or village for two-thirds of the amount paid in pensions to its residents and by the state for one-third. A state subsidy not exceeding $200,000 per annum is granted for pensions and $5,000 per annum for administration. According to the latest information some half dozen counties have voted to accept the plan.

WYOMING.—In 1929 Wyoming adopted a compulsory old age pension law based on the Standard Bill. Pensions are payable at the age of sixty-five years and may not exceed $30 per month. An applicant must have been a citizen of the United States for fifteen years and have resided in the state for fifteen years and in the county for five years. His income may not exceed $360 a year. Administration is by county boards and pensions are paid from county funds.

## URUGUAY

A law establishing a non-contributory system of old age pensions went into effect in Uruguay in May, 1919.

*Qualifications.*—All persons are pensionable at the age of sixty years or when totally disabled and indigent.

Foreigners and naturalized citizens must have lived in Uruguay continuously for fifteen years.

*Pensions.*—The minimum annual pension is to be 60 pesos ($62.04), and may be paid in cash or other assistance. If a pensioner is in receipt of any annuities or allowances in excess of 10 pesos ($10.34), the pension is to be reduced 50 per cent of the amount exceeding 10 pesos ($10.34).

*Pension Fund.*—The money for the payment of pensions is to be obtained by taxation on real estate above a certain value, liquors, playing cards, etc., and on employers to the extent of 20 centesimos (20·68 cents) per month for each employee.

## IV.—Texts of Acts

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# IV.—Texts of Acts, Regulations and Agreements

## DOMINION ACT

### CHAPTER 156

An Act respecting Old Age Pensions

SHORT TITLE

Short title.

**1.** This Act may be cited as the Old Age Pensions Act. 1927, c. 35, s. 1.

INTERPRETATION

Definitions.

**2.** In this Act the expression

"Pension authority."

(*a*) "pension authority" means the officer or body charged by law with the consideration of applications for pension or with the payment of pensions;

"Pension."

(*b*) "pension" means an old age pension payable in accordance with this Act and the regulations hereunder;

"Pensioner."

(*c*) "pensioner" includes an applicant for a pension;

"Province."

(*d*) "province" includes the Yukon Territory, in respect to which "Gold Commissioner" shall be read for "Lieutenant-Governor in Council";

"Statute."

(*e*) "statute" includes ordinance or order having the force of law. 1927, c. 35, s. 2.

AGREEMENTS WITH PROVINCES

Agreements with Provinces.

**3.** The Governor in Council may make an agreement with the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of any province for the payment to such province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by such province for pensions pursuant to a provincial statute authorizing and providing for the payment of such pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in this Act and the regulations made hereunder. 1927, c. 35, s. 3.

Term of Agreements.

**4.** Every agreement made pursuant to this Act shall continue in force so long as the provincial statute remains in operation or until after the expiration of ten years from the date upon which notice of an intention to determine the agreement is given by the Governor General to the Lieutenant-Governor of the province with which the same was made. 1927, c. 35, s. 4.

Approval of administration scheme necessary.

**5.** Before any agreement made pursuant to this Act comes into operation the Governor in Council shall approve the scheme for the administration of pensions proposed to be adopted by the province, and no change in such scheme shall be made by the province without the consent of the Governor in Council. 1927, c. 35, s. 5.

Application of Act in N.W.T.

**6.** As soon as agreements under this Act have been made with two of the provinces adjoining the Northwest Territories, the Commissioner of the said territories may submit to the Governor in Council for approval a scheme for the administration and payment of pensions therein, and upon the approval of such

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scheme, the same shall stand, in all respects other than its duration, in the same position as an agreement with a province. 1927, c. 35, s. 6.

When payments to provinces to be made.

**7.** All sums payable to any province in pursuance of any agreement made under this Act shall be payable from time to time on the certificate of the Minister of Finance out of any moneys belonging to the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada not otherwise appropriated. 1927, c. 35, s. 7.

What persons are pensionable.

**8.** Provision shall be made for the payment of a pension to every person who, at the date of the proposed commencement of the pension

(*a*) is a British subject, or, being a widow, who is not a British subject, was such before her marriage;

(*b*) has attained the age of seventy years;

(*c*) has resided in Canada for the twenty years immediately preceding the date aforesaid;

(*d*) has resided in the province in which the application for pension is made for the five years immediately preceding the said date;

(*e*) is not an Indian as defined by the Indian Act;

(*f*) is not in receipt of an income of as much as three hundred and sixty-five dollars ($365) a year, and

(*g*) has not made any voluntary assignment or transfer of property for the purpose of qualifying for a pension.

Pensioners not to be disqualified from voting.

2. The receipt of a pension shall not by itself constitute a disqualification from voting at any provincial or municipal election. 1927, c. 35, s. 8.

Maximum pension $240.

**9.** The maximum pension payable shall be two hundred and forty dollars yearly, which shall be subject to reduction by the amount of the income of the pensioner in excess of one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year.

When annual value of pensioner's residence not to affect pension.

2. Where a pensioner is the owner of an interest in a dwelling house in which he resides and the pension authority accepts a transfer to it of such interest, the pension payable to the pensioner shall not be subject to any reduction in respect of the annual value of such interest, but the pension authority shall, on the death of the pensioner or upon his ceasing to use such dwelling house as his place of residence, be entitled to sell the pensioner's interest therein and to retain out of the proceeds of such sale the amount of all payments made to the pensioner by way of pension in excess of the amount he would have received if such interest had not been transferred to the pension authority, together with interest on the said payments at the rate of five per cent per annum, compounded annually.

Recovery of pension payments out of deceased pensioner's estate.

3. A pension authority shall be entitled to recover out of the estate of any deceased pensioner, as a debt due by the pensioner to such authority, the sum of the pension payments made to such pensioner from time to time, together with interest at the rate of five per cent per annum compounded annually, but no claim shall be made by a pension authority for the recovery of

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such debt directly or indirectly out of any part of the pensioner's estate which passes by will or on an intestacy to any other pensioner or to any person who has, since the grant of such pension or for the last three years during which such pension has continued to be paid, regularly contributed to the support of the pensioner by the payment of money or otherwise to an extent which, having regard to the means of the person so having contributed, is considered by the pension authority to be reasonable. **1927, c. 35, s. 9.**

Distribution of pension burden among provinces.

**10.** Where a pensioner has during part of the twenty years immediately preceding the date of the proposed commencement of pension resided in more than one province in which he would have become pensionable if he had continued to reside therein, the province in which the pension is granted shall be entitled to be reimbursed, by the other province or provinces in which the pensioner has resided as aforesaid, a proportion of the pension equal to the proportion which the duration of the pensioner's residence in such other province bears to twenty years. **1927, c. 35, s. 10.**

Reduction of pension in certain cases.

**11.** Where a pensioner has during part of the twenty years immediately preceding the date of the proposed commencement of pension resided in a province in which he would not have become pensionable even if he had continued to reside therein, the amount of the pension which would otherwise be payable to such pensioner shall be reduced by the same proportion as the duration of the pensioner's residence in such other province bears to twenty years. **1927, c. 35, s. 11.**

Rules governing distribution and reduction of pension.

**12.** In any case in which, pursuant to either of the two last preceding sections, a pension is to be proportionately reimbursed or proportionately reduced, the following provisions shall have effect:—

(*a*) The proportionate reimbursement or proportionate reduction shall be calculated by reference to the nearest number, whether greater or less, of complete years during which the pensioner has been resident in any of the provinces in question;

(*b*) Mere lapse of time shall not affect any such proportionate reimbursement or proportionate reduction;

(*c*) If, after any reduced pension has been granted, an agreement under this Act is made with a province by reference to the pensioner's residence within which such reduction or any part thereof has been calculated, the pension may thereafter be proportionately increased and the amount of such increase shall be reimbursed in accordance with this Act, to the province by which such pension is paid. **1927, c. 35, s. 12.**

Effect of change of pensioner's residence in Canada in certain cases.

**13.** When, after the grant of a pension in any province, the pensioner transfers his permanent residence to another province with which an agreement under this Act is in force, the pension shall thereafter be paid by the province to which the pensioner has removed, but such province shall be entitled to be reim-

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bursed an amount equal to one-half of such pension by the province in which the pension was originally granted. 1927, c. 35, s. 13.

And in other cases.

**14.** Where the pensioner, after the grant of a pension, transfers his permanent residence to another province with which no agreement under this Act is in force, the pension shall continue to be paid by the province in which the pension was granted. 1927, c. 35, s. 14.

Effect of pensioner's leaving Canada.

**15.** Where a pensioner, after the grant of a pension, transfers his residence to some place out of Canada, his pension shall cease, but his right thereto shall revive upon his again becoming resident in Canada. 1927, c. 35, s. 15.

Pension not to be alienated or charged.

**16.** No pension shall be subject to alienation or transfer by the pensioner, or to seizure in satisfaction of any claim against him. 1927, c. 35, s. 16.

Report to Parliament.

**17.** On or before the thirtieth day of April in each year the Minister of Finance shall make a full report to Parliament of the operation of the agreements made pursuant to this Act and of the moneys of Canada paid to the provinces under each of the several agreements entered into pursuant hereto. 1927, c. 35, s. 17.

EVIDENCE

Obtaining evidence as to age of pensioner.

**18.** Any pension authority shall have the right for the purpose of ascertaining the age of any pensioner to obtain without charge,

(*a*) from the registrar of vital statistics or other like officer of any province with which an agreement under this Act is in force a certificate of the date of the birth of such pensioner, or

(*b*) subject to such conditions as may be specified in the regulations made under this Act, from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, any information on the subject of the age of such pensioner which may be contained in the returns of any census taken more than thirty years before the date of the application for such information. 1927, c. 35, s. 18.

REGULATIONS

Power to make regulations.

**19.** The Governor in Council may, on the recommendation of the Minister of Labour and with the approval of the Treasury Board, make regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, with regard to the pensions herein provided for, and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing provision may provde by regulation for

(*a*) the time preceding the attainment of pensionable age at which applications for pension may be made;

(*b*) the time at which, after application therefor, the payment of pension shall commence;

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(*c*) the definition of residence and of the intervals of absence from Canada or a province by which residence therein shall not be deemed to have been interrupted;

(*d*) the evidence to be required or accepted by a pension authority in support of an application for pension;

(*e*) the manner in which the income of a pensioner is to be determined for the purpose of this Act and in particular the mode of reckoning the income of either one or two spouses who live together;

(*f*) the evidence from which the making of transfers of property for the purpose of qualifying for pension is to be inferred;

(*g*) the circumstances in which pensions may be paid for the benefit of persons supported or under treatment in public institutions;

(*h*) the mode in which pensions are to be payable;

(*i*) the time within which a pension voucher may be cashed;

(*j*) the persons by whom pension vouchers may be presented for payment;

(*k*) the circumstances justifying or requiring the suspension of the payment of a pension and the recommencement of its payment;

(*l*) the reports to be made by pensioners and others of events affecting the right to or the amount of a pension;

(*m*) the administration of a pensioner's property by a pension authority;

(*n*) the recovery with or without interest of pension payments made by reason of the non-disclosure of facts or by reason of innocent or of false representations;

(*o*) the time within which and the circumstances under which applications or proposals may be entertained for the increase or reduction of a pension which had been granted;

(*p*) the method of accounting and of the settlement of balances due by Canada to any province or by one province to another;

(*q*) the penalties to be imposed for breaches of the regulations, such penalties not to exceed a fine of fifty dollars or imprisonment for three months, or both fine and imprisonment;

(*r*) the constitution and powers of an interprovincial board to interpret and recommend alterations in the regulations.

Alteration by regulations.

2. No regulation by reference to which any agreement with a province has been made shall be altered except with the consent of such province or in accordance with the provisions of the regulations to which it has agreed. 1927, c. 35, s. 19.

When regulations come into effect.

**20.** All regulations made under this Act shall, from the date of their publication in the *Canada Gazette*, have the same force and effect as if they had been included herein.

2. Such regulations shall be presented to Parliament forthwith after their publication if Parliament is then sitting or, if not, within fifteen days from the commencement of the session beginning next after such publication. 1927, c. 35, s. 20.

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## ALBERTA

### CHAPTER 24

An Act respecting Old Age Pensions

*(Assented to March 20, 1929.)*

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, enacts as follows:—

Short title.

**1.** This Act may be cited as "The Old Age Pensions Act, Alberta."

Municipality.

**2.** "Municipality" shall mean city, town, village or municipal district.

Power of Lieutenant-Governor in Council to enter into agreement with Governor in Council.

**3.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall have power to enter into an agreement with the Governor in Council of the character contemplated in the *Old Age Pensions Act, 1927*, of the Dominion of Canada (hereinafter called "the Dominion Act"), for the provision of pensions in accordance with sections 3, 8 and 9 of the Dominion Act, as set out in Schedule A to this Act.

Payment of pensions.

**4.** (1) All old age pensions payable under the provisions of this Act, or of the scheme hereinafter referred to, and the expenses of administering this Act, shall be paid out of any moneys that may be appropriated by the Legislature for such purpose and in default of any such appropriation, shall be a charge and paid out of the General Revenue Fund.

Power to borrow money.

(2) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall have power to raise by way of loan any sum or sums of money that may be necessary to discharge the obligations of the Province under this Act or any agreement that may be entered into under the provisions thereof.

Payment into General Revenue Fund.

**5.** All sums paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada to the Province under the provisions of the Dominion Act shall form part of the General Revenue Fund.

Liability of municipalities.

**6.** (1) Within one month after the end of every year every municipality, within whose area a pensioner is resident, shall out of its general revenue pay to the Provincial Treasurer ten per cent of the amount paid during the previous year to persons resident within such municipality.

(2) Without any further or other authority than is provided by this Act, every such municipality shall have power to borrow any amount that may be required under the provisions of the previous section and to give security upon its property and the land within its area for the payment thereof.

(3) In the case of residents in an improvement district, the Minister of Municipal Affairs shall direct the Minister of Public Works to pay out of the proper improvement district fund the said percentage, and shall have power to borrow any required amount and to charge the land in the improvement district with the payment thereof.

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(4) Any person having been granted a pension whilst resident in a municipality or an improvement district shall be deemed to continue to be resident therein as long as he continues to reside in the Province.

(5) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall have power by regulation to define the facts or circumstances constituting a *bona fide* residence within the meaning of this Act.

(6) In the event of a dispute arising as to whether any pensioner is resident within a municipality or improvement district or not, the pension authority shall decide such question, and his decision shall be final.

Board of Review.

**7.** (1) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may appoint a Board of Review consisting of such number of persons as may seem proper.

(2) The pension authority may refer to such Board the case of any person who by reason of the existence of a legal liability on the part of any other person to support him and the ability of such person to do so, or for any other good reason does not appear to the pension authority to be in actual need of or fairly entitled to such pension.

(3) The Board of Review upon any such reference being made to it shall in its uncontrolled discretion, have power to determine that such person is not entitled to a pension under the provisions of this Act, and thereupon the pension authority shall refuse the grant of a pension to such person or cease to make payment thereof to such person, as the case may be.

Maintenance orders.

**8.** (1) In the event of a pension being granted to any person for whose maintenance any other person (being a taxpayer within the meaning of *The Income War Tax Act, 1917,* of the Dominion of Canada, and amendments thereto) is liable under the provisions of *The Maintenance Order Act,* then the pension authority may apply for a maintenance order under the provisions of that Act or such of them as are applicable, and such order shall direct payment of the sum granted by way of maintenance in equal quarterly payments to the pension authority.

(2) In estimating the ability of any person to maintain himself, the judge shall not take into account any sum payable by way of pension under the provisions of this Act.

Powers of Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

**9.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall have power—

(*a*) to appoint a pension authority to consider applications for old age pensions made in accordance with the provisions of the Dominion Act, and any regulations that may be made thereunder, and to pay the same; which pension authority may be a Minister of the Crown, a person or persons, or a corporation, to be created by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council for that purpose;

(*b*) to appoint all such officers as may be necessary for the proper administration of this Act;

(*c*) to draw up a scheme for the administration of pensions and to alter the same with the consent of the Governor in Council, or in accordance with regulations made under the Dominion Act and agreed to by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council;

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(*d*) to make regulations as to the times and mode of payment by the Provincial Treasurer to the pension authority of the sums necessary for the administration of this Act, and otherwise howsoever with respect to such payment.

(*e*) to make regulations as to the audit of the accounts of the pension authority;

(*f*) to make regulations not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, that are necessary or convenient for the administration thereof, and for regulating expenditures to be made thereunder.

Report of pension authority.

**10.** (1) The pension authority shall submit annually to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and at such time as may be prescribed by him, a report on the administration of this Act, and shall include therein such information as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may require.

(2) The report shall be forthwith laid before the Legislative Assembly if then in session, and if not then in session, within fifteen days after the opening of the next session.

Coming into force of Act.

**11.** This Act shall come into force upon proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, who may except from the effect of such proclamation any section or sections thereof.

Schedule.

SCHEDULE

Old Age Pensions Act, 1927, of the Dominion of Canada

"Section 3. The Governor in Council may make an agreement with the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of any province for the payment to such province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by such province for pensions pursuant to a provincial statute authorizing and providing for the payment of such pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in this Act, and the regulations made hereunder.

"Section 8 (1) Provision shall be made for the payment of a pension to every person who, at the date of the proposed commencement of the pension—

"(*a*) is a British subject, or, being a widow, who is not a British subject, was such before her marriage;

"(*b*) has attained the age of seventy years;

"(*c*) has resided in Canada for the twenty years immediately preceding the date aforesaid;

"(*d*) has resided in the Province in which the application for a pension is made for the five years immediately preceding the said date;

" (*e*) is not an Indian as defined by *The Indian Act;*

"(*f*) is not in receipt of an income of as much as three hundred and sixty-five dollars a year; and

"(*g*) has not made any voluntary assignment or transfer of property for the purpose of qualifying for a pension.

"(2) The receipt of a pension shall not by itself constitute a disqualification from voting at any provincial or municipal election.

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"Section 9 (1) The maximum pension payable shall be two hundred and forty dollars yearly, which shall be subject to reduction by the amount of the income of the pensioner in excess of one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year.

"(2) Where a pensioner is the owner of an interest in a dwelling house in which he resides and the pension authority accepts a transfer to it of such interest, the pension payable to the pensioner shall not be subject to any reduction in respect of the annual value of such interest, but the pension authority, shall, on the death of the pensioner or upon his ceasing to use such dwelling house as his place of residence, be entitled to sell the pensioner's interest therein, and to retain out of the proceeds of such sale the amount of all payments made to the pensioner by way of pension in excess of the amount he would have received if such interest had not been transferred to the pension authority, together with interest on the said payments at the rate of five per cent per annum, compounded annually.

"(3) A pension authority shall be entitled to recover out of the estate of any deceased pensioner, as a debt due by the pensioner to such authority, the sum of the pension payments made to such pensioner from time to time, together with interest at the rate of five per cent per annum compounded annually, but no claim shall be made by a pension authority for the recovery of such debt directly or indirectly out of any part of the pensioner's estate which passes by will or on an intestacy to any other pensioner or to any person who has, since the grant of such pension or for the last three years during which such pension has continued to be paid, regularly contributed to the support of the pensioner by the payment of money or otherwise to an extent which, having regard to the means of the person so having contributed, is considered by the pension authority to be reasonable."

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C 83211



## BRITISH COLUMBIA

### CHAPTER 50

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR OLD AGE PENSIONS

[*Assented to March 7, 1927.*]

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the province of British Columbia, enacts as follows:—

Short title.

**1.** This Act may be cited as the "Old-Age Pension Act."

Agreement with Dominion.

**2.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may enter into an agreement with the Governor-General in Council as to a general scheme of old-age pensions in the province pursuant to the provisions of any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old-age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder, and for the payment by the Dominion to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for old-age pensions pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

Old-age pensions.

**3.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by Order authorize and provide for the payment of old-age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old-age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder.

Administration of Act.

**4.** (1) Notwithstanding the provisions of the "Workmen's Compensation Act", the Workmen's Compensation Board shall, in addition to the duties assigned to it under that Act, be charged with the administration of this Act, including the consideration of applications for old-age pensions and the payment of old-age pensions.

(2) The Workmen's Compensation Board may appoint such special officers, clerks, and servants as are required for the proper administration of this Act, and, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, may fix their salaries.

Appropriation.

**5.** In the absence of any special appropriation of the Legislature available for the purposes of this Act, all moneys necessary to meet the old-age pensions payable under this Act and the salaries and expenses necessarily incurred in the administration of this Act shall be paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Accounts.

**6.** (1) The accounts of the Workmen's Compensation Board's administration under this Act shall be made up quarterly, and in every case the Board shall prepare a balance-sheet and statement of account and submit the same to the Comptroller-General for his certification.

(2) Copies of above balance-sheets and statements of accounts shall be forthwith laid before the Legislative Assembly if the Legislative Assembly is then in session, and if not then in session shall be laid before the Legislative Assembly within fifteen days after the opening of the next session.

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## BRITISH COLUMBIA

### CHAPTER 50

### An Act to Provide for Old Age Pensions

[*Assented to March 7, 1927.*]

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the province of British Columbia, enacts as follows:—

Short title.

**1.** This Act may be cited as the "Old-Age Pension Act."

Agreement with Dominion.

**2.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may enter into an agreement with the Governor-General in Council as to a general scheme of old-age pensions in the province pursuant to the provisions of any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old-age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder, and for the payment by the Dominion to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for old-age pensions pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

Old-age pensions.

**3.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by Order authorize and provide for the payment of old-age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old-age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder.

Administration of Act.

**4.** (1) Notwithstanding the provisions of the "Workmen's Compensation Act", the Workmen's Compensation Board shall, in addition to the duties assigned to it under that Act, be charged with the administration of this Act, including the consideration of applications for old-age pensions and the payment of old-age pensions.

(2) The Workmen's Compensation Board may appoint such special officers, clerks, and servants as are required for the proper administration of this Act, and, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, may fix their salaries.

Appropriation.

**5.** In the absence of any special appropriation of the Legislature available for the purposes of this Act, all moneys necessary to meet the old-age pensions payable under this Act and the salaries and expenses necessarily incurred in the administration of this Act shall be paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Accounts.

**6.** (1) The accounts of the Workmen's Compensation Board's administration under this Act shall be made up quarterly, and in every case the Board shall prepare a balance-sheet and statement of account and submit the same to the Comptroller-General for his certification.

(2) Copies of above balance-sheets and statements of accounts shall be forthwith laid before the Legislative Assembly if the Legislative Assembly is then in session, and if not then in session shall be laid before the Legislative Assembly within fifteen days after the opening of the next session.

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**7.** (1) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may make such regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, with regard to the scheme of old-age pensions herein provided for, as he considers necessary for the proper administration of this Act, and for regulating expenditures to be made thereunder. Regulations.

(2) No regulation by reference to which any agreement with the Governor in Council has been made shall be altered, nor shall any change be made in any scheme for the administration of old-age pensions approved by the Governor in Council, except with the consent of the Governor-General in Council or in accordance with the provisions of the regulations to which he has agreed.

**8.** This Act shall come into operation on a day to be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor by his Proclamation. Commencement.

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# MANITOBA

## CHAPTER 44

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR OLD AGE PENSIONS

(As amended by Chapter 37 of the Manitoba Statutes of 1929)

[*Assented to March 16, 1928.*]

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, enacts as follows:—

**1.** This Act may be cited as the "Old Age Pensions Act."

**2.** In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,

Board. (*a*) "Board" means such department or branch of the Government or board or other body of persons as may be appointed or designated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to administer the "Old Age Pensions Act."

Minister. (*b*) "Minister" means such member of the Executive Council as may at any time be designated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council as Minister hereunder.

Agreement with Dominion. **3.** (1) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may enter into an agreement with the Governor-General in Council as to a general scheme of old age pensions in the province pursuant to the provisions of any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder, and for the payment by the Dominion to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for old age pensions pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

Dominion grant. (2) All moneys received by the province from the Dominion for the purposes of this Act shall be expended by the province in payment of old age pensions and shall not be expended for any other purpose.

Old age pensions. **4.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by order authorize and provide for the payment of old age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder.

Appropriations. **5.** (1) All moneys, other than such moneys as are received from the Dominion, necessary to meet the old age pensions payable under this Act and the salaries and expenses necessarily incurred in the administration of this Act in any year shall be paid out of the moneys appropriated by the Legislature for that year for such purpose.

Levy. (2) After making proper allowance for the moneys received or to be received from the Dominion the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may annually authorize the Municipal Commissioner to levy upon the respective municipalities of the Province and school districts in unorganized territory the amount estimated to be required for the purposes of this Act; and such levies when

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so authorized shall have the same force as if made under "The Municipal Commissioner's Act." The moneys realized from such levies shall be paid over to the Provincial Treasurer.

Temporary loans.

(3) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may also from time to time in anticipation of the receipt by the Provincial Treasurer of the revenue to be collected from the different municipalities and school districts of the Province through the Municipal Commissioner by levies under this Act direct the Treasurer to effect any necessary temporary loans by the issue and sale of a treasury bill or treasury bills chargeable on the Consolidated Revenue Fund, in such amounts, payable at such periods, and bearing such rate of interest, not exceeding six per cent per annum, as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may authorize; but such loans shall not exceed in any case the amount of the Municipal Commissioner's levy for the year then current for the purpose aforesaid.

Administration of Act.

6. (1) Notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary, the Board in addition to the duties assigned to it under any other Act shall, under the direction of the Minister, be charged with the administration of the "Old Age Pensions Act," including the consideration of applications for old age pensions and the payment of old age pensions.

Appointment of staff.

(2) The Board may appoint such special officers, clerks, and servants as are required for the proper administration of this Act, and subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may fix their salaries.

Monthly estimate of amount required.

(3) The Board shall submit each month to the Minister an estimate of the amount necessary to meet the current disbursements for pensions, salaries and expenses during the succeeding calendar month and when the estimate is approved by the Minister, the Provincial Treasurer shall pay the amount thereof to the Board. At the end of each calendar month the Board shall account to the Comptroller-General for all moneys so received.

Payment of pensions.

(4) Notwithstanding anything contained in any Act the Board may, out of the moneys paid to it by the Provincial Treasurer for the purposes of this Act, disburse all moneys necessary to meet the old age pensions payable under this Act and the salaries and expenses necessarily incurred in the administration of this Act.

(5) Notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary, in case of the death of a pensioner the proportion of the monthly pension in respect of the part of the month up to and including the date of death shall be paid to such person as the Board may direct.

(6) Notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary, where a cheque has issued to or on behalf of a pensioner and such pensioner is unable or refuses to endorse same or where a cheque remains unendorsed at the death of such pensioner, upon return of such cheque to the Board, another cheque for the same amount shall be issued to such person as the Board may direct.

Quarterly accounts.

7. (1) The accounts of the Board's administration under this Act shall be made up quarterly, and in every case the Board

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shall prepare a balance sheet and statement of account and submit the same to the Comptroller-General for his certification.

Annual report.

(2) The Board shall, as soon as possible after the close of each fiscal year and not later than the first day of June following, submit to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council a report on the administration of this Act and shall include therein such information as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may prescribe.

Report to Legislative Assembly.

(3) The report shall forthwith be laid by the Minister before the Legislative Assembly if then in session, and, if not then in session, within fifteen days after the opening of the next session.

Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may make regulations.

8. (1) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may make such regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, with regard to the scheme of old age pensions herein provided for, as he considers necessary for the proper administration of this Act, and for regulating expenditures to be made thereunder.

(2) No regulation with respect to which any agreement with the Governor in Council has been made shall be altered, nor shall any change be made in any scheme for the administration of old age pensions approved by the Governor in Council, except with the consent of the Governor General in Council or in accordance with the provisions of the regulations to which he has agreed.

Commencement.

9. This Act shall come into force on a day to be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor by his Proclamation.

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# ONTARIO

## CHAPTER 73

### Old Age Pensions Act, Ontario

[*Assented to March 28, 1929.*]

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, enacts as follows:—

Short title.

**1.** This Act may be cited as *The Old Age Pensions Act, 1929.*

Interpretation.

**2.** In this Act,—

"Commission."

(*a*) "Commission" shall mean such department or branch of the Government or commission or other body of persons as may be appointed or designated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to administer this Act;

"Local authority."

(*b*) "Local authority" shall mean and include the council of a county, city or town separated from the county for municipal purposes, or a board or commission appointed for the purposes of this Act by the council of such county, city or separated town, and in provisional judicial districts a board or commission appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council for any defined territory for the purposes of this Act;

"Minister."

(*c*) "Minister" shall mean that member of the Executive Council designated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to have charge of the administration of this Act;

(*d*) "Provisional judicial district" shall include the provisional county of Haliburton.

Agreement with Dominion Government authorized.

**3.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may enter into an agreement with the Governor-General in Council as to a general scheme of old age pensions in the Province pursuant to the provisions of any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder, and for the payment by the Dominion to the Province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the Province for old age pensions pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

Payment of pensions.

**4.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by Order in Council authorize and provide for the payment of old age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder.

Application for pension.

**5.** An application for a pension under this Act shall be made in the first instance to the local authority in such manner and accompanied by such proofs as the regulations may require, and the local authority shall give its decision in writing upon each application, but the granting or refusal of a pension in any case shall be subject to appeal to the Commission and the Commission may disallow, modify or alter any order or ruling

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# ONTARIO

## CHAPTER 73

### Old Age Pensions Act, Ontario

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(*a*) "Commission" shall mean such department or branch of the Government or commission or other body of persons as may be appointed or designated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to administer this Act;

"Local authority."

(*b*) "Local authority" shall mean and include the council of a county, city or town separated from the county for municipal purposes, or a board or commission appointed for the purposes of this Act by the council of such county, city or separated town, and in provisional judicial districts a board or commission appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council for any defined territory for the purposes of this Act;

"Minister."

(*c*) "Minister" shall mean that member of the Executive Council designated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to have charge of the administration of this Act;

(*d*) "Provisional judicial district" shall include the provisional county of Haliburton.

Agreement with Dominion Government authorized.

**3.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may enter into an agreement with the Governor-General in Council as to a general scheme of old age pensions in the Province pursuant to the provisions of any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder, and for the payment by the Dominion to the Province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the Province for old age pensions pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

Payment of pensions.

**4.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by Order in Council authorize and provide for the payment of old age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder.

Application for pension.

**5.** An application for a pension under this Act shall be made in the first instance to the local authority in such manner and accompanied by such proofs as the regulations may require, and the local authority shall give its decision in writing upon each application, but the granting or refusal of a pension in any case shall be subject to appeal to the Commission and the Commission may disallow, modify or alter any order or ruling

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of the local authority and the decision of the Commission shall be final and binding, but the Commission may reconsider any decision and may rescind, alter or amend any order, direction or ruling previously made by it under the authority of this Act.

Payments out of appropriations.

**6.** Every pension granted under this Act and the expenses incurred in the administration of this Act shall be paid out of such moneys as may be voted by the Legislature and appropriated for those purposes and shall be paid by the Treasurer of Ontario upon the direction in writing of the chairman or other head of the Commission, countersigned by the Minister, and every such direction shall be final and conclusive and shall not be subject to further examination or audit by any provincial authority, and the Treasurer upon receiving the direction shall issue the cheque and the Provincial Auditor shall countersign same.

Contributions by county, city or town.

**7.** (1) Every direction for payment of a pension under this Act shall name the county, city or separated town or provisional judicial district, of which the person to whom the pension is payable shall be deemed a resident for the purposes of this Act.

Notice to municipality.

(2) Notice in writing, signed by the chairman or other head of the Commission, that such pension has been granted with the name and place of residence of the person to whom the same is payable and stating that the municipal corporation of the county, city or town will be required to contribute to such pension as hereinafter provided, shall be sent by registered post to the clerk of the corporation of the county, city, or town in which such person is resident.

Amount of contribution.

(3) Every municipal corporation named by the Commission as a contributor under this section shall at such intervals and upon such dates as may be fixed by the regulations pay to the Treasurer of Ontario an amount equal to twenty per centum of the pension, and every such amount shall be a debt due to the Crown from the corporation and recoverable with costs by action at the suit of the Treasurer of Ontario.

Provisional judicial districts.

(4) Where the person to whom a pension is payable under this Act is a resident of some place in a provisional judicial district, other than a city or a town of 10,000 or more population, contributions shall not be required under this section.

Pension not liable to taxation, attachment, etc.

**8.** Every pension granted under this Act shall be exempt from provincial and municipal taxes and shall not be subject to garnishment or attachment or seizure or any legal process and shall be unassignable.

Right to pension to cease on Dominion's failure to contribute. R.S.C., c. 156.

**9.** If under the authority of the Parliament of Canada, or for any other reason whatsoever, the Government of Canada shall cease to make the contributions provided for under the *Old Age Pensions Act* of the Dominion of Canada, or fails to carry out the agreement entered into under the authority of this Act, the right to the granting or continuance of any pension under this Act shall thereupon cease and determine and no further payment of pensions shall be made under this Act.

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When annual value of pensioner's residence not to affect pension.

**10.** (1) Where a pensioner is the owner of an interest in a dwelling house in which he resides and the Commission accepts a transfer to it of such interest, the pension payable to the pensioner shall not be subject to any reduction in respect of the annual value of such interest, but the Commission shall, on the death of the pensioner or upon his ceasing to use such dwelling house as his place of residence, be entitled to sell the pensioner's interest therein and to retain out of the proceeds of such sale the amount of all payments made to the pensioner by way of pension in excess of the amount he would have received if such interest had not been transferred to the Commission, together with interest on the said payments at the rate of five per centum per annum compounded annually.

Recovery of pension payments out of deceased pensioner's estate.

(2) The Commission shall be entitled to recover out of the estate of any deceased pensioner, as a debt due by the pensioner to the Commission, the sum of the pension payments made to such pensioner from time to time, together with interest at the rate of five per centum per annum compounded annually.

Right not to extend to property passing to another pensioner or to person maintaining.

No claim shall be made by the Commission for the recovery of such debt directly or indirectly out of any part of the pensioner's estate which passes by will or on an intestacy to any other pensioner or to any person who has, since the grant of such pension or for the last three years during which such pension has continued to be paid, regularly contributed to the support of the pensioner by the payment of money or otherwise to the extent which, having regard to the means of the person so having contributed, is considered by the Commission to be reasonable.

When pension to be paid to trustee.

**11.** In the event of the incapacity of any pensioner or if the Commission considers that the pensioner is using, or is likely to use his pension otherwise than for his own benefit, the Commission may direct the payment of the pension to a trustee or trustees approved by the Commission to be expended for the benefit of the pensioner.

Management of property by Commission.

**12.** The Commission may, with the consent of the pensioner, assume the management of any property, real or personal, belonging to the pensioner.

Pensioners not disqualified from voting.

**13.** The receipt of a pension shall not by itself disqualify any person from voting at any provincial or municipal election.

Regulations.

**14.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may make regulations,—

(*a*) designating or establishing the Commission and for providing for the appointment of a chairman, vice-chairman and other officers, and the appointment of clerical and other assistance in the office of the Commission;

(*b*) providing for the payment of salaries or other remuneration and expenses of the members of the Commission and of the officers, clerks and servants thereof, and generally respecting the keeping of accounts and expenditures;

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(*c*) for the appointment of boards or commissions to act as a local authority in any defined territory in a provisional judicial district;

(*d*) prescribing the form of application for pensions and the proofs to be furnished therewith;

(*e*) respecting the procedure of the local authority upon the hearing of applications for pensions and the procedure on appeals to the Commission;

(*f*) regulating the times at which pensions granted under this Act shall be payable;

(*g*) providing for the payment of any pension or part thereof granted under this Act to any statutory or other committee or trustee of the estate of the person to whom the pension is granted, or with the consent of the pensioner to any person or trust or corporate body undertaking or liable for the maintenance and care of any person to whom a pension is granted under this Act,

but no regulation by reference to which any agreement with the Governor General in Council shall be made, shall be altered, nor shall any change be made in any scheme for old age pensions approved by the Governor General in Council except with the consent of the Governor General in Council or in accordance with the provisions of the regulations to which he has agreed.

Payment out of consolidated revenue.

**15.** In the absence of any special appropriation of the Legislature available for the purposes of this Act, all moneys necessary to meet the old age pensions payable under this Act and the salaries and expenses necessarily incurred in the administration of this Act, shall be paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Commencement of Act.

**16.** This Act shall come into force on a day to be named by the Lieutenant-Governor by his proclamation.

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# SASKATCHEWAN

## CHAPTER 75

### An Act to Provide for Old Age Pensions

(As amended by Chapter 64 of the Saskatchewan Statutes of 1929)

[*Assented to March 7, 1928.*]

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, enacts as follows:—

Short title.

**1.** This Act may be cited as *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928.*

Agreement with Dominion.

**2.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may enter into an agreement with the Governor General in Council as to a general scheme of old age pensions in the province pursuant to the provisions of any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder, and for the payment by the Dominion to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for old age pensions pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

Old age pensions.

**3.** (1) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by order authorize and provide for the payment of old age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in any Act of the Dominion heretofore or hereafter passed relating to old age pensions, and the regulations made thereunder.

(2) The provisions of subsection (1) shall not apply to a person who, being on the date on which this Act comes into force an Indian within the meaning of *The Old Age Pensions Act of Canada,* later becomes a non-treaty Indian.

Administration of Act.

**4.** The Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall designate the minister to be charged with the administration of this Act, including the consideration of applications for and the payment of old age pensions.

Expenditures.

**5.** In the absence of any special appropriation of the Legislature available for the purposes of this Act, all moneys necessary to meet the old age pensions payable thereunder and the salaries and expenses necessarily incurred in the administration thereof shall be a charge upon and paid out of the consolidated fund.

**5a.** (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in any Act, in case of the death of a pensioner the proportion of the monthly pension in respect of the part of the month up to and including the date of death shall be paid to such person as the pension authority may direct.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in any Act, where a cheque issued to or on behalf of a pensioner remains unindorsed at the date of his death, and has been returned to the Provincial Treasurer, another cheque for the same amount shall be issued to such person as the pension authority may direct.

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Annual report.

**6.** (1) The Minister shall submit annually to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council a report on the administration of this Act and shall include therein such information as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may require.

(2) The report shall be forthwith laid before the Legislative Assembly if then in session, and, if not then in session, within fifteen days after the opening of the next session.

Regulations.

**7.** (1) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may make such regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, governing the scheme of old age pensions herein provided for, as he considers necessary for the proper administration of this Act, and for regulating expenditures to be made thereunder.

(2) No regulation by reference to which any agreement with the Governor General in Council has been made shall be altered, nor shall any change be made in any scheme for the administration of old age pensions approved by the Governor General in Council, except with the consent of the Governor General in Council or in accordance with regulations to which he has agreed.

Coming into force.

**8.** This Act shall come into force on a date to be determined by proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor.

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C 93222



## YUKON TERRITORY

### An Ordinance Respecting Old Age Pensions

[*Assented to June 7, 1927.*]

The Gold Commissioner of the Yukon Territory, by and with the advice and consent of the Council of said Territory enacts as follows:—

1. The Gold Commissioner is hereby empowered to conduct all negotiations with the Federal Government, and to enter into any agreement on behalf of the Territory with the Federal Government, that he shall deem expedient and in the interest of the Territory, for the purpose of putting into effect in the Territory, or otherwise obtaining the advantages of any Act respecting Old Age Pensions which has been passed or may be passed by the Parliament of Canada.

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C 93223



## DOMINION REGULATIONS

*Regulations made on December 21, 1928, by Order of the Governor in Council (P.C. 119/2298), pursuant to the provisions of the Old Age Pensions Act, R.S.C. 1927, c. 156, s. 19.*

### The Old Age Pensions Regulations

#### Short Title

1. These regulations may be cited as The Old Age Pensions Regulations.

#### Interpretation

2. (*a*) In these Regulations, unless the context otherwise requires, "The Act" means the Old Age Pensions Act, 1927.

(*b*) The definition of expressions contained in the Old Age Pensions Act, 1927, shall apply to the said expressions whenever used in these Regulations.

(*c*) "To lodge" means to be present in person in circumstances consistent with an intention to reside.

#### Provision as to Notices

3. (*a*) Any notice or other document required or authorized to be sent or delivered for the purpose of these Regulations shall be in writing.

(*b*) Any notice or other document required or authorized to be sent or delivered to any person by the pension authority for the purpose of these Regulations shall be deemed to be duly sent or delivered at the time at which the notice or document is posted to that person at his ordinary address.

#### When Application May be Made

4. An application for a pension may be made at any time after the proposed pensioner has reached the age of sixty-nine years and nine months.

#### Method of Making Application

5. (*a*) Every person who desires to make application for pension under the Act shall complete the form of application prescribed by the pension authority; this application shall contain, *inter alia*, the full name of the applicant, his address, occupation, sex, conjugal state, age, date of birth, place of birth, nationality, date of naturalization, place of residence during the past twenty years, income (including income of spouse), other means of subsistence and description of any property transferred within the past five years with name of transferee.

(*b*) Every pension authority shall supply a form *gratis* to any person who desires to make an application and if so requested shall give all necessary information and assistance in completing the said form.

#### Investigation of Claims

6. As soon as may be after receiving any application the pension authority shall take all necessary steps to ascertain whether the applicant is entitled to a pension and if he is so entitled, what rate of pension should be paid.

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AGE

7. (1) For the purpose of determining the age of any person regard may be had to any of the following documents:—

(*a*) Certificate of birth;

(*b*) Certificate of baptism;

(*c*) Entries in a family Bible or other genealogical record or memorandum of the family of the pensioner;

(*d*) The returns of any census taken more than thirty years before the date of application for such pension, provided:

(i) That any request for census information by a pension authority be made with the consent in writing of the person regarding whom the information is required;

(ii) That the specific locality (city, town, village, township or rural municipality) in which the applicant resided at the date of the census aforesaid be stated;

(iii) That any information supplied by the bureau shall be confidential and shall not be used for any other purpose than that of the administration of the Old Age Pensions Act; and

(iv) That a request for census information be made only in the event of failure to obtain information under the immediately preceding subsections;

(*e*) And when better evidence cannot be obtained a statutory declaration setting forth that none of the certificates above referred to in this Regulation are obtainable, and a further statutory declaration as to the age of the pensioner by any person who has knowledge of the fact.

(2) The pension authority, however, shall not be bound to accept evidence mentioned in this clause and may accept other evidence not herein mentioned.

NATIONALITY

8. (1) For the purpose of determining the nationality of any person regard may be had to any of the following documents:—

(*a*) Certificate of birth;

(*b*) Certificate of baptism;

(*c*) Certificate of service in any of His Majesty's forces;

(*d*) Certificate of naturalization; and

(*e*) When better evidence cannot be obtained a statutory declaration or evidence under oath by any person who has knowledge of the fact.

(2) The pension authority, however, shall not be found to accept evidence mentioned in this clause and may accept other evidence not herein mentioned.

9. Every pension authority shall be entitled to obtain without charge from the Department of the Secretary of State or any other department any information available in such department as to the nationality of any pensioner.

RESIDENCE

10. An applicant shall, in the absence of evidence to rebut such presumption, be presumed to have been resident in Canada for the twenty years immediately preceding the date of the proposed commencement of the pension if he (*a*) has actually lodged within Canada on at least 4,384

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days within the said twenty years, and (*b*) has not within the said twenty years been absent from Canada for more than 731 consecutive days, but in no case shall a pensioner be deemed a resident of Canada for twenty years unless lodged within Canada some time at least twenty years prior to making application.

11. An applicant shall, in the absence of evidence to rebut such presumption, be presumed to have resided in the province in which the application for pension is made for the five years immediately preceding the date of the proposed commencement of pension if he is then residing in the province, and if he has lodged therein on at least 1,095 days in the said five years, but in no case shall a pensioner be presumed to be a resident of such province for five years unless he lodged within said province some time at least five years prior to making application.

12. For the purpose of determining the province in which an applicant has resided, and subject to Regulations 10 and 11, if an applicant had left Canada and subsequently returned to Canada he shall, in the absence of evidence to rebut such presumption, be presumed to have continued to reside in the province which he left until the date of his return.

13. If an applicant was employed and paid by the Dominion of Canada, the Imperial Government with the concurrence of the Dominion of Canada, or any province for services performed without Canada, or if his travelling expenses out of Canada were paid by Canada, the Imperial Government, or by any province or municipality, he shall when he was so employed or while his travelling expenses were paid be presumed to have continued to lodge in that province of Canada in which he was resident immediately before entering such employment or proceeding on the journey in respect of which his travelling expenses were paid.

14. An applicant who has been employed on a ship registered at or sailing regularly from any Canadian port shall be presumed to have lodged in Canada during the whole time he was employed on such ship, and in such province where he last resided previous to such employment.

15. An applicant who was employed by any railway company having its head office in Canada, on trains running out of Canada, or the wife of such pensioner, shall be presumed to have lodged in the province in which was situate the Canadian terminus to and from which such trains were operated during the whole time he was employed on such trains.

### Income

16. In determining the income of a pensioner receivable in the form of periodic payments in the nature of an annuity to which he is entitled, his income shall (*a*) if he has a right to assign or charge the same, be taken as equal to 5 per cent of the present value of his right thereto, or (*b*) if he has no right to assign or charge the same, the full amount thereof.

17. The income of a pensioner derivable from real property shall be taken as equal to 5 per cent of the assessed value in excess of the encumbrances thereof, and the income of a pensioner derivable from personal property shall be taken as equal to 5 per cent of the cash value thereof.

18. Where a pensioner lives with his or her wife or husband, his or her income shall be taken to be equal to one-half of the sum of the incomes, calculated as in the Act and these Regulations provided, receivable by each of them separately.

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C 93225



days within the said twenty years, and (*b*) has not within the said twenty years been absent from Canada for more than 731 consecutive days, but in no case shall a pensioner be deemed a resident of Canada for twenty years unless lodged within Canada some time at least twenty years prior to making application.

11. An applicant shall, in the absence of evidence to rebut such presumption, be presumed to have resided in the province in which the application for pension is made for the five years immediately preceding the date of the proposed commencement of pension if he is then residing in the province, and if he has lodged therein on at least 1,095 days in the said five years, but in no case shall a pensioner be presumed to be a resident of such province for five years unless he lodged within said province some time at least five years prior to making application.

12. For the purpose of determining the province in which an applicant has resided, and subject to Regulations 10 and 11, if an applicant had left Canada and subsequently returned to Canada he shall, in the absence of evidence to rebut such presumption, be presumed to have continued to reside in the province which he left until the date of his return.

13. If an applicant was employed and paid by the Dominion of Canada, the Imperial Government with the concurrence of the Dominion of Canada, or any province for services performed without Canada, or if his travelling expenses out of Canada were paid by Canada, the Imperial Government, or by any province or municipality, he shall when he was so employed or while his travelling expenses were paid be presumed to have continued to lodge in that province of Canada in which he was resident immediately before entering such employment or proceeding on the journey in respect of which his travelling expenses were paid.

14. An applicant who has been employed on a ship registered at or sailing regularly from any Canadian port shall be presumed to have lodged in Canada during the whole time he was employed on such ship, and in such province where he last resided previous to such employment.

15. An applicant who was employed by any railway company having its head office in Canada, on trains running out of Canada, or the wife of such pensioner, shall be presumed to have lodged in the province in which was situate the Canadian terminus to and from which such trains were operated during the whole time he was employed on such trains.

### Income

16. In determining the income of a pensioner receivable in the form of periodic payments in the nature of an annuity to which he is entitled, his income shall (*a*) if he has a right to assign or charge the same, be taken as equal to 5 per cent of the present value of his right thereto, or (*b*) if he has no right to assign or charge the same, the full amount thereof.

17. The income of a pensioner derivable from real property shall be taken as equal to 5 per cent of the assessed value in excess of the encumbrances thereof, and the income of a pensioner derivable from personal property shall be taken as equal to 5 per cent of the cash value thereof.

18. Where a pensioner lives with his or her wife or husband, his or her income shall be taken to be equal to one-half of the sum of the incomes, calculated as in the Act and these Regulations provided, receivable by each of them separately.

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19. The pension authority may, however, adopt such other methods as may be deemed equitable in determining the income of the pensioner.

### Transfer of Property

20. A transfer of property made more than five years before the date of application for pension shall be deemed not to have been made for the purpose of qualifying for a pension.

### When Pension Shall Commence

21. Every pension granted shall commence on the day after the application is received by the pension authority, or on the day when the pensioner first becomes entitled, whichever is the later.

### Manner Pension Payable

22. Pensions shall be payable monthly in such manner as may be provided by provincial regulation.

23. In the event of the incapacity of any pensioner or if the pension authority considers that the pensioner is using or is likely to use his pension otherwise than for his own benefit, the pension authority may pay the pension of such pensioner to a trustee or trustees approved by such pension authority to be expended for the benefit of the pensioner.

### Suspension of Pension

24. The payment of a pension shall be suspended during the lawful imprisonment of the pensioner for an offence.

### Increase or Reduction of Pension

25. Every pensioner shall forthwith report to the pension authority any increase in his real or personal property of a total value of $100 or more, occurring by devolution, bequest or gift or any other change in his financial condition.

26. Any pensioner who desires to make a claim for an increase of pension to which he may be entitled under the Act shall complete the form of claim provided, and deliver the form when completed to the proper pension authority, who shall investigate the claim as provided herein.

### Management of Pensioner's Property

27. Any pension authority may, if so authorized by the law of the province, and with the consent of the pensioner, assume the management of any property belonging to the pensioner.

28. Every pension authority shall be entitled to recover from a pensioner any sum improperly paid by way of pension whether as the result of the non-disclosure of facts, innocent or false representations or any other cause.

### Accounting

29. Any sums due by Canada to any province in settlement of Canada's half share of the net amount expended by any province in the payment of pensions shall be ascertained as of the last day of March, June, September and December, and shall be paid as soon thereafter as possible.

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30. In calculating the amount due by Canada to any province no account shall be taken of any sums which, under the provisions of the Act, such province is liable to reimburse another province or to be reimbursed by another province in respect of a pension granted therein or in such other province, nor shall any account be taken of the cost of administering or paying pensions.

31. In calculating the amount in which any province is liable to be reimbursed by another province under the provisions of section 10 of the Act, regard shall be had only to the net amount of the pension paid by the province to be reimbursed after deducting therefrom the amount payable by Canada on account of such pension.

32. Balances due by one province to another province under the provisions of the Act shall be settled quarterly as of the same date as the sums due by Canada are payable from time to time.

33. The Minister charged with the administration of the Act may at any time require the province to furnish information, detailed or otherwise, in connection with statements of account rendered by the province.

INTERPROVINCIAL BOARD

34. An Interprovincial Board is authorized to be established with powers to interpret and recommend alterations in the Regulations, such board to be appointed by the Governor in Council.

REGULATIONS

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## ALBERTA

### Regulations for the Administration of Old Age Pensions

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council, has been pleased to order that (*a*) the Workmen's Compensation Board be and is hereby appointed as the Pension Authority, with the power and duty to administer and carry out the provisions of the *Old Age Pensions Act, 1927*, being chapter 156 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and of *The Old Age Pensions Act, Alberta*, being chapter 24 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1929, the chairman of the board to be the Chief Executive Officer of the Authority; and (*b*) that the following Regulations be and are hereby made for the administration of the said Act:—

1. The Regulations made by the Governor in Council by Order in Council dated the 21st day of December, 1928, being P.C. 119-2298, are hereby adopted as Regulations under *The Old Age Pensions Act, Alberta*.

2. For the purpose of ascertaining whether a pensioner is residing in a municipality or an improvement district, the pensioner shall be required to furnish such information from time to time as the Pension Authority may from time to time determine.

3. In determining the fact of the place of residence of an applicant for a pension, the Pension Authority shall be guided by the following principles:—

(1) If the applicant is at the time of application, or has been at any time within the preceding period of twelve months in receipt of relief as an indigent, or as an indigent sick person, the applicant shall be deemed to be a resident of the municipality, or improvement district, chargeable with such relief pursuant to the appropriate Municipal Act.

(2) If the applicant is not at the time of application, and has not been within the preceding period of twelve months, in receipt of relief as an indigent or an indigent sick person from a municipality or an improvement district, and is not the inmate of any charitable or public institution, he shall be deemed to be a resident of the municipality or improvement district in the province in which he last had his home for a period of six consecutive months.

(3) If the applicant does not come within the provisions of either of the two preceding paragraphs he shall not be deemed to be a resident of any municipality or improvement district, so as to render any municipality or improvement district fund liable for contributions under the provisions of section 6 of the Act.

4. The Pension Authority shall give notice in writing to the clerk or secretary-treasurer in the case of a municipality, or to the Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs in the case of an improvement district, of any pension allowed which the Pension Authority proposes to make a charge against such municipality or district. If the municipality does not dispute its liability in writing to the Pension Authority within ninety days of the date of the notice, the pensioner shall be deemed conclusively to be a resident of the municipality. If liability is disputed, the municipality or deputy minister shall, within the said period of ninety days, submit to the Pension Authority, in writing, the facts and circumstances relied upon to avoid liability, and as soon as may be after the expiration of the said period the Pension Authority shall, after such inquiry into the

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matter as it deems proper, decide whether or not the pensioner was a resident of the municipality, or improvement district, as the case may be at the time the application for the pension was made, and such decision shall be final and conclusive and there shall be no appeal therefrom.

5. For the purpose of investigation into any circumstance relating to any application for any pension or any pensioner, the Pension Authority may request any department of the Government to cause inquiries to be made, and upon such request being made, such inquiry shall be made if and when reasonably possible, and the results of such inquiry shall be reported to the Pension Authority; and the cost of such inquiries shall be borne by the department making such inquiry.

6. The Pension Authority shall keep full and accurate accounts of all its financial transactions, in such form and manner as may be from time to time prescribed by the Treasury Board, and the same shall at all times be open to inspection and audit by the Provincial Auditor.

7. The Pension Authority shall prepare and deliver, in each month, to the Provincial Treasurer, a voucher for the total of all pensions payable for that month, and thereupon a cheque will be issued for the amount of the voucher and will be deposited to the credit of the Provincial Treasurer in a chartered bank in an account entitled: " Provincial Treasurer A/C *The Old Age Pensions Act, Alberta.*" Pension cheques shall be prepared by the Pension Authority, and shall be signed by one of the members of the Authority and shall be countersigned by the Provincial Auditor.

8. The board shall be entitled to receive from the Bureau of Vital Statistics any information and copies of any entry or certificate recorded therein, which may be required by the board in connection with any pension or application for a pension, without charge.

JOHN D. HUNT,
*Clerk of the Executive Council.*

(O.C. 819-29)

Edmonton, Wednesday, July 10, 1929.

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17th day of Augu

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C 93230



**BRITISH COLUMBIA**

CERTIFIED COPY OF A MINUTE of the Honourable the Executive Council, approved by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the 17th day of August, A.D. 1927.

No. 844

*To His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in Council:*

*The undersigned has the honour to recommend:—*

That under the provisions of section 7, of chapter 50 of the Statutes of British Columbia, 1926-27, being the "*Old Age Pension Act*", the following Regulations be and are hereby made:—

1. The Workmen's Compensation Board is authorized and directed to keep such records, books and accounts of the receipts and expenditures under this Act as may be necessary; to pay pensions monthly by bank cheque; and to do all such other acts and things as are incidental, conducive or necessary to the proper administration of the said Act and the "*Old Age Pensions Act*", being chapter 35, of the Statutes of Canada, 1927, and the Regulations made thereunder, and to the operation of the pension scheme therein contained.

2. Every person who makes application for a pension shall complete such forms and furnish such evidence and proofs of his claim from time to time as may be required by The Workmen's Compensation Board.

3. The Workmen's Compensation Board shall be entitled to obtain without charge from any government department any available information they may deem necessary in the administration of the "*Old Age Pensions Act*", chapter 35 of the Statutes of Canada, 1927, and the "*Old Age Pension Act*", chapter 50 of the Statutes of British Columbia, 1926-27.

Dated this 17th day of August, A.D. 1927.

"A. M. MANSON",
*Attorney-General.*

Approved this 17th day of August, A.D. 1927.

"J. D. MACLEAN,"
*Presiding Member of the Executive Council.*

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C 93231



**MANITOBA**

**1108/28**

**TO HIS HONOUR**

**The Honourable THEODORE ARTHUR BURROWS, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba**

**REPORT of a Committee of the Executive Council on matters referred to their consideration**

**PRESENT:**

The Honourable Mr. Bracken (in the chair),
Mr. Clubb,
Mr. Prefontaine,
Mr. Hoey,
Mr. Major,
Mr. Montgomery.

ON MATTERS OF STATE

May it please your Honour.

The Honourable the Attorney-General submits to Council a report setting forth—

WHEREAS section 8 (1) of the "*Old Age Pensions Act*" being chapter 44, Statutes of Manitoba, 1928, is as follows:—

8. (1) The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may make such regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, with regard to the scheme of old age pensions herein provided for, as he considers necessary for the proper administration of this Act, and for regulating expenditures to be made thereunder.

AND WHEREAS it is expedient under said provisions to make certain regulations.

On the recommendation of the Honourable the Minister, Committee advise—

THAT the following regulations be and are hereby made under the said Act:—

1. The Workmen's Compensation Board is authorized and directed to keep such records, books and accounts of the receipts and expenditures under this Act as may be necessary; to pay pensions monthly by bank cheque; and to do all such other acts and things as are incidental, conducive or necessary to the proper administration of the said Act and the "*Old Age Pensions Act*," being chapter 35 of the Statutes of Canada, 1927, and the regulations made thereunder, and to the operation of the pension scheme therein contained.

2. Every person who makes application for a pension shall complete such forms and furnish such evidence and proofs of his claim, from time to time as may be required by the Workmen's Compensation Board.

3. The Workmen's Compensation Board shall be entitled to obtain without charge from any government department any available information they may deem necessary in the administration of the "*Old Age Pensions Act*," chapter 35 of the Statutes of Canada, 1927, and the "*Old Age Pensions Act*," chapter 44, Statutes of Manitoba, 1928.

Respectfully submitted,

"A. PREFONTAINE"
*For Chairman.*

Executive Council Chamber, August 10, 1928.

Approved, August 10, 1928.

THEO. A. BURROWS,
Lieutenant-Governor.

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CHAPTER 73, SECTIO

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## ONTARIO

### Regulations Made Pursuant to the Old Age Pensions Act, 1929

Chapter 73, Section 14, by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council on May 22, 1929

1. In these regulations:—

(*a*) "Municipality" shall mean county, union of counties, city, separated town, or town of 10,000 or more population in a Provisional Judicial District.

(*b*) "District" shall mean a Provisional Judicial District (excluding the cities and towns of 10,000 or more population therein) and the provisional county of Haliburton.

2. The board appointed for the purposes of the Act by the council of a municipality shall consist of five members. After the first appointment the members of such board shall be appointed annually by the municipal council at its first meeting in each year. The members of such boards shall hold office until their successors are appointed. At the first meeting, and thereafter at the first meeting in each year, a chairman shall be appointed.

3. In a district the local authority shall be a board composed of three persons to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, one of whom shall be appointed by the members of the board as chairman. The members of such boards appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

4. Application for a pension shall be in the form annexed hereto. With each application there shall be furnished the proofs as to age mentioned in such form and in the Dominion regulations, together with such other evidence and proofs of claim as the Commission may from time to time prescribe.

5. Applications must be made to the Local Authority of the municipality or district where the applicant resided on July 1, 1929, and after July 1, 1930, to the Local Authority of the municipality or district where the applicant then resides.

6. With regard to all applications received by a Local Authority on or before July 1, 1930, the residence of a pensioner shall be deemed to be the municipality or district where the pensioner resided on July 1, 1929, and after July 1, 1930, such residence shall be deemed to be the municipality or district where the pensioner then resides.

7. In case of the removal of a pensioner from a municipality such municipality shall be liable to contribute to the pension for one year after such removal, and after this period the municipality to which the pensioner has removed shall become liable to contribute towards such pension.

8. In case of the removal of a pensioner from a district to a municipality the municipality shall become liable to contribute towards such pension one year after such removal.

9. Where there is a dispute as to the residence of a pensioner such dispute shall be determined by the Commission whose decision shall be final and binding.

10. Where a pensioner moves outside a municipality or district where the pension was granted the Local Authority shall notify the Commission of the date of such removal and of the place to which the pensioner has gone.

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11. The Local Authority shall investigate the circumstances connected with each application, and give its decision in writing upon each application. All original applications and proofs shall be forwarded to the Old Age Pensions Commission at Toronto. Each applicant for a pension shall within seven days of the decision of the Local Authority having been given be notified in writing by the Local Authority of such decision.

12. An appeal may be filed with the Commission by any applicant for a pension within one month from the date of the decision of the Local Authority. The Commission may in its discretion extend the time for appealing where it is shown that through incapacity or other reasonable circumstances it was not possible to give notice of appeal within the time mentioned.

13. There shall be the same right of appeal as provided for in the preceding regulations to the Commission from any Local Authority by any person who objects to the allowance of a pension or any part thereof.

14. Upon an appeal being made to the Commission notice in writing thereof shall be given to the Local Authority by the Commission. The Commission shall make such investigation as it deems necessary, and shall notify the person appealing and the Local Authority in writing of its decision.

15. Where an application has been received before November 1, 1929, and a pension has been granted the pension will be payable monthly thereafter by bank cheque. After that date every pension granted shall commence on the day after the application is received by the Local Authority, and in the event of the pension commencing on a day other than the first day of the month the first payment shall include such proportion of the pension as the balance of the month bears to the whole month.

16. In the event of the death of a pensioner any part of the pension unpaid may be paid to such person as the Commission considers equitably entitled thereto.

17. The Commission shall render monthly to the corporation of each municipality an account for twenty per centum of the pension for which such corporation is liable.

18. Any pension or part thereof granted may be paid to any statutory or other committee or trustee of the estate of the person to whom the pension is granted, or with the consent of the pensioner to any person or trust or corporate body undertaking or liable for the maintenance and care of any person to whom a pension is granted under the Act.

19. The Local Authority must notify the Commission of the death of any pensioner, or of any change that may occur in the family or financial condition of a pensioner, immediately upon becoming aware of same.

20. The Commission shall be entitled to recover from a pensioner any sum improperly paid by way of a pension whether as the result of the non-disclosure of facts, innocent or false representations or any other cause.

21. The Commission and any Local Authority shall be entitled to obtain without charge from any Government department of Ontario any available information deemed necessary in the administration of the "*Old Age Pensions Act, 1927*," chapter 35, Statutes of Canada, and the "*Old Age Pensions Act, 1929*," chapter 73, Statutes of Ontario.

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## SASKATCHEWAN

CERTIFIED A TRUE COPY OF A MINUTE of the Executive Council of Saskatchewan, dated at Regina on Friday, the twenty-seventh day of April, 1928, and approved by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Executive Council has had under consideration a report from the Minister in charge of the administration of *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928*, bearing even date herewith, stating that under the provisions of section 7 of *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928*, it is expedient to make regulations governing the payment of old age pensions.

Upon consideration of the foregoing report and on the recommendation of the Minister in charge of the administration of *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928*, the Executive Council advises that your Honour's Order do issue approving the attached Regulations governing the payment of Old Age Pensions.

J. W. McLEOD,
*Clerk of the Executive Council.*

### Regulations Governing the Payment of Old Age Pensions

Interpretation.

**1.** In these regulations, the expression—

(1) "Act" means *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928*, chapter 75 of the Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1928;

(2) "Minister" means the minister from time to time in charge of the administration of *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928;*

(3) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Old Age Pensions.

Duties of commissioner.

**2.** The commissioner shall:

(*a*) keep such books and records as may be necessary;

(*b*) do all such other acts and things as are incidental, conducive or necessary to the proper administration of the Act and the *Old Age Pensions Act*, chapter 156 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and the regulations made thereunder, and to the operation of the pension scheme therein contained.

Applications for pensions.

**3.** (1) Every applicant for a pension shall complete such forms and furnish such evidence and proofs of his claim as the minister may from time to time prescribe.

(2) No application shall be deemed to have been received by the commissioner unless it is made on the prescribed form.

Commissioner's report.

**4.** The commissioner shall inquire into the merits of all applications for pensions and advise the minister as to the expediency of granting, continuing, altering or withdrawing the same.

Minister's approval.

**5.** No pension shall be paid, altered or withdrawn unless with the approval of the Minister.

Requisition to treasury.

**6.** (1) The payment of any pension, or of any expense incurred in administration, shall be made upon a requisition in writing signed by the commissioner, directing the issue of a

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cheque by the Provincial Treasurer for the amount named in the requisition. Such direction shall be final and conclusive.

(2) Cheques shall be signed by the Deputy Provincial Treasurer and the Provincial Auditor or by such other officials as may be designated for the purpose by the Treasury Board.

Date of Payment.

**7.** The payment of pensions shall be made at the end of each month.

Amount of first Payment.

**8.** In the event of a pension commencing on a day other than the first day of the month the first payment shall be such proportion of the monthly pension as the balance of the month bears to the whole month.

Evidence of signature of pensioner.

**9.** (1) Every cheque issued in payment of a pension shall be indorsed by the payee in the presence and over the signature of the manager or the accountant of a bank, a doctor, clergyman, justice of the peace, postmaster or the secretary treasurer of any town, village or rural municipality, who shall sign a certificate which shall appear on the back of the cheque in the following form:—

"I hereby certify that the person by whom this cheque is indorsed is the payee and that he resides in the province of Saskatchewan at....."
(name of place)

(2) The Provincial Treasurer may, in any exceptional case, designate a person other than those mentioned in Subsection (1), who may sign the said certificate.

Statutory declaration of pensioner.

**10.** Every pensioner shall from time to time, when so required by the commissioner, on a form to be provided by him, furnish a statutory declaration or a witnessed certificate that he is the person to whom the pension is payable, and shall give such other information as the commissioner may from time to time require.

Duty of departments to supply information.

**11.** The commissioner shall be entitled to obtain without charge from any department of the Government of Saskatchewan any available information which he may deem necessary in the administration of the Act or the *Old Age Pensions Act*, chapter 156 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927.

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## NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

P.C. 114

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

FRIDAY, the 25th day of January, 1929.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL

WHEREAS by section 6 of the *Old Age Pensions Act*, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, chapter 156, it is provided that:—

As soon as agreements under this Act have been made with two of the provinces adjoining the Northwest Territories, the Commissioner of the said Territories may submit to the Governor in Council for approval a scheme for the administration and payment of pensions therein, and upon the approval of such scheme, the same shall stand, in all respects other than its duration, in the same position as an agreement with a province.

AND WHEREAS agreements under the said Act have been made with the provinces of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba;

AND WHEREAS the Minister of the Interior recommends, on the advice of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, approval of the following scheme for the administration and payment of pensions in the said Northwest Territories:—

1. The Department of Labour is authorized and directed to pay pensions monthly by bank cheque to persons of the Northwest Territories who qualify therefor under the provisions of the Old Age Pensions Act and Regulations made thereunder; to keep such records and books of accounts of receipts and expenditures as may be necessary and to do all such other acts and things as are incidental, conducive or necessary to the proper administration of old age pensions in the Northwest Territories under the provisions of the said Act.

2. Every person of the Northwest Territories who makes application for a pension shall complete such forms and furnish such evidence and proofs of claim from time to time as may be required by the Department of Labour.

3. All sums required for the payment of such pensions shall be advanced from time to time on the certificate of the Minister of Finance out of such moneys belonging to the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada not otherwise appropriated.

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council is pleased to approve the said scheme and it is hereby approved accordingly.

E. J. LEMAIRE,
*Clerk of the Privy Council.*

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## ALBERTA

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made the 22nd day of July, A.D. 1929

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA IN COUNCIL, represented by the Minister of Labour for Canada, hereinafter called "The Dominion,"

*of the First Part,*

AND

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA IN COUNCIL, represented by the Provincial Secretary for Alberta, hereinafter called "The Province,"

*of the Second Part.*

WHEREAS by the "*Old Age Pensions Act,*" being chapter 156 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, the Governor in Council is authorized to make an agreement with the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of any province for the payment to such province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by such province for pensions pursuant to a provincial statute authorizing and providing for the payment of such pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in the said Act and the Regulations made thereunder, and which Act and Regulations together with such alterations in these Regulations as may be made from time to time with the consent of the province are hereinafter called the "Dominion Act";

AND WHEREAS the "*Old Age Pensions Act, Alberta,*" being chapter 24 of the Statutes of Alberta, 1929 (hereinafter called the "Provincial Act"), by section 3 thereof empowers the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to enter into an agreement with the Governor in Council of the character contemplated in the Dominion Act for the provision of pensions in accordance with sections 3, 8 and 9 of the Dominion Act, and by section 9 (*a*) thereof empowers the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to provide for the payment of such pensions;

AND WHEREAS the Minister of Labour for Canada and the Provincial Secretary for Alberta have been respectively authorized by the parties hereto to enter into an agreement in the terms hereinafter set forth;

Now, in consideration of the premises and the respective agreements by and on behalf of the parties hereto, hereinafter set forth, this memorandum witnesseth:

(1) On, from and after the First day of August, 1929, the province agrees to pay to each person who, upon application by such person, is found by the pension authority to be entitled to receive a pension under the provisions of the Dominion Act, the sum of two hundred and forty ($240) dollars yearly, each of such payments to be subject to reduction as provided by the Dominion Act, and all of such payments, whether as to amount or otherwise, to be subject to and governed by the provisions of the Dominion Act.

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(2) The province further agrees on its part to comply with all the provisions, stipulations, provisos and conditions contained in the Dominion Act.

(3) The Dominion agrees to pay to the province quarterly in accordance with and subject to the provisions of the said Dominion Act an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province, pursuant to the provisions of this agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of
(Sgd.) ALFRED FARMILO,
(Sgd.) GEO. LATHAM.

(Sgd.) PETER HEENAN,
*Minister of Labour for Canada.*
(Sgd.) J. E. BROWNLEE,
*Provincial Secretary for Alberta.*

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## BRITISH COLUMBIA

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made the seventeenth day of August, A.D. 1927

BETWEEN

The GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA, represented by the Minister of Labour for Canada, hereinafter called "The Dominion".

*Of the First Part,*

AND

The LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, represented by the Minister of Labour for British Columbia, hereinafter called "The Province",

***Of the Second Part.***

WHEREAS by the *"Old Age Pension Act"* of British Columbia, hereinafter called the Provincial Act, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council is in effect authorized to enter into an agreement with the Governor General in Council as to a general scheme of old age pensions in the province, pursuant to the provisions of *"The Old Age Pensions Act, 1927,"* of Canada, and the regulations made thereunder, said Act and Regulations together with such alterations in the Regulations as may be made from time to time with the consent of the province being hereinafter called the "Dominion Act", and for the payment by the Dominion to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for old age pensions pursuant to the provisions of the Provincial Act and Order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council hereinafter referred to;

AND WHEREAS section 3 of the Provincial Act provides, in effect, that the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by order authorize and provide for the payment of old age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in the Dominion Act;

AND WHEREAS by order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council dated the seventeenth day of August, A.D. 1927, provision has been made for payment of the said old age pensions pursuant to the terms of this agreement;

AND WHEREAS under the provisions of the Dominion Act the Governor in Council is in effect authorized to enter into an agreement with the province for the payment to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for pensions pursuant to the Provincial Act, and providing for the payment of such pensions under the conditions specified in the Dominion Act;

AND WHEREAS the Governor in Council has by Order in Council of the 25th June, 1927 (P.C. 42/1232), made regulations under the powers conferred by the *Old Age Pensions Act, 1927;*

AND WHEREAS the Governor in Council has approved the scheme for the administration of pensions proposed to be adopted by the province and which scheme of administration is set out in the Order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council hereinbefore mentioned;

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AND WHEREAS the Minister of Labour for Canada, and the Minister of Labour for British Columbia have been respectively authorized by the parties hereto to enter into an agreement in the terms hereinafter set forth;

Now, in consideration of the premises and the respective agreements by and on behalf of the parties hereto, hereinafter set forth, this memorandum of agreement witnesseth:

(1) On, from and after the first day of September, 1927, the province agrees to pay to each person who, upon application by such person, is found by the pension authority to be entitled to receive a pension under the provisions of the Dominion Act, the sum of two hundred and forty dollars yearly, each of such payments to be subject to reduction as provided by the Dominion Act, and all of such payments, whether as to amount or otherwise, to be subject to and governed by the provisions of the Dominion Act.

(2) The province further agrees on its part to comply with all the provisions, stipulations, provisos and conditions contained in the Dominion Act.

(3) The Dominion agrees to pay to the province quarterly in accordance with and subject to the provisions of the said Dominion Act an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province, pursuant to the provisions of this agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of
(Sgd.) C. N. SCHNARR.
(Sgd.) MARY MCQUEEN,
Victoria, B.C.

(Sgd.) PETER HEENAN,
*Minister of Labour for Canada.*
(Sgd.) A. M. MANSON,
*Minister of Labour for British Columbia.*

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## MANITOBA

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made the First day of September, A.D. 1928

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA IN COUNCIL, represented by the Minister of Labour for Canada, hereinafter called "the Dominion,"

*of the First Part,*

AND

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA IN COUNCIL, represented by the Attorney-General of Manitoba, hereinafter called "the Province,"

*of the Second Part.*

WHEREAS by the "*Old Age Pensions Act,*" being chapter 44 of the Statutes of Manitoba, 1928, hereinafter called the "Provincial Act," the Lieutenant-Governor in Council is in effect authorized to enter into an agreement with the Governor General in Council as to a general scheme of old age pensions in the province, pursuant to the provisions of the Dominion *Old Age Pensions Act,* being chapter 156 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and the Regulations made thereunder, said Act and Regulations together with such alterations in the Regulations as may be made from time to time with the consent of the province being hereinafter called the "Dominion Act," and for the payment by the Dominion to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for old age pensions pursuant to the provisions of the Provincial Act; and

WHEREAS section 4 of the Provincial Act provides, in effect, that the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by order authorize and provide for the payment of old age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in the Dominion Act; and

WHEREAS by order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council dated the ..... day of ....., 19..., provision has been made for payment of the said old age pensions pursuant to the terms of this agreement; and

WHEREAS under the provisions of the Dominion Act the Governor in Council is in effect authorized to enter into an agreement with the province for the payment to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for pensions pursuant to the Provincial Act, and providing for the payment of such pensions under the conditions specified in the Dominion Act; and

WHEREAS the Minister of Labour for Canada, and the Attorney-General of Manitoba have been respectively authorized by the parties hereto to enter into an agreement in the terms hereinafter set forth.

Now, in consideration of the premises and the respective agreements by and on behalf of the parties hereto, hereinafter set forth, this memorandum of agreement witnesseth:

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(1) From and after the first day of September, 1928, the province agrees to pay to each person who, upon application by such person, is found by the pension authority to be entitled to receive a pension under the provisions of the Dominion Act, the sum of two hundred and forty dollars yearly, each of such payments to be subject to reduction as provided by the Dominion Act, and all of such payments, whether as to amount or otherwise, to be subject to and governed by the provisions of the Dominion Act.

(2) The province further agrees on its part to comply with all the provisions, stipulations, provisos and conditions contained in the Dominion Act.

(3) The Dominion agrees to pay to the province quarterly in accordance with and subject to the provisions of the said Dominion Act an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province, pursuant to the provisions of this agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of
RAMSAY MACDONALD,
*Member of the Privy Council.*
JOHN BRACKEN,
*Premier of Manitoba.*

PETER HEENAN,
*Minister of Labour for Canada.*
[Seal]

W. J. MAJOR,
*Attorney-General of Manitoba.*
[Seal]

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## ONTARIO

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made the 11th day of June, A.D. 1929

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA IN COUNCIL, represented by the Minister of Labour for Canada, hereinafter called "the Dominion,"

*of the First Part,*

AND

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO IN COUNCIL, represented by the Prime Minister of Ontario, hereinafter called "the Province,"

*of the Second Part.*

WHEREAS by the *Old Age Pensions Act, 1929*, of Ontario, hereinafter called the "Provincial Act," the Lieutenant-Governor in Council is in effect authorized to enter into an agreement with the Governor General in Council as to a general scheme of old age pensions in the Province, pursuant to the provisions of the *"Old Age Pensions Act,"* being Chapter 156 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and the regulations made thereunder, said Act and regulations together with such alterations in the regulations as may be made from time to time with the consent of the Province being hereinafter called the "Dominion Act," and for the payment by the Dominion to the Province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the Province for old age pensions pursuant to the provisions of the Provincial Act and Order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council hereinafter referred to; and

WHEREAS section 4 of the Provincial Act provides, in effect, that the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by Order authorize and provide for the payment of old age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in the Dominion Act; and

WHEREAS by Order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council dated the 22nd day of May, 1929, provision has been made for payment of the said old age pensions pursuant to the terms of this agreement; and

WHEREAS under the provisions of the Dominion Act the Governor in Council is in effect authorized to enter into agreement with the Province for the payment to the Province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the Province for pensions pursuant to the Provincial Act, and providing for the payment of such pensions under the conditions specified in the Dominion Act; and

WHEREAS the Governor in Council has by Order in Council of the 21st December, 1928 (P.C. 119/2298), made regulations under the powers conferred by the *Old Age Pensions Act* of Canada; and

WHEREAS the Minister of Labour for Canada, and the Prime Minister for Ontario have been respectively authorized by the parties hereto to enter into an agreement in the terms hereinafter set forth.

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Now, in consideration of the premises and the respective agreements by and on behalf of the parties hereto, hereinafter set forth, this memorandum of agreement witnesseth:

(1) On, from and after the first day of November, 1929, the Province agrees to pay to each person who, upon application by such person is found by the pension authority to be entitled to receive a pension under the provisions of the Dominion Act, the sum of two hundred and forty dollars yearly, each of such payments to be subject to reduction as provided by the Dominion Act, and all of such payments, whether as to amount or otherwise, to be subject to and governed by the provisions of the Dominion Act.

(2) The Province further agrees on its part to comply with all the provisions, stipulations, provisos and conditions contained in the Dominion Act.

(3) The Dominion agrees to pay to the Province quarterly in accordance with and subject to the provisions of the Dominion Act an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province, pursuant to the provisions of this agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of
(Sgd.) HUMPHREY MITCHELL.
(Sgd.) J. A. ELLIS.

(Sgd.) PETER HEENAN,
*Minister of Labour for Canada.*
(Sgd.) G. H. FERGUSON,
*Prime Minister for Ontario.*

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## SASKATCHEWAN

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made the Ninth day of May, A.D. 1928

BETWEEN

The Governor General of the Dominion of Canada in Council, represented by the Minister of Labour for Canada, hereinafter called "the Dominion,"

*Of the First Part,*

AND

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Saskatchewan in Council, represented by the Minister in charge of the administration of *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928*, hereinafter called " the Province ",

*Of the Second Part.*

Whereas by *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928*, of Saskatchewan, hereinafter called the Provincial Act, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council is in effect authorized to enter into an agreement with the Governor General in Council, as to a general scheme of old age pensions in the province, pursuant to the provisions of the *Old Age Pensions Act* of Canada, and the Regulations made thereunder, said Act and Regulations together with such alterations in the Regulations as may be made from time to time with the consent of the province being hereinafter called the Dominion Act, and for the payment by the Dominion to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for old age pensions pursuant to the provisions of the Provincial Act and Order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council hereinafter referred to; and

Whereas section 3 of the Provincial Act provides, in effect, that the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may by order authorize and provide for the payment of old age pensions to the persons and under the conditions specified in the Dominion Act; and

Whereas by Order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council dated the twenty-seventh day of April, A.D., 1928, provision has been made for payment of the said old age pensions pursuant to the terms of this agreement; and

Whereas under the provisions of the Dominion Act the Governor in Council is in effect authorized to enter into an agreement with the province for the payment to the province quarterly of an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province for pensions pursuant to the Provincial Act, and providing for the payment of such pensions under the conditions specified in the Dominion Act; and

Whereas the Governor in Council has by Order in Council of the 25th June, 1927, (P.C. 42/1232), made Regulations under the powers conferred by the *Old Age Pensions Act* of Canada, which Regulations have been amended by Order in Council of 26th September, 1927, (P.C. 66/1882) and Order in Council of 16th January, 1928, (P.C. 66/81); and

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(3) The Domin
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In Witness W
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(Sgd.) V. A. Ca

(Sgd.) W. L. M

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C 93246



WHEREAS the Governor in Council has approved the scheme for the administration of pensions proposed to be adopted by the province and which scheme of administration is set out in the Order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council hereinbefore mentioned; and

WHEREAS the Minister of Labour for Canada, and the Minister in charge of the administration of *The Old Age Pension Act, 1928*, of Saskatchewan, have been respectively authorized by the parties hereto to enter into an agreement in the terms hereinafter set forth.

Now, in consideration of the premises and the respective agreements by and on behalf of the parties hereto, hereinafter set forth, this memorandum of agreement witnesseth:

(1) On, from and after the first day of May, 1928, the province agrees to pay to each person who, upon application by such person, is found by the pension authority to be entitled to receive a pension under the provisions of the Dominion Act, the sum of two hundred and forty dollars yearly, each of such payments to be subject to reduction as provided by the Dominion Act, and all of such payments, whether as to amount or otherwise, to be subject to and governed by the provisions of the Dominion Act.

(2) The province further agrees on its part to comply with all the provisions, stipulations, provisos and conditions contained in the Dominion Act.

(3) The Dominion agrees to pay to the province quarterly in accordance with and subject to the provisions of the said Dominion Act an amount equal to one-half of the net sum paid out during the preceding quarter by the province, pursuant to the provisions of this agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of

(Sgd.) V. A. CATHRO

(Sgd.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING

PETER HEENAN,
*Minister of Labour for Canada.*

(Sgd.) C. M. HAMILTON,
*Minister in Charge of the Administration of The Old Age Pension Act, 1928, Saskatchewan.*

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# V.—Officials Administering Old Age Pensions in Canada

## DOMINION

Hon. Peter Heenan, Minister of Labour, Department of Labour, Ottawa.
H. H. Ward, Deputy Minister of Labour, Department of Labour, Ottawa.
G. H. Brown, Assistant Deputy Minister of Labour, Department of Labour, Ottawa.
J. D. O'Neill, Departmental Solicitor, Department of Labour, Ottawa.
E. A. Thomas, Departmental Accountant, Department of Labour, Ottawa.
F. E. Harrison, Auditor, Department of Labour, 306 Royal Trust Building, Vancouver, B.C.
W. M. Macintosh, Auditor, Department of Labour, 712 Commercial Building, Winnipeg, Man.

## INTERPROVINCIAL BOARD

J. D. O'Neill, Chairman, Department of Labour, Ottawa.
E. S. H. Winn, K.C., 402 Pender street west, Vancouver, B.C.
F. J. Reynolds, Provincial Office Building, Regina, Sask.
Major C. K. Newcombe, Manitoba Telephone System Building, Winnipeg, Man.
Hon. Dr. D. Jamieson, Parliament Buildings, Toronto, Ont.
Alex. Ross, Qu'Appelle Building, Edmonton, Alta.

## ALBERTA

Hon. J. E. Brownlee, Premier and Provincial Secretary, Edmonton, Alta.
Alexander Ross, Chairman, Workmen's Compensation Board, Qu'Appelle Building, Edmonton, Alta.
Walter F. McNeill, Commissioner, Workmen's Compensation Board, Qu'Appelle Building, Edmonton, Alta.
James A. Kinney, Commissioner, Workmen's Compensation Board, Qu'Appelle Building, Edmonton, Alta.
Frederick D. Noble, Secretary, Workmen's Compensation Board, Qu'Appelle Building, Edmonton, Alta.
G. W. Waistell, Superintendent of Old Age Pensions, Qu'Appelle Building, Edmonton, Alta.

### ALBERTA BOARD OF REVIEW

Mr. Justice J. D. Hyndman, Appellate Division, Supreme Court of Alberta, Edmonton, Alta.
Elmer E. Roper, Secretary, Alberta Federation of Labour, Edmonton, Alta.
Edward Rinchbeck, Spruce Grove, Alta.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

Hon. W. A. McKenzie, Minister of Labour, Victoria, B.C.
E. S. H. Winn, Chairman, Workmen's Compensation Board, 402 Pender street west, Vancouver, B.C.
H. B. Gilmour, Commissioner, Workmen's Compensation Board, 402 Pender street west, Vancouver, B.C.
Parker Williams, Commissioner, Workmen's Compensation Board, 402 Pender street west, Vancouver, B.C.

## MANITOBA

Hon. W. J. Major, Attorney General, Winnipeg, Man.
Major C. K. Newcombe, Chairman, Workmen's Compensation Board, Winnipeg, Man.
George E. Carpenter, Director, Workmen's Compensation Board, Winnipeg, Man.
Fred G. Dixon, Director, Workmen's Compensation Board, Winnipeg, Man.
Nicholas Fletcher, Secretary, Workmen's Compensation Board, Winnipeg, Man.
P. V. E. Jones, Assistant Secretary, Workmen's Compensation Board, Winnipeg, Man.



Hon. Forbes Godfrey, Minis
Hon. Dr. D. Jamieson, Chair
Toronto.
J. A. Ellis, Commissioner,
Toronto.

CITIES—

BELLEVILLE—
Mayor Greenleaf, 1
Mrs. W. C. Mikel, 2
W. J. Hall, 208 Geor
Charles Hanna, 102
Miss Helena Lynch,

BRANTFORD—
Finance Committee—
J. D. Ansell, 165 Eri
E. A. Danby, 67 M
T. E. Brittain, 8 Mt.
G. F. Sterne, 135 El
W. J. Hempel, 58 W
His Worship, Mayor
E. J. Campbell, City

CHATHAM—
W. M. Foreman, Cl
A. J. McGregor.
John McCorvie.
Mrs. W. A. Hadley.
Wm. Stead.

FORT WILLIAM—
His Worship, Mayor
F. W. Fraser, c/o C
Mrs. T. E. Dean, 31
Gilbert Hartley, 307
J. R. Pattison, 510 N
A. McNaughton, Cit

GALT—
Dr. W. S. McKay, 5
James M. Knechtel,
David Fraser, 64 Po
Mrs. Margaret Secor
Mrs. H. Zinn, 116 W
Chas. T. Chesney, C

GUELPH—
John Armstrong, 22
Robert G. Johnston,
Mrs. J. J. Drew, 407
Wm. Hilborn, Mana
Frank Howard, 22 G
Wm. Stephens, City

HAMILTON—
Board of Control.
Relief Officer acting

KINGSTON—
W. H. Craig, City H
Samuel S. Corbett,
Ambrose Shea, 39 B
Dr. S. J. Keyes, 255
Thos. W. Milo, 186
W. W. Sands, City

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## ONTARIO

Hon. Forbes Godfrey, Minister of Labour, Toronto, Ont.
Hon. Dr. D. Jamieson, Chairman, Old Age Pension Commission, Parliament Buildings, Toronto.
J. A. Ellis, Commissioner, Old Age Pension Commission, Parliament Buildings, Toronto.

### LOCAL BOARDS

CITIES—

BELLEVILLE—

Mayor Greenleaf, 10 Foundary street, Chairman.
Mrs. W. C. Mikel, 285 Charles street.
W. J. Hall, 208 George street.
Charles Hanna, 102 E. Moira street.
Miss Helena Lynch, 263 George street, Secretary.

BRANTFORD—

Finance Committee—

J. D. Ansell, 165 Erie Avenue, Chairman.
E. A. Danby, 67 Murray street.
T. E. Brittain, 8 Mt. Pleasant street.
G. F. Sterne, 135 Elgin street.
W. J. Hempel, 58 William street.
His Worship, Mayor Beckett, City Hall.
E. J. Campbell, City Hall, Secretary.

CHATHAM—

W. M. Foreman, Clerk-Treasurer.
A. J. McGregor.
John McCorvie.
Mrs. W. A. Hadley.
Wm. Stead.

FORT WILLIAM—

His Worship, Mayor Darrell, City Hall.
F. W. Fraser, c/o Cameron Heap Co.
Mrs. T. E. Dean, 315 Catherine street.
Gilbert Hartley, 307 Pruden street.
J. R. Pattison, 510 N. John street.
A. McNaughton, City Clerk.

GALT—

Dr. W. S. McKay, 57 Main street, Chairman.
James M. Knechtel, 265 Main street.
David Fraser, 64 Pollock street.
Mrs. Margaret Secord, 67 Cambridge street.
Mrs. H. Zinn, 116 Wellington street.
Chas. T. Chesney, City Treasurer, Secretary.

GUELPH—

John Armstrong, 22 Sydenham street, Chairman.
Robert G. Johnston, 27 Woolwich street.
Mrs. J. J. Drew, 407 Woolwich street.
Wm. Hilborn, Manager, Canadian Bank of Commerce, Guelph.
Frank Howard, 22 Glasgow street.
Wm. Stephens, City Hall, Secretary (pro tem).

HAMILTON—

Board of Control.
Relief Officer acting as Secretary.

KINGSTON—

W. H. Craig, City Hall, Chairman.
Samuel S. Corbett, 246 Princess street.
Ambrose Shea, 39 Brock street.
Dr. S. J. Keyes, 255 Queen street.
Thos. W. Milo, 186 Johnson street.
W. W. Sands, City Hall, City Clerk, Secretary.

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KITCHENER—
E. E. Ratz, 14 Rose street, Chairman.
J. E. Bilger, 178 Queen street north.
M. Phillips, c/o Government Employment Bureau, Yonge street.
Rev. M. S. Hinsperger, Duke street.
Rev. G. Taylor Munro, 22 Maynard avenue.
Miss D. M. Jackson, City Hall, Secretary.

LONDON—
Ald. A. M. Towe, 351 Richmond street.
Ald. G. F. McKay, 412 Rectory street.
Ald. F. H. Curran, Box 179.
Ald. F. B. Kilbourne, 3 Cove Road.
S. Baker, City Clerk.

NIAGARA FALLS—
The City Council.
H. E. Goddard, City Manager, Secretary.

NORTH BAY—
C. O. Baker, 76 Jane street, Chairman.
W. Aubry, 103 Main street east.
Wm. J. Dreany, 108 First avenue east.
Mrs. Laura B. Kerby, 100 First avenue east.
A. T. Smith, 8 Main street east.
H. Freeman, 123 Cassell street, Secretary.

OSHAWA—
C. J. Wilcox.
H. M. Gilchrist.
Rev. Father Bench.
Mrs. Frank Robson.
Mrs. Edith C. Myers.
Miss Dorothy Farncomb.

OTTAWA—
Controller Gerald Sims, Chairman, City Hall.
Ald. T. E. Dansereau, City Hall.
Ald. Samuel Crooks, City Hall.
Mrs. Justinia Sears, 140 Wellington street.
Major C. S. Ford, Secretary, City Hall.

OWEN SOUND—
Mayor D. A. Christie, Chairman.
Ald. A. M. Bunt.
Ald. W. P. Clendenning.
Ald. J. C. Tennant.
C. C. Middlebro, City Clerk, Secretary.

PETERBOROUGH—
F. Adams, Chairman.
Ald. W. Stocker.
F. Fairen.
J. D. Stenton.
A. D. Metheral.
S. R. Armstrong, Secretary.

PORT ARTHUR—
The Finance Committee of Council.
T. F. Milne, City Clerk, Secretary.

ST. CATHARINES—
Mayor John D. Wright, 55 Geneva street.
Ald. Frank C. McCordick, 2 Chestnut street.
Ald. Walter D. Burns, 25 Bank of Nova Scotia Bldg.
Ald. Peter Brant. 39 Ontario street south.
Ald. Frank A. Wilson, 33 Queen street.

ST. THOMAS—
Mrs. J. D. Lamont, 664-8 Talbot street.
Mrs. L. D. Marlatt, 66 Wellington street.
A. P. Conley, 595-7 Talbot street.
Ald. John Lane, 10 Erie street.
Gladstone Whitworth, 1 Scott avenue, Secretary.

SARNIA—
W. R. Dawso
Mrs. Mary N
W. D. McCar
Ed. J. Blake,
Omer F. Lew

SAULT STE. MARIE—
John C. Shipl
H. Sargeant,
Wm. J. Jeffre
J. G. Blain, 3
John J. O'Co
Harold Tolle

STRATFORD—
Mrs. John J.
Thos. Ballant
Harry C. Cla
Wm. B. Osbo
Arthur J. Pig

TORONTO—
Dr. Gordon
Mr. J. O'Co
Mrs. W. L.
Mr. John Di
Mr. C. M. C
Mr. Bert Me

WELLAND—
J. H. Staley,
James A. Hu
H. H. Hilder,
John Volz, 62
Frank Spring
J. D. Watt,

WINDSOR—
Dr. Reni Cas
Miss Helen
Ald. Chas. D
John A. McK
Mrs. M. E.

WOODSTOCK—
Mayor John
Ald. Colin E
Ald. Fred Ch
Ald. John Ut
Ald. George
Arthur B. Le

EAST WINDSOR—
Theodore Pr
Thos. Chick,
John Hebert,
O. W. Hiber
Bruce Willia
J. F. Foster,

COUNTIES—

BRANT—
R. J. McCor
Cuthbert M.
Jeroam Kins
Wm. T. Tho
Miss Ida Mc

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SARNIA—
W. R. Dawson, 170 Queen street, Chairman.
Mrs. Mary Norwood, 133 Margaret street.
W. D. McCart, 350 North Christina street.
Ed. J. Blake, 165 Richard street.
Omer F. Lewis, 263 Ontario street, Secretary.

SAULT STE. MARIE—
John C. Shipley, 278 Third avenue, Chairman.
H. Sargeant, 1066 Queen street east.
Wm. J. Jeffreys, 32 Euclid road.
J. G. Blain, 330 Queen street east.
John J. O'Connor, 6 Queen street east.
Harold Tolley, City Hall, Secretary.

STRATFORD—
Mrs. John J. Neil, 110 Brunswick street.
Thos. Ballantyne, City Hall.
Harry C. Clark, 212 Queen street.
Wm. B. Osborne, 3 Grant street.
Arthur J. Pigeon, 154 Cobourg street.

TORONTO—
Dr. Gordon P. Jackson, M.B., D.Ph., 1534 Queen street west, Chairman.
Mr. J. O'Connor, Room 202, C.P.R. Bldg., Vice-Chairman.
Mrs. W. L. McFarland, 87 Roxborough drive.
Mr. John Dillon, 30 Endean avenue.
Mr. C. M. Carrie, 619 Euclid avenue.
Mr. Bert Merson, Room 104, Manning Chambers, Secretary.

WELLAND—
J. H. Staley, 56 Regent street, Chairman.
James A. Hughes, 200 Hellems avenue.
H. H. Hilder, 28 North Main street.
John Volz, 62 Ross street.
Frank Springer, 59 Merritt street west.
J. D. Watt, City Clerk's office, Secretary.

WINDSOR—
Dr. Reni Casgrain, 141 Pitt street west, Chairman.
Miss Helen Bartlett, Victoria avenue.
Ald. Chas. D. Fraser, 550 Bruce street.
John A. McKeown, 465 Goyeau street.
Mrs. M. E. Fotheringham, City Hall, Secretary.

WOODSTOCK—
Mayor John W. Sales, 70 Finkle street, Chairman.
Ald. Colin E. Sutherland, 513 Adelaide street.
Ald. Fred Childs, 109 Winnett street.
Ald. John Utting, 30 Wellington street north.
Ald. George A. Cuthbert, 860 Dundas street.
Arthur B. Lee, City Clerk, City Hall, Secretary.

EAST WINDSOR—
Theodore Pratt, 189 Sandwich street east, Chairman.
Thos. Chick, 224 Sandwich street east.
John Hebert, 277 Albert road.
O. W. Hiberdy, 61 Jos. Janisse avenue.
Bruce Williams, 1228 Pillette road.
J. F. Foster, City Hall, Secretary.

COUNTIES—

BRANT—
R. J. McCormick, R.R. No. 4, Paris.
Cuthbert M. Burt, St. George.
Jeroam Kinsella, Cathcart.
Wm. T. Thompson, Paris.
Miss Ida Montgomery, Brantford, Secretary.

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Jeroam Kinsella, Cathcart.
Wm. T. Thompson, Paris.
Miss Ida Montgomery, Brantford, Secretary.

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BRUCE—
James Byers, Wiarton.
Wm. J. McKay, R.R. No. 2, Ripley.
John W. Sinclair, R.R. No. 2, Tara.
J. C. Tolmie, Southampton.
Campbell Grant, Walkerton, Secretary.

CARLETON—
W. Hemphill, Richmond, Chairman.
R. H. Washington, County Court House, Ottawa, Secretary.
Board is composed of Warden's Committee.

DUFFERIN—
R. W. Brett, Shelburne.
Robt. Lang, Grand Valley.
John Burnside, Grand Valley.
Wm. Ferris, Shelburne.
W. H. Hunter, Orangeville, Secretary.

ELGIN—
W. S. Stalker, R.R. No. 1, Rodney.
Dugald Blue, Dutton.
Wilson H. Mills, Sparta.
Dr. C. Sinclair, Aylmer.
W. W. Keddie, R.R. No. 1, Belmont.

ESSEX—
E. P. Tellier, St. Joachim.
R. A. Halford, Maidstone.
E. S. Scratch, Cottam.
Ed. Crimmins, Amherstburg.
D. M. Eagle, Sandwich, Secretary.

FRONTENAC—
W. R. Aylesworth, Cataraqui, Chairman.
J. W. Bradshaw, County Clerk, will act as Secretary, Court House, Kingston
County Council will act.

GREY—
Hector C. Moody, Dundalk, Chairman.
W. L. Taylor, Singhampton.
Jos. H. Fretter, R.R. No. 2, Woodward.
Chas. Widmeyer, Neustadt.
Fred H. Rutherford, County Clerk, Court House, Owen Sound, Secretary

HALDIMAND—
W. H. Wingfield, Dunnville, Chairman.
Archie McDonald, Lowbanks.
R. S. Colter, Cayuga.
W. J. Saunders, Jarvis.
Harrisson Arrell, Caledonia, Secretary.

HALTON—
W. H. Morden, Oakville, Chairman.
J. W. Breekon, Burlington.
G. E. Cleave, R.R. No. 1, Norval.
Donald Campbell, Moffatt.
J. W. Blain, Milton.

HASTINGS—
Chas. Thompson, Madoc, Chairman.
R. M. Mitchell, R.R. No. 6, Belleville.
Henry Jaryett, Fort Stewart.
Geo. A. Bailey, Harold.
Jas. W. Haggerty, County Treasurer, 228 Church street, Belleville, Secretary.

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HURON—

W. J. Henderson, Wingham, Chairman.
Roland Kennedy, Seaforth.
Robt. Higgins, Hensall.
J. W. Craigie, Goderich.
Geo. Holman, County Clerk, Goderich, Secretary.

KENT—

John Vance, Thamesville.
N. A. Roszell, Ridgetown.
J. A. McDonald, Wheatley.
R. J. Wilson, Charing Cross.
W. M. Abraham, County Clerk, Chatham, Secretary.

LAMBTON—

W. G. Connolly, Watford.
F. C. Eastman, Arkona.
Wm. Culbert, Wyoming.
Fred Noyle, Mooretown.
J. A. Huey, County Clerk, Sarnia, Secretary.

LANARK—

T. J. Devlin, Perth.
Ben. Willis, Lanark.
Wm. Baird, Carleton Place.
Peter McCallum, Almonte.
R. N. McCreary, Pakenham.

LENNOX AND ADDINGTON—

County Council.

LEEDS AND GRENVILLE—

James A. Sanderson, Oxford Station, Chairman.
James Holmes, Spencerville.
Waldon Myers, Portland.
Walter M. Hanton, Jasper.
Wm Jelly, County Clerk, Brockville, Secretary.

LINCOLN—

F. A. Oakes, Grimsby.
R. E. Book, Smithville.
S. H. Shields, Beamsville.
J. A. Swayze, R.R. No. 2, St. Catharines.
Jas. MacPhee, Niagara-on-the-Lake.

MIDDLESEX—

R. S. Douglas, R.R. No. 2, Ilderton, Chairman.
T. H. Martin, R.R. No. 1, Denfield.
J. W. Laidlaw, Wilton Grove.
Bernie Galbraith, Appin.
Alfred Comfort, R.R. No. 1, Mt. Brydges.
John Stuart, County Clerk, London, Secretary.

NORFOLK—

C. D. Renner, R.R. No. 5, Waterford.
Roy Marshall, Silver Hill.
W. D. Robertson, R.R. No. 5, Tillsonburg.
J. H. Misner, Port Dover.
Jonathan Porter, County Clerk, Simcoe, Secretary.

NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM—

J. H. Davidson, Cobourg, Chairman.
O. C. Pomeroy, Castleton.
C. H. Curtiss, Warkworth.
T. H. Knight, Bowmanville.
J. A. Vance, Cobourg, Secretary.

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ONTARIO—
Roy Park, R.R. No. 1, Cannington.
James Read, Uptergrove.
Gordon McLean, Uxbridge.
J. M. Kenny, Whitby.
E. L. Chapman, R.R. No. 1, Whitby.

OXFORD—
Henry Hanlon, Ingersoll, Chairman.
Andrew Baxter, Brownsville.
Charles Brink, Beachville.
James Dance, R.R. No. 2, Paris.
R. B. Langdon, R.R. No. 5, Embro.
A. E. Roth, Clerk-Treasurer, Woodstock, Secretary.

PEEL—
John T. Jamieson, R.R. No. 1, Cooksville.
Wm. J. Beatty, Brampton.
N. S. Lindsay, R.R. No. 3, Malton.
B. C. Thompson, Port Credit.
W. J. Wilson, Belfountain.
David Wilson, Brampton, Secretary.

PERTH—
Arthur Mutton, Mitchell, Chairman.
Dr. P. L. Tye, Milverton.
Henry Leinweber, Tavistock.
A. M. Cross, R.R. No. 3, Listowel.
J. J. Brown, R.R. No. 1, Sebringville, Secretary.

PETERBOROUGH
H. B. Rye, Claraday, Chairman, Member of County Council.
John Clark, Kinmount, Member of County Council.
Jas. Hawthorne, Warsaw, Member of County Council.
M. E. Smithson, R.R. No. 8, Peterboro, Member of County Council.
J. F. Breckenridge, R.R. No. 2, Havelock, Member of County Council.
M. E. Elliott, Court House, Peterboro, Secretary.

PRESCOTT AND RUSSELL—
J. A. Brisson, Casselman, Joint Secretary.
Denis Harbic, Hawkesbury, Joint Secretary.

PRINCE EDWARD—
Peter Collier, Picton, Chairman.
H. D. Cleminson, Wellington.
M. B. Weese, R.R. No. 1, Rednersville.
H. Y. Cooper, Bloomfield.
Malcolm Parks, Woodrous.
E. A. Adams, Picton, Secretary.

RENFREW—
T. S. Church, Arnprior, Chairman.
W. A. Moore, Renfrew.
Andrew Moran, Killaloe Station.
M. Quilty, R.R. No. 4, Renfrew.
Geo. D. Biggs, Pembroke, Secretary.

SIMCOE—
J. J. McKnight, Tottenham, Chairman.
Chas. Denney, Egbert.
Michael Asselin, Perkinsfield.
Jos. Spicher, Stayner.
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Wm. J.
C. T. G
Norman
Henry C
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WELLINGTON—
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George
William
The War
James B

WENTWORTH—
S. H. M
A. E. Sm
Mark Br
J. R. Ro

YORK—
E. G. W
J. M. Le
J. S. Osb
E. M. Le
H. E. Be

HALIBURTON—
Clayton
James R.
Ben J. Sa
H. B. Fe

TOWNS—

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John Clar
R. R. Wo
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Samuel W
Morris Jo
Mrs. E. G

Hon. Dr. F. Monro
F. J. Reynolds, Co
Edward J. Oliver,
Regina, Sask.
Samuel J. Adlam,
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F. J. Reynolds, Commissioner, Bureau of Child Welfare, Regina, Sask.
Edward J. Oliver, Superintendent of Old Age Pensions, Provincial Office Building, Regina, Sask.
Samuel J. Adlam, Inspector, Bureau of Child Welfare, Provincial Office Building, Regina, Sask.

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# House of Commons Debates

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**Third Report,** motion for concurrence, Mr. Kay. Point of order, Mr. Garland (Bow River). Ruling, Mr. Speaker. Mr. Evans. Motion, Mr. Malcolm, to adjourn debate. Mr. Garland (Bow River). Motion agreed to.

**Criminal Code Amendment,** sedition and seditious libel. Bill No. 81, Mr. Lapointe, first reading.

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## HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker:

The Honourable RODOLPHE LEMIEUX

Tuesday, March 19, 1929.

The house met at three o'clock.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE

Sixth report of select standing committee on railways, canals and telegraph lines.—Mr. Cahill.

### PETITION

TRAFFIC IN INTOXICATING LIQUORS

Petition of the official board of the United Church of Canada, St. George, Ontario, asking that legislation be enacted to prevent the clearance of vessels or vehicles carrying intoxicating liquors to the United States.—Mr. Smoke.

### REPORTS AND PAPERS

Correspondence and other papers in connection with the application of the St. Lawrence Power Company.—Mr. Elliott.

### AGRICULTURE AND COLONIZATION

MOTION FOR ENLARGEMENT OF REFERENCE WITH RESPECT TO INSPECTION, GRADING AND SHIPMENT OF GRAIN

Mr. W. F. KAY (Brome-Missisquoi) moved:

That it be an instruction to the select standing committee on agriculture and colonization that, in addition to the order of reference dated March 6, 1929, they have power to consider and report on the subject of storage, shipping, mixing, inspection and grading of grain generally, under the provisions of the Canada Grain Act.

Mr. JOHN EVANS (Rosetown): Mr. Speaker, if I interpret this resolution correctly it means that the whole question of the marketing of grain is to be inquired into by the agriculture committee; I take it that the administration of the entire grain act is involved.

The administration of the grain act has been entrusted to one body of men, the Board

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of Grain Commissioners, and I believe the government to be in full possession of all the facts with regard to the chaos which existed in western Canada during the last grain marketing season. The Board of Grain Commissioners is practically a creation of this government, and since the board is responsible to the Department of Trade and Commerce the whole of western Canada has been wondering why the government have failed to deal with this problem which brought confusion and loss to the farmers of western Canada last year, and they are also wondering why the government have not dealt with the failure of the board to enforce the provisions of the grain act.

Mr. BENNETT: Would the hon. gentleman speak a little louder?

Mr. EVANS: Mr. Speaker, a number of members are very anxious to hear this discussion, but I can hardly hear my own voice at times.

The whole problem seems to be that the elevator companies have been allowed to use a ticket the wording of which never has been authorized either by the Board of Grain Commissioners or by order in council; there is a line on this ticket which is contrary to the act and which never appeared on any other storage ticket. The ticket says the grain is taken for the Cooperative Wheat Producers Limited, and there is a space left in which the name of the province is to be inserted. Since agriculture was first begun in western Canada there has not been such dissatisfaction with the method of handling grain as there was last year and it all has to do with the right of the farmer to ship his own car of wheat where he wishes to ship it. I do not think anything in our history has shown such a breakdown of our juridical procedure.

In this respect the farmers are in a far different position from that of any other industry in Canada; this business must be carried on cooperatively; our wheat must be transported in bulk through the terminals to the seaboard, and the difficulty has been to preserve the quality of our grades intact until the wheat reaches the markets of the world. The Board of Grain Commissioners is a body of men appointed by the government to administer the grain act in the interests of all concerned; the board is looked upon as having full responsibility for this problem, and is equal in importance to the Board of Railway Commissioners. We believe the board has the power to administer the grain act in all its phases, but it has failed to do that and has allowed the elevator companies to use a form of storage ticket which is not authorized by the act. By this means the board has permitted the elevator companies to set aside the provisions of the act and deny to the farmer the right to ship his own car of wheat to the terminal of his own choice. This has been brought to the attention of the Board of Grain Commissioners many times, but, to the knowledge of any of us here, they have not attempted to rectify the matter or maintain the farmer's right to ship his own car of wheat. The particular section dealing with this matter is section 150 of the Canada Grain Act, known as the Campbell amendment. The government knows how jealously the farmer has guarded this right. Some of us from the west realized the tremendous responsibility placed upon the grain commission and we moved a resolution recommending the advisability of granting an increase in salary.

Mr. KAY: I rise to a point of order: Under standing order No. 38 I think this motion is not debatable.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am not quite sure that it is debatable under standing order No. 38, but I notice there are two motions on the order paper, Nos. 11 and 12, which cover the same question as in the present motion. These motions stand in the names of the hon. member for Willow Bunch (Mr. Donnelly) and the hon. member for Rosetown (Mr. Evans). Under the rules of the house no debate can anticipate a question which is already on the order paper. I would advise the hon. member for Brome-Missisquoi (Mr. Kay) to confer with the two hon. gentlemen in whose names these resolutions stand, and then bring forward his motion. I declare the motion out of order.

THIRD REPORT OF SELECT STANDING COMMITTEE

Mr. W. F. KAY (Brome-Missisquoi): With the consent of the house I beg to move:

That the third report of the select standing committee on agriculture and colonization be concurred in.

Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): I call Your Honour's attention to the fact that you are now asking the house to concur in a report of a committee on which a motion has already been declared out of order.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No, no.

Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): I understand the report to which this concurrence refers is the same report which was covered by the motion already ruled out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not the same motion; this motion is in order and anyone may speak on it.



Mr. GARLAND (Bow
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Mr. SPEAKER: The

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Mr. GARLAND (Bow
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Mr. IRVINE: Could
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Mr. RYCKMAN: Re

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Mr. SPEAKER: This

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Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): What is the motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: The motion is:

That the third report of the select standing committee on agriculture and colonization be concurred in.

Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): What is that report?

Mr. IRVINE: Could we have an explanation of the report?

Mr. RYCKMAN: Read the report.

Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): May I direct Your Honour's attention to the votes and proceeding's of March 14, where we find the following:

Mr. Kay, from the select standing committee on agriculture and colonization, presented the third report of the said committee, which is as follows:—

Your committee recommends that the house do enlarge the order of reference to the said committee, dated March 6th, 1929, by adding thereto authority to consider and report on the subject of the storage, shipping, mixing inspection and grading of grain, generally, under the provisions of the Canada Grain Act.

Do I understand that the debate may proceed on the motion to concur?

Mr. BENNETT: That stood as a notice, at my request.

Mr. SPEAKER: This motion is debatable.

Mr. JOHN EVANS (Rosetown): Mr. Speaker, the thing which concerns us most is the failure of the grain commission to do their duty. Although the government have been in possession of all the facts from the beginning of the present session, and although demands have been made upon them, we have been left in doubt as to what action the government will take. For some reason or other the board have failed in their duty and we are now asking the government to remedy this state of affairs by the dismissal of those who have failed in their duty and place this matter under the supervision of a board which will carry out the grain act in all its phases. The present board have allowed the use of a grain ticket which permits the elevator companies to send a farmer's car of wheat to their own terminal. Through this method the farmers' cooperative concerns are deprived of the earnings which would otherwise be obtained through the handling of the wheat at, say, Fort William. The car of wheat may also be diverted to some milling company which pays a premium for the select grades which they need, based on the milling value and the gluten content which they desire. The farmer's car may be diverted to some mixing elevator where it is mixed with an inferior quality of grain to the very lowest point for which a certificate could be obtained for that particular grade. When the royal grain commission was sitting in Saskatoon, the right of the Saskatchewan farmer to demand that his grain be shipped to a wheat pool terminal, if he so desired, was read into the record. In the case of the pool farmers the Board of Grain Commissioners have taken no steps to maintain the farmers' right in this respect. They have permitted the elevator companies to divert the farmer's cars to their own terminal and they have done this in defiance of the farmer himself and also of the grain act. Section 150 of the grain act gives the farmer this right and under section 225 of the act they have rendered themselves liable, by violating the law in this respect, to the loss of their license.

There is another way in which the farmer loses the intrinsic value of his grain. This is contrary to the grain act and contrary to the Railway Act as well. It came out before the royal grain commission at Saskatoon that ten elevator companies in Saskatchewan have an agreement with the Robin Hood Milling Company and the Canadian Pacific railway officials that they can go and select cars from the Canadian Pacific railway trains at the terminal or divisional points of that railway, sample them and, if they are of the milling quality which they desire, divert them to their own mills. In this way only the poorest quality of grain goes forward for export and it is on this quality that the price is based. This is a direct infringement of the act and one that never should have been allowed. There is no doubt in my mind that the grain commissioners knew of this practice.

Mr. STEWART (Edmonton): The car must be diverted after inspection, must it not?

Mr. EVANS: The practice is that an official of the railway company will go with the miller and the samplers at that point, break the seals on the car, and, if the car suits the miller, he diverts it to his own mill. If it does not suit him, the car is again sealed, sent on to the terminal elevator at Fort William or Port Arthur and the grain sent on from there.

Mr. STEWART (Edmonton): This is done after the car is inspected or at inspection?

Mr. EVANS: Not necessarily. I think a test is made by the milling company themselves and it depends whether the grain comes from the district which they prefer.



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Mr. STEWART (Edmonton): After the car is sealed and shipped?

Mr. EVANS: After the car is sealed and shipped. The railway companies have been allowing the millers to take the cars which they desire out of their trains at the divisional points. This practice is contrary to the Grain Act and it is such that no other producer in any other industry in Canada would allow. Why should this be practised on the western farmers in this way? We require a complete reorganization of the whole service; we also need a body of men who will carry out the provisions of the act without fear or favour. When our wheat of the highest milling value is filched from our crop by those who are already making unjust profits, the bulk of the wheat is lowered in price on the European market and the miller gets the difference in quality between the cream of the crop and the skimmed grades without paying anything for it, while no farmer receives a price greater than the export price for his wheat or any other produce. A grain commission that allows such practices is certainly incompetent or wilfully neglectful of its duty. I think no such body of men should hold such an important position as that of standing between the grain trade and the farmers to see that justice is done between the two. It is only fair and not unreasonable that we call on the government to remedy this state of affairs. The question does not need to be investigated by any committee; the government is in possession of all the facts. The grain act in this respect is all right. What we need is to have it administered as it is intended it should be.

I find that in a letter to the Board of Grain Commissioners dated October 28, 1927, the secretary of the Saskatchewan wheat pool asserted the right of the farmer in this respect, but in the reply the board maintained the right of the elevator companies to use the ticket I have under my hand, what is known as the "hybrid' ticket. That reply was dated November 9, 1927. In an article by one of the pool officials reproduced in the Western Producer under date of October 13, 1927, there is given the clause in the agreement preserving the right of the grower to his grain in accordance with the grain act and also in a letter written by the solicitor of the Manitoba wheat pool the right of the farmer is still maintained. But from the same letter we find that the commissioner, Mr. Matthew Snow, asserted that the board did not include the objectionable wording in their ticket and never approved it. Later on we find that he had to admit that the board approved the trade using this ticket which contains the objectionable wording.

Many incidents might be quoted, but so that the house will understand the nature of the offence, I will quote just one from my own constituency. Mr. Charles Bell, of Tessier, on November 9 last could not get his wheat out of the local elevator even though he had a special bin ticket and not a "hybrid" ticket. He tendered all legal charges against the wheat in the elevator, but although he had a car already on track to load the wheat, the elevator operator would not load it. Mr. Bell at once wired the Board of Grain Commissioners, but they refused to give orders to the elevator company even in this case where there was no doubt as to Mr. Bell's right in the matter of directing his car to any terminal he might choose. The Board of Grain Commissioners then simply discussed the matter with the elevator company at Winnipeg, the Pioneer Grain Company, who intimated they were willing, without prejudice, to comply with Mr. Bell's demand, reserving to themselves the right which they asserted they had under a contract with the wheat pool. It is a pretty kettle of fish we have here when the Board of Grain Commissioners have to consult a grain elevator company to find out whether they can by any contract or otherwise set aside an act of parliament. This board evidently did not know its duty, and was of the opinion that if any contract existed, an act of this parliament could be rescinded at any time by a grain company doing business in Winnipeg whenever it thought that its interests were being hurt.

There is another outstanding case. Robert Cannon, of Aberdeen, wired the board that a hybrid ticket was used, and Commissioner Snow said that it gave the right to the elevator company to ship the grain to the terminal of their own choice because the grain was taken into storage on account of the Saskatchewan pool. It is no business of any elevator company on whose account it is taken in, and provision for the second name was never made on any ticket approved by the board or by order in council. This means that the Board of Grain Commissioners is allowing the use of a ticket that has not been authorized by itself or approved by order in council. The Board of Grain Commissioners has stated at different times that it had no power to enforce the act in this respect. One of the commissioners attending the annual meeting of the Saskatchewan wheat pool this year declared that he would not enforce the act because of the incon-



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venience it would cause to the farmers themselves. The farmers in that case gave the board to understand that they expected it to do its duty, and they would be prepared to stand for any inconvenience that would ensue. The board, under section 225, has full power to cancel the license, and the elevator companies, unless some assurance had been given to them either by the Department of Trade and Commerce or by the board itself, knew and must have known that they were using a ticket which rendered them liable to have their license cancelled.

I do not want to speak at any length on this question. I think I have already given the house sufficient information for it to appreciate that nothing can be gained by prolonging this matter, and we expect now that the government will do its duty. These practices have too long been going on in western Canada. The filching of our cars for mixing purposes and for milling purposes in western Canada is a direct loss to the farmer. This cannot go on for ever, although it does seem that the farmer in western Canada seems to be fair game for plunder by anyone that can get away with it. I say again that the duty of the government in this respect is plain, and we expect the government to do its duty.

Hon. JAMES MALCOLM (Minister of Trade and Commerce): It is quite evident, Mr. Speaker, that the desire of the agriculture and colonization committee was that the very matter which my hon. friend from Rosetown (Mr. Evans) has brought up, and other matters pertaining to the grain act, should have the fullest discussion in committee in a manner in which they could be discussed in the house. My hon. friend is quite within his rights in calling on the government to correct certain evils which he states exist in connection with the administration of the act, and it is the desire, not only of the government, but I think of this whole parliament, which unanimously last year passed certain amendments to the grain act, to rectify any evils which may exist. I am not desirous, without preparation, of going into the discussion of a matter which I think should be reviewed in committee, and in order to receive time for preparation there is only one thing I can do if it is proposed that this debate shall go on, and that is to move the adjournment of the debate, which I now do.

Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): I take it, Mr. Speaker, that this motion is not debatable.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not debatable.

Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): Under those circumstances, we shall have to vote against the motion.

After Mr. Speaker had called for the Yeas and Nays:

Mr. SPEAKER: Call in the members.

And the members being assembled:

Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): Since Your Honour invited the members to be called in I have had a conference with the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Malcolm) and the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bennett), and have ascertained that my viewpoint was not correct. I understood that the motion to adjourn the debate meant an indefinite postponement.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. GARLAND (Bow River): Order, please. I now find that the Minister of Trade and Commerce is quite willing that the debate shall be proceeded with to-morrow on "motions". Under these circumstances we may be able to avoid the necessity for a vote.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the house that there be no division?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. SPEAKER: Motion agreed to.

## CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENT

Hon. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Minister of Justice) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 81 to amend the criminal code.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Explain.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I only hope, Mr. Speaker, that the bill I am going to introduce under such happy circumstances will meet with unanimous approval, although I have some doubt as to this. This bill is similar in form to the bill that has passed this house three or four times in preceding sessions. Its purpose is to repeal certain sections of the criminal code which were enacted in 1919 concerning sedition.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

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## BEAUHARNOIS LIGHT, HEAT AND POWER COMPANY

On the order:

Introduction of bills—Mr. Church—bill intituled: "An act to annul an order in council relating to the Beauharnois Light, Heat and Power Company."

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member for Northwest Toronto (Mr. Church) has left this note with me:

I wish to drop my Beauharnois motion.

There is no division.

## INTERIM SUPPLY BILL

Hon. J. A. ROBB (Minister of Finance): Mr. Speaker, as we are approaching the Easter holiday and are near the end of the fiscal year, it has been suggested that to carry on the public service we should vote the usual interim supply. Therefore with unanimous consent I beg to move that the house go into committee of supply.

Motion agreed to and the house went into committee, Mr. Johnston in the chair.

Mr. ROBB moved:

Resolved that a sum not exceeding $20,454,936.78, being one-twelfth of the amount of each of the several items to be voted as set forth in the main estimates for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1930, laid before the House of Commons at the present session of parliament, be granted to His Majesty, on account, for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1930.

Resolution reported, read the second time and concurred in.

Mr. ROBB moved that the house go into committee of ways and means.

Motion agreed to and the house went into committee, Mr. Johnston in the chair.

Mr. ROBB moved:

Resolved that towards making good the supply granted to His Majesty on account of certain expenses of the public service for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1930, the sum of $20,454,936.78 be granted out of the consolidated revenue fund of Canada.

Motion agreed to.

Resolution reported, read the second time and concurred in.

Mr. ROBB thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 82 for granting to His Majesty a certain sum of money for the public service for the financial year ending March 31, 1930.

[Mr. Lapointe.]

Motion agreed to and bill read the first and second time, and the house went into committee thereon, Mr. Johnston in the chair.

Sections 1 to 3 inclusive agreed to.

On the title.

Mr. BENNETT: This is, of course, without prejudice to our right to discuss these items and must not be taken as acquiescing in the soundness of judgment of the government in voting this sum of money, being one-twelfth of the total of the public service portion of the supply bill, amounting to $20,000,000.

Title agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time and passed.

## VALUE OF CANADIAN DOLLAR

On the orders of the day:

Mr. WILLIAM IRVINE (Wetaskiwin): I wish to direct the attention of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Robb) to a question based upon two sentences which I will quote from Commerce and Finance of March 13:

Canada shipped $1,500,000 gold and, were a free gold market operative in the Dominion, doubtless would have sent much more since Canadian dollars are quoted at a big discount. Canada is evidently resorting to extraordinary measures to keep her remaining gold reserve.

Is the Canadian dollar at a big discount, and is the Minister of Finance resorting to extraordinary measures to retain a gold reserve? And, if so, why?

Hon. J. A. ROBB (Minister of Finance): The answer to both questions is no.

## THE GOLD STANDARD

Mr. H. E. SPENCER (Battle River): May I ask the Minister of Finance whether Canada is on a free gold market?

Hon. J. A. ROBB (Minister of Finance): We are on a gold basis.

## THE BUDGET

CONTINUATION OF DEBATE ON THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

The house resumed from Monday, March 18, the debate on the motion of Hon. J. A. Robb (Minister of Finance) that Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair for the house to go into committee of ways and means, the proposed amendment thereto of Hon. Hugh Guthrie, and the proposed amendment to the amendment of Mr. Spencer.

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Hon. H. H. STEVENS (Vancouver Centre): The house a moment ago anticipated a few words which I wish to utter and in which I know there will be general concurrence, and that is in welcoming back to our midst the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe). We all, I am sure, express the hope that the minister will experience a complete and absolute recovery from his illness. The Minister of Finance (Mr. Robb) will please accept these kind words to the Minister of Justice in place of encomiums upon him and his budget.

Canada, from an administrative standpoint, is considered among political economists to be a somewhat difficult country to govern. The large spaces, the great distances, the paucity of population and the diversity of interests frequently found in widely separated sections of the country constitute difficulties which challenge the very best statesmanship possible. There are in my opinion two types of policy to be pursued, or two methods of approach to the task of governing Canada. On the one hand there is the broad general point of view which, while making reasonable allowances for the diversity of interests of groups here and there, yet keeps constantly in the very forefront of consideration the great potentialities of Canada and the possibility of utilizing these so as to build up an almost invincible economic unit. On the other hand, there is the method which takes advantage of the diversified and, in some instances, conflicting interests and by subtle adjustment of administrative measures wins to its support interests here and there and holds the votes of districts and communities by favours offered, at the same time keeping divided the opposition to the administration. This is in a sense a Napoleonic policy—divide and rule.

The fathers of confederation achieved by their splendid work a great political unit; they brought together the scattered elements in this country and formulated a political organism or unit. But they left to succeeding generations the important task of welding these various scattered groups and interests into one economic entity. Some rather hold that the diverse interests in Canada doom the Dominion to be continuously and forever sharply divided in her interests; in other words, they hold that the agricultural west cannot work in harmony with the industrial east. I believe this to be an entirely false economic doctrine. I hold rather to the view that one is the complement of the other. Unquestionably there are bound to be differences of opinion regarding administration, regarding laws and policies, regarding the direction of trade and so forth; regarding such questions there are bound to be sharp cleavages of opinion. Nevertheless a broad and generous view of the country's possibilities will lead one to the conviction that we can make out of this great Dominion an economic unit prosperous and successful, and of advantage to all its varied interests.

I pause for a moment to ask this question, which I suggest should be kept constantly in mind when we consider the problems of this vast country: what country on the globe has greater potentialities than this Dominion? For instance, geographically it touches both the great oceans, facing on the west the Orient with its new awakening industrial, economic and commercial life, and, on the east, in intimate touch with the Old World and its older civilization and its more advanced economic and industrial communities. In between the two extremes are the vast material resources of the Dominion. It is unnecessary for me to name them; merely to mention the fact immediately brings to the vision of every hon. gentleman some idea of the vastness of these resources. Our climatic conditions are such as to breed a virile race; there is no room in Canada for the drone. In some countries such as the southern part of the United States and equatorial countries there is a lassitude, an indifference, a lack of enterprise and a tendency to loaf which enervates the life of the community, but in this country the whole tendency of climatic conditions is to spur a man on to greater activities. Then in regard to power, which is of immense importance, we are wont to say that this country has illimitable power possibilities.

So, then, what is wrong with the country? Some will say that nothing is wrong. I quite agree that nothing is wrong with the country as such, but unquestionably one could not listen to this debate, for instance, without realizing that there is something the matter, that there are problems still unsolved, that there are questions challenging the attention of this parliament which must receive attention and for which there must be some solution. It would appear, Mr. Speaker, that we have in Canada all the elements necessary to make a great people but that we lack the capacity to take advantage of these elements and of them weld a great industrial, economic, social and national whole. Just in passing I think I can illustrate what I meant when I said a moment ago that in some respects governments may choose the path, when I draw attention to the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Brown), the hon. member for Marquette

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(Mr. Glen) and others of their associates who sit in support of the ministers, giving loyal and consistent support to the government, although those ministers hold views on economic subjects entirely different from the views held by the hon. members. Then there is the Minister of Immigration (Mr. Forke), for example, sitting in the same seat with the Solicitor General (Mr. Cannon). Can one imagine two individuals with more divergent economic outlooks? Yet they are sitting in the cabinet together, and what is the situation? I presume that the gentle dropping of words of political advice, political wisdom and political experience by the Solicitor General into the ear of the Minister of Immigration has gradually worn away his resistance and his conscience, like the dropping of water upon the hardest stone, so that now he is able to look with equanimity upon a complete violation of his economic views. That was what I meant a moment ago when I said there is a possibility of governments in Canada seeking to hold power by placating groups here and there, but the question I ask is whether such a process and such a method is in the best interests of the country as a whole.

Now, Mr. Speaker, for a moment or two I wish to discuss two of what I think are the major problems facing this country, and the first is the problem of population which is challenging if it is not actually defying this government, and I go further and say it is challenging this parliament. This persistent shrinkage of our population is appalling; I repeat that the constant shrinking of the population of Canada is a challenge to this parliament. From 1921 to 1928 we lost, in numbers, all the immigrants who came to Canada and in addition 240,000 of our native born. I have the figures before me, and if necessary I can take them back to 1901. For the comfort of the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston), who twitted my colleague a day or so ago because he selected trade figures which were peculiar to this administration, although after all the government of this country is across the way and it is our duty to present to parliament the conditions as they exist at present, I want to say that I am not denying that this problem of population is not peculiar to this government, but I am able to say from these figures that this problem has been aggravated during the time this government has been in office. At this time I want to bring forward this problem as a challenge to parliament and to the government as the leaders of parliament, those who have the responsibility of administration and who must take cognizance of the problem so presented.

What are the figures? In 1921 the census showed a population of 8,788,000; from 1921 to 1928, we had 962,000 immigrants come to Canada; in that same period the births numbered 1,939,000, making a total of 11,689,000. If we deduct from that figure the deaths, which numbered 824,000, we have left 10,865,000 people. If the immigration policy of this country had been wise and successful we should have in Canada to-day, including our natural increase, 10,855,000 souls, but what is our poulation according to the Bureau of Statistics? Our actual population is 9,655,000, and if we deduct that from the figure I gave a moment ago we have an actual shrinkage of 1,200,000 people in the last six or seven years. This is not a question of juggling figures; it is a cold fact confronting this country.

Mr. DUNNING: No.

Mr. STEVENS: I am also glad to see the Minister of Railways in his seat, at least partially recovered from his illness; he shakes his head and says no. That is a habit of his. Does he question my figures?

Mr. DUNNING: Certainly.

Mr. STEVENS: Then I can only refer the minister to the Department of Trade and Commerce, from which I obtained every one of the figures I gave. If the only answer to the presentation of a problem is to simply say that the figures are wrong, and if one takes the precaution of securing his figures from the Bureau of Statistics and then checking and cross checking them, what more can a man do?

Mr. DUNNING: I just want to say that for one comparison my hon. friend is using a definite figure from the census of 1921, and in the other case he is using what is admittedly and what is stated by the department to be an estimate.

Mr. STEVENS: Quite so, but will the minister say that the Bureau of Statistics are out 1,200,000 in their estimates? I will admit that the estimate is not exact; I queried that very point myself and they told me this was their very best estimate, based upon the quinquennial census of the prairies in addition to the information which comes to them from their usual sources throughout the country.

However, the minister is taking this in the wrong spirit. Let me put the problem to the house again. These figures, which are issued by the government, show a shrinkage



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Mr. FORKE: I do not wish to interrupt my hon. friend, because I know his time is short, but has not that same problem faced the country since 1830?

Mr. STEVENS: I have already stated, and I want to make it quite clear, that this is not a situation peculiar to the tenure of this government, but it seems to have been aggravated and it seems to be increasing. This situation seems to be aggravated; for instance, the figures for 1901—that is the earliest I could obtain—show a shrinkage of 2,461,000, whereas immigration amounted to 2,691,000. There was a slight gain made by the immigration there, but for the last eight years we find that we have had not only a complete loss of our immigration, but 240,000 in addition. These figures are alarming and they challenge the attention of parliament; some consideration should be given to them. Governmental indifference is in a measure responsible for this situation. There has been a lack of appreciation of the problem and a refusal to admit the existence of difficulties.

When the Minister of Trade and Commerce spoke on the budget the other day—evidently put up by the government to be one of those to reply to the hon. member for South Wellington (Mr. Guthrie)—he had something to say on this subject as it related to the farming industry. The attention of the government had been called to the fact that there had been a serious drop in farming production and in the activities of agriculturists. Indubitable evidence was brought forward, and the minister in replying to that evidence said:

I contend, Mr. Speaker, that there is absolutely no loss to the dairying industry because our farmers are milk producers in other forms.

If the dairying industry has gone into other forms of production, why cannot that be done out of an increased production of milk? With complete complacency the minister says: There is nothing wrong with the dairying industry; it is true they have not made as much butter, but they made more condensed and powdered milk. But the answer to that is this: No country in the world should be going forward with greater strides than Canada, but the minister is satisfied if he can discover that we are merely marking time. It is a startling situation when we realize that the production of the dairying industry fell off 500,000,000 pounds of milk. We should have advanced more than 500,000,000 pounds of milk. It is a serious thing for Canada when we realize that the dairy herds have decreased by 101,000 animals, while there has been an increase in the herds of New Zealand of 57,000. This problem challenges the attention of the government and it cannot stand idle unless it is going to be false to its simplest duties.

We have heard from hon. members opposite about the prosperous condition of this country. I am not going to suggest that there is not a large measure of prosperity in Canada, but I would invite the house to consider the fact that a large measure of the prosperity is merely a reflection of the profits made by Canadians in stock operations on the New York stock exchange. I am unable to give the exact figures in this regard because I found they were not available from the records of the Federal Reserve bank. I am not reflecting on those who did succeed in their operations, I say, "God bless them," but we must not overlook the languishing condition of a basic industry of this country. When we consider how the production has fallen off there is very little comfort in the fact that certain persons and groups have made money on the New York stock exchange.

Mr. ROBB: Some of them suffered losses.

Mr. STEVENS: I do not play the market myself, but the evidence on the financial pages of every newspaper in the country would go to show that the losses during the past few years have been very slight as compared with the so-called winnings, if one can use the gambling term.

I would also direct the attention of the government to the question of trade. When the Minister of Finance was presenting his budget the other day, he used these words:

It is gratifying to note the steady development of inter-empire trade.

If the minister has an opportunity at some future time I trust he will give us an explanation of these words in the light of the facts which I shall present. The minister continued:

Canada, the pioneer of the British preference, looks on empire trade as the keystone of its external trade policy—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

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Mr. STEVENS: Some hon. members are saying "Hear, hear", but I want them to keep this in mind. To continue:

—and desires in every way to foster closer trading relations throughout the British commonwealth of nations.

Are those words sincere? Does the minister really mean what he said? They were given as the views of the government, and I recognize the language of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) in some of the paragraphs. If they are sincere they should show a lower average duty on imports from the United Kingdom; they should show a larger proportion of free goods from England than previously; and they should show an increasing ratio of trade expansion. I will submit some figures which will show how the key-stone works. I am afraid it will be seen that the key-stone is wobbling in its place.

The figures of the Department of Trade and Commerce show that the average duty on imports from the United Kingdom for the six years 1922 to 1927 was 19·1 per cent. The average duty for imports from the United States for the same period was 13·3 per cent. The average duty on imports from all countries was 15·7 per cent. These figures will be found on page 500 of the Canada Year Book if anyone should desire to check them. The average duty on imports from the United Kingdom was 6 per cent higher than the average duty on imports from the United States, and four per cent higher than the average duty on imports from all countries. It may be argued: What is the use of quoting the average percentages of duty? If there is a lowering of the duty rate, it is true there may be an increase in revenue but there should be a lowering in the percentage of duty as applied to imports. What are the facts? In order to be perfectly fair in this matter I will give the figures from confederation down to the present time. These are the figures:

| | Imports from United Kingdom |
|---|---|
| Dutiable goods | $3,400,000,000 |
| Free goods | 993,000,000 |

Average rate of duty, 20 per cent.

In other words during all that period 22½ per cent of the goods that came in from the United Kingdom were on the free list. I give the same figures for the United States:

| | Imports from United States |
|---|---|
| Dutiable goods | $7,500,000,000 |
| Free goods | 5,700,000,000 |

Average rate of duty, 13.2 per cent.

Mr. DUNNING: Over what period?

Mr. STEVENS: Over all the period of Canada's history from confederation down to the present time. Let me turn to the record of this government from 1923 to 1928 inclusive. These are the figures:

| | Imports from United Kingdom |
|---|---|
| Dutiable goods | $901,000,000 |
| Free goods | 205,000,000 |

Or only 18 per cent free.

| | Imports from United States |
|---|---|
| Dutiable goods | $2,502,000,000 |
| Free goods | 1,797,000,000 |

In other words, during the last seven years 42 per cent of the goods we imported from the United States were admitted free of duty. Let us compare the totals. The totals for the whole period since confederation are as follows:

| | Imports |
|---|---|
| From the United Kingdom | $ 4,400,000,000 |
| From the United States | 13,300,000,000 |

In other words, six times as much free goods entered this country from the United States as from Great Britain. I ask where the key-stone of the foreign trade of this country is. I ask the minister: Where is the enthusiasm on the part of the government for the upbuilding of empire trade?

Mr. SMITH (Stormont): Are the imports from the United States not largely raw material for further manufacture?

Mr. STEVENS: No, the situation is exactly the opposite. There are some hon. members who hold the view—and it is the old Adam Smith view—that if you want to sell your goods, you have to buy goods. I have often heard that from hon. gentlemen opposite and from some of my hon. friends to my left. I ask them sincerely and earnestly to consider the figures. Since confederation we sold to the United Kingdom $12,500,000,000 worth of goods, while during the same period we sold to the United States only $8,500,000,000 worth of goods. In other words, we sold 50 per cent more to the motherland than to the United States. On the basis of this so-called Adam Smith theory of trade I ask this of my hon. friends: Is it not time that parliament addressed itself to the problem of buying goods where we sell them? Let us remember that in the same period we bought from Great Britain only $4,000,000,000 worth of goods or one-third of what we sold them. We are just $8,000,000,000 behind in our purchases from Great Britain. On the other hand we are just $5,000,000,000 ahead in our purchases from the United States. To show that this condition is increasing in its adverse influence



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upon British trade, I can quote the figures of the United States. During the years 1923 to 1928 our total purchases were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| From the United States. .. | $4,300,000,000 |
| From Great Britain.. .. .. | 1,100,000,000 |

In other words our purchases from the United States were four times as much as from Great Britain.

Mr. ADSHEAD: Is it not a fact that we purchased all we needed from Great Britain and the balance went to pay our debts in the United States?

Mr. STEVENS: I see the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Brown) taps his desk a little timidly. I might as well interject this at this point. The excess of our trade with the United States amounting to $5,000,000,000 is represented in $4,000,000,000 of investments in this country. In other words, when we speak of the great investments of the United States in Canada amounting to $4,000,000,000, we ourselves have overpaid that by $1,000,000,000. It is our own money that the United States is investing in Canada. I am not going to labour that point further, but I put to the house this problem as one of the problems challenging the attention of Canada: if we are going to continue this process of trade and purchasing, we are going to make Canada an economic vassal of the United States. If we persist in this course, there is no other outcome for us. I think it is about four years ago, speaking on the budget, I took even a more analytical form in presenting similar figures and I concluded my remarks then with this observation to the Prime Minister. I said: If the policies of the right hon. gentleman are persisted in, he will deliver Canada shackled and bound economically into the hands of the United States. I now bring forward additional figures to show that the progress in that direction is, if anything, accelerated.

There is more that I would like to have said, but I shall have to cut a good deal of it out. The Minister of Trade and Commerce offered, as his answer to the contention that conditions in this country were perhaps not all that some held they were, that car loadings in Canada were some 846,000 cars over what they were in 1923. He used these words:

> It cannot be otherwise than that this increase in tonnage has helped employment in the transportation systems.

He left it at that. What are the facts? I get this from the Bureau of Statistics as well as from the railway board and I hope the minister will not challenge my figures. The number of employees in the transportation business were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1923.. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 178,000 |
| 1928.. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 176,000 |

Or 2,000 less than in 1923. Yet the minister came before parliament and said that, because there was an increase in car loadings, there was an increase in employment in the transportation systems. What is the explanation? It is a simple one and parliament ought to know it. We have passed through parliament from year to year large sums of money for the purchase of new locomotive power for the Canadian National; the Canadian Pacific has done the same thing, and to-day they are hauling trains of 100 or 125 cars whereas a few years ago they hauled probably 50 or 60 cars. The result is an actual falling off in employment in that branch of activity. I am not criticizing this; I am saying it because the government comes before parliament and says that because there is an increase in car loadings, ipso facto there is an increase in employment in that branch of activity.

I said a moment ago that there were two types of policy that might direct the affairs of this country. One is a broad, comprehensive policy that keeps constantly in mind the vast potentialities of Canada. I wish to cite just a few of the milestones in Canadian history and I invite the house to consider the fact that every one of those milestones, each one of which called for broad vision, was brought about under Conservative administration.

Confederation was inspired and directed not wholly but largely by the Conservatives; they at least took the initiative in it.

Take the western territories and the organization of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police—the Canadian Pacific railway—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. STEVENS: Some laugh. That was introduced by a Conservative government and was opposed bitterly by the Liberals of that day. The road was said to be incapable of earning the axle grease necessary for the trains, and yet to-day it is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, institution in the world, with its steamships running to all quarters of the globe and its railway lines penetrating every corner of this country—an institution that has done more to advertise Canada perhaps than any other agency that we have, whatever we may think of it.

Then there was the national policy of 1878. I am not going to argue that; I simply say

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that it was introduced as a result of a large vision of the needs of the country at that time.

Then there was the conduct of Canada's part in the Great War. There may be divisions of opinion and schism in regard to this, but the conduct of that great war by this country was an almost superhuman task, and, Mr. Speaker, there are men who broke under the weight of that responsibility, and no wonder. Nevertheless, that great task was conducted by a Conservative administration.

Then there was the foresight shown in opening up the St. Lawrence river and the making of the little eight-foot Welland canal into a big ship canal; the opening of navigation through the Soo from lake Superior to the ocean, and bringing what was then a great unpeopled west in touch with the seaboard. That task was undertaken by a Conservative administration.

Then there was the co-ordination of the Canadian National railway system. Well I remember the bitterness with which that was opposed. I want to say here that it was one of the most mammoth undertakings ever attacked by any government or any parliament, and it was due to the former leader of this party that that great task was successfully accomplished.

The system of trade commissioners, of which the Minister of Trade and Commerce is to-day so justly proud, was introduced by Sir George Foster when he was Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Then there was considerable of what might be called social legislation. There was a vote of $10,000,000 for technical education, aid to which is now rejected and refused by the government, which has set up in this country a magnificent system of technical education, giving our young lads and our young girls a chance in the growing industrial activities of this country. Aid to technical education is now coldly rejected by this government.

Housing. There was a time immediately after the war when the housing problem in this country was acute. The Conservative government set aside $20,000,000 to help solve the housing shortage.

Aid to highways. One of the most necessary things in this country is a highway to link up the different units of confederation. One of the biggest things that could be undertaken by parliament is the opening up of a national highway to unite this great country. The Conservative government appropriated $25,000,000 for that purpose, and started the work. The work was well done and the money well spent, but there are certain gaps remaining.



Civil service reform. The basis of whatever benefits the civil servants now enjoy was given to them by a Conservative government.

Mr. MARCIL: Will the hon. gentleman allow me a question? He spoke of technical education and civil service reform. Both of these measures were introduced by the Liberal party, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Mr. STEVENS: No, certainly not. The hon. gentleman is not strictly correct. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in 1910, appointed a commission, but I have not time to go into that.

Aid to agriculture—

An hon. MEMBER: And votes for women.

Mr. STEVENS: Yes, and we extended the franchise to women. We provided for seed grain advances, and some of our friends from the prairies will realize what a great benefit that was to the farmers.

The original national parks scheme—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Time.

Mr. STEVENS: The Speaker is in the chair, and if hon. gentlemen will allow him to call time, he will do it at the proper time.

The Conservative government introduced measures for the establishment of national parks. The Conservative government created the fuel board, but it has been allowed to languish under Liberal rule and nothing to any extent has been done since this government came into power.

These are some of the milestones, Mr. Speaker, in Canadian history, and it was because of breadth of vision and foresight that these great things were inaugurated under Conservative administration, and to my mind, sir, that is what is required to-day to cope with the embarrassing problems that are now facing us.

Miss AGNES C. MACPHAIL (Southeast Grey): I sometimes think that Canada suffers greatly from an inferiority complex, but evidently it has not infected the Conservative party. I greatly enjoyed the speech of the hon. member for Vancouver Centre (Mr. Stevens). He always speaks clearly and well, but I am astounded that in this enlightened day he should claim credit for the Conservative party for giving the franchise to women. I do not know of anything more scandalous except the War Time Elections Act, of which it was a part, than the manner of granting of the franchise to women in 1917. Does the hon. member for Vancouver Centre and his party not know that it was the starvation and the fighting and the going to

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Mr. HANSON: Yo
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Miss MACPHAIL
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jail and the forcible feeding suffered by the suffragettes of Great Britain, and to a lesser extent of the United States, that gave the franchise to the Canadian women?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Miss MACPHAIL: Hon. members do not show good sense in laughing at that. It is true; it is not a thing to be laughed at. The Conservative government—they called themselves the Union government—gave votes to women in 1917, but not to all women. That would be too risky, and I have noticed that the Conservative government and the Union government did not take many risks; in fact, governments, no matter what kind they are, do not take many risks, and so the Conservative government did not give votes to all women.

Mr. McGIBBON: They gave them to those who were qualified.

Miss MACPHAIL: The hon. member for Muskoka-Ontario (Mr. McGibbon) can make his own speech. They gave votes to women who they thought would vote for them at that particular time, and their guess was good. They gave votes to some women, not to all women, and not because they were intelligent, but because they had a husband or a brother or a son fighting at the front. Whether war time or not, it was a very stupid way of extending the franchise to women.

Mr. HANSON: You were not qualified, that is all.

Miss MACPHAIL If my hon. friend was, I have no apologies to offer because I was not. In 1921 for the first time, women voted, and I am very glad to say that 1921 brought me here. I am sorry that more did not come with me.

To talk for a moment of prosperity, it is true, as almost every speaker has said, that there is a degree of prosperity in Canada, but that prosperity to my mind is spotly, it is felt only by certain classes, and by the classes, by the way, who need it least. We live in a spending age. People want to buy things whether they can afford them or not, and business wanting to help them buy because business, quite rightly, wants to sell, has instituted the instalment plan of buying. We buy stocks on margin. People to-day borrow from the banks to a degree never thought of ten or twenty years ago, and when they borrow from the bank it is written down in bank's books as a deposit. Yet everybody will admit that wealth has not increased by that act of borrowing. The use of automobiles and their rapid replacement has released a very great deal of credit. Possibly the savings of the last generation have been spent, as well as what has been earned in this generation, and in addition, the months and years that lie ahead of us have been mortgaged in many cases to purchase these things. I do not call that very real prosperity. Yet there has been some real prosperity, and I would not want to appear to pass over it. The mining industry has really developed. New fields for agriculture have been opened up, either through a more intensive agriculture or the opening up of new territory, and that is real development.

I want to show the house—and I will have no difficulty in doing so—that farming is not one of the industries participating in the prosperty that is being so much talked about. If the government reads its own publication, Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, published by the Department of Trade and Commerce, it will find that there must be an investment of seven dollars to produce one dollar annually in agriculture; while an investment of three dollars will produce better than two dollars annually in the manufacturing industries. The full figures will be found at pages 60 and 89, but I will not quote them now, having dealt with them last session. I need not say that capital and labour are leaving the land, they are fighting shy of it, because it does not pay the return on either capital or labour that almost any other industry does.

I have before me a statement compiled by and for the life insurance companies of Canada to show that they had better not continue investing their funds in rural mortgages. With the consent of the house I shall be glad to put this table on Hansard. The figures show that in 1926, $73,086,916 was invested in rural mortgages, and the loss was $1,313,810. The amount of money invested in urban mortgages was $192,264,998, and the loss only $256,015. That is, with two and three-quarter times more invested in urban property the loss was only one-fifth the loss on rural property. The figures for 1927 show a little improvement in both agricultural and rural property, but the proportions are about the same. I place these tables on Hansard:

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1926

ALL INSURANCE COMPANIES—FARM MORTGAGES

| Province | Book value Dec. 31, 1916 | Amount of loans on which interest has been overdue one year or more at Dec. 31, 1926 | Total amount written off mortgages or foreclosed real estate and loss on sale of foreclosed real estate during 1926 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alberta | $ 16,830,397 | $3,360,334 | $ 941,996 |
| British Columbia | 355,583 | 68,985 | 13,482 |
| Manitoba | 13,918,771 | 2,888,800 | 158,694 |
| New Brunswick | 800 | ..... | ..... |
| Nova Scotia | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Ontario | 1,727,150 | 45,444 | 457 |
| Prince Edward Island | 27,800 | ..... | ..... |
| Quebec | 105,173 | 15,902 | ..... |
| Saskatchewan | 40,121,242 | 3,556,590 | 199,181 |
| | $ 73,086,916 | $9,936,055 | $1,313,810 |

ALL COMPANIES—OTHER THAN FARM MORTGAGES

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alberta | $ 6,213,927 | $ 251,266 | $ 115,088 |
| British Columbia | 11,987,084 | 100,901 | 76,352 |
| Manitoba | 22,407,770 | 590,034 | 10,968 |
| New Brunswick | 298,291 | ..... | ..... |
| Nova Scotia | 700,881 | ..... | 34,316 |
| Ontario | 85,983,981 | 307,999 | 10,276 |
| Prince Edward Island | 7,700 | ..... | ..... |
| Quebec | 57,974,044 | 333,138 | ..... |
| Saskatchewan | 6,691,320 | 84,904 | 9,115 |
| | $192,264,998 | $1,668,242 | $ 256,015 |

1927

ALL INSURANCE COMPANIES—FARM MORTGAGES

| Province | Book value Dec. 31, 1927 | Amount of loans on which interest has been overdue one year or more at Dec. 31, 1927 | Total amount written off mortgages or foreclosed real estate and loss on sale of foreclosed real estate during 1927 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alberta | $ 16,980,217 | $2,560,992 | $ 953,461 |
| British Columbia | 323,183 | 52,178 | ..... |
| Manitoba | 14,069,512 | 2,539,689 | 239,636 |
| New Brunswick | 830 | ..... | ..... |
| Nova Scotia | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Ontario | 1,849,927 | 59,180 | 1,708 |
| Prince Edward Island | 35,000 | ..... | ..... |
| Quebec | 102,459 | 15,938 | ..... |
| Saskatchewan | 40,512,646 | 3,313,889 | 363,299 |
| | $ 73,873,774 | $8,541,866 | $1,558,104 |

ALL COMPANIES—OTHER THAN FARM MORTGAGES

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alberta | $ 6,780,585 | $ 251,817 | $ 77,201 |
| British Columbia | 17,557,801 | 154,878 | 14,114 |
| Manitoba | 25,875,126 | 847,622 | 93,936 |
| New Brunswick | 280,737 | ..... | ..... |
| Nova Scotia | 611,753 | ..... | ..... |
| Ontario | 101,214,655 | 285,762 | 35,117 |
| Prince Edward Island | 7,700 | ..... | ..... |
| Quebec | 71,573,584 | 10,000 | 179 |
| Saskatchewan | 8,970,460 | 73,407 | 6,508 |
| | $232,872,401 | $1,623,486 | $ 227,055 |



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And he proceeds to

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| | written off mortgages or foreclosed real estate and loss on sale of foreclosed real estate during 1926 | Total amount written off mortgages or foreclosed real estate and loss on sale of foreclosed real estate during 1927 |
|---|---|---|
| | $ 941,996 | $ 953,461 |
| | 13,482 | ..... |
| | 158,694 | 239,636 |
| | ..... | ..... |
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| | 457 | 1,708 |
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| | 199,181 | 363,299 |
| | $1,313,810 | $1,558,104 |
| | $ 115,088 | $ 77,201 |
| | 76,352 | 14,114 |
| | 10,968 | 93,936 |
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| | 34,316 | 35,117 |
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| | ..... | 6,508 |
| | 9,115 | |
| | $ 256,015 | $ 227,055 |

I think many of us have read the articles written by Mr. E. C. Drury in MacLean's magazine dealing with farm conditions. In one of these articles—I do not have the date of its appearance; I made this extract at the time—he stated:

> No farmer can stay on the farm and maintain the same standard of living at the present time as, for instance, those in other businesses. Others are not cleverer, because we are continually filling their ranks with sons of the soil. Considering capital plus labour—farming pays less than any other calling.

I do not think Mr. Drury was overstating what is a well-known fact. To-day one can scarcely sell farm land in many counties in old Ontario. If a sale is effected it must be for the value of the buildings or the value of the land, for certainly the owner will not get the value of both. If farm lands in old Ontario could be sold readily, at least one-half the farms would change hands overnight. It really boils down to this, that the farmer pays more for every service he needs than he receives for the service he renders.

In the Canadian Countryman for February 9, 1929, the editor has worked out a table that will no doubt interest hon. members. I have not time to go through it in detail, but he compares the increased wages of men working in the building, metal, printing and miscellaneous factory trades since 1913 with the increased prices of farm products during the same period. He reaches this conclusion:

> A comparison of this table with the one given previously shows that while people engaged in building trades are getting approximately $1.79 for every $1 they received before the war, farmers are only getting $1.26 in the case of hogs, and $1.44 in the case of eggs, and illustrates clearly the disparity between what farmers earn and what very large numbers of city people earn.

And he proceeds to say:

> If farmers received as much for their products as people engaged in miscellaneous factory trades receive for their labour, instead of the price of creamery butter being 40 cents it would be 58 cents per pound; eggs would sell for 54 cents per dozen instead of 38 cents per dozen; wheat for $1.94 instead of $1.32 per bushel; oats for 80 cents instead of 53 cents per bushel; butcher steers for $14 instead of $9.65 per hundred; and hogs for $18.20 instead of $11.50.

But it is not only in labour that the farmer is paying more than he receives—and do not misunderstand me. I do not want labour to get less, rather I want farmers to get more. I am not one of those farmers who want to see cheap labour, and I am not advocating cheap labour—but, I say, it is not only in labour that the farmer pays more than he receives. When he pays for medical services he pays a very, very high rate. One major operation, one long sickness, and he may lose his farm in meeting the expenses. People who are very poor or people who are very wealthy can afford to be sick, but the middle classes cannot. Dental services are also expensive, and necessary. But much as it costs to be sick or to get a tooth fixed, it is nothing to what it costs to die. Speaking for the province of Ontario, I say that a farmer cannot afford to die—the expenses are too heavy. In fact the burial expenses may absorb all his savings. We can fight shy of the lawyer—that is a blessing anyhow—but if we have to employ his services the fee charged by the doctor or even by the undertaker shrinks into insignificance compared with the lawyer's fee. I have had very little to do with lawyers in a business way, but this year I had occasion to in connection with a farm mortgage. The lawyer—he practises in a town in old Ontario—charged the man who was getting a $4,000 mortgage ten dollars for exchange, although $2,000 was paid by an official cheque and $1,000 by a bank draft. Someone else will have to explain this charge; I cannot.

Not only are wages going up all along the line, but taxes also. I might interject here that the end of the raise in wages has not yet been reached: the deputy ministers are to have a very handsome increase in their salary this year, the judges, I dare say, will be back before long for an increase in their salaries, and so it goes. Municipal, provincial and federal taxes have increased enormously, and the farmer not only pays his own taxes but, as everyone of us knows, he pays a good part of the other fellow's in the increased cost of services and commodities.

I do not know of any body of men that is less well informed on actual conditions in the country than the members of the government. When they go out into the country all the people who have been making money on the stock exchange or by some other method entertain them, they get the band out and the flags flying, with the result that being so lavishly entertained our cabinet ministers know nothing about those who are in a poor way and who possibly have not got a dress suit in which to meet these hon. gentlemen. Apparently the government thinks that the wheat crop this year brought great wealth to Canada. The wheat crop of the prairies was certainly a bulky one, and the railways earned as much in hauling down to the head of the lakes No. 3 or No. 5 grade as they did for No. 1. The grade of the wheat does not affect the earnings of the railways. And the banks made just as much on their loan to the farmer who is still carrying that loan as if he had been able

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to pay it off; indeed, in such cases the banks have made more money in interest charges. The farmer had to borrow funds to buy food and clothes and the necessary machinery to harvest his crop, and in all probability he has not yet paid off that loan. The merchants in the small places would surely agree that they have lost money because the farmer has not been able to meet his last year's debts.

I do not propose to go fully into our loss of population, because this question will be dealt with by my colleague the member for East Lambton (Mr. Fansher). I shall deal only with the loss of population in the last twenty years in my own constituency of Southeast Grey. It comprises nine townships. Between 1901 and 1911 those nine townships lost 6,543 people, and between 1911 and 1921, 4,200, or in that period a total loss of 10,743. One can clearly see that unless this exodus ceases very soon there will be nobody left in Southeast Grey.

I need not further emphasize to an intelligent body of legislators the fact that the agricultural industry in Canada is in a bad way; it is quite clearly the sick industry of the Dominion. And what remedy is offered? I have heard only two; one is protection and the other immigration. It is said that we should have protection by way of the tariff. We have two schools of protection in Canada, both high protection, the only difference being that in the case of the Liberals they talk low tariff and practise high tariff—low tariff to get the votes and high tariff to get the campaign funds in order to enable them to sit on the cushioned seats of the treasury benches. At least I can say this for the Conservative party, that with the one lapse of the Winnipeg convention they are consistent in their tariff policy; whether one thinks of them as they are to-day or as they were a hundred years ago or as they will be a hundred years hence, they are always in the same place—the place of special privilege.

At the moment the Conservatives are advocating protection for agricultural products. I am sorry I did not have the pleasure of hearing it, but I read very carefully, and have re-read a part of it many times, the speech of the hon. member for South Wellington (Mr. Guthrie). It seems fashionable to congratulate somebody and I shall therefore congratulate the hon. member for South Wellington. And I may truly say this, that his speech has required more answering than the budget itself. I could not accept it all, but the first part was exceedingly good; and with a great part of it I did agree. I gather from that speech that the hon. gentleman advocates in the main keeping our agricultural products at home; that is to say: Don't let the other fellow's products come in, but keep our own products within Canada. One might boil it down to this: Let us eat our own products and so make ourselves prosperous. I am not so sure that it would make us prosperous, but it would make us full. That is clear. On page 796 of Hansard the hon. member is reported:

> I realize quite well that in many respects the United States market is the most convenient, the most expedient market which we have; in many respects it is the very best market in which to sell many of our farm products.

If the hon. member was speaking officially for the Conservative party, then that party was eighteen years too late in finding that out; for in 1911 that was the very thing that was advocated by people who still believe that the United States market is a very good outlet for a considerable proportion at least, of our agricultural products. And if the Conservative party actually thought that the United States was a good market for our farm products, when they went into power in 1911 they could have turned right about face and helped us to market our products there—that is, if it is really the farmer they want to help. It would not have been the first time that a government turned right about face and did what in campaigning it said it would not do.

I heard someone—I have forgotten who—say in this house that he more or less resented the inaugural speech of Mr. Hoover, the newly elected president of the United States. Well, I read very carefully what the newspapers reported of his speech and I considered it masterly. I thought it was a broad-minded speech, with one exception: it is very difficult to be internationally minded on one thing and nationally minded on another, and President Hoover had something to say about a tariff in regard to farm products. We must remember however, if we intend to be fair, that the United States offered us a market for our farm products and kept that offer open for a long time. We did not accept it, and it is their own business if they shut out our products; and we have no right at all to feel any resentment against them. Indeed, they must think we are very hard to please if neither thing they offered pleases us. I am not one of those who believe that the raising of the tariff will not injure agriculture in this country; I think it will. It will particularly injure the cattle and dairy people.

The hon. member for South Wellington did not make clear to me how it is, if protection can operate to the benefit of the farmer, that the American farmer, who has been enjoying a large measure of protection for some time,



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is poorer, more discouraged and less able to help himself than the Canadian farmer, notwithstanding that he has access to one of the best home markets in the world. How considerable is the protection which the American farmer has enjoyed I will let a noted American tell you. In the last volume of the American Academy of Political and Social Science there appears at page 125 an article by John D. Black, professor of economics of Harvard university. Professor Black canvasses the question whether the tariff will do the agricultural population of the United States any good, and under the heading, "Possible Expansion of the Home Market", he says:

> The question now to be answered is: Assuming that expansion of the home market by shutting out some of these $647,377,000 of imports would be desirable, how much can really be accomplished in that direction, presumably by raising tariff duties? An examination of the tariff list reveals only two competitive products which do not now have tariff protection—cotton and hides. All the others—coffee, tea, bananas, silk, sisal, etc., are non-competitive. There does not appear much room for expansion here. Apparently the end must be obtained mostly by raising the existing tariff rates. But they seem to be rather high already. The ratio of duties collected to values of dutiable agricultural imports is running just under 40 per cent.

These are not my words but the words of an eminent American. I do not think that protection can raise the prices of farm products in a country with an exportable surplus. A very good example of that is to be found in the United States in the matter of wheat. They had an annual exportable surplus of 3 per cent and they had a protection of 42 cents per bushel; yet wheat has been selling in Canada, almost constantly since 1925, higher than in the United States. No one has ever made me see—and I want to see it if it is true—how protection can protect agricultural products in this country with conditions as they are now. What I fear is that the farmer will place himself, if he asks for protection, in the position where he cannot refuse higher and ever higher protection to the manufacturing industry. Let me give an example to show how that works. In the United States, where the general opinion is that something will be done in regard to raising the tariff against imports of agricultural products, the manufacturer of cream separators, feeling that the man who has cream is going to be considered, has already filed a request for an increase in duty on cream separators. And that is exactly what would happen here. The farmer would have to pay over and over again for any slight benefit that might come to him. There are perhaps a few things of which we have no exportable surplus in connection with which he might benefit in a very small degree, but he would then be in the position where he would be absolutely helpless against the manufacturer who would demand more and more protection for himself. I am particularly anxious that the farmer shall not again be fooled by high protection as he was in 1911. And let me say that the protectionists then were not all Conservatives by any means. On page 257 of the same volume from which I have already quoted there is a clear admission that the farmers of the United States have been fooled by the manufacturers in regard to protection. I should like to put this on Hansard:

> The manufacturing exporters know they cannot benefit by the tariff. They know that, on the whole, it tends to increase costs of production including, directly or indirectly, their own. Consequently they will, especially if and when competition in their essential external markets becomes keen, advocate a general lowering or abolition of duties. Their success will depend upon their ability to unite with them the farmer, whose interests are the same as theirs.

In a footnote exception is made of a minority of farmers producing wool, flaxseed, and hard wheat.

> If they become numerous and powerful enough to do this before the farmer ceases to produce for export, their success will be easy. The manufacturers of the last two generations have bamboozled the farmer into voting against his own interests. There is no reason why the intelligent export manufacturers of the future may not with equal skill and better conscience convince the farmer of the truth.

The only other remedy I have heard proposed is immigration. I noted a welcome change in the speech of the Minister of Immigration the other day, but until the present time the government have advocated getting immigrants, getting more settlers, regardless of cost or kind. Their solution for the agricultural problem was the tariff plus bringing in more farmers to produce more goods further to lower the prices we are getting for farm products. Isn't that brilliant? Only a government could do a thing so stupid; they were afraid they could not do it fast enough themselves to ruin agriculture and so they called to their assistance the railway companies and certain religious organizations. I hope that when the immigration estimates come up every farmer in this house, whether he is an Independent, a Liberal or a Conservative, will take the stand that as a farmer he is not going to be so dull as to sit still and see the people's money spent to bring in more farmers to compete in an already under-paid field.

To my mind the way out for the agricultural industry lies with the farmers themselves



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rather than with the government, although the government can help; the ability to solve the farm problem is latent in every farming community, although it is quite true that the rapid depopulation of the country makes it necessary that we should arouse the latent ability before all the virile and aggressive people have left the land. Farmers have suffered severely from an inferiority-complex, regardless of their political affiliations; the farmers need to trust themselves and stand on their own feet.

This whole condition has come about because the farmer did not look after his own business. He must, not as an individual but as a group, enter the marketing, the financial and the legislative fields; he must become a dominant figure or at least a very important factor in each of these three fields. It is not possible for each individual farmer to study the needs of the market at home and abroad but it is possible for agriculture, well organized and selling its products efficiently, to do that very thing.

We heard a great deal about our importations of cheese, but let me say there is cheese and cheese. I know that when the hon. member for South Wellington made his speech he made no difference, but down at the Chateau Laurier I am sure he would find a great deal of difference. We import a great deal of cheese because it is put up attractively and because it is of a kind the Canadian people want. So far as I know the producers of cheese, not the cheese factories but the people who produce the milk which is made into cheese, have not made any cooperative effort to put their cheese on the markets of the Dominion of Canada in a way acceptable to the Canadian people. In the first place they market it too fresh; sometimes I buy and attempt to eat cheese which tastes and feels a good deal like soap. It was not cheese; it was not ripened; it was not good for the home or the foreign market. Sometimes I buy soft cheese, because I like it; I do not care particularly where it is made. Surely one does not have to eat indigestible cheese just because it is made in Canada; that is carrying patriotism too far. If the men who produce the milk which is made into cheese will make of themselves a cooperative unit; if they will study the needs of the market and the needs of the consumer they will get a better price for their product.

That is equally true of apples. Why is it that the British Columbia apple can compete at a higher price with our Ontario apple right under our noses, when the British Columbia apple has not the flavour of the Ontario Spy or McIntosh? Of course, we have been trained to think of an apple as a beautiful thing and we buy it on its looks, just as men pick their wives. That is why I have been so unlucky.

Mr. RYCKMAN: You have your chance yet.

Miss MACPHAIL: There is no use in my building up false hopes. When a person buys graded apples he knows they will be uniform and attractively and conveniently boxed and he is willing to pay a higher price. Just as soon as the Ontario apple grower wants to get into the cooperative busines he can command a higher price. I do not suggest that he go into a cooperative concern organized by a government; if there is anything in this world I distrust it is a concern of that kind. Let me cite the tobacco pool as a very fine example; but if the growers themselves organize they can put their apples on the market and certainly they will be purchased by the people of Ontario at least.

We have a very considerable degree of cooperative marketing in Canada now. I refer particularly to the grain pools, which came about as a direct result of twenty-five years of farm organization and education and not from the work of the war-time wheat board. The farmer is learning to become intelligent as a group. I think it would astonish the house, as it astonished me, to learn that in 1927 we marketed cooperatively $500,000,000 worth of farm products out of the total of $1,750,000,000 worth of farm products marketed. Supposing the farmers said, "We are going to put over the idea of cooperation to every farmer in Canada regardless of what he produces; we are going to carry on an educational campaign through a body which might be called the associated producers cooperatives." Supposing the farmers levied a tax on themselves, of one mill, or one dollar out of every thousand; that would give them the tidy sum of $500,000 a year. With that they could do very many things to sell the idea of cooperation to the Canadian farmer; they could do it through speeches, through discussions, through marketing schools, through moving pictures and the new "talkies" and through lectures, and it would not be very long before the farmers of Canada would be in the position the farmers of Denmark are in to-day. Then they would laugh at anyone who tride to convince them that cooperative marketing was a good thing; they would know it for themselves.

Then, when they had gone that far they could go still further. I am sorry time does



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not permit me to go into this question more deeply, because it is a most interesting field, but the farmers could continue this annual levy in order to arouse the national consciousness to the need of rural culture. That exists to-day to a very limited degree, but it could be extended, deepened and sweetened; it is necessary to the moral well-being of this nation. All of this would take time and money, but it could be done, and there are many things the government could do to assist agriculture. Let me say right now that there is no use spending money for immigration; there is no use talking about our great prosperity until we get the basic industries prosperous. I do not claim for a moment that agriculture is the only basic industry but it is the chief industry and the government could do much for it. For instance, they could take the advice of the tariff board, which would be a very good body if the government would listen to them; they could free the implements of production from any taxation whatever; they could cut down expenditure as far as possible, thus lowering taxation; they could stop emigration and they could bring about disarmament. No country in the world could lead the world better in disarmament than could Canada. They could revise the Bank Act in the interest of the masses. That may sound a little like talking about heaven, but it is one of the things they should do. They could carry the grading of farm products through to the finished article. What is the use of grading hogs if we do not grade bacon? Unless we can win a place on the world markets for good bacon there is no use grading the hogs. They could collect data from the whole world regarding agricultural conditions and broadcast it to the farmers of Canada. They could develop a federal health program which would lead to state responsibility for good health. There are many other things I would like to mention but I have not the time.

There is one matter which needs immediate consideration—if they think about it for five years they might do something—the financing of the wheat pool. Why could not credit be arranged between the treasury board and the wheat pool? The wheat pool has the wheat and they can deposit collateral with the treasury board; the treasury board has the right to issue credit, or give authority to somebody else to do it, but the way things are at present, the banks stand between the two and make a tidy profit out of doing nothing at all.

But when we got all that done we would still have this monstrosity known as the House of Commons; we would still have two hundred and forty-five members sitting here with the seventeen or so who are in the cabinet actually doing the ruling. Unless it is changed, we would still have this place where questions are not debated or decided on their merits; where private members, and particularly private members in the governing party are not free to advocate the needs of the people—the Liberal Progressive are a telling example of this. The people's representatives are bound and gagged by party discipline and by rules and customs. Perhaps I should say that they are bound and shackled because they are hardly gagged, but at least they have to talk to a wilderness of empty seats and closed minds.

When agriculture becomes fully organized it will then be powerful enough to be one of that group of interests which stand outside and pull the strings which operate the cabinet. But that does not seem to be a very democratic way of effecting government; I think it would be much better if agriculture strove to have the form of government changed in a way which would acknowledge the economic needs of the country and the economic nature of government; which would acknowledge the right of the agricultural group to function as they desired to were they not bound by the present rules and usages of the house. The people will soon realize that the geographical unit is a false unit in the electing of members to this house. Good sense may overtake us and we will realize that questions should be decided in this house on their merits; and I think there is a day in the future—possibly a long way ahead—when the cabinet will not rule parliament but will be subject to parliament. When that day does arrive we will have something which comes nearer to true democracy.

Hon. PETER HEENAN (Minister of Labour): Mr. Speaker, If I am to finish by six o'clock I must hurry along, and I know the member for Southeast Grey (Miss Macphail) will pardon me if I do not pay her the compliments I should like to have paid her.

During the course of the debate I have noticed that some of the hon. members seem loath to believe in the prosperity of this country. I noted that the hon. member for Vancouver Centre (Mr. Stevens) hesitated to accept the figures of car loadings as given by my colleague the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Malcolm). He pointed out that although railroading activities were improving in this country there were less men engaged in that industry. In that he is probably correct, but the hon. member should not have



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taken that decrease in number of employees as proof that we were not progressing. He should have realized that it was because of the more efficient organization of our railroads, the better cooperation and efficiency among railroad men which enabled us to get through the rush periods of traffic without having to bring in men from the United States who would only take wages out of the country. The hon. member stated that 2,000 less men were employed in 1928 on our Canadian railways than were employed in 1923. No doubt that is true, but the wages paid the railroad men in 1923 amounted to $253,000,000, in round figures, as compared with $276,000,000 in 1928.

Mr. HEAPS: Does that include salaries?

Mr. HEENAN: That figure covers operating wages. The Canadian railroad employees had $23,453,000 more amongst themselves in 1928 than they had in 1923, notwithstanding the fact that the last thing which was done under the Conservative administration in 1921 was to reduce the wages of railroad men by 12½ per cent, involving an amount of $50,000,000.

I should like to take the opportunity afforded me in this debate to answer some remarks which have been made by hon. members opposite. I should like first to refer to a statement made by the hon. leader of the opposition (Mr. Bennett). When in Winnipeg on September 24 of last year he charged me, as I understand from the press, with being adverse to the British harvester movement. The following day I corrected that statement and I thought the matter was ended, but when the hon. member spoke in reply to the speech from the throne he quoted from an overseas publication to the effect that I had repudiated the harvester movement. I do not think it is necessary to go outside of Canada to obtain information as to what Canadian public men have said or with regard to Canadian affairs. I have before me extracts from different newspapers published throughout the country, from Halifax to Vancouver. These newspapers have stated in effect that the Minister of Labour had defended the harvester movement at the trades congress convention. It may be that the hon. member was confused by the tactics of some of his own lieutenants who appeared before the trades congress convention and criticized the harvester movement. I have in my hand the issue of September 22 of the Labour News of Alberta, in which the following appears:

Senator Gideon Robertson contended that the Britishers were not even required during harvest season. "Due to the influx of old country harvesters," he said, "the second harvest excursion from the east has been cancelled and thousands of young men in the maritime provinces were thus deprived of the opportunity to secure the usual seasonal employment in the west."

If there was confusion it was caused by that statement, and also because one of the delegates, a man prominent in the councils of the Conservative party, not content with things as they were in the convention, having tried to get the reporters to give a garbled account and failed, slipped out to the telephone and endeavoured to give to one of the papers in the east a garbled account of my statement. The editor, however, wanting to be fair, sent a gentleman to investigate the matter and found that it was a deliberate falsehood. The convention took to task the gentleman who sent out the report. That was what caused the confusion. In that connection the Labour News, published at Hamilton on September 28, had this to say:

It begins to look as though the garbled and misrepresented account of Hon. Peter Heenan's convincing address on immigration at the Dominion Trades Congress convention, given out by an unnamed delegate who by the way is ultra-Conservative, has been swallowed hook, line and sinker by certain Tory newspapers, party writers and leaders.

Commenting on this same controversy between myself and the leader of the opposition, the same editor had this to say:

The Minister of Labour is right in what he says. The writer heard his address at the congress convention and the minister did not hesitate to tell the delegates that he had been a party to the arrangement to bring British harvest help to Canada.

I defended the harvester movement. Why should I not? The harvest crop of western Canada is of vital interest to the whole nation. It is of vital interest to the farmers of the west, to our railroads and railroad men, and I might say practically every man in the industrial centres of the east depends upon the prosperity of the farmers in the west. Therefore I say I defended the harvester movement, but in doing so I endeavoured to show the importance of the question. I tried to show that every year there sits in Winnipeg a committee composed of representatives of the governments of the three prairie provinces, the farmers, the immigration department, the labour bureau, together with the transportation companies. They estimated that this year 75,000 men would be required. When I was informed of that—I was along with my hon. friend the Minister of Immigration



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(Mr. Forke), and he was absent at the time —I sent this telegram to every premier in the eastern provinces:

From information to hand annual meeting of Canadian Passenger Association western lines, employment service representatives of all three prairie provinces, immigration authorities and farmers' representatives held in Winnipeg on Thursday, it was estimated that 75,000 harvest workers would be required to handle this year's crop in the west, 25,000 of whom would be locally available. British Columbia estimates being able to supply 6,000 leaving balance of 44,000 to be secured from other sources. As the harvesting of the western crop is a matter of national importance would greatly appreciate an expression of opinion from you by wire at your earliest convenience as to the approximate number from your province who may be expected to avail themselves of the usual cheap rates provided by the railways for transportation to and from the prairie provinces for the purpose of engaging in harvest work.

Peter Heenan,
Minister of Labour.

I received telegrams in answer to those, and for the information of the house I want to read them. Hon. Doctor Forbes Godfrey, Minister of Labour for Ontario, telegraphed me on July 25 as follows:

On account of the fact employment index in Ontario is at a higher point 108.5 than it has been since 1919, the interest shown among our applicants in the harvest excursion is less than usual. In the case of Toronto for instance not more than a dozen men have asked (at the employment office) for particulars regarding the excursion dates, et cetera. The harvesting of the wheat crop is of course a matter of national interest and benefits the Dominion as a whole, including Ontario, and there is not sufficient labour in western Canada to take care of this tremendous seasonal project. At the same time I would expect this year to find a noticeable falling off in the number of men available from Ontario.

Hon. Mr. Taschereau wired me on the same date:

I am advised by employment bureau that Quebec usually sends about 5,000 available workers every year and that same number will probably be available this year.

Mr. J. A. Murray, Commissioner of Immigration for New Brunswick, wired:

Estimate approximately 2,000 harvesters from New Brunswick.

Let me point out that this is about 25 per cent of a falling off from the previous year. Hon. E. N. Rhodes, Premier of Nova Scotia, wired as follows—and I should like the leader of the opposition to take note of this answer, because I understand he was in the maritimes at this particular time; and he can see whether this gospel is along the lines of what he was preaching:

During past four years average 1,700 have gone west for harvest. Would estimate 25 per cent decrease this year owing activities building construction, highways, mining industry, and increased agricultural production.

This is the reply from Hon. A. C. Saunders, Premier of Prince Edward Island:

We are very short of farm labourers in our province, having the largest potato crop in our history. We have a large waiting list of farmers here requiring farm labourers. Demand so very keen doubt if 50 men will avail themselves of cheap transportation rate to prairie provinces.

With those telegrams before us, the promise of 5,000 from Quebec, 2,000 from New Brunswick, 1,275 from Nova Scotia and 50 from Prince Edward Island, or a total of 8,325, leaves us still short by 35,675 of the estimate made by the committee, and we could hardly expect that number from Ontario.

Mr. ADSHEAD: Has the minister the figures for the western provinces?

Mr. HEENAN: The estimate is 25,000 from the three prairie provinces.

Mr. ADSHEAD: Did Mr. Brownlee send that word?

Mr. HEENAN: No, that estimate was from Winnipeg. With that before us, and realizing the position of the workers in England, we heard the cry of the Imperial government and it was decided to try as an experiment the bringing out of 10,000 men. Many opinions have been offered as to whether the experiment was a success or a failure, but at any rate it was tried, and after the Minister of Immigration and the government had exacted every safeguard from the transportation companies and representatives of the Imperial government so that those men would not be a burden on the country, they were permitted to come over. That was the position, and the leader of the opposition should not endeavour to get the government both coming and going on a question of this description. While some of his party and his newspapers are crying out in favour of this scheme, he ought not to have one of his chief lieutenants stand in the trades congress convention damning the scheme. I hope I have made myself clear on that point, and that the leader of the opposition will now take my word for it that I did not repudiate the scheme but was a party to it and glad to make the experiment.

Mr. ADSHEAD: Is the minister going to continue it next year?

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Mr. HEENAN: I am making this speech this year. One thing at a time is pretty good.

Some hon. members have spoken on many subjects, and I should like to refer to two hon. gentlemen in particular who discussed the old age pension legislation, the hon. member for Vancouver South (Mr. Ladner) and the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Smith). The hon. member for Vancouver South, in the course of his remarks, made this statement:

Mr. Speaker, to me it is inconceivable that this government and the Liberal forces throughout Canada should be parties to a scheme to submarine their old age pension legislation after it has served their purpose before the electorate. It seems to me that the suggestion to test the constitutionality of the Old Age Pensions Act by a reference to the supreme court is an indirect method of destroying the effectiveness of the legislation, resorted to by certain forces in the Liberal party that do not approve of old age pensions and would like to shift the whole burden upon the provinces.

At this juncture I would pause to say that the only suggestion that has come with regard to testing the validity of the legislation came from a member on the Conservative side of the house, who has several times put a question on the order paper asking whether the government were willing to test the validity of the legislation before the courts.

I should like to outline briefly the history of the old age pension legislation, and after that I shall be surprised if the house and the country are not convinced that my hon. friends opposite attempted not merely to submarine but to torpedo the whole old age pension legislation at every opportunity they got.

In 1919 it was a plank in the Liberal platform to advocate an old age pension scheme in cooperation with the provinces. In 1922, after the Liberal party was elected to power, a resolution was introduced by the then member for Hull urging that ways and means be devised to establish an old age pension scheme in Canada. In 1924 a resolution was introduced by the present Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King), appointing a committee to make inquiries into an old age pension system for Canada. That committee reported in the same session, and recommended that the provinces be communicated with. That was done, and answers were received from the provinces. It is true that the provinces were not enthusiastic over the scheme. The question was again submitted in 1925 to the same committee, which recommended the same scheme again, and submitted in addition the opinion of the Deputy Minister of Justice to the effect that this was a provincial, and not a federal, responsibility. When the report of that committee was before this house my hon. friend then sitting for East Calgary, and sitting on the Labour benches—I refer to Mr. Irvine—moved an amendment to the effect that the question should be referred back to the committee with instructions to bring in a report upon a purely federal plan. One would have thought that if the Conservatives in this house wanted a purely federal scheme, this was their opportunity to secure one, but the house will be surprised to learn from the record that only two Conservative members in the whole house voted for the amendment calling for a purely federal plan. Every other member of the Conservative party voted against it, and voted for the adoption of the committee's report. The two members of the Conservative party who voted in favour of a purely federal plan were the hon. member for Toronto Northwest (Mr. Church) and the hon. member for the Yukon (Mr. Black).



There was an election in 1925, and in 1926, the first session after the election, a bill was introduced in regard to old age pensions. What was the position of my hon. friends opposite, especially the leaders of the Conservative party, at that time? Sir Henry Drayton, was then leading the house in the absence of Mr. Meighen, who I remember well was ill at the time. Sir Henry Drayton had this to say:

I am not at all certain that it is a good thing for this parliament to try to look after other business than its own, to try to look after provincial business, when I do not think the most enthusiastic supporters of this government can say it is looking after, as they should be looked after, matters of pressing Dominion importance. This is entirely a provincial matter.

Mr. HEAPS: The Prime Minister said exactly the same thing a few days ago, did he not?

Mr. HEENAN: The hon. member for St. Lawrence-St. George (Mr. Cahan), speaking on this question at that time, referring to Nova Scotia, said:

I do not think there is any demand from that province for contributions of this kind in respect of work which they have undertaken as a province and in which the municipalities assist. They regard this as a provincial and municipal affair and they are prepared, I believe, unless there has been a change of sentiment in recent years, to continue it in the same vigorous and successful way in which they have carried it on in the past.

Another very prominent member of another chamber, the leader of the Conservative party in that house, said:

In this case, according to the Department of Justice, the subject matter over which we are legislating has been assigned under our federal constitution to the provinces. I think

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it is a good general rule to lay down and to follow as closely as possible, that the parliament of Canada, or any house legislating under a similar constitution, should confine itself to those subjects which have been assigned to it, and the provinces to the subjects that have been assigned to them.

Then my hon. friend the present leader of the opposition (Mr. Bennett) had this to say (Hansard, March 26, 1926, page 1975):

I apologize for trespassing again to-night upon the time of the house, but I feel very strongly on this subject. I am deeply interested in it; I desire to see it succeed. I am convinced that it cannot succeed without the cooperation of all the provinces, unless the Dominion, in defiance of our constitutional jurisdiction as voiced by the Deputy Minister of Justice, sees fit to undertake the whole responsibility, which would involve us in an expenditure of $23,000,000 per annum, and, in a very short time, an expenditure of $40,000,000 per annum, an expenditure entirely too large for us to entertain at the present time.

So I do not think we got very much encouragement from our Conservative friends on that occasion. In view of the statements I have quoted, it puzzles me to understand how the hon. leader of the opposition, after saying that it would be in defiance of our constitutional jurisdiction to undertake the whole responsibility, could vote at the Winnipeg convention—the press stated that the vote was unanimous—that the old age pension scheme at present in operation was inadequate and unworkable, and that there should be a federal scheme instead of a Dominion-provincial scheme. But that was the position of the Conservative party. In 1925 they voted in this house against a federal scheme and in favour of a Dominion-provincial scheme, and in 1926 they opposed a Dominion-provincial scheme on the ground that old age pensions were the business of the province, and not of the Dominion.

But the bill passed this house. It went to the other chamber, and there, to use the language of my hon. friend from Vancouver South, it was submarined. An election took place following its execution, and I think of all the questions that were discussed before the public in that campaign, old age pensions was one of the most prominent, and we know with what result. The bill was re-introduced in 1927, and amendments were offered by the Conservative party, which had for their purpose the loading down of the amount involved to such an extent that if they had ever been accepted by the government it would have been killed in the senate almost before it reached the other chamber; because when the senate threw out the old age pension bill in 1926 on the ground that it was going to cost $24,000,000 a year, it could hardly be expected that they would pass an old age pension bill the next year that was going to cost around $176,000,000 a year. When those tactics failed and the law was finally placed on the statute book, one would have thought, yes, one had the right to expect, that hon. gentlemen opposite would cooperate with the rest of the country in an effort to induce the provinces to make the best of the situation and participate in the scheme. But what did they do? They called a meeting in Winnipeg, the Conservative convention, and there in the centre of Canada they broadcast to the four corners of the country discouragement to the provinces, declaring that the Dominion-provincial scheme was inadequate and unworkable, and they voted unanimously for a federal scheme instead of a Dominion-provincial scheme.

Mr. BENNETT: What does Quebec say?

Mr. HEENAN: I will tell the hon. gentleman what somebody else says first.

Mr. BENNETT: Hear, hear.

Mr. HEENAN: They declared for the federal scheme, in face of the fact that my hon. friend in the session of 1925 voted against it, and in view of the fact that the now leader of the opposition, my hon. and genial friend, said that it would be an invasion of our constitutional jurisdiction.

Mr. BENNETT: My hon. friend will pardon me, but I cannot let that statement pass. He has made it for the third time, but on the other occasions I refrained from interrupting him. I said the constitutional jurisdiction as declared by the Deputy Minister of Justice. I expressed no opinion of my own.

Mr. HEENAN: I expect my hon. friend is like myself. He accepts the Justice department as the logical authority to give legal advice to this parliament.

Mr. STEVENS: It was asked for by this government.

Mr. HEENAN: My hon. friend can ask for it now if he expects something different. Now, we were told that the scheme was unworkable and inadequate, and at that very time we were negotiating with the western provinces. To-day this so-called unworkable and inadequate scheme is in effect in every province in western Canada with the exception of the province of Alberta. The Premier of Alberta has stated that his government will adopt the scheme this session, and already a bill has been introduced for the purpose.

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Then again this so-called unworkable and inadequate scheme is about to be put into effect in the province of Ontario, the most Tory province in the whole Dominion.

Mr. HEAPS: Except Quebec.

Mr. HEENAN: Ontario, I think, sent more delegates to the Conservative convention in Winnipeg last year than any two or three of the other provinces combined. They were unanimous in declaring our old age pensions scheme to be unworkable, but quite recently Premier Ferguson has introduced a bill in the provincial house to take advantage of the legislation. When my hon. friends observe the progress that has been made in this connection I should think they would not start sniping at the scheme and attempt to make the people of this country believe that the Prime Minister stated in this house the other day that it was a vicious system, when as a matter of fact he said nothing of the sort.

Mr. BENNETT: He said it was a thoroughly vicious principle.

Mr. HEENAN: Everyone who was in the house at the time knows that he was speaking on the principle of provincial subventions, and an hon. member here and there tried to lead him to say something—

Mr. BENNETT: Mostly here.

Mr. HEENAN: I would expect opposition from the Conservative party, but I am surprised to find one or two members—whom I would have expected to endorse the old age pensions scheme and help the government in every way to put it into effect—are joining the Conservatives in trying to infer that the Prime Minister called the scheme a vicious principle, whereas as a matter of fact such a thought was far from his mind. But I am not so much worried about what my friends of the opposition think of the government and of the scheme. I am satisfied to reflect that the people who are now benefiting by this legislation are old-time pioneers. Therefore I prefer to take the opinion of those who are sympathetic towards those pioneers and towards this scheme, and I can cite no better evidence in this connection than the views of the Trades and Labour Congress, as set out in the legislative program which they presented to the government on January 8 last. They did not doubt our sincerity. They said:

> It is pleasing to note that the Minister of Labour has continued to publicly urge all provincial governments to accept the federal-provincial Old Age Pension Act and this we accept as a manifestation of the sincerity of the federal government in seeking to have the benefits of the measure made applicable throughout the entire Dominion at the earliest time.

We have been told time and again by our friends opposite that the old age pensions act is inadequate and unworkable. Apropos of this allow me to quote what the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Smith) stated from his seat in this house:

> Might I mention here that very recently there has been submitted to the government of the province of Nova Scotia an interim report by the commissioner who was appointed to investigate an old age pensions scheme in that province, and he has estimated in this report, which is not at all complete, that the total cost to inaugurate such scheme—of which I may say every person in the province of Nova Scotia is heartily in favour—will amount to $4,400,000.

Mr. HEAPS: Where did he get his figures?

Mr. HEENAN: He manufactured them.

> The portion to be borne by the province to be $2,200,000, plus expenses of administration of the scheme.

When a similar argument was advanced by the government of Ontario, I undertook to hazard the guess that instead of costing in the neighbourhood of five million dollars, as stated by the provincial authorities, it would cost approximately half that amount, towards which the Dominion government would contribute 50 per cent. I knew whereof I spoke, for to-day the premier of Ontario realizes that at the most it will not cost the province more than three million dollars. This estimate for Nova Scotia—

Mr. HEAPS: Is it an estimate?

Mr. HEENAN: They call it an estimate, and I like to call it by the same name. This estimate, I say, is ridiculous, because at the last census the number of persons in Nova Scotia over seventy years of age was 24,756. Assuming every one of them was paid the maximum pension, the cost to the provinces would be $2,875,000. Our experience in the other provinces has shown that about thirty-five per cent of these old people qualify for some part of the pension. Even taking forty as the percentage for Nova Scotia, the cost of full pensions for all would be about $1,200,000; if thirty-five per cent received full pensions the cost would be $1,027,800. The cost of administration has been exaggerated. In British Columbia it does not cost more than eight thousand dollars a year, whereas it has been estimated that it would cost Nova Scotia two hundred thousand dollars for administration. Such an estimate on the face of it is ridiculous.

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I have only five minutes more in which to deal with several questions, and, Mr. Speaker, I do not know which to cut out. Before I leave the old age pensions question let me say that this government is right behind the scheme; the Prime Minister and his cabinet are one hundred per cent in their support of it, and they are all anxious that the scheme should go into effect in every province. We ask support from our friends opposite even at this late date to help us to put it into effect in every province, and when it does go into effect in the provinces we are quite prepared to sit down with them and consider such amendments as may be deemed necessary; because so far as this government is concerned this is not the last word in regard to old age pension legislation—this is the first.

The hon. member for West Hamilton (Mr. Bell) took a fling at the government from many angles, and I want to discuss one point of attack which he made. He attributed the strike in Hamilton to the policy of this government, implying that had this been a protestionist country that strike would not have taken place. Let me point out to him that there has just terminated a strike in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in what is the most highly protected industry in the world. That strike occurred in the cotton mill centre where, according to the American federation, the employees are not making a living wage. They had to suffer a 5 per cent reduction. I wonder, therefore, how the hon. member can blame the policy of this government for the strike to which he referred. Let us measure my hon. friend's party and its policy by the strike criterion and see how they fare. From 1912 to 1921 there was an average of 150 strikes a year, while time lost by reason of strikes totalled 1,081,508 working days. In the last three years, on the other hand, from 1926 to 1928 inclusive, there have been 86 strikes per annum instead of 150, while the number of working days lost totalled 233,410 as compared with over a million.

The hon. member for Muskoka-Ontario (Mr. McGibbon) advanced a strange argument. He read from the census returns of 1921 to show that the country was not prosperous, and then he went on to make the statement that not one of the men engaged in several occupations which he mentioned earned over $1,600 a year. I would point out to my hon. friend that he was not censuring this government in that regard; he was alluding to what had taken place while his own party was in power from 1912 to 1921. But if he wanted to be fair he could have ascertained from the wages bulletin which we issue that the wages of bricklayers in Toronto had increased since 1921 from $1 to $1.25, or 25 per cent; the wages of carpenters from 90 cents to a dollar, and the wages of electrical workers, sheet metal workers and others similarly, the average increase in wages being 19 per cent. So that if the hon. member condemns his own party—

Mr. SPEAKER: Six o'clock.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

## After Recess

The house resumed at eight o'clock.

### PRIVATE BILLS

#### THIRD READING

Bill No. 64, respecting Chartered Trust and Executor Company.—Mr. Lawson.

#### SUN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY

Sir EUGENE FISET (Rimouski) moved the third reading of Bill No. 16, respecting Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada.

Mr. JEAN-FRANÇOIS POULIOT (Temiscouata): Mr. Speaker, I will not take very long to explain my views in connection with this bill as the amendment which has been made is satisfactory, but I do not think I should fail to present to the house what was said at a public function in the province of Quebec with respect to the way this bill was dealt with last year. The remarks to which I refer were made at a public dinner held in Quebec on June 8, 1928, and may be found in the proceedings of the third annual convention of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, held at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec city. With regard to this bill the following words were used:

The west must understand the problems of the east and the east must understand the problems of the west.

That is elementary; no one can object to that.

They are not the same problems.

That is true and it is also elementary.

It must be a matter of give and take.

Mr. BENNETT: Mostly give.

Mr. POULIOT: I think there is nothing so good as a fair understanding.

Some times I read in the papers some things that do not sound well—and when I see, not in our parliament but in the federal house, that westerners object to some bills—

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Perhaps in speaking of members from the west he was thinking of the hon. member for West Calgary (Mr. Bennett).

—in which they are not interested, but they object precisely because they are not interested, I am afraid they create a bad feeling in the east. Let me quote an instance. Last year at the interprovincial conference at Ottawa the west came to us and said, we want now the return of our natural resources. Ontario and Quebec, for the first time, said, we have no objection at all, and the return of your natural resources is absolutely agreeable to us. In the past, Outario and Quebec had objected. Some days ago—

This was last June.

—two important bills came before the Dominion parliament, the Sun Life and the Bell Telephone bill, and I am told that these two bills are going to be talked out by westerners.

These are not my words; I am quoting from the remarks of a prominent man in Quebec.

I hope that they won't (hear, hear) and I may say to those gentlemen of the west who wish to talk them out, that if they want to create a bad feeling in the east against the west and call for retaliation—I don't say that they will get it, but I say they are courting it.

I hope my hon. friends in the far corner of the house notice those words.

Mr. EVANS: What is the title of the book from which my hon. friend is reading?

Mr. POULIOT: I am reading from the proceedings of the third annual convention of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce; I am sure my hon. friend has a copy also. I do not make these words mine; I want the house to understand that clearly, because I do not share these views at all. I believe in the freedom of this parliament; I believe that no one can interfere with free speech here, especially an outsider, and no one outside of this house can dictate any policy to members of this house. That is my understanding of Dominion politics. I exercise my privilege of free speech to quite an extent; it is the greatest privilege we have in this country.

Mr. BENNETT: May I ask my hon. friend a question? I suppose he remembers that two distinguished members of this house exercised their privilege of free speech to such an extent that one became Minister of National Revenue and the other Canadian ambassador to Japan. Is my hon. friend emulating them?

Mr. POULIOT: I believe both were good appointments; the Minister of National Revenue is doing very well and I do not complain because the ambassador to Japan has left this country for Japan. This is free

[Mr. Pouliot.]

speech again; I could not get accustomed in this house to his snobbish way of speaking when he was a member here; I remember that the second part of his speech used to contradict the first part.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. POULIOT: But to continue—and I will be very brief—I would like to tell my hon. friends in the far corner that they need not be afraid because the worst they could receive from the gentleman who made this speech to which I refer would be the cracker which he found on his door step in Quebec and which did not explode. This is another instance of those crazy utterances of the Premier of Quebec, who quite often does not know the first thing about the matters of which he speaks. The members of this house have no lesson to learn from anyone outside of this house; here we come to an understanding; members are free to express their views and they can say what they like. They use dignified language when they speak to each other or when they address the house, and I have never heard before of an outsider coming and trying to impress his views by threats upon independent members of the House of Commons. I protested against this very thing at a committee meeting this morning. I asked the officers of the Bell Telephone Company which was appearing there if they were ready to take all responsibility for the remarks made by that gentleman, and I received the answer from the attorney of the company in the negative.

I do not intend to occupy the time of the house any longer, but I desired to express my views on this subject. I believe our greatest privilege, as members of this house, is to use the language we think fits the circumstances, and I think this will be a lesson to that gentleman and he will mind his own business in the future, and observe "de Conrart le silence prudent," at least with regard to federal matters.

Motion agreed to and bill read the third time and passed.

## THE BUDGET

### CONTINATION OF DEBATE ON THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

The house resumed consideration of the motion of Hon. J. A. Robb (Minister of Finance) for committee of ways and means, and the proposed amendment thereto of Mr. Guthrie, and the proposed amendment to the amendment of Mr. Spencer.

Hon. PETER HE
Labour): Mr. Speak
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Mr. BENNETT:
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Mr. SPEAKER:
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Hon. PETER HEENAN (Minister of Labour): Mr. Speaker, I understand that about three minutes of my time still remain, and I should like to place on record a few figures which will show that the railroad activities can be taken as a barometer of the progress the country is making. I wish to give the tonnage of revenue freight since 1921—

Mr. BENNETT: The hon. member's time had elapsed before the house rose.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand the hon. gentleman's time has elapsed.

Mr. MURRAY MacLAREN (St. John-Albert): Mr. Speaker, I have had the privilege of hearing the Minister of Labour (Mr. Heenan) this afternoon, and if he will be good enough to listen to me this evening I shall a tale unfold which will go a long way toward assisting him in improving the employment situation in this country. However, to do that he must be diligent; he must prevail upon his colleagues to adopt certain measures which I hope to place before the house this evening. I propose discussing the question of trade as it relates to the welfare of this country. The terms "trade" and "commerce" are somewhat similar, and it is very difficult to differentiate exactly between the two words. There is a general consensus of opinion that the word "commerce" has a greater scope and wider application than the word "trade". But we hear the term "foreign trade," and surely that is wide enough. There is also the phrase "overseas trade," which is equally wide in its scope. I intend to deal particularly with overseas trade as it concerns Canada.

Overseas trade is divided into two groups, the first of which is the imports into Canada. As we all know, these imports enter Canada either through Canadian ports or through ports of the United States. I have before me a table prepared by the Bureau of Statistics which illustrates the progress which has been made during the past years in this respect. Imports which entered Canada through Canadian ports during the year 1928 were valued at $377,395,000, or 96.6 per cent of the total imports. The imports entering via United States ports in the same year amounted to $12,118,000, or 3.1 per cent of the total. These figures show a satisfactory improvement in the use of our own ports and rails. There has been a steady increase in the use of the Canadian ports. For instance, the imports through United States ports in 1921 were valued at $25,936,000 while last year they had decreased to $12,118,000. This improvement has taken place partly by drawing the public attention to the importance of using our own ports and our own rails. I do not think that is a large factor. The main reason is that there have been various preferences, such as the small preference that was added a few years ago, which have brought it about. There can be no doubt about this, because those who recall the instance of the West Indian trade will remember that at that time a small preference was added for direct importation and the improvement followed so soon after that there could be not other explanation. The various trade agreements and treaties that have been passed by parliament in the last few years contain a clause that the preference shall apply when direct importation is made. This, too, has assisted in the improvement. I do not wish to convey the impression as to the treaties and trade agreements that I approve those measures except solely as regards the one point of the mode of import. The merits and demerits of the treaties that we have passed must stand in a separate category and at the present moment I do not deal with them. So far as that goes credit is due to the government for the legislation that has been passed. In like manner equal credit is due to those on this side of the house who have persistently and steadfastly urged that the legislation be brought into effect and who have supported the measures when introduced.

I should like to point out, in reference to the West Indian trade, that not long ago a duty was imposed on bananas coming through the United States and that they were admitted free when imported directly. The United Fruit Company of the United States, a very large, wealthy and powerful organization, who have hitherto been importing through Boston practically all the bananas used in this country, have this year, owing to the duty, arranged to ship bananas from Jamaica to St. John and Halifax. They are doing that because they find that this fruit can be introduced into Canada two or three days sooner than by shipping it via the St. Lawrence route.

The second great group is that of exports from Canada to overseas countries, and "now is the winter of our discontent," our disappointments and our remonstrances. In the past year of 1928 our exports were as follows:

| | Value | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Total exports.. .. .. | $750,201,492 | |
| Exports via Canadian ports.. .. .. .. .. | 458,594,000 | 61.1 |
| Exports via United States ports.. .. .. | 291,607,000 | 38.9 |

The house will note the large percentage of trade that passes through the United States

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to the seaboard for shipment overseas. The other day the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Malcolm), in an interesting speech referred, as an illustration of what he regarded as indicative of a distinct distribution of wealth, to the records of car loadings as representing the movement of tonnage and the business which is carried on within the nation. I ask the houses to mark the words "within a nation." He said that the increase in tonnage had helped employment in the transportation systems. This afternoon the hon. member for Vancouver Centre (Mr. Stevens) also referred to car loadings and he was followed by the Minister of Labour (Mr. Heenan). This is the time when I think the Minister of Labour might, with some advantage, consider another viewpoint of the question of car loadings. The Minister of Trade and Commerce said: See the increase in car loadings in Canada and how from that follow the distribution of wealth and the employment that is offered by the railway people. But the minister failed to trace the course of many of these cars. He made no mention of the $291,607,000 worth of tonnage which was carried into another country for transshipment overseas. He made no mention of the loss at Canadian ports, nor of the loss of railway mileage on goods passing through the United States, nor —and I would ask the Minister of Labour to listen to this—of the loss of employment both on the railways and at ocean ports. I think I can fairly assume that about as much labour is required for unloading cars as for loading them. Many of the figures which the Minister of Trade and Commerce gave should be cut in half because those cars are unloaded in another country and consequently the employment that should come to our railway operatives, the additional mileage that our railways should have and the employment that should be available at our seaports, are lost because of this $291,000,000 worth of goods being shipped through the United States. The index number of employment would do some oscillation if these facts were plainly and fairly placed before the indicator. Some time we will be interested in learning just what is the number of freight cars that are loaded in Canada and unloaded in the United States. It would be most instructive and impressive to know just what is the number of cars that would be required to handle the freight to the value I have just mentioned. I do not for a moment say that there should or could be no transshipment through the United States, but I do strongly assert that the amount now being transshipped should be greatly curtailed, and that our own people, our own railways and ports, should have the benefits of that traffic.

I desire to draw the attention of the house to a report recently issued by the United States government, dated January 28, 1929. It is a report of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Interstate Commerce Commission, in response to a senate resolution relative to the diversion of commerce from ports in the United States to Canadian ports. This inquiry was held at the instance of two American ports which complained that their trade was being diverted to Canada. The phrase "diversion of trade" means to us in Canada the "reversion" or the recovery of our trade, because the principal part of the trade in question is in Canadian goods. Whether or not these two cities were correct in complaining of the loss of trade, the loss certainly was not due to Canada securing that trade. The report itself states that there has been no diversion to Canada, and that on the whole the United States is well maintaining its trade overseas. I commend this extensive report to the attention of the members of the house. It was made after a thorough investigation, and it is always well to get another viewpoint and to learn how our neighbours are regarding questions of trade. I should like to read a few extracts from the report. On page 4 it says:

> On the basis of the value of Canadian commerce handled by American ports and the share of the total commerce of Canada obtained by ports of the United States in the years 1919 to 1928, it appears that the position of American ports has materially improved during this period. Not only is their position in 1928 superior to that in 1919, both on the basis of the absolute value and the proportion that Canada's commerce obtained, but taking the period as a whole there is a perceptible tendency towards improvement in their position.

Again:

> A comparison of the percentages of the total commerce of each country handed by the ports of the other shows that in the year ending March 31, 1928, Canadian ports obtained only 4.8 per cent of the total trade of the United States with countries other than Canada, while American ports obtained 26.6 per cent of the trade of Canada with countries other than the United States.

These are rather striking figures. Again:

> On the whole, available data as set forth in the preceding pages with respect to the movement of traffic through the ports of Canada and the United States do not seem to afford ground for apprehension concerning the welfare of American ports and transportation agencies.

Here is a similar quotation:

> In view of the year to year fluctuation and the lack of any pronounced trend, there appears



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to be no adequate basis for concluding that there has been any material change either favourable or adverse in the position of American ports with respect to the handling of American export traffic during the above period.

According to the tables given in this report, it appears that there is all the way from $60,000,000 to $100,000,000 more in value of Canadian exports passing through the United States than of United States exports passing through Canada. One table gives the figure as $60,000,000 more, and other estimates place it at $100,000,000. As I have said, the percentage is 26.6 as contrasted with 4.8 per cent.

The separate report which is attached, and which was made by the United States shipping board, is not so positive in tone as the report from which I have quoted, and yet there is no important divergence from the extracts which I have just given. I submit to the house that here is a clear indication that Canada, represented by its government, should be up and doing in this matter. We have heard what the American viewpoint is. They think that they are gradually improving their ocean export trade as compared with Canada. The trend is favourable, they say, and it is for us, and for the government above all others, to set about and see what can be done, not in any antagonistic attitude towards the United States, but with a view to recovering our own Canadian business and securing the employment and returns that will develop therefrom for all our people.

What is to be done to improve the Canadian overseas export trade through Canadian ports? Certainly the action of the government is a large and important factor in this case. It is for the government to have regard for the interests of our country and our people. It is true that port facilities are being improved, and that is important, and in the direction of recovering our trade.

If there be the impression that the Atlantic ports are destined to carry on only a moderate amount of business, and that only in the winter months, that impression can be promptly and completely set aside. The Atlantic ports expect to secure, and will secure, a large overseas trade throughout the year, and gain what should have been theirs years ago. About half of our Canadian grain is exported through Canadian and about half through United States ports. Had the Crowsnest pass rates been made to apply only when transhipments were made through Canada, those rates would have borne more of a national character. Our canal system with its freedom from toll also occurs to one in this connection. One of the purposes sought to be achieved in building the transcontinental railway, according to the preamble of the act, was:

The development of commerce through Canadian ports.

This is another instance of what I am suggesting. These instances, with a full consideration of section 66 of the London agreement, all point the way to the establishment of free ports on our Atlantic seaboard.

Recently the city of Quebec secured a satisfactory grain rate on the national transcontinental railway. This year when the maritime board of trade proposed to appear before the railway commissioners to apply for a rate on grain based on the basis of the Quebec rate, what do we find? Let me read a Canadian Press despatch of March 13:

The Montreal board of trade to-day endorsed a resolution adopted by the Corn Exchange Association opposing the application to the Board of Railway Commissioners by the Halifax harbour commission and the maritime board of trade for a reduction of 35.5 cents to 19.34 cents per hundred pounds in "all-rail" rate on grain from Fort William, Port Arthur and Armstong via the national transcontinental railway to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and St. John, New Brunswick, for export. The endorsation will be forwarded to the Board of Railway Commissioners.

Here is the comment of the Telegraph-Journal of St. John, dated March 15:

The Montreal board of trade appears to have come to the rescue of American ports. It has adopted a resolution which had previously been adopted by the Corn Exchange Association, protesting against giving a rate on grain to St. John and Halifax based on the rate which has already been granted to the port of Quebec. The harbour commissions of St. John and Halifax have asked that the lower rate be given to these ports, and are confident that the railway commission will recognize the justice of their cause. The national transcontinental was built to give a through route without excessive grade, to enable the grain of the west to reach the Atlantic seabord, and necessarily in winter to the ports of St. John and Halifax. Quebec laboured long before it was granted a satisfactory grain rate, and the maritimes are still labouring.

The members of the Montreal board of trade are quite content that as a result of the tariff the people of the maritimes pay tribute to the central provinces, but when it comes to the matter of doing justice to these ports in the grain rates, that board stirs itself to action to prevent a measure of justice being granted.

Of Canadian grain that passes through eastern Canada, over 80 per cent goes through Montreal. I draw your attention, Mr. Speaker, to those two trade organizations in the great city of Montreal endeavouring to prevent the development and expansion of trade in other portions of the Dominion. There is no room for a trade octopus in this country. I am

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satisfied that our people will not tolerate an effort such as these two boards are making to stifle and strangle the development and expansion of trade through other ports of this country.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, allow me to sum up what I have endeavoured to place before the house:

1. Direct overseas imports into Canada are steadily improving over overseas imports into Canada through the United States;

2. Overseas exports from Canada are very unsatisfactory owing to the excessive exports passing through the United States;

3. Increased effort can and should be made to retain our own export trade;

4. Favourable freight rates should be afforded for securing export trade through the Atlantic free ports of Canada, and finally, resulting therefrom, greater utilization and increased trade of these ports throughout the year.

Mr. M. J. MALONEY (South Renfrew): Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to prolong this already lengthy debate other than to do my plain duty as a member of the House of Commons. If there is one occasion on which a member should state his views, I believe it to be in the discussion of the budget. The budget is really an auditor's report, coupled with a statement of present and future fiscal policies. As our oath of office binds us to support in every manner possible those acts of government which we believe to be in the interests of the country, and with equal vigour to condemn those which we believe to be the opposite, I for one have no hesitation as the representative of a very important section of this country in standing here and discussing the matters before the house.

The budget, as I say, is the auditor's report. Suppose one of our great banking institutions, one of our great insurance companies, or any other of our great financial corporations, were holding its annual meeting, and the shareholders were obliged to sit down and listen to such a lean and unsatisfactory statement as this government has handed out to the shareholders—the people of Canada—what would the shareholders in any of those corporations say? My belief is that they would readily make up their minds to change the management; and, Mr. Speaker, I have no hesitation in expressing my firm conviction that at the very first opportunity the people of Canada—the shareholders—will change their board of management.

I sympathize with the Minister of Finance (Mr. Robb). He made the best of a very bad case. He used in profusion the grand old battle cry of the Liberal party—lower taxation and economy. And those of us who sat face to face with the Minister of Finance could hardly think it possible that he would mention the words lower taxation when in another very important part of his official statement he observed that last year he collected from the people of Canada almost $430,000,000, while this year he intends to take out of them more than $455,000,000. In other words, he intends to wring out of the people of Canada this year $25,000,000 more than he took last year. Economy! He extolled economy. They are the greatest savers on the face of the earth. Well, what have they done? Last year he told you we spent almost $363,000,000 and this year we are spending $385,000,000; in other words, we practise economy to the extent of spending $22,000,000 more this year than last year. That is certainly economy with a vengeance; it is a very peculiar species of economy, a species which we do not very often see to-day. It reminds us of the old shell game which we used to see at fall fairs in the days gone by. Here we have a government who lower taxation and collect more taxes, extol economy and spend more money. What a singularly wonderful combination of men, a combination of men equalled only by the old sleight of hand artist we saw years ago on the stage, who could deftly flip the cards over and turn them back again. These claims of economy and lower taxation, Mr. Speaker, are really no more fantastic than are the claims which are being circulated throughout the country in the government's propaganda in an endeavour to make the people of Canada believe that we are all prosperous. The only measure of true prosperity lies in the distribution of wealth, and if we follow the arguments advanced, if we follow the full page advertisements in the newspapers for which we are paying and which tell us that we are a prosperous people, if we allow our minds to run along this channel long enough, we shall finally reach that state of mind in which we shall become obsessed with the idea that we are all millionaires. And what a rude awakening there will be for many and many in this country.

Let me ask the Minister of Finance this question: Is he really sincere when he makes the statement that we are indeed prosperous? I would ask him to look a little deeply into that question. Let him go out and face conditions as they are. Let him go out for example among the great wage earning class; let him go into the workshops and, if you will, into the bread line where many a work-



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man is to-day and has been for the last few months; let him go into the humble home of that workman, sit down side by side with him, and ask him whether he feels more prosperous to-day than he did six or eight or ten years ago. And what will the answer be? "No; I am not more prosperous, As a matter of fact I am finding it more difficult all the time to make both ends meet. I am having a hard time to support my family. But that is not all; I am worried because, in the event of my being cut down before this family has become self-supporting, I am in the unfortunate position of being unable to provide insurance to take care of them when I am gone." Not only will the labour man tell him that. Let him go among the farmers of the country; let him go into the beautiful farming sections of this Dominion, and what will he find? He will find farm after farm abandoned; he will find areas once abundantly productive now waste places. If he goes into the homes of those who still live on the land he will find debt there; he will find worry; he will find farmer after farmer with a mortgage on his land, farmer after farmer unable to secure the money to meet the taxes on his land. This, Mr. Speaker, should not be the case in such a wonderfully productive land as we have. These men are left in this position because their markets have been all stolen; they have no hope for the future. Yet the Minister of Finance would try to make us believe that we are indeed a very prosperous nation. Talk about prosperity! The balance of trade is mentioned with great jubilation by this government. But they forget that at least three-quarters of the exports of the country are in the raw or semi-raw state; they forget that they are shipping out of Canada the very things that should make Canada wealthy, handing them over to some foreign nation for the enrichment of its people. In addition to the raw and semi-raw products they are exporting, they might as well include a very highly manufactured article, the product of this country, the fifty or sixty thousand boys and girls who are exported year after year, boys and girls who are compelled to leave this land to earn an honest living abroad. And if each one of these boys and girls has a potential value of $10,000, you can easily see how the government can to a still greater extent increase the favourable balance of trade.

I would ask the minister what this budget will do to lighten the burden and make easier the way of the ordinary citizen of this Dominion. It is true that when the Ontario farmer pays his annual visit to the province of Nova Scotia he will save possibly a quarter on his railway ticket and an equal amount on sleeping car accommodation; and when the poor fisherman, after drawing that yearly $300 in Nova Scotia, takes his annual holiday at the coast, he will find that he has saved possibly 50 cents on his railway fare. That is a wonderful boon and I am sure the fisherman and the Ontario farmer and all of us are delighted that the minister has seen fit to make our lives so much easier by reducing the tax on railway and sleeping car tickets. Again, to take another item: When the workingman who labours six days out of seven draws his princely cheque of $15 on Saturday night and finds it necessary to buy a suit of clothes for his son, he will go into a store and discover that $5 is the lowest he can pay; so three hearty cheers the poor old labourer will give for the Minister of Finance when he finds that he has saved five cents on that suit of clothes for his son. That is one of the great benefits accruing from the budget which has been brought down by the minister.

Had the government of the day been really sincere in their endeavour to aid the people of the country generally, that sales tax would not be in existence now. Had they followed the resolution proposed, I think, by my hon. friend from South Wellington (Mr. Guthrie) not one but two years ago, they would have abolished the sales tax on articles of wearing apparel and on boots and shoes, and thus would have shown that they were indeed endeavouring to do something for the ordinary citizen of the country. But this budget is a worthy successor to several of its predecessors from the same source. There is no relief for the farmer; there is no relief for the labourer other than the old time worn injunction, work harder, spend less, and pay more taxes.

This government claim to be the friend of the farmers, and why? True, they have reduced the duty on agricultural implements, but to-day the farmer is paying more for his implements than he paid before that reduction was made. To that extent they have benefited the farmer. Not only is that the case, but they have reduced the tariff on woollens and on certain grades of yarns, and by that act they have driven out of business many textile plants throughout Canada; they have so tied up the textile business in this country that what was once a prosperous industry is now barely hanging on by its finger nails. As a direct result of that policy, to my knowledge in this Ottawa valley at least seven woollen mills have closed their doors. In addition to that, many farmers

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in this district and throughout the whole country who found the raising of sheep a profitable industry have gone out of that business because when wool went down they could not make any money. Mutton was allowed to enter Canada to compete with our own product, and that made the situation so much worse. The Prime Minister of Canada has had some experience in raising sheep and chickens; a few years ago he launched a bold scheme and became a sheep farmer. He procured the land and bought a flock of high grade sheep, which he placed in charge of a shepherd; things went well for a time but eventually, after this act of his own government, he was obliged to abandon the project and to-day while he still has the land, the sheep and the shepherd have disappeared. He still has the chickens, but if the government allow eggs to pour into Canada as they have done in the past few years eventually he will abandon the chicken game also.

What else have hon. gentlemen opposite done to show their wonderful friendship for the farmers of this country? They negotiated a treaty with New Zealand and point to it as the greatest aid our farmers ever were given. How has it worked out? Last year we imported from Australia and New Zealand 2,000,000 pounds of beef and mutton and 16,000,000 pounds of butter. Is that encouraging home production? Is that encouraging the farmers of Canada? I represent a county very well suited for the raising of stock of all kinds, well adapted for dairying and for poultry raising. A few years ago the farmers were going in for dairying and sheep raising quite extensively but to-day, because of the acts of this government, they fear to move, and our dairy and sheep industries are falling off. In that great inland county, thousands of miles from New Zealand, to-day we are eating New Zealand meat and butter and American eggs. Why should that condition exist? How does that encourage the farmers of this country? If those products were shut out completely or if those countries were compelled to trade with us on a fifty-fifty basis our farmers would be encouraged, they would be more content and happier than they are to-day. But this government encourages production at home. Why, Mr. Speaker, there never was a government in the history of this country which did less to encourage production at home and in fact did more to prevent it, yet they are the friends of the farmers and of the people generally throughout Canada. How any farmer in this country can support the present government is an unsolved mystery to me, yet quite a few of them even in this house will continue to stick as long as the sticking is good.

In addition to being the friend of the farmer and encouraging home production this government are the champion spenders of all governments of this country. They let money float around like chaff, but the funny part of it is that some of the most laudable projects are turned aside while others of less value are readily accepted. Quite recently this house considered the question of a grant to the provinces in aid of technical education; that request was rudely turned down, yet with great alacrity this same government handed over to Vincent Massey more than $700,000. What has Vincent Massey done to cost this country that amount of money? He has done nothing so far as I know. Oh, yes, he did one thing; he arranged a passage for the Prime Minister of this country on a French boat sailing from an American port when the Prime Minister left to attend the peace pact conference in Paris. Our Prime Minister and Mr. Kellogg did their work nobly, but I fail to see where Vincent earned his $700,000. While we were all behind the Prime Minister in his magnificent efforts overseas I might tell him that we would have felt much better and that the honour of Canada would have been upheld to a much greater extent if he had sailed from a Canadian port on board a Canadian vessel.

Technical education is absolutely essential in Canada to-day. Our whole system of education is of an academic kind. Once we enter the lower grades of the public schools our system heads us straight for the university; our system of teaching is based on no other idea, and we forget that a very large percentage of the people of Canada never see a university. We overlook the fact that our boys and girls who do not intend to take advantage of the opportunity to go to university should be trained in some vocation which will be of use to them when they go out into the world to earn their own living; they should be taught carpentry, book-keeping or some other trade or vocation which will make them useful citizens of Canada. That is the idea of technical education, and with that idea in mind the various provinces to-day are advocating more and more a system of technical training. Our hon. friends opposite, however, prefer Vincent Massey to the education of our children, so what are we to do?

Is this a spending government? It is. They spend millions of dollars to destroy perfectly good buildings in Ottawa but they have not a five-cent piece for a national highway. That



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is a project which would give employment to thousands of our citizens from coast to coast; it would link up the east with the west and would allow a resident of Prince Edward Island to cross Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the great provinces of Quebec and Ontario, on through Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia to the coast without setting foot on foreign soil. That is the great advantage of a national highway, and in addition it would bring to this country an untold tourist traffic from all over the world. But our friends on the government side prefer to tear down buildings in the heart of Ottawa rather than to build a trans-Canada highway. They are destructive rather than constructive.

Then we have the tariff board. This board has been in existence two years and even the chairman of it does not know the first thing about its operations. Here is what he said on page 5 of his report to the Minister of Finance:

> Difficulty exists as to determining the nature of the advice we are presumed to tender to the minister. Applications in regard to customs invariably contain submission of evidence with the object of obtaining relief, whether by upward or downward revision of the tariff. Parliament alone can grant that relief. What then becomes the nature of the advice expected from the board?

Here is a tribunal which costs the Dominion of Canada many thousands of dollars each year, and the open confession of the chairman of that board practically amounts to an admission that the only thing he knows with certainty about the operations of the board is the fact that he and two fellow commissioners draw a fine, fat cheque at the end of each month.

The money which is used in maintaining this board could well be spent in many other ways. I would advise the Postmaster General (Mr. Veniot) to get his claws on that money. He can use it, because his department is supposed to be operated for service and not for profit. The people from end to end of this country are crying out for improved rural mail facilities, and I leave it to the good judgment of the Postmaster General if it would not be wiser to close up the shop of the tariff board and spend the money in extending the rural mail system.

While I am on the subject of the Post Office department, I would like to mention a matter which is operating to the disadvantage of a great number of our people. I refer to the special privilege which is given to the large mail order houses of this country. The mail order houses are expanding slowly but surely, and the day is bound to come sooner or later when the old time general merchant will be forced out of business and the merchandising of our country will be in the hands of a few. The Postmaster General is aiding those mail order houses by allowing the use of the mail at a sacrifice price. About two or three times a year these great mail order houses send out many hundreds of thousands of catalogues, the great silent salesmen. Every time an article is ordered from these catalogues it works to the disadvantage of the general merchant. Every transaction with a mail order house must be on a cash basis, while the general merchant carries the settler for from one to three years. The Post Office department is aiding and abetting these large firms in going in and taking the bread out of the mouths of the country merchants. I know of one town in my riding where nearly a carload of these catalogues came into the post office and were distributed to the settlers within a radius of twenty miles at a cost of seven cents apiece. Had these catalogues been obliged to pay the regular mail rate of one cent for every two ounces it would have meant that the Post Office department would have received eighteen cents on every catalogue. That would have totalled about half a million dollars which could have gone to the treasury of this country, and at the same time an unfair advantage would not have been taken of the country merchants. I ask the Postmaster General to look into this matter and if possible to give some relief. The Postmaster General might use that extra money in extending the rural mail system, taking it along with the money which is being wasted by the operation of the tariff board. He could start many rural mail routes, but I suppose he would rather have the tariff board, which is helping the big corporations, and let the poor fellow out in the country walk from one to five miles to get his mail. As I said before, the Post Office department is operated for service without profit, but it is a service to the great plutocrats, in the same way this government has been rendering service to the rich men of the country ever since it became a factor in the affairs of Canada.

The budget is a rich man's budget. It helps the man who travels a great deal or the man who sends many telegrams; it helps the man who is purchasing large articles; and it helps the man who deals in high-priced mining stocks at the expense of the man who deals in the penny stocks. It is generally the poor man who deals in the penny stocks, and they are being penalized while the high-



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priced stocks are allowed to go practically free. I would like to call to the attention of the Minister of Finance the fact that some of our greatest mining institutions in Canada were once listed on the market as penny stocks. Had this unfortunate tax then been in effect we might not have had the opportunity of developing those rich properties.

I would like to touch for a few moments upon the question of the exporting of raw materials. We have no conception of the amount of money we are handing over to the United States by permitting our raw products to be exported as they are at present. In the county town of my county there is a factory engaged in the manufacture of matches. They utilize poplar wood very largely in the manufacture of those matches. Every winter the farmers cut a considerable amount of poplar pulpwood and they sell that wood to the buyers at a price of from $6 to $8 per cord. It is then loaded on the train and shipped to the United States, and our railways get possibly $2 per cord. In other words, we derive from $8 to $10 per cord from the sale of that wood. Let us see what happens when a cord of poplar wood is used in the manufacture of matches. From the time it leaves the stump until it is turned out in the finished product, a cord of wood represents the distribution of $60. Compare that with the price received for the wood we ship to the United States. There is a difference of $50. Where is that $50? It is down in the pockets of the boys and girls of the United States when it should be in Canada to be spent among our own people. But these matters have been so long urged upon and consistently brought to the attention of the government without result that I fear for the future of this country if the present government is allowed to remain in power any longer.

We have a Minister of Immigration, and a good one, but as a matter of fact we should not have a minister of immigration at all; we should not need one. As everyone will admit, we have the finest country in the whole wide world. We have resources without end; we are economically independent of the whole world; we are self-supporting from every angle, and if our affairs were run properly, we would require no minister of immigration; we would have no reason to go out among foreign nations and seek for people to come to our shores. A proper system of immigration is this: Let us make Canada a country worth living in, and who will come back within our borders? Our own boys and girls who are to-day across the line longing to come back to their old homes but who cannot do so because they are unable to make a living here. Make Canada a country fit to live in and these boys and girls will return. What we need to make this country worth living in is a government which will give confidence not only to our people but to the foreign investor. Both outside of and within Canada are millions of dollars awaiting a favourable opportunity for investment, millions of dollars awaiting their chance to be used in the development of our great natural resources; but the capitalists fear, and they have reason to fear, an inactive, wavering, insincere and compromising government, and they are afraid to invest their capital. With a strong, stable government in power, with money flowing in on every hand, factories which are to-day locked up tightly will again swing open their doors; plants which are now masses of rust and ruin will start up again; our boys and girls will flock back to Canada and our country will once more be prosperous as it should be. When our own boys and girls come back I would suggest this as a policy of immigration: Go throughout the length and breadth of the wide world and pick the best class of men, no matter from where. Coming from the county of Renfrew I can testify to the singular ability of the German and Polish immigrants as settlers on the land. We have in that county a large Polish population and no better people than these ever lived on any land. If we had a million or two or three millions of these Poles in Canada along with Germans, who are equally good, they would help to build up a great country for us.

I would like to touch for a few minutes on the railway situation. I was amused a short time ago when I heard the hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Macdougall) complain about the railway facilities in his constituency. He stated that they were the worst in the world, and I believe he brought the matter to the attention of the Minister of Railways (Mr. Dunning). A day or two afterwards the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Smith) stood up and went him one better. He said that he had the very worst railway in the whole country and he urged the Minister of Railways to take it over and amalgamate it with the Canadian National. I would ask the hon. member for Cumberland to hesitate, because I want to say both to him and to the hon. member for Inverness that if they visited the county of Renfrew and saw the railway situation as it exists under the name of the Canadian National, they would return home and, travelling on their own railways, would imagine they were on a Chicago flier. There are two points in my county which



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are sixty miles apart, and hon. members will be surprised to learn that it takes four days to make the trip one way on a passenger train. That is in the county of Renfrew, one of the finest counties in the whole Dominion of Canada, and it has occurred under the unfortunate management of the Canadian National railways.

Mr. T. H. STINSON (Victoria, Ont.): Mr. Speaker, I desire to take this opportunity of congratulating the hon. member for South-east Grey (Miss Macphail) on the splendid address that she delivered in this chamber this afternoon. I believe that after two or three more session of parliament, she will be content to leave her farmer friends in the hands of the Conservative party.

The budget speech of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Robb) grows in importance to the people of Canada year by year, and for the last seven years it has been awaited with anticipation and concern by increasing numbers by reason of radical tariff changes or suggested or mooted changes therein. I congratulate the Minister of Finance upon the clear, concise statement that he has given us this year, but my congratulation is much deeper and much more sincere by reason of the fact that this year no radical changes in the tariff are suggested. The government is apparently settling down to a policy of tariff stability. The problem of the tariff has been one of the most persistent and controversial in Canadian history, affecting as it does either directly or indirectly the well-being and prosperity of every citizen in Canada. The government has tinkered with the tariff every year since 1922, with the result that there was nothing but uncertainty in our industrial life for the workers and for the manufacturers, and this had a depressing effect upon the whole life of Canada. If this budget spells stability in tariff—and I hope it does—then we have gone a long way towards creating and fostering an era of prosperity for this country. Let us proclaim to the world once again that the settled policy of Canada is that of reasonable protection.

I congratulate the Minister of Finance further upon his timely reference to our neighbour to the south. Although timid indeed, yet it states that in case the United States shoud implement by legislation its tariff proposals directed in the interest of their farmers against the products of the Canadian farmer, measures will be taken to protect the interest of our Canadian farmer. I would let the United States understand clearly and without equivocation that their citizens cannot have their own market and ours too, save only on the basis of fairness to our people. The policy of the government of this country should be to protect our farmers and to give them the full benefit of our home market. The farmer in Canada is competing with his fellow farmers in other countries under conditions of absolute unfairness. The product of the foreign farmer is brought into this country under a relatively low tariff or, in some cases, under none at all, while our farmer is forbidden access to other countries save over a tariff wall. Our neighbour to the south has excluded from that market more and more of the products of the Canadian farmer. The Hoover election was fought on the ground of more relief to the American farmer by higher tariffs and the retaining of the American market wholly and unreservedly for the American farmer. What have we to gain by giving our home market in vegetables, vegetable products, fruits, grains, meats, eggs, cheese and butter to the American and other farmers? If the American wants our market, let him compete in it on terms of fairness to our manufacturers and farmers who desire to compete in the American market. What are the terms of competition at present? This is a table of compartive duties on farm products:

American Duty—Canadian Duty
Wheat, 42c. per bushel—12c. per bushel.
Corn, 15c. per bushel—Free.
Alsike clover, $4.00 p. 100 lbs. $1.50 p. 100 lbs.
Hay, $4.00 per ton—$2.00 per ton.
Butter, 12c. per lb.—4c. per lb.
Cheese, 5c. per lb.—3c. per lb.
Eggs, 8c. per doz.—3c. per doz.
Potatoes, 50c. per 100 lbs.—Free.
Peas, 60c. per bushel—15c. per bushel.

Is it not time that we attempted to play fair with our farmers and give them the same degree of protection as the United States government gives its farmers. Keep for our own people the home market, which is the most profitable, and free from all the complicated and vexed problems that relate to the foreign market. Peas from Japan and Belgium are right now replacing Canadian peas in our own market. Potato flour is being shipped in from Belgium, and our farmers cannot get a decent price for their potatoes.

No country in the world seems to be so alive to the retention of its home market as the United States, with the result that they consume 87 per cent of all their products both grown and manufactured, and export only 13 per cent. They check and follow importations a great deal more closely than we do. Let me give you an instance in the milling trade. Buffalo in the last seven or



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eight years has built up the largest milling industry in the world. Under the Tariff Act of 1922, section 311, Canadian wheat can be shipped into the United States in bond for milling, and thus escapes the duty of 42 cents per bushel. The wheat is milled there, and shipped out to compete with Canadian flour in the world market, thus giving the American labourers a payroll of $1,950,000, in which Canadian workmen can participate only by leaving Canada and making their homes in the United States. There is also lost to our Canadian railways the freight on the movement of the wheat to the mills and the flour to the seaboard, which amounts to upwards of $1,500,000, and a further loss on the offal of about $650,000. Here again the American railway man is getting the payroll instead of our good Canadians. At the present time the American mills are importing in bond about 17,000,000 bushels of Canadian wheat for the export flour trade. The American farmer now objects to this, and the matter has recently been submitted to the ways and means committee at Washington, and a merry fight is being waged. The Buffalo millers, in their brief, point out, as I did a year ago in this house, that if the practice were stopped it would not affect either the American farmer or the Canadian farmer, as this Canadian wheat is ground for the export market. The export market is there just the same to be supplied with 16,000,000 barrels of flour made from Canadian wheat, no matter whether it is ground in the United States or in Canada. The Buffalo millers further point out that if the administrative features of the present American tariff were abrogated or made more rigorous to the miller grinding in bond, the advantages in milling possessed by Canada would without question draw United States milling-in-bond trade to Canada, and thus give us a payroll for our labourers, and increased freight for our railroads with increased man power to handle it.

It should be the purpose of government to direct and mould the business policy of our country for the development of our natural resources, and thus give employment to our citizens. A nation cannot exist without people, people cannot exist without homes, homes cannot be maintained without money, and money can only be obtained by the multitude by work, by labour. Therefore if a government fails in its duty so to direct its policy as to foster and provide work and labour at a fair remuneration, it fails in its duty to the people. The test of a good budget should then be: What does it contain to create industry in order that the foundation of the nation may be maintained in the building up of



happy and contented homes? Does the present budget contain one tariff change that will develop a new job capable of employing an additional Canadian boy in Canada? I have failed to find such a change, and the most that can be said for it is that it is, in the words of the Financial Post, "an innocuous budget."

After the budget speech of the finance minister had been delivered, I wrote to a friend of mine who is engaged in the manufacture of woollens, and who has been a supporter of the present administration, and here is what he has to say:

> The evidence brought out before the tariff commission in Ottawa by the textile mills showed that the importations of blankets and rugs, from Great Britain is increasing each year. Our mills are specially equipped for the manufacture of blankets. Each year our trade has continued to fall away as the competition has grown keener.
>
> The large dealers, such as departmental stores and jobbers can purchase blankets in England and Scotland, and lay them down in Canada for a lower price than it costs us to make them. This is due to the lower cost of labour and coal. The standard of living is so much higher in Ontario than it is in Europe that we cannot get work done on the same basis.
>
> Textile machinery is not made in Canada, but up to a year ago it was brought in subject to from 10 to 27½ per cent duty. The government, a year ago, changed this and allowed machinery from Great Britain to come in free, but this is no benefit to us as there is now more textile machinery in Canada than can be used. The government also allowed free yarns, but this is no benefit to woollen mills as they all make their own yarns.
>
> The importations from Germany and France into Great Britain, free, undersell the British manufacturers, who in turn ship the products of their mills into Canada at such low prices they claim they cannot continue to exist, and they are now asking the British government to safeguard their industries against this invasion of their livelihood.
>
> In the past few years wollen mills that made blankets have closed their doors and nailed up their windows or are being dismantled. One at Chatham, one at Mitchell, two at Rinfrew, one at Carleton Place, Midland, Rockwood, Glen Williams, Bullock Corners, Dundas, and many others.
>
> Unless the government restores the duty which was taken off a few years ago, at a very early date other mills will be compelled to cease operations, thus throwing more workmen out of employment. This has a serious effect on towns and villages where these mills are situated, and makes the matter of unemployment a real problem.

That letter comes from a supporter of the present administration. Every effort is being made by the farmers growing wool in Canada to increase the quality and volume of their product. The wool growers, the manufacturers, the agricultural colleges, and the National Research Council a

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tional Research Council are all cooperating in research work in the growing and the use of Canadian wool. Canadian grown wool is particularly adapted for making blankets and woollen cloth such as tweeds. Blankets and woollen cloths made from Canadian wools are better wearing, warmer, and of superior quality to those made from wools in any other country, and yet the woollen schedule of this government gives practically no protection to this important industry, and thus damages the industry and the farmer who produces wool.

In nine months ending December, 1928, there were $751,010 worth of household blankets imported as against $652,768 worth in the same nine months of 1927. I was sufficiently interested to obtain the December, 1928, figures of imports, and I found that there were blankets coming in from Czechoslovakia at 99 cents a pair; from Belgium at $1.10 a pair; from the Netherlands at $1.62 a pair; from Germany at $2.15 a pair; from the United States at $2.03 a pair, and from Great Britain at $3.69 a pair. These low average prices indicated by the import figures do not seem to be reflected in the prices at which blankets are bought by the consumers in Canada, and I submit that an increase in the duty would therefore have no effect on the retail prices of blankets, but would result in more blankets being made in Canada by Canadian labourers and from wool produced in Canada, which would benefit the farmer, the labourer, and the manufacturer, and make more jobs in Canada for our boys and girls.

Canadian wool is particularly adapted to making the bulk of woollen cloths used in Canada. For nine months ending December, 1928, under the heading "worsteds and serges including coatings," there was imported into Canada $9,642,572 worth. The British government figures for twelve months ending December, 1928, show that they exported to Canada 17,473,000 square yards of woollen cloth valued at $12,743,525—and this is to the detriment of Canadian grown wool, which is particularly suited to the making of woollen cloth. It is the duty of this parliament to see that adequate protection be given to the blanket and woollen cloth mills in Canada which make the types of cloth for which Canadian wool is particularly adapted.

It is stated on all sides that our great need is population. If that is the case the government must find ways and means of employing the population we have and making new jobs for those we desire to add to our population. Consequently the efforts of the government should be bent to the task of creating work in Canada; and our efforts should be directed toward the work of building up a balanced population. The farmer says: If you bring in more farmers and settle them on the land you are intensifying competition for me, and this will help to lower the price of my product. The labourer says: If you bring in additional labourers there will be more competition for the available jobs in Canada. Therefore it is necessary to build up a balanced population in terms of occupation to a point where Canada will present a fairly harmonious economic unit; where the burden of taxation may be so distributed over more shoulders that it will bear lightly upon all; where our transportation machine may be operated efficiently and economically, and where the local consumption of industrial products may be large enough to give industry and the consumer the benefit of savings incidental to quantity production. We cannot overlook the fact that the first duty of a young nation is to make itself economically secure.

It is time Canada took stock of herself, of her resources and her institutions, and commenced to formulate national policies in keeping with her peculiar conditions and limitations. We should strive to reach our effective minimum population and always endeavour to maintain a fairly balanced population in terms of occupation. Build up agriculture and industry side by side. What Canada and many other countries have suffered from during recent years and what has given rise to general unemployment is not necessarily overpopulation, but unbalanced production, and there should be no widespread unemployment in Canada if corrective methods were employed by our government.

In considering the social value of the citizen we must not overlook his performance as a consumer of the products produced within the state. This has an important bearing on employment and general prosperity. Every man, woman and child added to our population is a potential consumer to the extent of $243.30 of manufactured goods, and of farm products to the extent of $87.50.

Mass production is the essential element in successful modern industry. Canadian agriculture will suffer by reason of inflated prices leading to a higher production cost until our general consuming population reaches a point where our industries can function more effectively, and thus reduce commodity prices, resulting in a lower cost of farm operation and of living all round. Until we can bring about a spectacular increase in population the present handicap of high commodity

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and operating costs cannot be removed. Increasing our imports cannot do this, for imports give the job to the foreigner and not to our own citizens. The farmer is sending his product to the export market, to maintain the workman there to manufacture the goods we are importing, instead of bringing the workman to Canada to make his goods and articles here and thus consume our farm products here.

The importation of 20,000,000 pounds of New Zealand butter is unfair to our farmers. This is the result of the Australian treaty. The bonus given by the Australian government to its farmers on all butter exported permits the Australian to carry his butter to Vancouver without cost, as the bonus pays the transportation charges. Australian and New Zealand butter can be shipped on a through rate from Vancouver to Montreal at $2.30 per 100 pounds. The rate for the British Columbia producer to Montreal is $3.58½ per 100 pounds. So the Australian can ship his butter to Montreal, pay the freight and 1 cent per pound for duty and lay it down for 28½ cents per 100 pounds less than our British Columbia producer. Saskatchewan and Alberta are similarly affected by this unfair competition as well as Ontario. The Saskatchewan producers are now of the opinion that there should be a general tariff on butter which would give our Canadian farmer protection in his home market, which is the proper solution of the problem. Twenty million pounds of butter imported in one year would keep 100,000 cows busy the year around in Canada, and would give employment to a large number of people in caring for the cows and handling the product. If we kept our home market for butter for our own farmers an additional ten thousand farms could be occupied in Canada. The competition which affects our farmers most is from New Zealand, and New Zealand gives us no benefits in return.

And what of the egg situation? Last autumn at the most critical time for our egg producers fifty carloads of 500 cases to the car were brought in from the United States, to the great detriment of our market, as eggs collected in April, May and June are put on the market in October, November and December of the same year, and large importations at that time seriously prejudice our poultry industry. Under the new government grading of eggs large quantities not up to the grade of extras or firsts, owing to size, soiled shells, and so forth, must be marketed as seconds. These together with cracked eggs

[Mr. Stinson.]

are broken into cans, frozen, and supplied to the bakers the year round. Approximately four million pounds of this product is used in Canada. This frozen egg industry is a very valuable asset to the poultry industry, because if all the frozen eggs consumed in Canada were Canadian eggs it would relieve the market of approximately four million dozen of the grade of eggs which it is most difficult to sell. If there is no protection to the egg buyers from these importations it means that our farmers must necessarily take a much lower price for their supply during the collecting season of April, May and June. Our tariff is three cents a dozen against the American tariff of eight cents a dozen. Last year's tinkering with the egg tariff is going to have the effect of a very much decreased price to our farmers this year, as huge losses were sustained by the packers in 1928 on the eggs they purchased from the farmers in April, May and June of 1928. Frozen eggs imported from China to the extent of upwards of two million pounds per year should not be allowed to come here and compete with our own eggs, nor should they be allowed to be used by our bakers and restaurant keepers if the statement made by a member of the deputation which waited on the government in the spring of 1928, in reference to the repeal of the dumping clause is true, as to the sanitary conditions under which they are put up in China. He said they were put up under conditions that were absolutely unsanitary.

All this tariff trouble has been brought about by reason of the fact that our Liberal friends have been successful in making a section of our farmers and others believe that a tariff is an invidious thing and should be discarded. In the platform of the Liberal party in 1921 we find the following words:

Whereas the protective tariff is the most wasteful and costly method ever designed for raising national revenue because for every dollar obtained thereby for the public treasury at least three dollars pass into the pockets of the protected interests, thereby building up a privileged class at the expense of the masses.

And yet in spite of that declaration this government has collected in the last year—after having had eight years in which to change the method—$185,000,000 from customs dues—the largest amount ever collected from customs dues in Canada, in any one year. If they believed what they preached to the electorate in 1921-1925 and 1926, and for many years prior thereto, then they should have wiped out the tariff and made good their

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| 8 ft. binder | |
| 6 ft. mower | |
| 12 ft. hay rake | |
| 16 x 16 disc harrow | |
| 20 dble. disc drill | |
| ⅓ furrow engine gang plo | |
| 5 section drag harrow | |
| 3½ x 3 wagon (complete) | |
| 1 15 x 27 tractor | |

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| 500 lbs. sugar | |
| 25 lbs. coffee | |
| 25 lbs. tea | |
| 25 lbs. raisins | |
| 25 lbs. currants | |
| 50 lbs. rice | |
| 50 lbs macaroni | |
| 5 bbls. apples | |
| 50 doz. oranges | |
| 10 doz. lemons | |
| 5 doz. grapefruit | |
| 1 bunch bananas | |
| 25 pineapples | |
| 100 lbs. evaporated prun | |
| 100 lbs. apricots | |
| 100 lbs. peaches | |
| 200 lbs. salt | |
| 100 lbs. pears | |

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declaration that the system is wrong. When you go into the figures carefully the fact is revealed that the farmer is not affected to any great extent by the tariff, and if he were given protection for his farm products then the account would be balanced. Let me work out the account for you. If a farmer purchases a complete line of implements costing $2,267.25, the net duty he would pay is $54.31, as follows:

| Implements | Selling price | Dutiable value | Tariff rate | Net duty |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 ft. binder | $ 275 00 | $170 00 | 6 % | $10 20 |
| 6 ft. mower | 110 00 | 55 00 | 7½% | 4 13 |
| 12 ft. hay rake | 63 75 | 38 00 | 7½% | 2 85 |
| 16 x 16 disc harrow | 76 50 | 45 00 | 7½% | 3 38 |
| 20 dble. disc drill | 243 25 | 150 00 | 7½% | 11 25 |
| ⅓ furrow engine gang plough | 155 00 | 100 00 | 10 % | 10 00 |
| 5 section drag harrow | 32 75 | 20 00 | 10 % | 2 00 |
| 3½ x 3 wagon (complete) | 166 00 | 105 00 | 10 % | 10 50 |
| 1 15 x 27 tractor | 1,145 00 | nil | nil | nil |
| | $2,267 25 | $683 00 | | $54 31 |

The average life of the implements mentioned in this table is from eight to ten years, and if you put it at the lesser figure of eight years the duty on his machinery is $6.79 annually.

Now then, let us treat the farmer's food products in the same way, leaving out the non-dutiable articles. We find he pays in duty on food products annually $21.01, made up as follows:

| Amounts | Rate of duty | Duty paid |
|---|---|---|
| 500 lbs. sugar | $1 50 per cwt. | $ 7 50 |
| 25 lbs. coffee | 03 per lb. | 75 |
| 25 lbs. tea | 10 per lb. | 2 50 |
| 25 lbs. raisins | 03 per lb. | 75 |
| 25 lbs. currants | 03 per lb. | 75 |
| 50 lbs. rice | 75 per cwt. | 37½ |
| 50 lbs macaroni | 1 25 per cwt. | 62½ |
| 5 bbls. apples | 90 per bbl. | 4 50 |
| 50 doz. oranges | nil | nil |
| 10 doz. lemons | nil | nil |
| 5 doz. grapefruit | nil | nil |
| 1 bunch bananas | 50 | 50 |
| 25 pineapples | nil | nil |
| 100 lbs. evaporated prunes | 0666 per lb. | 66⅔ |
| 100 lbs. apricots | 50 per cwt. | 50 |
| 100 lbs. peaches | 1 00 per cwt. | 1 00 |
| 200 lbs. salt | 05 per cwt. | 10 |
| 100 lbs. pears | 50 per cwt. | 50 |
| | | $21 01⅔ |

This is based on a family of five, which should be a fair average.

Next we come to the tariff on the family supply of clothing. There is no duty on cloth in the bolt entering Canada, nor is there any on raw cotton brought in for manufacturing or finishing in Canada; consequently the amount of duty paid by the average farmer on his clothing budget is very small, less than $15.

This gives us the complete burden imposed annually on the farmer with a family of five by reason of the tariff, amounting in all to $42.80. Of that amount only $6.79, the duty on machinery, is peculiar to the farmer alone, as the other two amounts are collected from every other household in Canada. What does the farmer get in return for the $42.80 which he pays? It is his main contribution toward the upkeep of the federal government. In return he gets a paid representative to Ottawa; government help in selling his commodities and in extending his markets; protection of life and property; experimental farms and research bureaus conducted in his interest; federal grants to highways, at least at times; payment to old age pensions, and many other advantages and assistance from the government. Is not the farmer amply repaid for his annual contribution of $42.80 as likewise every other citizen?

The farmer's share of the cost of provincial and municipal government is at least four times the cost to him of federal government.

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A little tariff protection will build up a home market for both farmer and manufacturer, and no nation has ever become great and prosperous without a well balanced industrial and agricultural population. Let us strive for a balanced population in terms of occupation to develop one of the finest countries in the world, and build a strong verile nation capable of taking care of itself.

The Minister of Finance at page 626 of Hansard states that:

> The administration will refuse to support any extravagance in the spending of the taxpayers' money.

That no doubt is the basis for the government's refusal to renew the grant of $400,000 per annum to the province of Ontario and other provinces for agriculture; for its refusal to renew the grant to the provinces for technical education; for its refusal to renew the grant to the provinces for good roads. In view of the above declaration against extravagance, I would like to have the minister's explanation and his justification for spending $520,000 in one year for automobiles for the ministers of the crown and others; for spending $3,000,000 on the beautification of Ottawa; $500,000 to buy a mansion in the United States for the Hon. Vincent Massey and $255,000 for the maintenance of embassies at Washington, Tokyo and Paris, and $231,178.91 on furnishings and repairs to Quebec citadels.

Let us end the weary years of fickleness and instability in financial and fiscal affairs; let us restore definitely and clearly the principle of protection in the tariff of Canada, a principle and a practice upon which all can rely, upon which industry can depend, upon which workers and farmers can depend, but a principle and a practice which none should be permitted to abuse. Let us see that the great resources of this country are conserved for the development of our own nation and not of another, and for the multiplication of our own people and the retention in Canada of our own sons and daughters.

I heartily support the amendment moved by the hon. member for South Wellington (Mr. Guthrie).

Mr. J. A. MERCIER (Laurier-Outremont): The hon. member for Cariboo (Mr. Fraser), speaking in this house last evening, said that in view of the immense territory which he represented he was entitled to more time than the average member. If that principle were applied, very little time would be allotted to me because I represent a constituency small in territory though high in the quality and large in the number of its inhabitants. Among those people who live in the division of Laurier-Outremont you, Mr. Speaker, have many friends who followed with delight and admiration the magnificent course of lectures which you gave at the Sorbonne at Paris this summer, and as an old pupil of yours at Laval university, Montreal, I add my congratulations to those of your numerous friends in the division I represent.

Even at his late hour I desire also to join with the members of the opposition in extending congratulations to the Minister of Finance (Mr. Robb) upon the concise and able manner in which he brought down this, his sixth budget in the house. But unlike those members, I do not qualify my congratulations, and I assure the minister that we on this side of the house take his word for it when he says that prosperity reigns throughout the land. Our friends opposite criticize that statement and say that Canada is not prosperous, so it might be well to go outside the house and take unbiased authorities in order to arrive at a conclusion as to whether or not Canada is prosperous. We might go to important organizations and bodies throughout this country but we could find none more reliable or more qualified to speak of the prosperity of Canada than our banks, and if I may be allowed to do so I would like to quote a few words from the annual statement of the Bank of Montreal as submitted by its president, Sir Charles Gordon, who said:

> The statement of the year's operations shows that we have fully participated in the general prosperity while agricultural, commercial and industrial activities have been carried on in greater volume than ever before.

The general manager of the bank, following Sir Charles Gordon, said:

> Canada as a whole has enjoyed more prosperity than ever before; our live stock industry has shown marked improvement. Cattle have been in better demand at better prices than for some years past. Between 1926 and 1927 there was an increase of about 25 per cent in the output of our dairy factories, and progress has continued in 1928. One of the happiest developments has been the definite revival of prosperity in the maritime provinces, coming into line with the rest of Canada in this respect. Canada is great in agriculture, but the glory of her heritage lies in the variety of her resources. Minerals are steadily growing in importance. The tourist trade is of the highest importance; according to government statistics tourists from abroad spent $275,000,000 in Canada in 1927. Reports from all provinces report an even larger number of tourists, and the amount spent has no doubt also been greater in 1928.

Looking at the annual statement of the Imperial Bank of Canada we find that the president, Mr. Peleg Howland, said:

> This year has been most profitable to bankers. Our foreign trade has increased, particularly

in imports, which would indi
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Imperial Bank, Mr. A. E. Pl
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Beatty, president of the C
Railway Company, was quoted

I have never seen the country
and in all my experience I hav
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Then the general manager o
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Senator Dandurand, preside
real City and District Saving

The year just closed has b
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city in particular. We h
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Sir H. Laporte, president
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in imports, which would indicate increased spending ability on the part of the people. Our debt has been reduced; our revenues are increasing. Most of our industries will show satisfactory results from their operations this year. It cannot be said that mining activity is not prosperous. Building construction has been active in Canada, the confidence displayed in the continued growth of the city of Toronto particularly by those erecting lofty buildings being very marked. Savings have increased. The country's prospects are pleasing. Reasonable confidence in the immediate future is instilled.

In his turn the general manager of the Imperial Bank, Mr. A. E. Phipps, said that on his return from his western trip Mr. E. W. Beatty, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, was quoted as follows:

I have never seen the country looking better, and in all my experience I have not previously found so general a feeling of complete confidence in this country and its possibilities.

Then the general manager of the bank continues:

This to some extent sums up my present feelings with regard to the future conditions in Canada which are largely governed by profits from agriculture, which seems to be on an assured basis and given the continuance of the prosperity which the agriculturists have enjoyed for the past few years, I see nothing ahead to check the development of the country.

The annual report of the Bank of Toronto, as shown in the Financial Post of January 18, 1929, contains the following statement by Mr. W. G. Gooderham, the president:

My first word must be an expression of satisfaction and thankfulness. The rising tide of progress has continued during the year just passed and many new peaks have been established. Agriculture is now in excellent financial condition and it is good to see conditions for the farmer improving, not only financially but in all those things which add to the measure of comfort available to him. Manufacturing lines have enjoyed a good year. In construction there has been unusual activity, while the orders handled by the iron and steel companies, railway equipments and similar basic industries have also been large. Mining steadily makes new records.

Senator Dandurand, president of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, said:

The year just closed has been one of great prosperity for Canada generally and for our city in particular. We have harvested a record crop, business generally has been very good and a wave of well-being has spread over the country generally.

Sir H. Laporte, president of the Provincial Bank of Canada, said:

The bounteous crops, as well as the sale of live stock at very satisfactory prices, were important sources of revenue for the agricultural class whose buying power has contributed to the speeding up of our industries. The rapid development of some of our natural resources, by the water-power developments and dependable labour. . . have been factors which contributed to the general prosperity, speeded up the building trade, kept our great transportation companies active and provided employment for our working classes.

I now come to the report of the Royal Bank of Canada. In publishing this report the Montreal Gazette said:

The annual meeting of the Royal Bank is always followed with a good deal of interest . . . . but yesterday's gathering was of particular importance, following as it did one of the most prosperous years in the history of this country and coming on the threshold of what appears to be an era of further and marked progress in the affairs of the Dominion.

In his address to the shareholders of the bank, Sir Herbert S. Holt, chairman of the board, said:

The growth of agricultural, mineral and industrial production has been reflected in growing assets. . . . There was extraordinary growth in the demand for Canadian products; in 1922 the total value of Canadian exports amounted to $740,000,000 and by 1926 this had increased to $1,315,000,000, or an increase of 78 per cent. . . . Exports in the fiscal year of 1928 were only 6½ per cent below those of the record year of 1926, and the last few months have witnessed the development of a new upward trend in foreign sales. I believe, however, at the moment it is no exaggeration to summarize the situation by saying that there is no other part of the world more prosperous than Canada.

Mr. Chas. E. Neill, the efficient and popular general manager of the bank, made the following statement:

To our farmers . . . . the record crop of 1928 has brought substantial prosperity. A pronounced shortage of cattle in the United States has brought about a movement to purchase cattle in Canada.

So far commerce and industry have their feet on the ground and speaking generally, the publicly owned corporations have never been in a more sound or liquid position, with prosperity general and prospects never before equalled in our history.

Almost all indications of Canadian production have shown a spectacular rise during the past four years. This is particularly true to those relating to manufacturing. The amount of electric energy generated daily in 1928 is double the amount in 1924 and this in itself is a valuable index of manufacturing activity. The accessibility of vast water-powers constitutes an outstanding benefit to manufacturing in Canada.

The directors' report to the shareholders of La Banque Canadienne Nationale, as given by Senator Beique, its president, and Mr. Beaudry Leman, its general manager, reads as follows:

The progress of the bank during the year was naturally influenced by the business activity prevalent throughout Canada. Prosperity was not shared equally by all branches of industry but on the whole it was greater than ever before; as evidenced by official and

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private statistics, returns of the banks and railroads and the statements of the great number of industrial and commercial enterprises. Viewed as a whole, 1928 has undoubtedly been one of the most prosperous years in the history of Canada.

Agriculture, which still ranks as our principal source of wealth, yielded a very high revenue this year, in spite of damages caused in certain regions by premature frost. . . . . Farmers were compensated for the lower prices prevailing for wheat by the economies effected through more efficient machinery. The raising of live stock was stimulated by better prices and prospects in this branch are very encouraging. Agriculture has made great progress in the last few years. The use of more efficient agricultural implements, which are well adapted to the conditions on our western plains and the discovery of new varieties of wheat maturing more rapidly and consequently less subject to damage by frost, have rendered available to agriculture new territories.

For the third consecutive year mineral production has established a new high record. . . . Coal production was greater than ever and it is interesting to note that Canada is relying less every year upon imported steam and domestic coal.

Referring to forestry operations, the report says:

General prosperity in Canada and the United States has caused an increased demand for export as well as for home consumption with a consequent improvement in prices.

Power consumption is undoubtedly one of the most reliable indexes of industrial activity. . . . The water-power development in Canada shows total hydro-electric development in Canada to be 5,328,000 horse-power and that there is actually under construction and development an additional amount of 1,200,000 horse-power.

Labour statistics give a fair idea of industrial activity during the year. . . . . .the indexes show that the ratio of employment was at a higher figure than in any previous year of record. The building trades have established a new high record.

Several industries have benefited by this great activity, particularly iron and steel. Both of the country's railways have more cars in commission, carried more freight and registered larger receipts than ever before.

According to an article published in the Ottawa Journal of January 14, 1929, Mr. E. W. Beatty, chairman and president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, said:

There exists no surer criterion of national economies than is afforded by the condition and effectiveness of a country's transportation systems. I think there is no question of the fact that the railways of Canada have performed their duty well. It is evident that under ordinary circumstances the next few years wil record a notable forward step in our economic development. The past year has been one of marked progress. For four years in succession, Canada has had a series of big crops. This year all previous records have been broken. . . . Conditions such as these cannot fail to influence the business life of a country, and as the prosperity of the country has been based on the yields of earlier years, the present crop ensures a continuance of activity.

The general satisfactory nature of the country's business has, of course, been reflected in increased railway earnings. To the end of October, which are the last figures available at time of writing, Canadian Pacific gross receipts totalled $183,588,531, as against $160,384,749, an increase of 14.46 per cent, while net earnings increased 31.03.

Industrialism has made an impressive start in many of the western cities. One is used to speaking of western Canada as though that country were solely agricultural in its nature, but times are changed.

Subsequent to the issuance of that report, the following article appeared in one of the Ottawa papers:

Surplus of C.P.R. Nearly 15 Millions

Report Showing the Net Revenue is Issued in Montreal

The Canadian Pacific Railway to-day reported that after payment of all dividends declared for the year, the surplus from the earnings of the railway, lake steamers, and special income for the year 1928 amounted to $14,892,257. The net revenue from the same sources available for dividends amounted to $48,313,437.

Gross earnings from the railway and the lake steamers amounted to $229,039,297, while the working expenses, including all taxes, were $177,344,845, thus leaving the net earnings from the railway and lake steamers at $51,694,452. The special income amounted to $12,677,683. The fixed charges and a contribution to the pension fund amounted to $15,308,698 and $750,000 respectively.

The next authority I would cite in favour of the existing prosperity in Canada is the report of the Canadian National lines. In an article published in the Ottawa Journal at the commencement of the year, Sir Henry Thornton makes certain observations. The article is headed as follows:

West is entering industrial field with oil and mining also prominent states president of national lines. Prairie provinces outgrown period when agriculture only industry—New records made by Canadian National Railways in 1928 —Extensions made and services improved.

The body of the article as given by Sir Henry Thornton, reads:

Canadians in every line of business, from the agriculturist to the manufacturer and the financier, seem to be firmly convinced that as we enter the year 1929 Canada is stepping firmly along the high road to further prosperity. To discuss Canada's progress with men in all walks of life in each of the nine provinces which go to make up this great Dominion of Canada, is to become confirmed in one's optimism concerning this country and its people.

During each year it is my privilege to visit each of the different provinces to talk "Canada" with men in every walk of life. In doing this, and in travelling over the 22,861 miles of line which go to make up the Canadian National Railways system, I think one gains a much more clearly define
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much more clearly defined picture of what Canada really holds than could be secured through study of many volumes of statistics. The wealth of Canada lies not only in the fertility of her soil, the wealth of mine and forest and the output of factory, it lies also in the determined spirit, the splendid character and the quiet optimism of her people.

Another organization which bears a large part in the industrial activity of Canada is the Montreal harbour commission. I have under my hand an article written in the Ottawa Journal by the Hon. Doctor W. L. McDougald, chairman of the Montreal harbour board, and I would like to cite to the house what he has to say as to the prosperity that exists in Canada at the present time. He says:

The harbour of Montreal, considered as an important operating unit of Canadian enterprise, possesses many faculties, notably those of a favourable nature. But, of all its characteristics, that one which it possesses in most striking degree is its ability to exceed anticipations.

For very many years has this been so. In the years 1907 and 1908, and subsequent years prior to the great war, the harbour commissioners were busily engaged in building and creating a modern harbour, which they anticipated would provide for the legitimate expansion of the port for a period of twenty-five years. This anticipation was exceeded, however, as by 1921 the business had so prospered and augmented that new facilities were necessary.

Accordingly in 1922 the present board of harbour commissioners undertook an elaborate scheme of development. The sum of $5,000,000 was expended on new wharves and additional grain handling facilities. And the port business grew faster than facilities could be provided. A new program was begun at the end of 1923, and on this the sum of $10,000,000 was expended, including new sheds, further wharf extensions, and an increase of 1,500,000 bushels grain storage at elevator "B".

Still the business increased. Expectations were again exceeded, and in 1926 the harbour commissioners applied to parliament for a further loan of $12,000,000 with which to provide additional sorely-needed equipment and facilities at Canada's national port. Work on the new program was begun in 1927 and continued in 1928. But in 1927, as if to lay emphasis on the fact that it was Canada's jubilee year, the port surpassed all previous efforts and new marks were reached in half a dozen lines of activity. Grain exports in that year reached 195,000,000 bushels, revenue increased to around $5,500,000, shipping tonnage increased, total tonnage of commodities increased to 11,921,000, tons, and coal imports grew to more than two million tons.

I skip over the greater part of this report, but before putting it aside I would like to cite the following from it:

The foregoing account will give a general impression of the activities of the year, without dwelling in too much detail on other important phases of harbour activities. It will be seen that the year under review has been one of exceptional achievement, but the commissioners are not yet satisfied that the harbour of Montreal has reached its limit of success. Future years are confidently awaited, and in preparation for the business they will bring, plans were laid during the season now closed for several important schemes of harbour development, which include new construction, rearrangement of many existing activities, and schemes for new undertakings. Of these, one in particular may be mentioned—the provision of an area in the harbour for creation of a new air-port for seaplanes and amphibians. Thus, side by side with the requirements of to-day, the interests of the future are protected at this most modern of Canadian public utilities.

It seems to me that a gentleman occupying the important position of president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce would know something about financial, industrial and other conditions in Canada and that hon. gentlemen on the other side of the house would all the more readily accept his views when it might be remembered that the same gentleman was a Conservative candidate in St. Antoine division not so many years ago. Mr. W. M. Birks, writing likewise in the Ottawa Journal, says:

Judged by the basal factors which determine our mercantile situation, the year 1928 has been in the van of our entire economic progress. Whether it be cultivation, manufacturing, or the development of our natural resources, each tells the same story these past twelve months of an abounding prosperity, which per se indicates prosperous commercial conditions. Unless there were outlets for the products of the plough, the dynamo and the exploitations of nature, there could develop no commerce of proportions.

Canada has found itself in the fortunate situation, however, where marketing opportunities of unusual dimensions, both at home and abroad, have absorbed the output of her farms, her factories and her harnessed and natural wealth. More than that, the sinews of commerce have shown remarkable strength. Given the volume of output in Canada and the more than ordinary intake of imported merchandise, the transportation companies and the competing distributing agencies have all made the flow of commerce between our provinces and between Canada and outside countries particularly easy and vigorous.

And not the least important for this year of unprecedented commercial activity has been the sustained purchasing power of our own people and that of our customers abroad. We might conceivably have products to sell, internal and external markets where our goods were wanted, means of conveying and financing shipments, but had we all these and lacked consumers in a monetary position to buy not only our own merchandise, but that of a non-domestic character, our whole commercial life would be depressed.

Our people, however, generally are at least comfortably well off, and possess for the most

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part that wherewithal required for a no mean standard of living. Nor should we overlook the fact that the rehabilitation of European exchanges and the healthier tone of economic life abroad have reacted favourably on our export trade.

I have before me another extract from the same paper, the Ottawa Journal, in which Mr. O. W. Liberty, its financial editor, says, "Canada's advance is outstanding in present day economic history, while future is full of promise. Statistics prove achievements were not equalled by people of any other country—bumper crops one of chief factors in financial situation in which all classes shared—advances in mineral development. General anticipation is that present wave will continue during first six months of 1929 at least."

The automobile has become an important factor not only in the commercial but in the social life of Canada. I have before me an article taken from the Montreal Gazette, of February 24, 1929, in which Mr. J. D. Mansfield, of the Chrysler Corporation, is quoted as saying that he considers the Dominion is coming into its own, and that his company is expanding. It says, "First unit of new production plants will soon be erected. Output for 1928 up over 47 per cent," and goes on:

> Expressing the opinion that all business in Canada is on a thoroughly sound basis. John D. Mansfield, president of the several divisional manufacturing companies of the Chrysler Corporation of Canada, Limited, said that the Dominion is not entering a boom period so much as an era of genuinely sound business, when interviewed yesterday morning at the Mount Royal hotel.
>
> Having just come down from Windsor, Ont., where, he said, there is a general feeling of optimism as to the future of business, both in the west and east, Mr. Mansfield is in Montreal to attend the motor show being held this week at the Stadium and to discuss conditions with the dealers in this part of the province.
>
> He feels that the position of the country is very satisfactory and can see nothing but very fair prospects lying before it. The general trend of business is as it has never been before, and he is positive in his assertion that "Canada is just coming into its own."

Turning to the public accounts of this country, a Canadian Press despatch in the Montreal Gazette, dated March 15, 1929, shows that there has been a revenue gain of $32,355,049 in eleven months, that $407,938,555 has been paid into the treasury up to February 28, that the net debt has decreased, showing a reduction of $64,130,157, as compared with February of last year. I shall not read the despatch, because these figures are available to all members of the house.

[Mr. Mercier.]

I wish, however, to quote from the report of the Bell Telephone Company of Canada, which shows a great increase in telephone business. According to the company's annual report, recently published, the total revenue of the company last year was $35,888,980, embracing $26,920,593 from exchange revenue and $8,968,387 from toll revenue, an increase of $3,157,850 over the total revenue of the previous year.

The Montreal Gazette of yesterday's date has an editorial to the effect that the Victoria Daily Colonist reports that exclusive of residences and minor alterations, buildings to the value of $3,253,000 are in course of construction in the city of Victoria, and now that cold weather is departing, contractors are planning still more structures, including public, commercial and other blocks.

I see my time is up, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. F. G. SANDERSON (South Perth): At this late hour, Mr. Speaker, I hesitate to trespass on the time of the house. The arrangement was that another speaker was to be put up on the other side of the house, but he is indisposed and cannot proceed. I should like, however, to take a few minutes to-night to congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Robb), who brought down his budget in this house on March 1. Many eminent men have occupied the responsible position of Minister of Finance of Canada, eminent men of different shades of politics, some Liberals and some Conservatives, men who had the confidence of the great bulk of the people of this Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But I want to say that never perhaps in the history of the country have we had a Finance minister who has won his way into the confidence of the masses to the extent that the hon. gentleman has who now occupies that position. And I would add, Mr. Speaker, that none of his predecessors has had so many obstacles to surmount and so many difficulties to combat. As I say, he has won his way into the confidence of the people to a marked degree and year after year continues to bring down budgets that meet with national approval. Any Finance minister who can reduce the national debt by about seventy million dollars, and at the same time reduce taxation to the extent of thirty million dollars, cannot be open to any severe criticism.

Very attentively, Mr. Speaker, I listened to the speech delivered by the hon. member for South Wellington (Mr. Guthrie) a few

days ago. He made an ex
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Mr. GOTT: It is only

Mr. SANDERSON: me tell my hon. friend this house goes on suppo hon. member for South

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days ago. He made an excellent speech. He had a wonderful opportunity in the absence of his chief, and he rose fully to that opportunity. Not only that, but he enthused his followers sitting around him. But in that speech—and, sir, I do not agree with all that he said—he repudiated every speech that as a Liberal he made from 1900 to 1917. I do not find any fault, at all—and I say this in no offensive spirit—with the fact that he crossed over to the other side of the house, but, knowing as I do the political views of the people of Ontario, although my knowledge may be limited, I say that however much the speech of the hon. member may enthuse his new-found Conservative friends in the province, I do not think it will lead any Liberal seats into the Conservative column at the next general election.

Mr. GOTT: It is only a supposition.

Mr. SANDERSON: Quite true; but let me tell my hon. friend that no member of this house goes on supposition more than the hon. member for South Essex.

As it is quarter to eleven, Mr. Speaker, with the consent of the house I move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to and debate adjourned.

On motion of Mr. Robb, the house adjourned at 10.45 p.m.

## CONTENTS—*Continued*

**Supply Bill.** Bill No. 82 (interim supply for $20,454,936.78), Mr. Robb, first, second, reading, committee, third reading.

**Value of Canadian Dollar,** Mr. Irvine, Mr. Robb.

**The Gold Standard,** Mr. Spence, Mr. Robb.

**Private Bills:**

**Sun Life Assurance Company,** Bill No. 16, motion, Sir Eugene Fiset, for third reading. Mr. Pouliot. Motion agreed to.

**The Budget.** Debate continued by Mr. Stevens, Miss Macphail, Mr. Heenan, Mr. MacLaren, Mr. Maloney, Mr. Stinson, Mr. Mercier (Laurier-Outremont), Mr. Sanderson. Debate adjourned on motion of Mr. Sanderson.

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The following table shows the total amount paid out in each Province for pensions from the date of the inception of Old Age Pensions Act and the number of pensioners on March 31, 1930.

SUMMARY OF OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA, AS AT MARCH 31, 1930.

| | Alberta Act effective Aug. 1, 1929. | British Columbia Act effective Sept. 1, 1927. | Manitoba Act effective Sept. 1, 1928. | Ontario Act effective Nov. 1, 1929. | Saskatchewan Act effective May 1, 1928. | Northwest Territories Order in C. effective March 1, 1929. | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total amount of pensions paid since inception of the Old Age Pensions Act..... | $267,420.04 | $2,049,674.52 | $1,649,295.67 | $2,255,688.38 | $1,319,942.83 | $557.74 | $7,542,579.12 |
| Dominion Government's share of expenditure | $133,710.01 | $1,024,818.51 | $ 824,647.85 | $1,127,844.18 | $ 659,971.41 | $557.74 | $3,771,549.68 |
| Number of pensioners on March 31, 1930.... | 2,017 | 4,576 | 5,104 | 26,370 | 4,482 | 4 | 42,553 |

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C 93303

# AN OLD AGE PENSION SYSTEM FOR CANADA

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PROCEEDINGS of the Special Committee appointed to make an enquiry into an old age pension system for Canada.

COMPRISING

The Order of Reference, the Final Report of the Committee presented to the House, and the Evidence given before the Committee together with certain Papers relating thereto.

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FEBRUARY - JULY SESSION, 1924

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Third Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of Canada

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*PRINTED BY ORDER OF PARLIAMENT*

OTTAWA
F. A. ACLAND
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1924

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## ORDER OF REFERENCE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TUESDAY, April 29, 1924.

*Resolved*, That a Special Committee be appointed to make an enquiry into an Old Age Pension System for Canada, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to report from time to time, and that the said Committee do consist of the following named members, viz: Messrs. Fontaine, Irvine, Logan, McConica, Munro, Neill, Preston, Raymond, Robichaud, Sexsmith, Spence, and St. Père.

*Attest.*

W. B. NORTHRUP,
*Clerk of the House.*

---

WEDNESDAY, May 7, 1924.

*Ordered*, That the said Committee be given leave to have its proceedings printed from day to day for the use of the members of the Committee and of the House, when deemed advisable, and that Rule 74 in relation thereto be suspended.

*Attest.*

W. B. NORTHRUP,
*Clerk of House of Commons.*



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This is really the basis of our legislation

C 93305



# SECOND AND FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA,

OTTAWA, TUESDAY, July 1, 1924.

The Special Committee, appointed to make an enquiry into an old age pension system for Canada, begs leave to present the following as its Second and Final Report:—

Your Committee has inquired into the systems which are in operation in England, Australia, New Zealand, and certain other countries; examined witnesses, carefully considered their suggestions, and compared the information obtained from thirty-one municipalities throughout Canada, in reply to a questionnaire sent to one hundred and thirty-five mayors of cities and towns in every province.

This question has been before this House at different times since 1907, but no definite recommendation was made by any of the committees to which it was referred.

After careful consideration of the information obtained from the sources enumerated, your Committee respectfully recommends:—

1. That an old age pension system be established at the earliest possible date for deserving indigent persons of seventy (70) years of age and upwards.

2. That applicants for pensions must be British subjects of at least twenty (20) years' residence in Canada, or naturalized subjects of at least fifteen (15) years' naturalization and twenty-five (25) years' residence.

3. (*a*) That the maximum rate of pension be twenty ($20) dollars per month , which would be lessened by private income or partial ability to earn;

(*b*) That one-half the amount of pension payable be borne by the Federal Government; the other half, by the Provincial Government of such provinces as express by legislation their desire to adopt the system,—the cost of administration to be borne by the provincial governments.

Your Committee has estimated that under such a system there would be approximately 98,841 eligible pensioners, and that if all of these were to receive the maximum rate of pension, namely, twenty ($20) dollars per month, the Federal Government's portion of the total yearly expenditure would amount to $11,860,920. This amount, however, would be reduced by any private income or partial earnings.

Your Committee further recommends that the Government communicate with the various provincial governments to ascertain if they are disposed to adopt the above system and enact the necessary legislation.

Your Committee also begs to recommend that its proceedings, together with the evidence taken, be printed as an appendix to the Journals of this House.

For the information of the House, a copy of the proceedings and evidence, a synopsis of the communications received from the municipalities, and a statement of the expectation of life prepared by the Department of Insurance, are appended to this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. G. RAYMOND,
*Chairman.*

For the motion to concur in the adoption of the recommendation contained in the Second and Final Report relative to the printing of the proceedings and evidence as an appendix to the Journals of the House, *see* Journals at page 509; also Debates (unrevised edition) at page 4362.

NOTE.—The First Report of the Committee is embodied in the second Order of the Order of Reference, herein, dated 7th May, 1924.

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# MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
COMMITTEE ROOM 436,
TUESDAY, May 6, 1924.

The Committee pursuant to notice assembled at 10.30 o'clock, a.m.

*Members present:*—Messrs. Fontaine, Logan, Neill, Preston, Raymond, Sexsmith, Spence, and St. Père,—8.

Mr. Spence moved, Mr. Neill seconding, that Mr. Raymond be elected as Chairman of the Committee. There being no further nominations Mr. Raymond was declared elected.

The Chairman briefly expressed his appreciation of the confidence which all the honourable members present had shown in electing him to preside as Chairman of the Committee, and he hoped that the materials which were necessary to make the enquiry, as set forth in the resolution of the House, would be available to all the members of the Committee at as early a date as possible, so that the Committee could go ahead with its work.

The Committee considered a report presented to the House by the Committee of 1913. It was noted that no further action developed largely owing to the War which broke out in 1914.

The Clerk of the Committee laid on the Table copies of the proceedings of the Committee of 1912 and 1913; also, a Memorandum containing references to legislation and government records of those countries wherein an old age pension system is in operation, which could be of interest to the Committee now appointed by the House.

After consideration respecting such data, Mr. St. Père moved, seconded by Mr. Preston, that three hundred (300) copies of the Memorandum referred to, be printed for the use of the Committee and members of the House; also to contain, upon the approved suggestion of Mr. Neill, the Old Age Pension Act of Great Britain, enacted in 1919,—Motion carried.

On motion of Mr. Neill, the Committee then adjourned to meet again at the call of the Chair.

V. CLOUTIER,
*Clerk of the Committee.*

WEDNESDAY, May 7, 1924.

The Committee met at 10.45 o'clock, a.m., the Chairman, Mr. Raymond, presiding.

*Other members present:*—Messrs. McConica, Munro, Neill, Preston, Spence, and St. Père.—7.

The Committee proceeded to consider the advisability of obtaining leave from the House to have its proceedings printed from day to day. Accordingly, Mr. McConica moved, seconded by Mr. Preston, that the Committee obtain leave from the House to have its proceedings printed from day to day for the use of the members of the Committee and of the House, when deemed advisable, and that Rule 74 in relation thereto be suspended.—Motion carried.

The Clerk of the Committee was instructed to prepare the report necessary to enable the Chairman to present same this day.

On motion of Mr. St. Père, the Committee then adjourned to meet again at the call of the Chair.

V. CLOUTIER,
*Clerk of the Committee.*



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FRIDAY, May 16, 1924.

The Committee assembled at 12 o'clock, noon.

Members present:—The Chairman, Mr. Raymond, Mr. Fontaine, and Mr. Preston.

There being no quorum present, the Chairman adjourned the proceedings until Tuesday, 20th May, at 11 o'clock, a.m.

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TUESDAY, May 20, 1924.

The Committee met at 11 o'clock, a.m., the Chairman, Mr. Raymond, presiding.

Other members present:—Messrs. Fontaine, Neill, Preston, Sexsmith, Spence, and St. Père.

In attendance:—Messrs. Tom Moore, J. T. Foster, and W. L. Best representing Labour organizations.

The Clerk of the Committee submitted a *resumé* of the resolutions which, from time to time, have been considered in the Canadian Parliament on the question of an old age pension system for Canada. After consideration thereof, Mr. St. Père moved, seconded by Mr. Spence, that said *resumé* be printed in to-day's proceedings.—Motion carried.

Mr. Fontaine moved, seconded by Mr. Preston,—That a representative of the National Labour Organization of the Province of Quebec be invited to give evidence before the Committee.—Motion carried.

Mr. Spence moved that Mr. John Keane of the Social Service Department, City Hall, Ottawa, be invited to give evidence before the Committee.—Motion carried.

The Chairman submitted the name of Dr. McMillan, Chairman of the Minimum Wage Board, Toronto, as one who might give the Committee valuable information respecting fair rates of pension.—Said suggestion to be further considered.

Mr. Tom Moore, President, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada was called and examined for evidence, and presented the views of labour organizations in Canada. In the course of the evidence given by Mr. Moore, certain points were explained by Mr. J. T. Foster, Vice President, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

The Committee then adjourned to meet again at the call of the Chair.

V. CLOUTIER,
*Clerk of the Committee.*

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THURSDAY, June 5, 1924.

The Committee met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. Raymond presiding.

Other members present:—Messrs. Fontaine, Irvine, Neill, Spence, and St. Père.



APPENDIX No. 4

In attendance:—Mr. J
Hall, Ottawa; Mr. J. A. M
Workmen of Canada, and
Peltier of the Railway Tra

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Catholic Workmen of Can
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on motion of Mr. Fontain
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A statement showing
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Mr. St. Père moved, secon
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The Committee then
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The Witnesses retire

The Committee then
11 o'clock a.m.

The Committee met
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APPENDIX No. 4

In attendance:—Mr. John Keane, of the Social Service Department, City Hall, Ottawa; Mr. J. A. Morin, Vice-President of the Confederation of Catholic Workmen of Canada, and Messrs. Byron Baker, T. J. Coughlin, and L. L. Peltier of the Railway Transportation Brotherhoods.

The Chairman informed the Committee that he had received a memorandum relating to an old age pension system, on behalf of the Canadian Railway employees. The memorandum having been read and considered, Mr. Irvine moved, seconded by Mr. Spence, that it be printed in the proceedings. Motion carried.

The Chairman informed the Committee that he had received a memorandum from Mr. J. A. Morin, on behalf of the Confederation of the Catholic Workmen of Canada, relative to the action taken by this organization on the question of pensions. The memorandum was read and considered, and on motion of Mr. Fontaine, seconded by Mr. Spence, it was ordered filed for further consideration.

A statement showing the estimated cost to Canada of an old age pension system, submitted by the Clerk of the Committee, was read and considered. Mr. St. Père moved, seconded by Mr. Irvine that said statement be printed in the proceedings. Motion carried.

The Committee then proceeded to consider the evidence given by Mr. Keane, and by Mr. Peltier.

The Witnesses retired.

The Committee then adjourned to meet again on Monday, 9th June, at 11 o'clock a.m.

V. CLOUTIER,
*Clerk of the Committee.*

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MONDAY, June 9, 1924.

The Committee met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. Raymond presiding.

*Members present*—Messrs. Fontaine, Irvine, Logan, McConica, Munro, Neill, Raymond, Robichaud, and Spence.

The Committee, upon the suggestion of the Chairman, proceeded to consider certain questions relating to pension and pensioners which might be embodied in the Committee's recommendations or report to Parliament, but which for the present were only tentative and would be again dealt with when all the members could be in attendance and express their opinion thereon:

*Desirability of an Old Age Pension System for Canada.*—Mr. Neill moved, seconded by Mr. Irvine, that this Committee recommend that an old age pension system be established. Motion carried.

*Eligibility of would-be pensioners.*—Mr. Irvine proposed, that the pensionable age should be 65 years or over. Mr. Neill submitted the age of 70 years or over for consideration.

*Birth and residence qualifications.*—Mr. Irvine, seconded by Mr. Fontaine, proposed that applicants for pension must be British subjects of at least 20 years residence in Canada, or naturalized subjects for at least 15 years and

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be able to show continuous residence in Canada for 20 years. Mr. Logan expressed the opinion that the latter must show 25 years continuous residence in Canada before an application for pension can be received.

*Rate of Pension.*—Mr. Spence, Mr. Neill, Mr. Logan, Mr. Robichaud, Mr. Fontaine, and the Chairman expressed themselves in favour of granting $20 per month as a maximum pension, said amount to be lessened according to private income or earnings. Mr. Irvine suggested $30 per month.

*Administration.*—The Chairman submitted that the pension fund be administered by the provinces, and that said fund be made up by the Federal Government contributing one half the amount of pension, and the provinces, the other half, but that the cost of administration be borne by each of those provinces where the Act would be in operation.

The Committee then adjourned to meet again at the call of the Chair.

V. CLOUTIER,
*Clerk of the Committee.*

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COMMITTEE ROOM 268,
WEDNESDAY, June 25th, 1924.

The Committee met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. Raymond, presiding.

*Members present.*—Messrs. Fontaine, Irvine, Logan, McConica, Munro, Neill, Preston, Raymond, Sexsmith, and Spence.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read. An error in the 6th paragraph relating to residence qualifications was corrected, and the minutes were then approved.

The Secretary reported that he had received twenty-seven communications from municipalities in reply to a circular letter sent to One hundred and thirty-five mayors of cities and towns in the several provinces of Canada, as follows:—Alberta 6, British Columbia 10, Manitoba 8, Saskatchewan 7, Nova Scotia 18, New Brunswick 12, Prince Edward Island 3, Quebec 28, and Ontario 43. A synopsis of said communications was read, considered, and ordered to form part of the record. *Note.*—The circular letters comprising a questionnaire were mailed on June 10th and 12th. Replies are still coming in daily.

The Committee then proceeded to further consider the recommendations which had been suggested and partly considered at the last meeting. After consideration thereof, it was resolved that the Chairman and the Secretary be requested to draft a copy of the report embodying the resolutions adopted by the Committee, and that same be submitted for final consideration at next meeting.

In the course of the consideration given to the said recommendations, Mr. Irvine again proposed that the pensionable age should be 65 years, and that the rate of pension should be $30 per month.

Mr. Logan moved, seconded by Mr. Sexsmith,—that 70 years or upwards be the pensionable age. Motion carried.

Mr. Spence moved, seconded by Mr. Neill,—that the maximum rate of pension be $20 per month, said rate to be reduced according to private income or earnings. Motion carried.

The Committee then considered the yearly cost of pensions based upon the age, rate of pension agreed to, and the number of eligible pensioners which

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APPENDIX No. 4

had been estimated at 98,841 persons, or say approximately 40 per cent of the total of 247,103 persons of 70 years of age and over in Canada. The yearly portion of expenditure of the Federal Government at $120 per pensioner per annum would amount to $11,860,920.

Mr. Fontaine moved, seconded by Mr. Preston, that the pension fund required be made up by the Federal Government contributing one-half the amount, and the provinces, the other half, but that the cost of operation of the system be borne by each of those provinces which accepted the system contemplated. Motion carried.

The Committee, after careful consideration, resolved to recommend, that those provinces of Canada which accepted the system now recommended, shall administer, under provincial or municipal regulations or both, the pensions payable in or for each of them; also, that the Federal Government communicate with the various provincial governments at the earliest date possible with a view to ascertaining their willingness to adopt the proposed system and pass the necessary legislation therefor.

The Committee then adjourned until Monday, June 30th, at 11 o'clock, a.m.

V. CLOUTIER,
*Clerk of the Committee.*

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COMMITTEE ROOM 436,
MONDAY, June 30, 1924.

The Committee met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. Raymond, presiding.

*Other Members present.*—Messrs, Irvine, Logan, McConica, Neill, Preston, and Spence.

The Committee proceeded to consider draft copy of report for the House; said draft copy was read, clause by clause, and amended.

Mr. Logan moved, seconded by Mr. Spence, that the report as amended be adopted.

The Secretary was instructed to prepare said report as amended to be presented to the House.

The Committee then adjourned.

V. CLOUTIER,
*Clerk of the Committee.*

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# OLD AGE PENSIONS

## A REVIEW OF

**Recent Legislation in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand — Proposed Laws at Washington, State Laws of Nevada, Montana, Pennsylvania, and present Operations in Belgium, France and Italy. Eligible Pensioners in Canada.**

V. CLOUTIER, Committee Branch.

House of Commons, Canada,
February, 1924.



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# OLD AGE PENSIONS

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APPENDIX No. 4

# OLD AGE PENSIONS

## GREAT BRITAIN

*Note.*—Particulars of the earliest steps taken to establish an old-age pensions system in Great Britain are given in Memorandum of the Committee, House of Commons, Canada, October, 1912, at page 61.

The Acts to provide for old-age pensions, 1908 and 1911 will also be found in this Memorandum at pages 85 and 91 respectively.

The Act of December, 1919, which came into operation on the 2nd January, 1920, amends in several important particulars the provisions embodied in the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908, 1911.

According to Circular 59, issued by the Ministry of Health, dated 31st December, 1919, directing the attention of Local Pension Committees and Sub-Committees, to the provisions enacted in 1919, the amendments which are hereunder set out might, at this point, be taken into account, before proceeding to the consideration of the Consolidated Regulations which were agreed to in December, 1921.

### RATES OF OLD AGE PENSIONS

The Schedule to the Act of 1908, prescribing the various rates of old-age pensions is repealed, and the following new scale is enacted:—

*Means of Claimant or Pensioner.*—Where the yearly means of the claimant or pensioner as calculated under the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 to 1919:—

| | Rate of Pension per week |
|---|---|
| Do not exceed 26 pounds 5s... .. .. .. .. | 10s. |
| Exceed 26 p. 5s. but do not exceed 31 p. 10s. | 8s. |
| " 31 p. 10s. " " " " 36 p. 15s. | 6s. |
| " 36 p. 15s. " " " " 42 p. 0s. | 4s. |
| " 42 p. 0s. " " " " 47 p. 5s. | 2s. |
| " 47 p. 5s. " " " " 49 p. 17s. 6d. | 1s. |
| " 49 p. 17s. 6d. .. .. .. .. .. .. | No pension |

*Effect of Alteration.*—The effect of this alteration may briefly be stated thus:—Persons who, under the Acts of 1908 and 1911, would have been entitled to 5s., 4s. or 3s. a week will in future be entitled to receive 10s. a week; those who would have been entitled to 2s. or 1s. a week will receive 8s. a week; and persons with yearly means exceeding 31 p. 10s. (approximately 12s. a week) but not exceeding 49 p. 17s. 6d. (approximately 19s. a week), who have hitherto not been entitled to any pension, will now be eligible to receive an old-age pension of either 6s., 4s., 2s. or 1s. a week, according to their position in the scale set out above. When the new scale of pensions comes into operation, the additional allowance of 2s. 6d. a week at present paid to old-age pensioners will, of course, cease, as it will be merged in the new rate of pensions.

### STATUTORY CONDITIONS

*Means.*—As indicated in the preceding paragraph, the statutory condition as to yearly means will in future be as follows:—

"The person must satisfy the pension authorities that his yearly means as calculated under this Act do not exceed 49 pounds, 17s. 6d."

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*Nationality.*—The statutory condition as to nationality has been amended, and under the new Act a person will fulfil this condition who satisfies the pension authorities that, for at least 10 years (instead of 20 years as heretofore) up to the date of the receipt of any sum on account of a pension, he has been a British subject. The provision in the latter part of Section 3 (1) of the Act of 1911 is repealed, so that a woman originally of British nationality who ceased to be a British subject in consequence of her marriage to an alien, will no longer be required, in order to fulfil the statutory condition as to nationality, to satisfy the pension authorities that her alien husband is dead, or that the marriage has been dissolved or annulled, or that she has been legally separated from or deserted by the alien.

*Residence.*—At present, a person must satisfy the pension authorities that he has had his residence in the United Kingdom for at least 12 years in the aggregate out of the 20 years up to the date of the receipt of any sum on account of a pension. In future, the statutory condition will be fulfilled in the case of a natural-born British subject by residence in the United Kingdom for an aggregate period of not less than 12 years after the person has attained the age of 50 years, and in the case of a person who is not a natural-born British subject by residence in the United Kingdom for an aggregate period of 20 years.

DISQUALIFICATIONS

*Poor Relief.*—A person will not in future be disqualified for receiving or continuing to receive an old-age pension by reason of the receipt of out-door relief. A person who has become an inmate of any workhouse or other poor-law institution will be disqualified for receiving or continuing to receive a pension while he is an inmate, subject, however, to the proviso that a person who enters a poor-law institution for the purpose of obtaining medical or surgical treatment, will not, during a period of three months, if he is so long continued to require such treatment, be disqualified on the ground only that he is an inmate of a poor-law institution.

*Failure to work.*—Section 3 (1) *(b)* of the Act of 1908 is repealed, and a person will not in future be disqualified for receiving an old-age pension because of habitual failure to work.

*Convictions.*—A person will not in future be disqualified, by reason of being convicted of an offence, for receiving or continuing to receive a pension, except during the actual period of imprisonment, and Section 4 (3) of the Act of 1911 (which disqualifies an old-age pensioner who has been convicted of any offence in the First Schedule to the Inebriates Act, 1898), will also cease to have effect. Any person liable to have a detention order made against him under the Inebriates Act, 1898, may, however, still be disqualified for a pension by an order of the Court under Section 3 (3) of the Act of 1908, which Section is not altered by the new Act.

CALCULATION OF MEANS

*Yearly value of property not personally used or enjoyed.*—The yearly value of any such property as is mentioned in Section 2 (1) (*a*) of the Act of 1911 will in future be calculated as follows:—The first 25 pounds of the capital value of the property will be excluded; the yearly value of the next 375 pounds of the capital value will be taken to be one-twentieth of the capital value; and the yearly value of so much of the capital value as exceeds the sum of 400 pounds will be taken to be one-tenth of the capital value. In the case of a married couple living together in the same house, each of them is to be deemed to be entitled to one-half of any property severally or jointly owned by them, and the scale above mentioned will apply in calculating the yearly value of each moiety of the property.



*Sick pay.*—In calculating
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*Sick pay.*—In calculating the income mentioned in Section 2 (1) (*b*) of the Act of 1911, no account will in future be taken of any amounts received, during a period of not more than three months in any year, by a person, or by the husband or wife of a person, as the case may be, under a medical certificate as sickness benefit from a friendly society or trade union, or under the National Insurance Act, 1911.

*Furniture and personal effects.*—No account will in future be taken of the furniture and personal effects of a person, whatever may be the value thereof.

*Payment by husband to wife under separation order.*—Where a husband is separated from his wife, any sum paid by him to her under a separation order will in future be deducted in calculating his means.

### Minor Amendments

*Date of first payment.*—At present a person is not entitled to any payment on account of an old-age pension before the first Friday after the date on which the claim is allowed by the Pension Committee or Sub-Committee. In future, the pension will commence to accrue on the first Friday after the date on which the claim is received by the Pension Officer, or on the first Friday after the date on which the claimant first becomes entitled to the pension, whichever is the later. Similarly, where, by virtue of a decision on any question which has been raised, a pension becomes payable at an increased rate, the increased pension will become payable on the first Friday after notice of the question is received by the Pension Officer, or on the first Friday after the date on which the increased pension first becomes payable, whichever is the later. If the date on which the claimant first becomes entitled to a pension or a pension first becomes payable at an increased rate falls on a Friday, the first payment of the pension or of the increased rate of pension will become due on that Friday, and not, as at present, on the succeeding Friday.

*Persons suffering from mental or other incapacity.*—The new Act provides for regulations being issued under the Act of 1908 to enable claims to be made on behalf of persons suffering from mental or other incapacity, and any other right under the Old Age Pension Acts to be exercised on behalf of such persons. A further communication on this matter will be addressed to Local Pension Committees and Sub-Committees in due course.

### EXISTING PENSIONERS

*Appeals.*—Claims for an increase, in accordance with the new scale, of existing pensions or of pensions provisionally allowed before the 2nd January next will be considered and determined by the Pension Officer. If the claimant or pensioner is aggrieved by the decision of the Pension Officer, he may appeal against the decision to the Pension Committee or Sub-Committee, who will thereupon consider and decide the case, as if they were determining a claim, in the manner provided by Section 7 of the Act of 1908. Either the pensioner or the Pension Officer may appeal to the Minister of Health against the decision of the Pension Committee or Sub-Committee.

*Further statutory conditions.*—The Act provides that the yearly means of an existing pensioner shall not be taken to be greater than they would have been if calculated under the Acts of 1908 and 1911. Further, the provisions of the new Act modifying the statutory condition as to residence will not disentitle any existing pensioner from continuing to receive the pension.

Dr. Addison feels sure that the Pension Committees and Sub-Committees may be relied upon to make all the necessary arrangements for dealing expedi-

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tiously with the large number of new claims which may be expected to come before them early in the new year.

## CONSOLIDATED REGULATIONS, 1922

(S. R. & O., 1921, No. 2001.)

*Note.*—The Regulations hereunder set out are only a few of the most important of total 37 Regulations which are contained in the circular.

*Making the claims.*—Every person who desires to make a claim must fill up a form of claim, and deliver the form when filled up either to the postmaster of the post office at which he desires that the pension should be payable or to the pension officer.

The Postmaster-General shall furnish to every postmaster printed forms of claims and every postmaster shall, on application being made to him for the purpose, supply a form of claim *gratis* to any person who desires to make a claim.

Every postmaster shall, if any person who desires to make a claim requests him so to do, give to that person such information and such assistance in filling up the form of claim as is in his power to give and as may be necessary to enable that person to fill up the form properly.

*Registration of claims.*—The pension officer shall keep a register of all claims referred to him, and on receiving any claim shall, subject to these regulations, forthwith cause the claim to be registered in such manner as the Treasury prescribe, and shall number all claims consecutively in the order in which they are entered in the register.

The pension officer shall also enter in the register of claims such particulars as the Treasury prescribe of every decision of the Committee or of the Central Authority on or in reference to any claim entered in the register, or on or in reference to any question raised in connection with any pension allowed on any such claim, or on or in reference to any application made for the revocation or alteration of the provisional allowance of a claim.

*Investigating the claim.*—As soon as may be after receiving any claim, the pension officer shall take all necessary steps for investigating the claim for the purpose of ascertaining whether the claimant is entitled to a pension, and if he is so entitled, to what rate of pension.

Provided that:—

(*a*) where a claim previously made by a claimant within six months of his present claim has been disallowed and the claimant does not satisfy the pension officer; or

(*b*) where a claim on the face of it discloses that the claimant does not fulfil the statutory conditions;

the pension officer shall not be bound to investigate the claim, but in any case in which the pension officer decides under this provision not to investigate a claim he shall make a special report to the committee stating his reasons . . . .

### PROVISIONS AS TO QUESTIONS AND APPLICATIONS

*Privileges of pensioner.*—If any pensioner desires to raise any question as to the weekly rate of his pension, or if any person whose claim has been provisionally allowed desires to make an application for the alteration of the provisional allowance, he may do so by sending a written statement of the question

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or the application, as the case may be, together with a summary of any evidence in support of his allegations to the pension officer of the district in which he usually resides, . . . .

APPEALS

*Decisions of committees.*—The pension officer or any person aggrieved who desires to appeal to the Central Authority against a decision of the committee may do so by sending to the Central Authority notice of appeal within seven days after the date of the decision, or if the appellant is a person to whom notice of the decision is required to be sent under these Regulations, within seven days after the receipt of the notice by him: . . . .

LOCAL PENSION COMMITTEES AND SUB-COMMITTEES

*Number of persons and Quorum.*—A local pension committee shall consist of such number of persons, not being less than seven nor more than the number of the council by whom the committee is appointed, as the council may determine.

The council by whom a committee is appointed may make regulations as to the quorum, proceedings, and place of meeting of the committee, but subject to any such regulations, the quorum, proceedings, and place of meeting of the committee shall be such as the committee determine:

Provided that the quorum shall in no case be less than three.

The term of office of a person appointed to be a member of a committee shall be three years or such less term as may be fixed by the appointing council at the time of the appointment, and any person on ceasing to be a member of a committee may be re-appointed:

Provided that— . . . .

MISCELLANEOUS

*Registration of deaths.*—The registrar of births, of deaths of every sub-district shall once in every week send to such pension officers in his sub-district as the Treasury may through the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England direct, a return in respect of all deaths:

(*a*) of persons of the age of seventy years or upwards, and
(*b*) of blind persons under the age of seventy years who are stated to have been in receipt of old-age pensions,

which have been registered by him in the week immediately preceding the date of the return.

. . . . . .

*Disposal of documents.*—As soon as may be after the decision of the committee on any claim, question, or application has become final, the committee shall return the claim, question or application, and all documents relating thereto in their possession to the pension officer.

*Issue of books.*—It shall be the duty of the pension officer, in every case in which there is a final decision allowing a claim, to issue to the claimant a book of pension orders.

*Poor law officers.*—For the purpose of enabling a pension officer to ascertain whether any claimant or pensioner is disqualified, by reason of being an inmate of any workhouse or other poor-law institution, for receiving or continuing to receive a pension, or to ascertain the yearly means of any claimant or pensioner, every officer or person acting in the administration of the relief of the poor shall, if so requested by the pension officer, supply to the pension officer such information as it is in his power to give . . . .



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COMMENCEMENT OF REGULATIONS

These Regulations shall come into operation on the 1st January, 1922.

The Old Age pensions Regulations, 1911, and the Old Age Pensions Regulations, 1920, are hereby revoked.

Provided that anything done in pursuance of those Regulations shall, notwithstanding anything in these Regulations, be deemed to have been validly done and shall have full effect accordingly.

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## NUMBER OF PENSIONERS IN 1919

According to the Report of the Departmental Committee on Old Age Pensions presented to Parliament in 1919, it is stated that on 31st March, 1919, 920,198 persons, being about 56 per cent of the estimated total septuagenerian population, were in receipt of old-age pensions, of whom 322,934 were men, and 597,264 were women. Of the total, 855,274 persons were in receipt of pensions at the maximum rate of 5s.

### MAIN RECOMMENDATION IN REPORT OF 1919

(1) The amount of pension should be increased to 10s. a week.

(2) The means qualification should be abolished.

(3) The qualifying age should remain at 70, pending enquiry.

(4) Outdoor relief or home assistance should not be a disqualification. Pensions should not be paid to inmates of public institutions for more than three months.

(5) Aliens should become eligible for pensions 10 years after naturalization if they have been resident in the United Kingdom for at least 20 years, and the possibility of reciprocal international agreements should be considered. British-born wives of aliens should be eligible for pensions.

(6) The term of residence required to qualify for pension should be 12 years after reaching the age of 50. Reciprocal arrangements with regard to residence within the British Empire are suggested.

(7) Disqualification for any period following a term of imprisonment should be abolished save in the case of *habitual* inebriates.

(8) The "failure to work" disqualification should be abandoned.

(9) Pensions should accrue as from the Friday following the date of receipt of the claim if the pensioner is then qualified.

(10) Claims should be allowed to be made on behalf of persons incapable of understanding the nature of a claim.

(11) Pensions should be inalienable under the Debtors Act.

### RESERVATIONS TO THE SIGNATURES OF THE MAJORITY REPORT.

It is important to note that the Committee Report above mentioned was signed with certain reservations by Miss Matheson, Henry Woodall, Arnold Rowntree, and G. R. Thorne; also Mrs. Baker, Mr. Devlin, and Mr. Walsh.

Mr. Woodall signed the report with the qualification that the rate of pension payable should remain for the present at 7s. 6d., the actual amount now paid.

Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Thorne considered that the pensionable age should be reduced to 65 as soon as ever the financial position will allow; also they considered that the 10s. proposed was insufficient; they would recommend that the rate of pension should be fixed at 12s. 6d.

Mrs. Baker, Mr. Devlin, and Mr. Walsh signed the report but felt strongly that the qualifying age should be reduced to 65.



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APPENDIX No. 4

MINORITY REPORT.

The minority report signed by seven members of this Departmental Committee embodies several questions considered by the Committee, chiefly relating to increase of rate of pension, and age qualification, also with regard to calculation of means.

Mr. Nathan Raw who signed the minority report concurred in the recommendations therein made but was of opinion that the amount of pension should be increased to 12s. 6d. per week.

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The amount paid in pensions during the year ended 31st March, 1919 was approximately 17,728,000 pounds.

The estimated cost of administration for the year ended 31st March, 1920, was as follows:—

Customs and Excise Department, 335,000 pounds; Post Office, 156,000; Local Pension Committees, 54,500; Ministry of Health, 5,294; Scottish Board of Health, 1,186; Local Government Board, Ireland, 6,500; Public Record Office, Ireland, 1,830; Registrar General's Office, 1,150; Stationery & Printing, 2,200.

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## UNITED STATES

NOTE.—The earliest steps taken to establish a system of old-age pension in the United States was in 1907. Full particulars of these attempts are given in Memorandum of the Committee, House of Commons, October, 1912, at page 75.

In 1916, Mr. Sherwood introduced a Bill in the House of Representatives at Washington which did not go beyond the Committee. In February, 1924, Mr. Berger introduced a Bill to provide old-age pensions which has been referred to the Committee on Labour. These two Bills herein follow.

In 1923, Nevada, Montana, and Pennsylvania passed State Acts to provide for old-age pensions. A summary of these three Acts are given herein.

### SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

(H. R. 6858)

In the House of Representatives, February 11, 1924, Mr. Berger introduced the following Bill, which was referred to the Committee on Labour and ordered printed.

A BILL To provide old-age pensions.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That every person who makes satisfactory proof before the authorities hereinafter designated, that he (or she)—

(*a*) has reached the age of sixty years;
(*b*) has been a citizen of the United States for sixteen consecutive years;
(*c*) has not been convicted of a felony;
(*d*) if a husband, has not without just cause failed to provide with adequate maintenance his wife and such of his children as are under sixteen years of age; or if a wife, has not deserted any of her children under sixteen years of age; and
(*e*) is not in receipt of an income from any source, exclusive of the pension herein provided for which, for the twelve months previous to the filling of his or her application, has averaged $8.00 per week—



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Shall be placed upon the pension roll of the United States and be entitled to receive until death a pension from the United States Government provided by an annual appropriation by the Congress. Such pensions shall be graded according to the following schedule:—

1. When the average weekly means of the pensioner from all sources as calculated under the Act do not exceed $8.00 per week, he or she shall receive a pension of $8.00 per week; when the average weekly means of the pensioner from all sources do exceed $8.00 but do not exceed $10.00 per week, he or she shall receive a pension of $6.00 per week; when the average weekly means of the pensioner from all sources do exceed $10.00 but do not exceed $12.00 per week, he or she shall receive a pension of $4.00 per week.

2. That every person claiming a pension under this Act shall file with the Department of the Interior an affidavit containing such statements as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, who shall also make such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

3. That in computing the term of residence above required such periods of absence from the boundaries of the United States as have been undergone by the claimant while in the service abroad, either civil or military, of the United States, or of any State or Territory thereof, shall be counted as though the claimant had then lived within the United States.

4. That in ascertaining the income above mentioned, account shall be taken—

(*a*) Of any pension which claimant is already receiving from this or any other Government.

(*b*) Of the yearly income which might be expected to be derived from any property belonging to that person, which, though capable of investment or profitable use, is not so invested or profitably used by him.

(*c*) Of the yearly value of any advantage accruing to that person from the ownership or use of any property which is personally used or enjoyed by him.

(*d*) Of the yearly value of any benefit or privilege enjoyed by such person.

5. That in calculating the means of a person being one of a married couple living together, the means shall not in any case be taken to be less than one-half the total means of the couple: *Provided.* That when both husband and wife are pensioners, except when they are living apart pursuant to any decree, judgment, order, or deed of separation, the rate of pension for each shall be three-fourths of the rate given in the above schedule.

6. That the pension hereunder may be increased or decreased every twelve months, whenever the pensioner's income decreases or increases according to the terms of the schedule; and the Secretary of the Interior shall make all needful regulations for providing for this change of rating.

7. That this Act is amendatory of, and supplemented to, all existing statutes touching pensions, and all such statutes in all respects are hereby declared to apply to and to protect claimant under this Act, precisely as though they had been in form incorporated herein.

8. That the said pension shall be paid in thirteen instalments in each year in advance. It shall begin on the date when the claim is filed, and the arrears from that time to the time of allowance shall, if the claimant be then living, but not otherwise, be paid in a lump sum.

9. That in case any person entitled herunder is an incompetent or is incapable under the law where such person resides, the claim for the pension of such person may be made and the pension may be collected for such person by any person or persons appointed under the local law as guardian, conservator, tutor, or the like, of such claimant.



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APPENDIX No. 4

10. That this Act shall be liberally administered to affect its purpose, which is to provide, out of the public purse, sufficient income for the old to enable them to enjoy the last remaining years of their lives in such freedom from the fear of want as they have earned by a long service for society as citizens of the Republic.

11. That in accord with paragraph 2, section 2, Article III of the Constitution, and of the precedent established by the Act passed over the President's veto, March 27, 1868, the exercise of jurisdiction by any of the Federal Courts upon the validity of this Act is hereby expressly forbidden.

*Note.*—No further information as to the Committee's report upon this proposed legislation has yet been received. It is to be noted that this Bill was introduced on February 11 of the present year.

## SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

(H. R. 7555)

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 5, 1916.

Mr. Sherwood introduced the following Bill, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

Providing for pensions for American citizens who have reached the age of sixty-five years and who are incapable of manual labour and whose incomes are less than $200 per annum.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That on and after December twenty-fifth, nineteen hundred and sixteen, all American citizens having an income of less than $200 per annum and who are sixty-five or more years of age and who are incapable of manual labour, not caused by his own improper conduct, shall be entitled to receive a Goverment pension of $2 per week payable quarterly:

*Provided,* That such person shall by competent proof establish the fact that he has a continuous record for thirty years, unless incapacitated through no fault of his own during which time he has never been convicted of any crime or felony, and must have been a citizen of the United States for at least fifteen years before he reached the age of six-five years.

Sec. 2. That all such pensions shall commence from the date of filing of the applications in the Bureau of Pensions after the passage and approval of this Act, providing that no such applicant shall receive a pension under any other law, State, National, or otherwise at the same time or for the same period that he is receiving a pension under the provisions of this Act.

Sec. 3. That when both husband and wife are pensioners, except where they are living apart, pursuant to any decree, judgment, order, or deed of separation, the rate of the pension shall be three-fourths of the rates given in the above schedule.

Sec. 4. That wherever in this Act the masculine pronoun is used it shall be held to include the feminine pronoun also.

Sec. 5. That all claims of old-age pensions under this Act shall be under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, who shall make such rules and regulations as shall be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

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## STATE OF NEVADA

Old-Age Pension Act—Chapter 70, Statutes 1923.
(*See* Session Labour Laws, 1923, compiled by Frank W. Ingram, Commissioner of Labour, p. 19).

A SUMMARY ONLY OF CHIEF PROVISIONS

Subject to the provisions and under the restrictions contained in the Act, every person while residing in and being a resident of the State of Nevada shall be entitled to a pension in old age.

*Pension Commission and County Boards.*—The Commission is composed of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and the Attorney-General of the State. Each member of the Commission, except the Lieutenant-Governor, shall act without compensation, but the necessary and actual expenses incurred in the performance of their duties shall be allowed and paid each member in the same manner as other claims against the State are paid. The Commission shall appoint the Lieutenant-Governor as "Old-age Superintendent" and shall fix his salary not to exceed $1,200 per annum. The superintendent with the approval of the Commission shall appoint the necessary number of assistants, fix their duties and salaries within the appropriation of the legislature. The Superintendent shall be *ex-officio* secretary to the Commission without additional compensation.

There shall be established in each county a county old-age pension board, to consist of three persons domiciled in the county, who shall be appointed by the Governor for a term of four years, except that, of the members first appointed, one shall be appointed for a term of two years, one for a term of three years, and one for a term of four years. The members of the Board shall serve without pay, except that the necessary expenses incurred while in the performance of their duties shall be paid to them upon proper vouchers therefor.

The Commission and the Boards shall meet regularly every three months, and at such other times as may be necessary, at such places as may be fixed by the rules of the Commission.

*Allowance.*—The amount of pension shall be fixed with due regard to the conditions in each case, but in no case shall it be an amount which, when added to the income of the applicant, including income from property, as computed under the terms of the Act, shall exceed a total of $1.00 a day.

*Qualifications of Claimant.*—An old-age pension may be granted only to an applicant who:

(*a*) Has attained the age of sixty (60) years or upwards.

(*b*) Has been a citizen of the United States for at least fifteen (15) years immediately preceding date of application, and residing in the State of Nevada for a period of ten (10) years preceding the date of the application.

(*c*) Is not at the date of making application an inmate of any prison, jail, workhouse, infirmary, insane asylum, county or district poorhouse, or any other public reform or correctional institution.

(*d*) During the period of ten (10) years immediately preceding such date has not been imprisoned for four months or more, for any offence for which he was sentenced to prison without the option of a fine.

(*e*) For six (6) months or more during the ten years preceding the date of application for relief, if a husband, has not deserted his wife, or, without just cause, failed to support her and his children under the age of fifteen (15) years; if a wife, has not deserted her husband, or, without just cause, failed to support such of her children as were under age, and she was bound to support.



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(*f*) Has not, within one year preceding such application for pension, accepted public charity or been a professional tramp or beggar.

(*g*) Has no child or other person responsible under the law of this state for his or her support, and found by the Board or by the Commission able to support him or her.

*Persons not entitled to Pension.*—An old-age pension shall not be granted to a person if the value of his or her property exceeds three thousand dollars ($3,000) or, if married and not separated from husband or wife, if the value of his or her property, together with that of such husband and wife, exceeds three thousand dollars ($3,000). The claimant must not have deprived himself or herself directly or indirectly of any property for the purpose of qualifying for old-age relief.

*Funeral Expenses.*—On the death of a pensioner such reasonable funeral expenses for burial shall be paid to such persons as the Board directs; *provided,* that these expenses do not exceed one hundred ($100) dollars; *and provided further,* that the estate of the deceased is insufficient to defray these expenses.

## STATE OF MONTANA

Old-Age Pensions Act—Chapter 72, Statutes of 1923

(*See* Labour Review, Washington, November, 1923, p. 183).

The Montana law (ch. 72, Acts of 1923) contemplates the establishment in each county of an old-age pension board or Commission, which may receive applications from persons who are 70 years of age and have been citizens of the United States and residents of the State of Montana for at least 15 years.

*Benefits.*—The amount of benefits may not exceed $25 a month, and may be less than that according to the conditions in each case. Monthly warrants are contemplated, and provision is made for the protection of the fund in case of discovery of resources which would have barred the application. No vested rights are granted by this Act, or other claims which may not be modified or voided by amendment or repeal.

*Income.*—The income of the claimant from all sources may not exceed $300 nor may he receive the benefits of the law if he has deprived himself of property for the purpose of qualifying for old-age relief, or if there is a child or other person legally responsible for his support and "fully able to support" him.

*Disqualifications for Pension.*—Imprisonment in the State penitentiary within the preceding 10 years is a bar; also the desertion of a wife by a husband within fifteen years without just cause, or failure to support wife or children under 15 years of age; the same rule applies if a wife deserts her husband or children under age without cause. Being a professional tramp or beggar within a year preceding the application is also a bar.

(See American Labour Legislation Review, December, 1923, at page 317 in respect to hereunder paragraph):

Funeral benefit of not over $100 is allowed when estate is insufficient to defray expense. Pensions are inalienable. On death of pensioner total sums paid with 5 per cent interest must be returned to county from any estate left. Double any sums illegally allotted may be claimed by county if pensioner had property in excess of that declared as pension basis. Act is to be administered by boards of county commissioners acting as old-age pension commissions. Pensions are payable from county poor funds in accordance with a specified procedure. Penalties are specified for fraudulent practice under this Act (chapter 72).

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## STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Old-Age Pensions Law—No. 141 of 1923.

(*See* Labour Review, Washington, December, 1923, p. 184)

The law of Pennsylvania (No 141) resembles in its main provisions those of Nevada and Montana already noted.

An old-age assistance commission is to be appointed by the Governor, the members to give such time as necessary for the supervision of the work, on a per diem allowance.

This Commission is to appoint a superintendent at a salary not exceeding $1,800 per annum, who may himself, with the approval of the Commission, appoint assistants and fix their duties and salaries within the appropriation made by the legislature.

County boards, consisting of three residents serving without compensation other than expenses, exercise local supervision in conjunction with the State board.

Benefits may not, added to the income of the applicant from all other sources, exceed $1.00 per day.

Applicants must be at least 70 years of age and have been citizens of the United States and residents of the State for at least 15 years. Temporary interruptions do not disqualify. The applicant must not at the time be an inmate of any public reform or correctional institution, and he is barred if he has, during the fifteen years preceding the application, for six months or longer deserted his wife or without just cause failed to support her and his children under the age of fifteen; the same rule applies to a wife. Having been a professional tramp or beggar within the previous year also disqualifies; and if there is a child or other person responsible for support, the State will not render assistance. Possession, alone or jointly with a spouse, of property exceeding $3,000 in value is a bar. Property may not be disposed of to qualify for the receipt of relief. Any remaining estate is liable for the amounts paid as assistance during the lifetime of a beneficiary together with 3 per cent simple interest.

Certificates awarding assistance are made after investigation, and must be renewed from year to year. Payments may be made monthly or quarterly as the Commission may decide, and the amounts varied according to changes in circumstances.

Grants are not subject to assignment, execution or other process. Conviction of crime or other offence punished by imprisonment for one month or longer calls for a suspension of payments during the period of imprisonment.

Other provisions relate to offences, provisions for funeral expenses, payment to charitable, etc, institutions in which beneficiaries may be at the time, cases of incapacity, etc.

The sum of $25,000 is appropriated for the first two years' operation of the Act.

## COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

*Note.*—Particulars of the Old-age Pension Act, 1908-9 of the Commonwealth of Australia are given at page 64 in Memorandum of the Committee, October, 1912. The Act itself will be found at page 119.

The Act has been amended in 1909, 1912, 1916, 1917, 1919, 1920 and 1923.

The Act of 1908-23 is divided into Parts as follows:—

I. Introductory.
II. Administration.
III. Old-age Pensions.
IV. Invalid Pensions.
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VI. Offences.
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APPENDIX No. 4

V. Invalid and Old-age Pensions.

Division 1,—Rate of pensions.
Division 2,—Pension claims.
Division 3,—Payment of pensions.

VI. Offences.
VII. Miscellaneous.

Persons Qualified to receive Old-age Pensions.
(See Part III of the Act)

15.—(1) Subject to this Act. every person who has attained the age of sixty-five years, or who, being permanently incapacitated for work, has attained the age of sixty years, shall, whilst in Australia, be qualified to receive an old-age pension.

(2) The Governor-General may by proclamation declare that the age at which women shall be qualified to receive an old-age pension shall be sixty-years (proclamation dated 18th November, 1910) and from and after such proclamation the last preceding subsection shall, as regards women, be read as if the word "sixty" were substituted for the word "sixty-five".

(3) No old-age pension shall be granted to any person who is under the age of sixty-five years unless and until his claim is recommended in writing by a Deputy Commissioner:

*Provided* that this subsection shall not, after proclamation under the last preceding subsection, apply to women.

Persons Disqualified

16.—(1) The following persons shall not be qualified to receive an old-age pension, namely:—

(a) Aliens:
(b) ....Omitted in amendment of 1912:
(c) Asiatics (except those born in Australia), or aboriginal natives of Australia, Africa, the Islands of the Pacific, or New Zealand.

.....Proviso in amendment of 1912, omitted.

(2) No woman having married one of the persons disqualified by this section shall, in consequence only of such marriage, be or become disqualified to receive a pension.

Necessary Conditions

17. No person shall receive an old-age pension unless—

(a) he is residing in Australia on the date when he makes claim to the pension;
(b) he has on that date so resided continuously for at least twenty years:
(c) he is of good character;
(d) if a husband, he has not for twelve months or upwards during five years immediately preceding that date, without just cause, deserted his wife, or without just cause failed to provide her with adequate means of maintenance, or neglected to maintain his children being under the age of fourteen years; or, if a wife, she has not for twelve months during five years immediately preceding such date, without just cause, deserted her husband, or deserted any of her children being under the age of fourteen years;
(e) the net capital value of his accumulated property, whether in or out of Australia, does not exceed Four hundred pounds;

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APPENDIX No. 4

V. Invalid and Old-age Pensions.

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Persons Qualified to receive Old-age Pensions.
(See Part III of the Act)

15.—(1) Subject to this Act. every person who has attained the age of sixty-five years, or who, being permanently incapacitated for work, has attained the age of sixty years, shall, whilst in Australia, be qualified to receive an old-age pension.

(2) The Governor-General may by proclamation declare that the age at which women shall be qualified to receive an old-age pension shall be sixty-years (proclamation dated 18th November, 1910) and from and after such proclamation the last preceding subsection shall, as regards women, be read as if the word "sixty" were substituted for the word "sixty-five".

(3) No old-age pension shall be granted to any person who is under the age of sixty-five years unless and until his claim is recommended in writing by a Deputy Commissioner:

*Provided* that this subsection shall not, after proclamation under the last preceding subsection, apply to women.

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(b) ....Omitted in amendment of 1912:
(c) Asiatics (except those born in Australia), or aboriginal natives of Australia, Africa, the Islands of the Pacific, or New Zealand.

.....Proviso in amendment of 1912, omitted.

(2) No woman having married one of the persons disqualified by this section shall, in consequence only of such marriage, be or become disqualified to receive a pension.

Necessary Conditions

17. No person shall receive an old-age pension unless—

(a) he is residing in Australia on the date when he makes claim to the pension;
(b) he has on that date so resided continuously for at least twenty years:
(c) he is of good character;
(d) if a husband, he has not for twelve months or upwards during five years immediately preceding that date, without just cause, deserted his wife, or without just cause failed to provide her with adequate means of maintenance, or neglected to maintain his children being under the age of fourteen years; or, if a wife, she has not for twelve months during five years immediately preceding such date, without just cause, deserted her husband, or deserted any of her children being under the age of fourteen years;
(e) the net capital value of his accumulated property, whether in or out of Australia, does not exceed Four hundred pounds;

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(f) he has not directly or indirectly deprived himself of property or income in order to qualify for or obtain a pension; and
(g) he has not at any time within six months been refused a pension certificate, except for the reason that he was disqualified on account of his age or for reasons which are not in existence at the time of the further application.

OCCASIONAL SHORT ABSENCES

18. (1) Continuous residence in Australia shall not be deemed to have been interrupted by occasional absences not exceeding in the aggregate one-tenth of the total period of residence.

(1A) Continuous residence in Australia shall not be deemed to have been interrupted by absence in a Territory under the authority of the Commonwealth, or in any British Possession which becomes a Territory under the authority of the Commonwealth, (inserted 1909).

(2) A person whether claimant or pensioner, shall not be deemed to be absent from Australia during any period of absence from Australia if he proves that during that period his home was in Australia, and if married that his wife and family, or his wife (if he has no family), or his family (if his wife is dead), resided in Australia and were maintained by him.

Administration—Minister, Commissioners, Registrars and Special Magistrates.

(See Part II of the Act).

5. There shall be a Commissioner of Pensions, who shall, subject to the control of the Minister, have the general administration of this Act.

5A. (1) There may be an Assistant Commissioner of Pensions who shall have such powers as are delegated to him by the Commissioner or as are prescribed.

(2) The Commissioner may, by writing under his hand, delegate to the Assistant Commissioner all or any of his powers under this Act.

(3) Every delegation under this section shall be revocable at will, and no delegation shall prevent the exercise of any power by the Commissioner.

6. There shall be a Deputy Commissioner for each State, who shall, subject to the control of the Commissioner, have the powers conferred on him by this Act:

Provided that where the Commissioner places a district situated in any State under the control of the Deputy Commissioner for another State, the Deputy Commissioner under whose control the district is placed shall exercise and perform in relation thereto all the powers, functions and duties of a Deputy Commissioner.

7. The Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioners may, for the purposes of this Act—

(a) summon witnesses;
(b) receive evidence on oath; and
(c) require the production of documents.

8. This section deals with disobedience of summons—Penalty: Twenty pounds.

9. This section deals with penalty for refusing to give evidence: Fifty pounds.

10. This section authorizes the Commissioner to divide each State into districts for the purposes of this Act.



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APPENDIX No. 4

REGISTRARS

11—(1) The Governor-General may appoint such Registrars of Pensions as he thinks necessary for the purposes of this Act.

(2) Each Registrar shall have power to administer oaths and shall have such other powers and such duties and functions as are conferred or imposed upon him by this Act.

12. It shall be the duty of each Registrar—

(a) to receive pension claims;
(b) to investigate pension claims as prescribed;
(c) generally, to keep such books and registers, and do all such things, as are prescribed or as the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner directs.

13. The Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioner and all Deputy Commissioners appointed under this Act shall, before entering upon their duties or exercising any powers under this Act, make before a Justice of the Peace or Commissioner for Affidavits a declaration in accordance with the prescribed form.

13a. The Governor-General may appoint such Special Magistrates of the Commonwealth as he thinks necessary for the purposes of this Act.

14.—(1) The Minister may, in relation to any particular matters or class of matters, or to any particular State or part of the Commonwealth, by writing under his hand, delegate all or any of his powers under this Act (except this power of delegation), so that the delegated powers may be exercised by the delegates with respect to the matters or class of matters or the State or part of the Commonwealth specified in the instrument of delegation.

(2) Every delegation under this section shall be revocable at will and no delegation shall prevent the exercise of any power by the Minister.

RATE OF PENSIONS—INVALID AND OLD-AGE PENSIONS

(See also Part V of this Act ss. 24, 25, 26)

The first three paragraphs hereunder following are taken from the Official Year Book, 1922, of the Commonwealth of Australia:

The amendment assented to on 30th September, 1916, made a very important alteration. Section 24 originally enacted that the pension "shall not exceed the rate of Twenty-six pounds per annum in any event, nor shall it be at such a rate as will make the pensioner's income, together with pension, exceed Fifty-two pounds per annum." It was amended (a) by omitting the words "Twenty-six pounds," and inserting in their stead the words "Thirty-two pounds ten shillings," and (b) by omitting the words "Fifty-two pounds" and inserting in their stead the words "Fifty-eight pounds ten shillings." Section 26 originally enacted that if an applicant for pension was in receipt of board or lodging, the actual or estimated value or cost of this should be counted as income, to an extent not exceeding five shillings per week. This was amended by omitting the words "five shillings" and inserting in their stead the words "seven shillings and sixpence."

In 1919 the Act was again amended, and the rate of pension raised to Thirty-nine (39) pounds per annum and the maximum amount allowable to Sixty-five (65) pounds per annum. The estimated value of board and lodging was raised to 10 shillings per week.

In 1920 special provision was made for permanently blind persons, by which the amount of pension may be at such a rate (not exceeding 39 pounds) per annum, as will make his income, together with the pension, equal to an amount not exceeding 221 pounds per annum, or such other amount as is declared to be a basic wage.

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In the Invalid and Old-age Pensions Act 1908-1923, section 24 relating to "Rate of Pensions" is as follows:—

24. (1) The amount of a pension shall in each case be at such rate as, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner who determines the pension claim deems reasonable and sufficient, but shall not exceed the rate of Forty-five pounds ten shillings per annum in any event, nor shall it be at such a rate as will make the pensioner's income, together with pension, exceed Seventy-eight pounds per annum:

Provided that in the case of a permanently blind person who is qualified under this Act to receive a pension, the amount of pension may be at such a rate (not exceeding Forty-five pounds ten shillings per annum) as will make the income of the pensioner and of the pensioner's wife (or husband), together with the pension, equal to an amount not exceeding Two hundred and twenty-one pounds per annum or such other amount as is declared by any Act, or by any authority constituted under an Act, to be a basic wage for the portion of the Commonwealth in which the pensioner resides:

Provided further that the income of the husband or wife of a permanently blind person, where the husband and wife are living apart pursuant to any decree, judgment, order or deed of separation, or where there are special reasons which, in the opinion of the Commissioner, are adequate, shall not be taken into account in assessing the rate of pension payable to the blind person.

(2) Where the pensioner has accumulated property, the amount of a pension shall be subject to a deduction of One pound for every complete Ten pounds by which the net capital value of the accumulated property exceeds Fifty pounds:

Provided that, where both husband and wife are pensioners, except where they are living apart pursuant to any decree, judgment, order, or deed of separation, the deduction in the case of each of them shall be One pound for every complete Ten pounds by which the net capital value of the accumulated property exceeds Twenty-five pounds.

Section 25 of this Act of 1908-1923 deals with Assessment of value of accumulated propetry. In this respect the original Act was amended in 1912.

Section 26 sets forth Rules for computing income. In this respect the original Act was amended in 1912, 1919 and 1923.

As constituted in the Act of 1908-1923, section 26 is as follows:—

26 In the computation of income—

(*a*) where any person receives board or lodging or board and lodging, the actual or estimated value or cost of such board or lodging or board, and lodging, not exceeding Twelve shillings and sixpence per week, shall be included:

(*b*) In the case of husband and wife, except where they are living apart pursuant to any decree, judgment, order, or deed of separation, the income of each shall be deemed to be half the total income of both:

Provided that, if for any special reason the Commissioner is of opinion that this paragraph should not apply in any particular case, he may direct that it shall not apply; and

(*c*) every blind male person under the age of sixty-five, and every blind female person under the age of sixty years, shall be deemed to be earning wages equal to the amount which he or she could earn by reasonable effort.

INVALID PENSIONS—AUSTRALIA

(see also Part V of this Act)

19. This Part shall not come into operation on the commencement of this Act, but shall come into operation on a subsequent day to be fixed by Pro-



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APPENDIX No. 4

clamation. (Proclaimed to come into operation on the 19th November, 1910—Came into operation December 15th, 1910).

20. Subject to this Act, every person above the age of sixteen years who is permanently incapacitated for work, by reason of his being an invalid, and who is not receiving an old-age pension, shall, whilst in Australia be qualified to receive an invalid pension.

20A. Subject to this Act, every permanently blind person above the age of sixteen years who is not qualified under section twenty to receive an invalid pension and who is not receiving an old-age pension, shall, whilst in Australia, be qualified to receive an invalid pension.

21. (1) The following persons shall not be qualified to receive an invalid pension, namely:—

(*a*) Aliens. (*b*) Asiatics (except those born in Australia), or aboriginal natives of Australia, Africa, the Islands of the Pacific, or New Zealand.

(2) No woman having married one of the persons disqualified by this section shall, in consequence only of such marriage, be or become disqualified to receive a pension.

22. (1) No person shall receive an invalid pension unless—

(*a*) he is residing in Australia on the date when he makes his claim to the pension;

(*b*) he has on that date resided in Australia continuously (within the meaning of section eighteen) for at least five years;

(*c*) he has, whilst in Australia, become permanently incapacitated or blind;

(*d*) the accident or invalid state of health was not self-induced, nor in any way brought about with a view to obtaining a pension;

(*e*) he has no claim against any employer, company, or other person, body, compellable under private contract or public enactment to adequately maintain or compensate him on account of accident or invalid state of health;

(*f*) his income or property does not exceed the limits prescribed in the case of applicants for old-age pensions;

(*g*) has not directly or indirectly deprived himself of income or property in order to qualify for a pension; and

(*h*) his relatives, namely, father, mother, husband, or wife do not, either severally or collectively, adequately maintain him.

(2) For the purposes of an invalid pension, a person who is afflicted with a congenital defect and who is rendered permanently incapacitated or blind thereby shall be regarded as having become permanently incapacitated or blind whilst in Australia if he was brought into Australia before attaining the age of three years or has resided in Australia continuously for twenty years.

23. (1) The amount of an invalid pension shall in every case be determined by the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner, having regard to any income or property possessed by the applicant, and the fact that his relatives contribute to his maintenance, and the fact also of his having received compensation from any source in respect of any injury.

(2) The Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner shall in all cases of invalidity, and also in cases of accident where the permanent incapacity for work is not manifest, direct an examination of the claimant to be made by a duly qualified medical practitioner, who shall certify whether in his opinion the claimant is permanently incapacitated for work, and shall state the grounds upon which his opinion is founded:

Provided that the examination may be dispensed with if the claimant resides in a place remote from any duly qualified medical practitioner, or where medical testimony conflicts the Commissioner shall have power to decide the application.

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*Note.*—Sections under Parts V, VI, and VII apply to both Old-age and Invalid Pensions; also Part II relating to Administration. Sections under Part III relate to Old-age Pensions only. Sections under Part IV relate to Invalid Pensions only.

PAYMENT of PENSIONS
(See Division 3 under Part V)

39. (1) Pensions shall be paid in fortnightly instalments.
(2) In order to ascertain the amount of an instalment of a pension covering a period of a fortnight the annual pension shall be divided by twenty-six.
(3) The instalment of a pension covering a period of less than a fortnight shall be in proportion to the number of days of a fortnight.
(4) Instalments of pensions shall be payable at an office named in the pension certificate or at any place directed by the Deputy Commissioner.
(5) The office or place of payment may be changed in the manner prescribed.

PENSION CLAIMS

27. (1) Every person claiming a pension shall, in the prescribed manner, deliver or send a pension claim therefor to the Registrar of the district in which he resides, or to a prescribed officer therein.
(2) Where the claim is sent to a prescribed officer, he shall forthwith transmit it to the Registrar of the district.

*Investigation by Registrar.*—See section 28 and subsections.

*Reference to Magistrate.*—See section 29 and subsections.

*Investigation and Recommendation by Magistrate.*—See sections 30 and 31 and subsections thereof.

## AUSTRALIA

STATEMENT showing Number of Pensioners, Payments for Pensions, Cost of Administration, etc.
(Taken from the Official Year Book of Australia, 1922, and Government Reports, 1923, obtained from Melbourne)

OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN 1921

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of pensions existing June 30, 1921 | | 102,415 |
| " " male pensioners, June 30, 1921 | 40,222 | |
| " " female pensioners, June 30, 1921 | 62,193 | |
| Number of claims examined, year ended June, 1921 | 14,842 | |
| " " rejected, year ended June, 1921 | 2,295 | |
| " " granted, year ended June, 1921 | 12,547 | |
| Add transfers from other States | 1,540 | |
| " pensions existing June 30, 1920 | 99,170 | |
| Total | 113,257 | |
| Deduct deaths, year ended June 30, 1921 | 7,601 | |
| " transfers to other States, and cancellations, June 30, 1921 | 3,241 | |
| | 10,842 | |
| Total old-age pensions current, June 30, 1921, as above | | 102,415 |

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APPENDIX No. 4

INVALID PENSIONS IN 1921

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of pensions existing June 30, 1921 | | 37,981 |
| " " male pensioners, June 30, 1921 | 17,643 | |
| " " female pensioners, June 30, 1921 | 20,338 | |
| Number of claims examined, year ended June, 1921 | 9,185 | |
| " " rejected, year ended June, 1921 | 2,739 | |
| " " granted, year ended June, 1921 | 6,446 | |
| Add transfers from other States, June, 1921 | 415 | |
| " pensions current, June 30, 1920 | 35,231 | |
| Total | 42,092 | |
| Deduct deaths, year ended June 30, 1921 | 2,419 | |
| " cancellations and transfers to other States | 1,692 | |
| | 4,111 | |
| Total invalid pensions current, June 30, 1921, as above | | 37,981 |
| Total old-age and invalid pensions, June 30, 1921 | | 140,396 |

DISBURSEMENTS AND LIABILITY IN 1921

| | |
|---|---|
| Disbursements for pensions, year ended June 30, 1921 | £5,074,336 |
| Amount paid to asylums for maintenance pensioners | 75,905 |
| Cost of administration, year ended June 30, 1921 | 88,271 |
| Total liability for pensions, year ended June 30, 1921 | 5,263,523 |
| Average fortnightly pension, year ended June 30, 1921 | 28 s. 9 d. |
| Population of Commonwealth, December 31, 1921 | 5,510,229 |

Number of pensioners in each 10,000 of population—

| | |
|---|---|
| Old-age | 192 |
| Invalid | 71 |
| Total | 263 in each 10,000 population in 1921. |

OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN 1923

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of pensions existing June 30, 1923 | | 107,389 |
| " " male pensioners, June 30, 1923 | 42,585 | |
| " " female pensioners, June 30, 1923 | 64,804 | |
| Pensions current, year ended June 30, 1922 | 105,096 | |
| Add claims received, year ended June 30, 1923 | 13,333 | |
| " transfers from other States, June 30, 1923 | 1,820 | |
| " claims awaiting determination, June 30, 1922 | 739 | |
| Total | 120,988 | |
| Deduct deaths, year ended June 30, 1923 | 7,508 | |
| " cancellations and transfers to other States | 4,016 | |
| " claims rejected | 1,460 | |
| " claims awaiting determination, year ended June 30, 1923 | 615 | |
| Total deductions | 13,599 | |
| Total pensions current, June 30, 1923, as above | | 107,389 |

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INVALID PENSIONS IN 1923

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of pensions current, June 30, 1923 | | 40,064 |
| " " male pensioners, June 30, 1923 | 18,451 | |
| " " female pensioners, June 30, 1923 | 21,613 | |
| Pensions current, year ended June 30, 1922 | 39,019 | |
| Aid claims received, year ended June 30, 1923 | 6,453 | |
| " transfers from other States, June 30, 1923 | 395 | |
| " claims awaiting determination, year ended June 30, 1922 | 632 | |
| Total | 46,499 | |
| Deduct deaths, year ended June 30, 1923 | 2,287 | |
| " cancellations and transfers to other States | 1,834 | |
| " claims rejected | 1,959 | |
| " claims awaiting determination, year ended June 30, 1923 | 355 | |
| Total deductions | 6,435 | |
| Total pensions current (invalid), June 30, 1923, as above | | 40,064 |
| Total old-age and invalid pensions, June 30, 1923 | | 147,453 |

DISBURSEMENTS AND LIABILITY IN 1923

| | |
|---|---|
| Disbursements for pensions, year ended June 30, 1923 | £5,337,936 |
| Amount paid to asylums for maintenance pensioners | 86,080 |
| Cost of administration, year ended June 30, 1923 | 87,910 |
| Total liability on last day of financial year | 5,518,682 |
| Average fortnightly pension, last day, June 30, 1923 | 28s. 9d. |
| Maximum pension payable to pensioner per annum | £ 39 |
| Number of pensioners in each 10,000 of the population— | |
| old-age. | 191 |
| invalid. | 71 |

## NEW ZEALAND

*Note.*—See also particulars at pages 65 and 95 of Memorandum of Committee, 1912, for New Zealand Act of 1908.

### OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN 1921

(Taken from a Publication by the Government Printer, obtained from Wellington in 1923)

The law relating to old-age, military, and widows' pensions is contained in the Pensions Act, 1913, a consolidation of previous enactments, and in the Pensions Amendment Act, 1914, and Finance Acts, 1919 and 1920. The history of legislation dealing with old-age pensions is given in previous issues of this book.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR OLD-AGE PENSIONS

The qualifications for the old-age pension are briefly as follows:—

(1) The applicant, if a male, must have reached the age of sixty-five, or, if a female, must have reached the age of sixty.

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APPENDIX No. 4

*Note.*—The pension age has been reduced to fifty-five for women and to sixty for men where the applicant is the parent of two or more children under fourteen years of age for the maintenance of whom he (or she) is responsible. The pension payable in such cases may be any sum up to thirteen (13) pounds per annum, in addition to the ordinary pension payable as set forth hereunder.

(2) The applicant must have resided continuously in New Zealand for the past twenty-five years.

*Note.*—Continuous residence is not interrupted by absences not exceeding two years. An additional six months' period of absence is allowed for every additional year's residence in excess of the twenty-five years immediately preceding the date of application, provided that the applicant has resided in New Zealand during the twelve months immediately preceding the said date of application. In the case of a seaman continuous residence is not interrupted by absences on board a ship registered in New Zealand, provided the applicant establishes the fact that his home is in New Zealand.

(3) The applicant must not during the past twelve years have been imprisoned for four months or on four occasions for an offence punishable by twelve months' imprisonment.

(4) The applicant must not during the past twenty-five years have been imprisoned for five years for any offence.

(5) The applicant must not during the past twelve years have deserted his wife (or husband, as the case may be) and children.

(6) The applicant must have lived a sober and reputable life during the past year.

(7) The yearly income of the applicant, if single, must not reach seventy-eight (78) pounds, and if married, one hundred and thirty (130) pounds.

(8) The net value of accumulated property must not be three hundred and ninety (390) pounds or over.

(9) The applicant must not have deprived himself or herself of property or income to qualify for a pension.

DISQUALIFIED FOR OLD-AGE PENSIONS

All residents of New Zealand who fulfil the necessary conditions are eligible for the old-age pension, with the exception of—

(1) Maoris who receive votes other than pensions out of the grant appropriated by the Civil List Act, 1908.

(2) Aliens.

(3) Naturalized subjects who have not been naturalized one year.

(4) Chinese or other Asiatics, whether naturalized or not, and whether British subjects by birth or not.

*Note.*—The term "alien" is deemed not to include a woman who ceased to be a British subject by reason of marriage with an alien who is since deceased, or from whom she is legally separated.

PENSION CLAIMS—REGISTRARS—MAGISTRATES

Each applicant must apply to the Registrar of the district in which he resides, and fill in a claim form. The Registrar proceeds at once to verify the applicant's statements, and the result of his inquiries are transmitted, with the form of application, to the Stipendiary Magistrate presiding at the nearest Court, when a date is fixed for the personal examination of the pensioner. The Magistrate, who is required to hear each case in chambers, has power to dis-



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pense with the personal attendance of the applicant if he is satisfied that the documentary evidence in support of the claim is sufficient to establish it.

The Magistrate intimates his decision to the Commissioner of Pensions, who, if the pension is allowed, issues a pension-certificate for the amount granted, without which no payment can be made.

The term of a pension is for twelve months only, and an application for renewal is required to be made each year. The first of twelve monthly instalments is due on the 1st day of the month following the granting of the pension by the Magistrate. Payment is made through the Post Office.

Though the due date of each instalment falls on the 1st of the month, payment may be made on any day between the 23rd of the preceding month and the 1st day of the following month.

### RATE OF PENSION—INCREASES

The original Act of 1898 provided for a pension of £18 per annum, or 6s. 11d. per week. This amount was, however, increased to £26 per annum (i.e., 10s. a week or £2 3s. 4d. a month) by the Amendment Act of 1905.

Under the Finance Act, 1917, every person in receipt of an old-age pension was paid an additional 5s. a week, or £13 per annum, by way of war bonus, and, in terms of the provisions of the Finance Act, 1920, this bonus was incorporated in the statutory pension, making the amount of the same 15s. a week, or £39 per annum.

The full pension of £39 is reducible by:

(1) £1 for every complete £1 of income over £39.

(2) £1 for every complete £10 of net accumulated property.

(3) £1 for every year or part of a year by which the age of the applicant is less than sixty-five years.

The income of a married applicant for pension purposes is considered to be half of the joint incomes of husband and wife. The joint incomes of a married couple must not exceed, with pension added, the sum of £130.

### WHAT CONSTITUTES INCOME

Income includes free board and lodging up to £26 per annum, but does not include:—

(a) Sick allowance or funeral benefit paid by a friendly society.

(b) Any money received on the sale or exchange of land or property.

(c) Capital expended for the benefit of the applicant or the wife or husband of the applicant.

(d) Money or money's worth received on the intestacy or under the will of a deceased husband or wife.

(e) Any money received under an insurance policy on the destruction or damage by fire or otherwise of a building or other property.

### ADDITIONAL EXEMPTION

An additional exemption of one of the following is also allowed, whichever provides for the greater amount of pensions.

(a) Relief by way of charity up to £52 in any year.

(b) Any pension payable under the Miners' Pathisis Act, 1915.

(c) Relief by way of gifts or allowances from any relative up to £52 in any year.

(d) Any pension payable under the War Pensions Act, 1915.

(e) Any other moneys received by the applicant not exceeding £39 in any year.



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APPENDIX No. 4

WHAT CONSTITUTES ACCUMULATED PROPERTY

Net accumulated property is the capital value of all real and personal property owned by an applicant, other than life assurance policies and annuities, or other life interests in the capital sum of which the applicant has no interest beyond the income derived therefrom, less the following deductions:—

(1) The amount of mortgage existing on the property.
(2) £390 from the home, including furniture and personal effects.
(3) £50 from any other property.

The net accumulated property of a husband or wife for pension purposes is half of the total net accumulated properties of both.

The pension is not affected by any increase in the value of property used exclusively as a home, which is taken at the valuation obtaining at the date of the original grant of the pension.

Provision is made for including transferred property, or property disposed of by will by the husband or wife of an applicant, in the computation of the pension.

WHY A MAGISTRATE REVIEWS A PENSION CERTIFICATE

If during the currency of a pension certificate a pensioner, or the wife or husband of a pensioner, becomes possessed of property or income in excess of the amount allowed by law, the Commissioner may apply to the Magistrate to have the pension cancelled or varied. A Magistrate has power on his own initiative to review any previous decision and to cancel or amend any pension certificate.

OFFENCES—PENALTIES

Any person who by a wilfully false statement obtains or attempts to obtain a pension to which he is not entitled is liable to six months' imprisonment, or to a fine of £50, as also is any person who aids or abets such person.

It is an offence to receive money in consideration of the procuring of a pension for any person; and it is also an offence to refuse to answer any question concerning an applicant or any statement contained in an application, the penalty being a fine not exceeding £10 in each case.

Where it has been found that a pensioner has been overpaid, and the Magistrate is of opinion that such overpayment was obtained by fraud, the pensioner is liable, in addition to imprisonment, to a penalty of double the amount paid in excess.

TRANSFERRING PROPERTY TO THE PUBLIC TRUSTEE TO OBTAIN PENSION

Any person otherwise qualified to receive a pension who owns property on which he resides, and which does not permit of the granting of a full pension, may qualify for the full pension by transferring the said property to the Public Trustee. The pensioner is permitted to reside on the property rent-free during his lifetime, but he must pay all rates and charges thereon. If a husband and wife, both being pensioners, are living together, and one dies, the survivor is permitted to continue to reside on the property. On the death of both pensioner and survivor, or where the pensioner is no longer entitled to a pension, the Public Trustee shall sell the property, and, after deducting from the proceeds of the sale the amount of pension paid as a consequence of the transfer of the property, together with his commission and interest at the rate of 4 per cent, shall pay the balance to the person or persons entitled thereto. Provision is made for a pensioner, or survivor, or next-of-kin paying such amounts as aforesaid at any time, with a view to obtaining a retransfer of the property and obviating a sale.



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### PENSIONERS IN ASYLUMS

A pension granted to a person maintained in a charitable institution is paid to the governing body of the institution on production of an authority signed by the local Registrar. A fresh authority is required each month in cases of this nature.

When any person to whom a pension has already been granted is committed to a mental hospital, the instalments of such pension are payable to the Mental Hospitals Department. An inmate of a mental hospital, however, cannot lodge an original claim for a pension.

### PENSIONS INALIENABLE

The pension, being for the personal support of the pensioner, is absolutely inalienable, whether by way of assignment, charge, execution, bankruptcy, or otherwise howsoever.

No payment is made of an instalment which falls due while a pensioner is in gaol or out of New Zealand.

An old-age pension is not payable in addition to a widow's pension or a military pension for Maori War veterans.

STATEMENT showing Number of Pensioners, Payments for Pensions, Annual Liability, etc.

(Taken from The Annual Reports of the Pensions Department obtained from Wellington, N.Z.).

OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN 1921.

| | European. | Maori. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pensions in force March 31, 1920 | 19,198 | 795 | 19,993 |
| New pensions granted 1920-21 | 2,006 | 146 | |
| Deaths during 1920-21 | 1,782 | 98 | |
| Cancellations 1920-21 | 423 | 5 | |
| Net decrease | | | 156 |
| Pensions in force at March 31, 1921 | 18,999 | 838 | 19,837 |
| Total European population at March 31, 1921 | | | 1,204,722 |
| Total European Pensioners, sixty-five and over at March 31, 1921 | | | 16,121 |
| Female European Pensioners, sixty to sixty-four, at March 31, 1921 | | | 2,878 |
| Percentage of European pensioners, to total European population | | | 1.6 |
| New claims lodged | | | 2,760 |
| New claiams rejected | | | 617 |
| Annual Liability at March 31, 1921 | | | £737,378 |
| Average pension | | | £ 37 3s. |
| Gross expenditure for year | | | £731,343 |
| Decrease on figures of previous year | | | £ 1,625 |
| Cost per head of European population | | | £12s. 2d. |
| Credit from National endowment | | | £ 30,134 |
| Refunds paid to Public Account | | | £ 1,313 |
| Number of pensioners in homes and hospitals | | | 940 |
| Amount paid to controlling authorities of same | | | £ 36,824 |
| Number of pensioners in mental hospitals | | | 90 |
| Amount paid to Mental Hospitals Department on account of these | | | £ 3,124 |
| Absolutely forfeited instalments | | | £ 3,806 |
| Instalments forfeited and subsequently paid | | | £ 4,919 |



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APPENDIX No. 4

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|---|---|
| Total claims lodged to date | 72,035 |
| Total claim established | 56,214 |
| Total deaths | 28,958 |
| Total cancellations | 7,419 |
| Grand total paid since 1898 | £ 8,660,131 |
| Total credit from National endowment | £ 299,154 |

OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN 1923.

| | European. | Maori. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pensions in force, March 31, 1923 | 19,587 | 904 | 20,491 |
| New pensions granted, 1922-23 | 2,533 | 248 | |
| Deaths during 1922-23 | 1,673 | 90 | |
| Cancellations 1922-23 | 312 | 16 | |
| Net increase | | | 690 |
| Pensions in force at March 31, 1923 | 20,135 | 1,046 | 21,181 |

| | Year 1922-23 |
|---|---|
| Total European population March 31, 1923 | 1,271,750 |
| Total Enropean pensioners, sixty-five and over, March 31, 1923 | 15,641 |
| Female European pensioners, sixty to sixty-four at March 31, 1923 | 4,494 |
| Percentage of European pensioners to total European population | 1.6 |
| New claims lodged | 3,435 |
| New claims rejected | 714 |
| Annual Liability at March 31, 1923 | £ 770,295 |
| Average pension | £ 36. 7s. |
| Gross expenditure for year | £ 755,324 |
| Increase on figures of previous year | £ 11,704 |
| Cost per head of European population | £11s. 11d. |
| Credit from National endowment | £ 28,547 |
| Refunds paid to Public Account | £ 1,627 |
| Number of pensioners in homes and hospitals | 974 |
| Amount paid to controlling authorities of these | £ 39,210 |
| Number of pensioners in mental hospitals | 90 |
| Amount paid to Mental Hospitals Department on account of these | £ 3,259 |
| Unpaid instalments as at March 31, 1923 | £ 2,593 |
| Instalments forfeited and subsequently paid | £ 3,906 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Total claims lodged to date | 78,748 |
| Total claims established | 61,548 |
| Total deaths | 32,299 |
| Total cancellations | 8,068 |
| Grand total paid since 1898 | £10,159,075 |
| Total credit from National fund | £ 358,445 |

AN ACT RESPECTING OLD-AGE PENSIONS, 20TH AUGUST, 1920

## BELGIUM

(Particulars of the original Old-Age Pensions Act enacted in Belgium in 1900 are given in Memorandum of Committee, October, 1912 at page 68. The State in 1900 granted premiums which were added to the deposits on the part of those who insured against old-age. Such deposits were made in the Superannuation Fund Bank under State control which worked in combination with the Savings Bank. A second provision enabled the aged poor to obtain special grants amounting to 65 francs about ($13) per annum even when these had not contributed to such aid).

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*Note.*—The Act of 1920 which hereunder follows as set out at page 36671 of Legislative Series, International Labour Office, 1920, Geneva Switzerland, was amended in April 1922, the provisions of which are also given herein.

ACT OF AUGUST, 1920

1. Every Belgian resident in Belgium who was born before 1st January, 1858, shall on attaining the age of 65 years be granted an annual pension under the conditions laid down below.

Nationals of other countries which grant equivalent conditions to our nationals may likewise enjoy the said grant.

2. The communes within the Kingdom shall be divided into three classes for the purpose of determining the maximum amount of the pension:—

1st class: Communes with more than 25,000 inhabitants.
2nd class: Communes with 5,001 to 25,000 inhabitants.
3rd class: Communes with 5,000 inhabitants or less.

A commune may be placed in a higher class by the permanent deputation, after consultation with the communal council and the workers' dwellings committee and the provident institutions.

3. The maximum amount of the pension shall be fixed as follows:—

For communes included in the 1st class, 720 francs,
For communes included in the 2nd class, 660 francs.
For communes included in the 3rd class, 600 francs.

4. The claimant shall receive a pension at the rate appropriated to the commune in which he was actually domiciled and resident on 1st January, 1920. If he is resident in a commune other than that in which he is domiciled, the pension shall be based on the rate for the commune included in the less favoured class.

5. If the claimant has any means, the maximum amount of the pension shall be reduced by the amount of the said means in accordance with a graduated scale as follows, subject to the exceptions mentioned in the following section:—

| | Means of the Applicant Francs | Amount of the Pension Francs |
|---|---|---|
| 1st Class.. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | More than 720 | 0 |
| | 600 to 720 | 120 |
| | 480 to 600 | 240 |
| | 360 to 480 | 360 |
| | 240 to 360 | 480 |
| | 120 to 240 | 600 |
| | Less than 120 | 720 |
| 2nd Class.. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | More than 660 | 0 |
| | 550 to 660 | 110 |
| | 440 to 550 | 220 |
| | 330 to 440 | 330 |
| | 220 to 330 | 440 |
| | 110 to 220 | 550 |
| | Less than 110 | 660 |
| 3rd Class.. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | More than 600 | 0 |
| | 500 to 600 | 100 |
| | 400 to 500 | 200 |
| | 300 to 400 | 300 |
| | 200 to 300 | 400 |
| | 100 to 200 | 500 |
| | Less than 100 | 600 |



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APPENDIX No. 4

6. The rules to be followed in evaluating the means of applicants shall be issued by Royal Order. Notwithstanding, only the personal means of the applicant, and those, if any, of the applicant's husband or wife, shall be taken into account; further, no deduction shall be made on account of the following:—

(1) The wages of the person concerned and his or her wife or husband, together with the subsistence allowances paid by their children or other descendants, up to 50 per cent.

(2) Annuities and other means derived from the efforts of the person concerned to save and to make provision for the future, up to 360 francs.

(3) Allowances on stripes for service at the front and allowances granted to holders of decorations for war service.

(4) Means derived from the possession of a house bringing in an assessed income fixed by Royal Order.

7. A person who, after attaining the age of 55 years, has reduced his means of subsistence to such an extent as thereby to qualify himself for a pension, through the transference of the said means to his children or other persons, shall not be entitled to a pension.

8. The expenses necessitated by the payment of the pensions provided for in this Act shall be charged as to 5/8 to the State, as to 1/8 to the provinces, and as to 2/8 to the communes.

The communes may pay their share wholly or in part through the agency of the institutional committees and relief offices subject to the approval of the permanent deputation after the institutional committees and relief offices have been consulted.

9. Pensions shall be paid every three months by the Department of Industry, Labour and Supplies. The share of the provinces and communes shall be deducted from the share of tax revenue assigned to them by the State.

10. Every pension granted under this Act shall be inalienable and exempt from distraint, except as regards seven-tenths of the amount thereof for the payment to a public or private hospital, home, etc., of the cost of maintenance of a pensioner admitted thereto.

11. Any person who makes false statements in order to obtain an old-age pension or cause the same to be obtained, or to secure an increase in the rate of pension, shall be liable to imprisonment for not less than one week and not more than one month, and to a fine of not less than 26 and not more than 200 francs or to one of these penalties.

By way of exception to Section 100 of the Penal Code, Section 85 of the said Code shall apply to the contraventions referred to in this Section.

In addition on Order shall be made for the refunding of the total amount of pension impropertly obtained.

12. The provisions of Section 9 of the Act of 10th May, 1900, (Section 9 granted a pension of 65 francs a year to persons aged 65 on 1st January, 1901) as amended by the Act of 17th June, 1919, and of Section 19 (Section 10 provided for the issue of regulations) of the Act of 10th May, 1900, are hereby repealed.

13. The expenses involved in the payment of the pensions granted under this Act and in granting premiums under the Acts of 10th May, 1900, and 5th June, 1911, (Act relating to old-age pensions for miners) shall henceforth be defrayed without recourse to the special fund established under Section 11 of the Act of 10th May, 1900, and shall be charged to the annual vote for the Ministry of Industry, Labour and Supplies.

The special endowment fund shall continue to exist for the purpose of liguidation.

14. Regulations for the administration of this Act shall be issued by Royal Order.

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*Note.*—These regulations were issued in 4 Royal Orders, dated 10th and 11th November, 1920.

The first Order deals with the administration of the Act.

The second Order regulates the procedure for appeals by communes for reclassification.

The third and fourth Orders issue regulations for the working of regional and provincial old-age pensions commissions, to deal with appeals respecting pensions.

A noteworthy point is the provision excluding from pensions all persons in prison, the pauper insane, and persons in places of detention for vagrants,

The rate of pension is based not upon the place of residence at the date of the application, but upon the place of residence on 1st January, 1920.

### THE ACT OF APRIL, 1922

In the Act of April, 1922, provision is made for the encouragement of mutual or friendly societies recognized by the State with a view to affiliating the members thereof to the Retirement General Fund, by granting to each of such members an annual subsidy of two francs to be added to the sum of three francs in each case where the member's book will show that said three francs were deposited to the credit of the Retirement General Fund, on condition that the operations and books of such mutual or friendly societies show no irregularities.

This provision of 1922 is also extended to nationals of other countries who have become residents of Belgium, provided the country of such nationals extend a similar benefit, under their old-age pension laws, to Belgians residing in such countries.

The appropriation necessitated by such subsidy is chargeable to the budget of the Ministry of Industry and Labour.

## FRANCE

*Note.*—Particulars of the old-age pension system, established under the law of February, 1910, by the Government of France, are given in respect to rate of pension, qualifications, and the creation of the pension fund, in Memorandum of the Committee, House of Commons, October 1912, at page 71.

The Act of 1910 came in force on the 3rd july, 1911. Pensionable age was fixed at 65 years, but on the 1st August, 1912, this was reduced to 60 years. Changes in other respects were effected by amendments in 1914, 1918, 1820, and 1922, which are hereunder noted.

There are two systems provided in this old-age pension measure by which wage-earners and others such as small farmers, share-tenants and casual workers can insure against old age. Those whose yearly income exceeds 3,000 francs are inscribed under the compulsory provisions of the Act, while small farmers, casual workers and share-tenants come within the voluntary provisions. The State contributes to both systems, also to the miners' autonomous system which was subsequently, in 1914, established by law. Employers and employees contribute to both the miners' system and the compulsory.

The report of Mr. Peyronnet, Minister of Labour, shows a remarkable falling off of the number of persons who insured between the 1st January, 1913 and 1st January, 1918, which it is taken is partly due to war conditions.

In order to protect the insured while in active service, the law was amended in December, 1915, by which contributions to the fund. in respect to those who were serving at war, also for those who inhabited the invaded parts of France, were suspended, and would not lose any of their acquired rights to the benefits of the Act. The protective provision relating to residents of invaded districts was passed in April, 1918.



APPENDIX No. 4

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APPENDIX No. 4

The total compulsory insured on the 1st January, 1918, under the Act of 1910, was 7,077,350; the voluntary insured, 776,782. On the same date of 1918, the figures were 6,887,499, and 477,283 respectively, not including the invaded districts. On the 31st December, 1920, the figures were 7,966,669, and 416,904 respectively for compulsory and voluntary insurance.

It will be noted, however, that during the two years, 1919 and 1920, the number of compulsory insured increased by 311,362 and the number of voluntary insured, on the other hand, decreased by 46,318 This is accounted for by an amendment in December, 1918, which extended the benefits of the compulsory provisions to those wage-earners whose yearly income was up to 5,000 francs instead of 3,000 as heretofore. Wage-earners whose yearly income exceeded 5,000 francs, however, would not under this amendment be entered on the lists for compulsory insurance benefits.

In April, 1922, the Act was further amended to enable wage-earners, whose yearly income did not exceed 10,000 francs, to insure under the compulsory provisions, and were presumed to do so unless they had already provided under other special funds as might be indicated in Section 10 of the Act. Wage-earners whose yearly income might, in the course of their wage-earning and contributory period, exceed 10,000 francs, could share in the benefits of the compulsory insurance fund provided they had contributed for fifteen years to the fund under its compulsory provisions These beneficiary provisions were subsequently extended to wage-earners whose yearly income did not exceed 12,000 francs.

The workers' wages in 1918 and 1919 increased so noticeably as compared to earnings before the war for like employment, that the Government felt justified to change the qualifying provisions as above described so far as the yearly income of wage-earners was concerned.

In February, 1914, an old-age pension fund was created for miners. Mine-owners under this law had to contribute 4 per cent monthly of their employees' wages in order to form a basic capital, and in addition, the regular contributions were paid by both the employers and employees. In the year, 1919, 3,648 miners had earned the State premium to this fund as stipulated by Section 8 of the Act. Of this number, 1,632 had earned a bonus of 10 francs each on account of their having each 3 children under the age of 16 years to support during their contributory period to the fund.

PERSONS INSURED, PENSIONERS AND FUND IN 1920

| | |
|---|---|
| Total on compulsory roll, inscribed to December 31 | 7,966,669 |
| " on voluntary roll, " " | 416,904 |
| Total of compulsory insured during 1920 | 378,865 |
| " voluntary insured during 1920 | 9,349 |
| Pensions granted to persons 60 years of age, payable from compulsory fund | 71,131 |
| Pensions granted to persons 55 to 59 years of age, payable from compulsory fund | 493 |
| Pensions granted from voluntary fund | 25,799 |
| Number of miners' pensions granted | 4,825 |
| Average yearly amount of contribution to fund per person insured | 15 francs |
| Average per person contributed in 1920 | nearly 14 francs |
| Total amount of pension stamps sold in 1920 towards fund | 27,021,108 francs |
| Number of persons insured contributing to the fund | 1,801,000 approx. |
| Total amount contributed to fund by employers and the State in 1920 | 1,310,591 francs |

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## ITALY

*Note.*—Particulars of the system of Insurance against Old Age and Invalidity on voluntary contributory principles of operation, in Italy, are given in the Memorandum of the Committee, 1912, at pages 73-75, showing that the Government passed its earliest Act in 1898; it was amended in 1901, 1904, 1906.

In April, 1919, a decree was issued to go into effect in 1920, by which a system of compulsory insurance against old-age and invalidity replaces the former voluntary system.

*Qualifications.*—Pensions are payable at the age of 65 years, if 240 fortnightly contributions at least have been made. In the case of permanent incapacity, when 120 contributions have been made, a full pension is payable. In certain cases persons between the age of 60 and 65 may receive pension at reduced rates while still paying premiums towards the full pension obtainable at the age of 65.

*Insured persons.*—All Italians subjects between the ages of 15 and 65 years, working in any industry, or who follow a trade or profession, or are engaged in agriculture, or the public services or in domestic service are compelled to insure. Aliens are included under the Act provided similar benefits are extended to Italians by the countries of their origin.

*Exemptions.*—Non-manual workers whose average monthly salary exceeds 14 pounds, agricultural tenants whose annual income exceeds 144 pounds, the mercantile marine, and state employees are exempted from the operation of the law. Voluntary insurance is provided for *(a)* independent workers earning not more than 168 pounds, (*b*) married and other women engaged in domestic work; and *(c)* small peasant proprietors, shopkeepers, and professional workers not included in *(a)* and whose annual taxes do not exceed 8 pounds.

*Contributions.*—The State contributes 4 pounds to each pension; the employer and the employee contribute in equal proportions, the amount varying according to wages. When the daily wage is 1s. 7d. or less, the fortnightly contribution is 5d.; when the daily wage is over 8s. the contribution is 2s. 5d. Employers are responsible for the full payment, one-half of which they may deduct from wages.

Permission is granted for permitting insured persons to increase their contributions by voluntary payments.

*Provision for the widow and children.*—When an insured male worker dies without having received pension, his widow or children under 15 years of age are to receive 2 pounds monthly for six months after his death. One half of this amount is paid by the State.

*Administration.*—The Council of Administration is composed of six employers' representatives, eight persons of the compulsory insured and two of the voluntary insured, also five special officers, and in addition one official from each of the government departments. Provincial bodies administer the law locally. The Council is under the supervision of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labour.

### ELIGIBLE PENSIONERS IN CANADA IN 1921

In both Australia and New Zealand the qualifying age for old-age pensions is 65 years. Taking the statistics for 1921 of these two British Dominions in reference to the number of old-age pensioners and the total population of each, we are able to calculate approximately the number of would-be old-age pensioners for Canada in 1921, as follows:—



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According to Census statistics for Canada, 1921, we had a population of 8,788,483, of whom 419,107 were 65 years of age and upwards (214,367 males and 204,740 females).

Australia with a population on December 31st, 1921, of 5,510,229, was paying on June 30th, 1921, old-age pensions to 102,415 persons. This equals to 19.2 pensioners in every 1,000 of population. Upon this basis, Canada would have 168,738 eligible old-age pensioners.

New Zealand with a population, March 31st, 1921, of 1,204,722 (European born) was then paying old-age pensions, 65 years of age and upwards to 19,837 persons, comprising Maori pensioners. This equals to 16.6 pensioners in every 1,000 of population. Upon this basis, Canada would have 145,888 eligible pensioners.

Upon the Australian basis, Canada's percentage of old-age pensioners would be approximately 1.92 per cent of our total population, and approximately 40 per cent of our total old-age population, namely, the 419,107 who are 65 years of age and upwards.

Upon the New Zealand basis, our total old-age pensioners would be approximately 1.66 per cent of our total population, or say approximately 35 per cent of our total old-age population, namely those who make up the 419,-107, who are 65 years of age and upwards.

## RATES OF PENSIONS

The maximum pension obtainable for an old-age pension in Australia is 45 pounds 10s, or say about $221.10 a year per pension.

That of New Zealand is on an average of 36 pounds 7s. or say about $176.64 a year per pension.

That of Great Britain has varied since 1908 when the maximum pension obtainable was 5s. a week. Under the same qualifications in respect to income the pensioner of 1908 would under the present rate receive 10s. a week.

Mr. Berger's Bill of February 11th, 1924, which he introduced in the House of Representatives at Washington, proposes to give $8.00 a week to all who have reached the age of 60 years if their individual income does not exceed $8.00 a week, and a lesser pension if their income is greater than $8.00 a week.

In all of the above mentioned, the pension systems are on non-contributory principles. These statistics and rates may give Canada a fair idea of the estimated cost of an old-age pension system if it were established upon non-contributory lines. The systems on the European continent with the exception of Great Britain are all, or nearly, contributory on the part of the employers, the employees and the State. Insurance against old age seems to be the line followed in several countries of Europe.

## THE BRITISH ACT OF 1919, CHAPTER 102

An Act to amend the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911, and the Debtors Act, 1869. [23rd December, 1919.] A.D. 1919.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

**1.** An old age pension under the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911, shall be at the rate set forth in the First Schedule to this Act instead of at the rate set forth in the Schedule to the Old Age Pensions Act, 1908 (in this Act referred to as "the Act of 1908"). Rate of old age pension. 8 Edw. 7. c. 40.

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A.D. 1919. Amendment of statutory conditions as to means, nationality, and residence.

**2.** (1) The following shall be substituted for paragraphs (2) and (3) of section two of the Act of 1908:—

"(2) The person must satisfy the pension authorities that for at least ten years up to the date of the receipt of any sum on account of a pension he has been a British subject.

"(3) The person must satisfy the pension authorities that his yearly means as calculated under this Act do not exceed forty-nine pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence."

1 & 2 Geo. 5. c. 16.

(2) Paragraph (1) of section three of the Old Age Pensions Act, 1911 (in this Act referred to as "the Act of 1911"), which modifies the statutory condition as to nationality as respects a woman married to an alien, shall have effect as though all the words from "and that" to the end of the paragraph were omitted therefrom.

(3) The following shall be substituted for the words in paragraph (2) of section three of the Act of 1911 from the beginning of the paragraph down to the words "this provision":—

"It shall be a statutory condition for the receipt of an old age pension by any person, that the person must satisfy the pension authorities, if he is a natural-born British subject, that he has, since attaining the age of fifty years, had his residence in the United Kingdom for an aggregate period of not less than twelve years, and if he is not a natural-born British subject, that he has had his residence in the United Kingdom for an aggregate period of twenty years:

"Provided that for the purpose of computing residence in the United Kingdom under this provision—"

Amendment as to disqualifications.

**3.** (1) The following shall be substituted for paragraph (*a*) of subsection (1) of section three of the Act of 1908:—

"(*a*) while he is an inmate of any workhouse or other poor-law institution:

Provided that a person who has become an inmate of any workhouse or other poor-law institution for the purpose of obtaining medical or surgical treatment shall not, during a period of three months from the date on which he becomes such an inmate if he so long continues to require such treatment, be disqualified on the ground only that he is such an inmate for receiving or continuing to receive an old age pension."

(2) The provisions of paragraph (*b*) of subsection (1) of section three of the Act of 1908 (which disqualifies a person who has habitually failed to work according to his ability), shall cease to have effect.

(3) The provisions of subsection (2) of section three of the Act of 1908, as amended by subsection (2) of section four of the Act of 1911, so far as those provisions disqualify a person after the date on which he is released from prison, and subsection (3) of section four of the Act of 1911, (which imposes a disqualification on persons convicted of offences under the Inebriates Act, 1898), shall cease to have effect.

61 & 62 Vict. c. 60.

Calculation of means.

**4.** (1) Subsection (1) of section two of the Act of 1911 (which relates to the calculation of means) shall be amended as follows:—

(*a*) The yearly value of any such property as is mentioned in paragraph (*a*) of the said subsection (1), shall be calculated as follows, that is to say:—



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A.D. 1919.

(i) The first twenty-five pounds of the capital value of the said property shall be excluded; and

(ii) The yearly value of the next three hundred and seventy-five pounds of the capital value of the said property shall be taken to be one-twentieth part of the capital value; and

(iii) The yearly value of so much of the capital value of the said property as exceeds the sum of four hundred pounds shall be taken to be one-tenth part of the capital value:

(*b*) In calculating the income mentioned in paragraph (*b*) of the said subsection, no account shall be taken of any amounts received during a period of not more than three months in any year by a person or by the husband or wife of a person, as the case may be, under a medical certificate as sickness benefit from a friendly society or trade union, or under the National Insurance Act, 1911:

1 & 2, Geo. 5. c. 55.

(*c*) No account shall be taken of the furniture and personal effects of a person whatever the value thereof may be:

(*d*) Where a husband is separated from his wife, any sum paid by him to her under a separation order shall be deducted in calculating his means

(2) Subsection (2) of section two of the Act of 1911 shall have effect as if the following words were added at the end thereof: "and where either of the couple or the couple jointly is or are entitled to any property, each of them shall be deemed to be entitled to one-half of that property."

Pension not to be taken into account for purposes of Debtors Act. 32 & 33 Vict. c. 62.

**5.** Any sums received by any person by way of an old age pension shall not be included in calculating his means for the purpose of section five of the Debtors Act, 1869.

Date of commencement of pension or of increased rate of pension.

**6.** (1) Where a pension is first allowed the pension shall commence to accrue, and where, by virtue of a decision on any question which has been raised, a pension becomes payable at an increased rate, the pension shall become payable at the increased rate on the first Friday after the date on which the claim for the pension is received by the pension officer or on which the notice of the question is received by the pension officer, as the case may be, or on the first Friday after the date on which the claimant or the pensioner first becomes entitled to the pension or on which the pension first becomes payable at the increased rate, whichever is the later, or, if the later of those two dates is a Friday, on that Friday.

(2) Where any general public holiday falls on a Friday, the Treasury may, if they think fit, direct that sums payable by way of old age pensions on that Friday shall be paid on some other day, whether earlier or later.

Provision for enabling claims to be made on behalf of persons suffering from mental or other incapacity.

**7.** Regulations may be made under the Act of 1908 for enabling a local pension committee to appoint a person to exercise on behalf of any claimant or pensioner who is, by reason of any mental or other incapacity unable to act, any right to which that claimant or pensioner may be entitled under the Acts of 1908 and 1911, as amended by this Act, and to authorise any person so appointed to receive on behalf and for the benefit of the claimant or pensioner any sums payable by way of old age pension.

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Determination of claims by existing pensioners to have rate of pension increased.

**8.** If any person who is in receipt of an old age pension at the time of the commencement of this Act or whose claim to an old age pension has been provisionally allowed before that time, claims that the rate of his pension should be increased so as to be in accordance with the scale contained in the First Schedule to this Act, the claim shall, instead of being considered and determined in manner provided by section seven of the Act of 1908, be considered and determined by the pension officer:

Provided that, if the claimant is aggrieved by the decision of the pension officer, he may appeal against the decision to the local pension committee, who shall consider the case and give their decision thereon in the same manner as if the decision of the pension officer were the report of a pension officer on a claim referred to him for report and inquiry under the said section seven.

Saving for existing pensioners.

**9.**—(1) Where the means of any person who is in receipt of an old age pension at the time of the commencement of this Act would be greater if calculated in accordance with the provisions of the Acts of 1908 and 1911, as amended by this Act, than they would be if calculated in accordance with the provisions of those Acts as not so amended, the means of that person shall, for the purposes of the Acts of 1908 and 1911 and this Act, continue to be calculated as if this Act had not passed.

(2) The provisions of this Act modifying in respect of residence the statutory conditions for the receipt of an old age pension shall not operate so as to disentitle any person who is in receipt of an old age pension at the time of the commencement of this Act from continuing to receive the pension.

Short title, commencement, and repeal.

**10.**—(1) This Act may be cited as the Old Age Pensions Act, 1919, and shall be construed as one with the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911, and those Acts and this Act may be cited together as the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 to 1919.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on the second day of January, nineteen hundred and twenty.

(3) The enactments mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent specified in the third column of that Schedule.

## SCHEDULES

Sections 1 and 8.

### FIRST SCHEDULE

RATE OF PENSION

| Means of Claimant or Pensioner. | Rate of Pension per Week. |
|---|---|
| Where the yearly means of the claimant or pensioner as calculated under the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911, as amended by this Act— | |
| do not exceed £26 5*s*. | 10*s*. |
| exceed £26 5*s*., but do not exceed £31 10*s*. | 8*s*. |
| exceed £31 10*s*., but do not exceed £36 15*s*. | 6*s*. |
| exceed £36 15*s*., but do not exceed £42 | 4*s*. |
| exceed £42 but do not exceed £47 5*s*. | 2*s*. |
| exceed £47 5*s*., but do not exceed $49 17*s*. 6*d*. | 1*s*. |
| exceed £49 17*s*. 6*d*. | No pension |

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## SECOND SCHEDULE

A.D. 1919.

### ENACTMENTS REPEALED

Section 10.

| Session and Chapter | Short Title | Extent of Repeal |
|---|---|---|
| 8 Edw. 7. c. 40..... | Old Age Pensions Act, 1908. | Subsection (2) of section one; paragraph *(b)* of subsection (1) of section three and in subsection (2) of that section the words "and for a further "period of ten years after the date on which he "is released from prison"; subsection (2) of section five; Schedule. |
| 1 & 2 Geo. 5. c. 16.. | Old Age Pensions Act, 1911. | In paragraph (1) of section three the words from "and that" to the end of the paragraph; section four. |

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,
COMMITTEE ROOM No. 436,
TUESDAY, May 20, 1924.

The Special Committee on Old Age Pensions met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. Raymond, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, there were only three members able to be here at the last meeting of the Committee, on the 16th of May, but we discussed then what would be the next proceeding, and we thought in the absence of the others, we could get Mr. Moore, President of the Trades and Labour Congress to give evidence, as he was leaving for overseas towards the end of the week. We found he would be good enough to be present to-day, and that is the reason for calling this meeting this morning. In the meantime, the Secretary has prepared a resumé, a history of the Old Age Pension movement, beginning with 1907 and bringing it up to the present time. That was sent to each member of the Committee, and it gives very fully the references as to what has taken place in the House of Commons and in the Committee on the subject before. I would suggest, gentlemen, that that resumé be printed in connection with the proceedings of this day's Committee. If some one would kindly make a motion to that effect.

Moved by Mr. St. Père and seconded by Mr. Spence that the review of Old Age Pensions prepared by V. Cloutier be printed in the day's proceedings.

Carried.

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# RESOLUTIONS CONSIDERED IN CANADIAN PARLIAMENT ON THE QUESTION OF AN OLD AGE PENSION SYSTEM FOR CANADA

(Submitted by V. Cloutier, Secretary of the Committee)

## In 1907

(Session of 1906-7)

On the 20th February, 1907, Mr. R. A. Pringle (Stormont), moved the following resolution:

> "That in the opinion of this House the subject of improving the condition of the aged, deserving poor, is worthy of and should receive the early and careful attention of the Government and of Parliament."

In addition to Mr. Pringle, the following Members addressed the House upon the merits of this question: Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. W. F. Maclean (York), Hon. Mr. Lemieux, and Messrs. Verville, Porter, Robitaille and Bourassa.

The motion was not pressed to a vote and was withdrawn. (See Debates, 1906-7, pp. 3374-3394).

## In 1908

(Session of 1907-8)

On the 3rd February, 1908, Mr. R. A. Pringle moved:

> "That a Select Special Committee of nine be appointed to inquire into, and to consider a scheme or schemes by State aid or otherwise for making provision for the aged, and deserving poor * * * *"

This resolution was supported by Messrs. Macdonell (Toronto), Logan, Smith (Nanaimo), Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir George Foster, Rt. Hon. Mr. Fielding, Mr. Alex. Johnston, and Mr. A. A. Lefurgey.

On the 10th February, 1908, a Special Committee was appointed consisting of nine members with Hon. R. Lemieux, elected as Chairman. Three sittings of this Committee were held, but owing to morning sessions of the House which had begun following these three sittings, it was found impossible to reconvene the Committee. No report, other than a verbal statement made by the Chairman, was presented to the House. This was on the 10th of July, of the same year. It should be noted that ten days later the "Old Age Annuities Act, 1908" was assented to by the Governor General. (See Debates, 1907-8, pp. 2398-2435, also p. 12660).

## In 1912

(Session of 1911-12)

On the 17th January, 1912, Mr. J. H. Burnham moved:

> "That in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that a Select Special Committee should be appointed by this House to make an inquiry into an Old Age Pension System for Canada, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to report from time to time."

This resolution was seconded by Hon. E. M. Macdonald and the then Minister of Finance, Sir Thomas White, concurred with the object of the resolution. In the Debate which took place upon the merits of the question,

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the following Members also addressed the House: Messrs. Verville, Pardee, Nickle, Clark (Red Deer), Currie (North Simcoe), Sir George Foster, and Hon. R. Lemieux. (See Debates, 1911-12, pp. 1352-1390).

The Debate was resumed on the 24th January by Hon. E. M. Macdonald, Mr. Carroll, Hon. R. Lemieux, Sir George Foster, and Hon. Mr. Emmerson. (See Debates 1911-12, pp. 1822-1839).

On the 31st January, 1912, a Special Committee consisting of twelve Members was appointed. Mr. J. H. Burnham was elected Chairman. Four meetings of this Committee were held at which evidence was received, and a report was presented to the House on the 25th March, recommending that further information in respect of the operation of old age pension systems in Canada and in other countries be obtained. (See Journals of the House, 1911-12, p. 386).

## In 1913

(Session of 1912-13)

On the 10th December, 1912, Mr. J. H. Burnham moved:

> "That, in the opinion of this House, a Select Special Committee should be appointed to make an inquiry into an Old Age Pension System for Canada, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to report from time to time". (See Journals, 1912-13, p. 89).

On the 27th January, 1913, the House ordered:

> "That, in pursuance of a resolution of the House, passed on the 10th day of December last, authorizing the appointment of a Special Committee to enquire into an Old Age Pension System, the following named Members constitute such Committee: Messrs. Bradbury, Buchanan, Burnham, Carroll, Crocket, Currie, Guthrie, Jameson, Macdonald, Mondou, Verville, and White (Leeds)." (See Journals, 1912-13, p. 170).

The proceedings of this Committee included considerable evidence which had been received, also information which it obtained from various sources by correspondence. The Committee reported to the House on the 21st May, 1913, recommending the appointment of a committee at next session. (See Journals of the House, 1912-13, p. 625).

For discussion relating to the printing of the evidence and proceedings, see Debates, 1912-13, Vol. VI., pp. 10527 and 10677. The proceedings and evidence in question which had been appended to the report covered some 262 pages, but the report itself covers one page only, namely page 625 of the Journals.

## In 1914

On the 4th of March, 1914, Mr. G. W. Kyte (Richmond) moved:

> "That, in the opinion of this House, an old age pension system for Canada should be inaugurated."

Mr. Kyte in speaking to the resolution, was followed by Mr. Burnham, Mr. Carroll, Hon. E. M. Macdonald, Dr. Alguire, Hon. Geo. P. Graham, and Sir Thomas White. (See Debates, 1914, pp. 1333-1354. Vol. II.)

It is noted on page 1345 of Debates, 1914, that Sir Thomas White, at the conclusion of his remarks asked leave to move the adjournment of the debate. This motion was agreed to.



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In 1922

On the 1st May, 1922, Mr. J. E. Fontaine (Hull) moved:

"That, in the opinion of this House, the Dominion Government should consider the advisability of devising ways and means for the establishment of a system of old age pensions in Canada." (See Debates, 1922, Vol. II, p. 1303.)

Mr. Fontaine's motion was agreed to.

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The CHAIRMAN: I understand Mr. Fontaine wishes to make a motion about another witness to be called before this Committee.

Mr. FONTAINE: I would move that one official of the National Labour Organization of Quebec be called here before the committee.

Mr. PRESTON: I will second the motion.

Carried.

The CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, we will proceed with the evidence of Mr. Tom Moore, the President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.



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# MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

Mr. TOM MOORE, a witness, called.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee, whilst, I cannot plead that the fact of being asked to give some evidence before this Committee entirely took me by surprise, as we have been working for some considerable time to have Parliament interest itself in this question and naturally we were conversant with the fact that a Committee of the House had been appointed, I must confess that until I received a telephone communication on Friday I had not thought your Committee would be ready for the submission of any proposals from our organization so early. However, when your Secretary telephoned me on Friday I said that I would do the best in the short time available to meet with you this morning, appreciating the fact that you had arranged a meeting so that I might appear personally before leaving for the International Labour Conferences overseas. In the interim, unfortunately, I had to go to Montreal, so what I have prepared has been prepared rather hurriedly. It is brief, comparatively so, any way, but I think I can say nevertheless, that it covers the position occupied by our organizations on this particular question. This question has not been a new one with our labour organizations; it has been one of many years' consideration, and what I am presenting to you is not my personal opinion but the official declarations of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. Perhaps before reading it I might just explain that whilst I make casual reference to the membership of our organization in regard to members, I might probably say a little in regard to our organization before reading the memorandum. The Trades and Labour Congress is composed of the Canadian membership of International unions and membership of some National unions such as the Letter Carriers and civic employees, and others throughout the Dominion of Canada. These deliberations are taken part in absolutely by Canadian citizens only. No one else has anything to do with the business or declarations or decisions of the Trades and Labour Congress. I want to make that very clear in case it may have been in someone's mind that the declarations of the Trades and Labour Congress were merely transmitted as those of some alien organization, with its ramifications outside the Dominion of Canada. It is true that the unions to which a large part of our membership belong have headquarters in the United States for economic and industrial purposes, but when it comes to matters that affect the development of Canada, the Trades and Labour Congress is the body which undertakes consideration of that, and so I want to impress upon the members of the Committee that it is purely a Canadian viewpoint which will be presented to you, and our declarations and decisions are arrived at by Canadian citizens only.

The membership is located in every province of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is composed of men and women of all denominations, following all varied occupations. We do not claim to represent either every worker in the Dominion or every organized worker, but it might be well for your Committee to consider having some presentation made in addition to my own, and what has been mentioned previously in the Committee, by either one or more of the legislative representatives of what are known as the "Running Trades" of the railways. That is, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Those four



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organizations represent a large membership of railroad workers that are not affiliated either with our Congress or with the other organization mentioned this morning. I just wish to trespass by making the suggestion that as they have been active in legislative work perhaps their viewpoint might be of some interest to you.

With that little preliminary, I would ask the permission of the Committee to read the little memorandum I have had prepared.

## OLD AGE PENSIONS

MEMORANDUM submitted on behalf of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

May, 1924.

For a great number of years, resolutions urging the establishment of pensions for aged persons in Canada have been passed by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in annual convention. The need for such legislation is constantly before the workers, though it has not been possible to gather statistics as to the actual number of needy workers resident in the Dominion.

Growing out of these resolutions the following declaration was unanimously adopted at the Convention of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, held in the City of Vancouver, September 10th-14th, 1923.

"Canada remains amongst the few industrial countries that have not yet made provision for the protection of its aged workers.

Arguments are advanced that as Canada is a young country there is no need for legislation of this nature but to those closely in touch with wage earners the imperative need of such protection is increasingly apparent. Canada is a young man's country, and with a reservoir of young, vigorous immigrants to supply the requirements of industry, the aged worker finds an ever greater difficulty in securing employment.

The granting of old age pensions would not destroy the habits of thrift. The greatest sufferers to-day are those who, having succeeded in saving sufficient to own a small home, or an equity in one, find themselves unable to secure further employment to enable them to meet their living expenses, taxes, etc., and see their home passing out of their own possession. Their only outlook, under the present conditions, is that they may die before their small savings are entirely dissipated.

Based on a survey of a number of old age pension acts of other countries, together with a review of the conditions existing in Canada the following suggestions are made:—

(1) The responsibility for the protection of aged workers should be upon the Federal Government. This would ensure equality of treatment to all Canadian citizens, irrespective of the province in which they reside, and would abolish the many abuses that have taken place where pension schemes are under the control of employers.

(2) Legislation should be based on granting pensions to all who have reached the stipulated age limit, with provisions that those who have assured incomes of reasonable amount should not be eligible to participate. This would obviate many of the difficulties which would arise if the decision, as to who were really needy people, was left to the discretion of an individual or board."

I might say in passing that the suggestion is that the law should be all-inclusive, and then the exceptions to be those that a Board felt should be taken

[Mr. Tom Moore.]



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out, and not as some Boards are at the present time. Take the Mothers Allowance Act, where you have to prove necessity before you are included, and we submit that there is a great difference between having to prove necessity or the proof being on the other side. That is the intention of that paragraph.

Mr. SPENCE: Then you are discriminating against a man who was thrifty and saved up enough money to keep himself.

The WITNESS: No, sir, the man who has saved sufficiently to be entirely independent, then of course you can hardly call upon the citizens, or perhaps it may not be his savings, it may be that an individual had money left to him sufficient to maintain himself, and in those cases whatever regulations were drafted should contain some exceptions who could not be legitimate charges upon any fund, because of their own means being sufficient. For instance, I do not think you would have a member of Parliament after many years who would be entitled to it, or a labour leader.

"(3) Pensions should be available to those who have reached the age limit (which should not be more than sixty-five years) and provision should also be able for those who at an earlier age become totally incapacitated and unable to earn their own living."

Exception would be made in this case for those who might be under Workmen's Compensation Acts, who are covered already by pension funds.

"(4) Pensions should be available to those who have held continuous residence, except for short absences, for a reasonable number of years. (Australia fixes such residence at twenty years).

(5) Most of the legislation existing in other countries treats this question as one of compulsory insurance, to which the State is a heavy contributor; a percentage of the funds being collected direct by the workers themselves. Bodies of workers in this country have approved this method for providing old age pensions, whilst the majority has held that all the money should be provided from State funds."

I clearly stated that there is a division of opinion in the ranks of the workers as to whether it should be partly contributory or entirely borne by the State funds. The majority think that it should be a State fund.

Mr. ST. PÈRE: I realize that it would be quite easy to collect that money from the parties affiliated with labour unions, but the other fellows, a man not affiliated with any union, how would you collect that?

The WITNESS: I have just one other clause here to deal with that.

"If the method of payment of weekly or monthly premiums by the workers is adopted then the same should be made through the post office and not collected where the workers are employed."

Mr. NEILL: Why?

The WITNESS: Because in the deductions by employers you have to carry some kind of an identification card where it would be marked on. In Great Britain we have the "Out of Work" card which has been used for blacklisting purposes. The employer knows who the man is, and if he has his number ahead of time it could be used in that way. I am not by that saying how it would be used in Canada; we are only saying that if it were free of collection by employers and put in the hands of State institutions, then all suspicion of misuse would be dissipated, and we all know that post offices are available everywhere. I



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think at one time the Annuities Fund was administered through the post offices of Canada, and I am not sure whether the payments are not receivable there now.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, that is right.

The WITNESS: That had something to do with this suggestion, following on the lines of what is an established practice in Canada. (Reads from memo.):

"The cost of establishing and maintaining a home makes it impossible, on present day wages, to accumulate savings sufficient to adequately provide for old age, except in exceptional cases by a serious reduction in the established standard of living.

The short notification of the desire of your Committee to have the views of organized labour composing the membership of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (some 160,000 in number) presented to you has not permitted of the drafting of a more detailed memorandum.

The subject of old age pensions has been one of previous inquiry by the Government of Canada and considerable information on this score is incorporated in the Blue Book of October 1912 on the subject. In addition, a more recent survey made for the Government by Mr. V. Clouthier, gives a general review of recent legislation in Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand and also deals with proposed laws in some States in the U.S.A., and also in other countries.

The International Labour Organization (League of Nations) has made a preliminary survey of social insurance legislation and issued the same to the members of the governing body, under date January 29th, 1924. Canada, being a member state of the International Labour Organization, and the Canadian Government having a representative on the governing body, will have this report on file in the Labour Department and, no doubt, would furnish your Committee with its contents so far as old age pensions are dealt with.

It would not seem necessary to attempt to duplicate the information thus available and contained in the documents above referred to, but more advisable to confine our statements to the views of the workers we represent.

The desires of the workers for such legislation is clearly shown by their interest taken in the matter for a great number of years and by their willingness to co-operate with employers in establishing pension schemes. Workers are not generally in agreement with the administration of pension funds being in the hands of employers and only co-operate in such schemes because of the absence of any State protection. Old Age Pensions are established in a great number of private and public employments in Canada. The power that any employer may exercise through this medium to discipline workers or prevent them from exercising their liberty to change occupation or employment is objectionable and irksome to the workers and one that they feel should be removed at the earliest possible moment.

Though we have not the statistics as to the number of workers in Canada covered by already established pension funds, there is no doubt that a fair percentage of workers enjoy protection of this kind.

The cost, whether ostensibly borne by employers or contributed to by the workers themselves, is a charge upon industry and upon the country and therefore the institution of a State Fund would not add to the financial obligations to the extent that might be assumed by merely taking a statistical estimate as to the number of persons over any given age who would become eligible for State pensions.

The cost of maintaining needy aged parents in this country is, at present, in many cases, being met by their children. This expense prevents them from

[Mr. Tom Moore.]



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making provision for their own old age and places the burden of their maintenance upon the next generation.

Other aged needy workers are being maintained by private and public charities and when all these sources are combined it can be easily seen that the establishment of old age pensions would be more a case of organizing the payment through state sources than really adding a great deal to the cost to Canada. It would, however, remove the fear of poverty from aged workers and help them to maintain their independence as no doubt great numbers suffer quietly to-day rather than make their wants known.

In many cases destitute aged workers have had to be sent to jails because of absence of other provision for their maintenance.

Further proof that workers recognize the necessity for pension provision for old age is furnished by the number who have attempted, through their labour organizations, to establish funds for this purpose.

In considering this question it is suggested that thought be given to recommending, along with the establishment of old age pensions in Canada, that such fund should be reciprocal to the aged workers of other countries or at least where such funds are established, within the British Empire. This would have the effect, we believe, of enabling families to be reunited either in Canada or in the country from which they emigrated and would create a further bond of unity within the British Commonwealth."

I have much pleasure in submitting this, Mr. Chairman, and would be glad to answer any questions or elaborate any points that may not be clear, and I thank your Committee for the privilege of appearing before you.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. You say sometimes people have to be sent to jail?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I think that is very rare now, because of the poorhouses which have been established. How many people are sent to jail?—A. At our last convention we had one or two cases cited from Toronto. I think that whilst they may not be extremely numerous, they could hardly be said to be rare. A great many cities have no other provision. Right in this city of Ottawa, speaking from memory, I think you would find in the records of the Police Magistrate's department where he has had no other alternative but to give some man a jail term in order to provide him with the necessary food and shelter when he has been destitute, though there are a number of institutions.

Q. What proportion of the money raised for this fund would be used in the administration? What percentage do you suppose would be used in administration? To my mind that would be a very important thing; it would take a good deal of money to administer it.—A. I do not see why it should.

Q. There is nothing upon which you could give an opinion?—A. I am not in possession of authentic information, and I do not know whether it is in this memorandum which I got from the International Labour Office, which is quite a good survey of the different countries, but we might take our Compensation Acts as one illustration. I cannot see why an Old Age Pension fund should be more expensive to administer than that. I think the Ontario cost is about 1 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER (Vice-President, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada): About 1 per cent, yes.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. It is only manufacturers who come under that Act?—A. You mean the funds are collected from manufacturers.

Q. Yes.—A. Yes, that is true.



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Q. Yours is a general body?—A. Yes, but you will admit that the investigation into accidents, necessary medical examination which is fairly expensive, the maintenance of medical offices, X-ray examinations and the investigations and re-examinations and so on make the administration of a Compensation Act far more expensive than where you merely have to decide on the age of a person, so you can safely say that the administration of this should be less than the cost of administration of the Compensation Act.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. 1 per cent of the money paid in?—A. Yes.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. I should think you should add about 49 per cent.—A. Might I suggest that the Ontario Government would probably be glad to furnish you with the cost of administering the Mothers Allowance Act.

Q. Is that working out satisfactorily, do you know?—A. Fairly so, I think. On the receiving side there are naturally feelings that there could be more benefits given; on the side of the municipalities there is naturally a feeling in these days of high taxes that they might be able to cut the cost and yet they do not want to cut the benefits. When I said that it was fairly satisfactory, I was taking cognizance of the different forces. The benefits accruing are certainly greatly appreciated, and it has relieved a lot of distress and misery in the homes of the people.

Q. There are many who are discriminated against because they were a little thrifty, and now they are finding it difficult to get along?—A. Yes. I would suggest that the cost of administering that Act in Ontario should be compared with the cost of the Compensation Boards say in Manitoba and British Columbia. I think British Columbia and Manitoba also have the Mothers Allowance Act. Information of that kind should give you some fairly basic idea of the capital cost of administering an Act of this kind. I do respectfully submit that your 49 per cent would not be needed.

*By Mr. Fontaine:*

Q. Does the municipality pay a share of the Mothers Allowance Act?—A. Yes; under the Mothers Allowance Act they pay 50 per cent of the cost and the Provincial Government pays the other 50 per cent.

Q. Of the cost of administration?—A. No, of the cost of the pensions. There is some little change required in regard to residence, because in Ottawa we have found that widows have moved over from the Province of Quebec where there is no allowance, and got fairly good jobs at cleaning offices and so on, and then in a day or two become eligible so that they get the pension for their children, so there are little variations of that kind which require amendments to the law. That is why I said it was working fairly well.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. That only applies where they have children under sixteen?—A. Yes.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. In your opinion would a system of that kind be preferable to the already existing pension funds carried on by different companies for their employees?—A. Absolutely, sir. I think an employer will admit freely that their pension funds have one object in view, and that is to retain continuity of service and avoid labour turnover. Naturally, a trade dispute comes within that category, and men have found many times that though they would like to have taken part in a movement to better their conditions, the possibility of losing the compensation that might accrue from the application of an old age



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pension after 13 or 14 years of service or sometimes more, is a very serious factor. Might I refer you to the case of the Grand Trunk Railway strike of some years ago. It was only last year that the pensions and seniority were finally restored to some of the strikers of 1910. I think our own railway officials will admit, and so would the C.P.R. officials, that they would not put in any rules that a trade dispute should not be considered as a break in continuity of service, stated frankly that the effect of pensions is desired to be that of a weapon to be used in settling the dispute. You can see what a weapon it is in the hands of the employer, because a man who is getting old finds his chance of employment in other industries rather insecure and he is naturally very reluctant to take any action which would displease his employer. I have a case of last year in mind, where men were discharged for attempting to organize, up in one of the paper mills in Vancouver Island. I do not hesitate one moment to say that if there had been a Pension Fund that would have been used to the utmost on the minds of the men, that their services would be relinquished, their pension would be lost. To a man who has reached say 55 years of age, you can imagine what action he is going to take. He is going to stay even though it may violate all his principles of being loyal to his fellow workers. That is why we ask that it should be taken out of the hands of private employers so that a man would be free to change employment if he thought it necessary and advisable.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. The C.P.R. has a scheme of that kind, has it not?—A. Yes.

Q. Does it work satisfactorily?—A. Yes, in general. The Grand Trunk has one also.

Q. I was just wondering if we could get a report of the cost of this kind of thing. We cannot squander money on a lot of overhead; we must get down to the cold facts and see how much it is going to cost.—A. You mean if the private funds were all abolished, and a State fund instituted, as to what the additional cost would be? You would have to take into account there the cost of maintaining aged workers in institutions, and the other matters that I have mentioned, which would be difficult to get at. There would be a number of people who would ultimately come under the Old Age Pension because during their lives their savings would be used to maintain their fathers before them, so that would be in addition to institutional costs and the private employer's cost at the present time. I would not go into the matter of private insurance at all, though I might tell you, sir, in regard to the C.P.R. and in regard to the Grand Trunk pensions that there is a considerable difference between the actual cost and what the actuaries give as the probable cost. The actuaries stated that the cost of the Pension Fund to take care of the workers would be around 3 or 4 per cent, whereas as a matter of actual experience of over 20 years or more, on the C.P.R. and the Grand Trunk and the Pennsylvania it comes to between three quarters of one per cent and seven-eighths, in the actual payment. There is quite a difference. There are so many varying causes entering into it, and we are taking a bit longer for actuaries to go into it further.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. Are the members of the labour unions in favour of this new pension scheme?—A. Without doubt, sir. Men to-day find themselves at say 50 years of age, or 55 years of age, and unless they have a position with some industry that they have worked with for a number of years, they find themselves coming on what they call the "Casual Labour List." When a man gives his age as 55, he would just be hired during the busiest periods. At 65, if you are seeking employment it is practically impossible to find it at all. Men are



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actually debarred at that age, and that is why we ask that the age should not exceed 65, because our experience has shown that excepting where a man is already in employment it is impossible for him to secure any remunerative position at that age.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. Have you ever made any estimate as to the number who would be involved if the age were placed at 65?—A. No, sir, we have not the facilities for that, so we have not attempted to do it because estimates of that kind are not of much value unless they are based on some really accurate facts, and we have not had the facilities to do that.

*By Mr. Sexsmith:*

Q. Could you give it approximately?—A. No, sir, I could not.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. Approximately 30 per cent.—A. I think Mr. Cloutier's estimate would be more correct.

The CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has made an estimate of that kind and with your permission I will ask him to read it to you. This is one of the most important points.

The CLERK: I take this from No. 1 of the Committee's proceedings, at page 36.

ELIGIBLE PENSIONERS IN CANADA IN 1921.

In both Australia and New Zealand the qualifying age for old-age pensions is 65 years. Taking the statistics for 1921 of these two British Dominions in reference to the number of old-age pensionsers and the total population of each, we are able to calculate approximately the number of would-be old-age pensioners for Canada in 1921, as follows:—

According to Census statistics for Canada, 1921, we had a population of 8,788,483, of whom 419,107 were 65 years of age and upwards (214,367 males and 204,740 females).

Australia with a population on December 31st, 1921, of 5,510,229, was paying on June 30th, 1921, old-age pensions to 102,415 persons. This equals to 19.2 pensioners in every 1,000 of population. Upon this basis, Canada would have 168,738 eligible old-age pensioners .

New Zealand with a population, March 31st, 1921, of 1,204,722 (European born) was then paying old-age pensions, 65 years of age and upwards to 19,837 persons, comprising Maori pensioners. This equals to 16.6 pensioners in every 1,000 of population. Upon this basis, Canada would have 145,888 eligible pensioners.

Upon the Australian basis, Canada's percentage of old-age pensioners would be approximately 1.92 per cent of our total population, and approximately 40 per cent of our total old-age population, namely, the 419,107 who are 65 years of age and upwards.

Upon the New Zealand basis, our total old-age pensioners would be approximately 1.66 per cent of our total population, or say approximately 35 per cent of our total old-age population, namely those who make up the 419,107, who are 65 years of age and upwards."

The WITNESS: Might I submit that included in that would be all that we have included in funds like our Civil Service pensions in the provincial governments, some city governments, the railways that are covered at the present time and all the private employers, and also the possibility of a number of your



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civil servants in Ottawa, so if you take that off the percentage in Canada, it would reduce the numbers considerably, rather than just taking them as they are.

*By Mr. Fontaine:*

Q. Do you believe that the private companies will cease to pay pensions if this scheme goes through?—A. Yes, therefore the final cost to the country—

Q. There will be no reduction there?—A. No, but you would liberate industry of that charge, and that would be met by the reduction in the cost of producing the article manufactured, so it really is not an added cost to the country, though it is changing the collection to another source.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. What system do you favour?—A. Personally, I think a non-contributory system is the only one, but the views of the workers are somewhat divided on that ground. I think you had a deputattion from the miners of Nova Scotia a while ago who were willing to contribute. Some workers are very strong that it should be non-contributory, because their wages at the present time, they say, do not more than offer them enough to maintain their existence, and any contribution whatever would be a burden and would only make the problem more difficult for them.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. Which system is in force where these laws are in force?—A. There are so many different systems. I think, generally speaking, in the European countries you will find it contributory.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. Great Britain is non-contributory.—A. No.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. Have you made any comparison yourself between the compulsory and the contributory system, or rather the State system and the contributory system as to which you think would be advisable?—A. For this country, as I have stated, from my comparisons and from the figures we have, and taking into account the more seasonal nature of our occupations, the difficulty of dividing them from older countries, the more transient nature of our population, it seems to me a contributory fund would be difficult to administer.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. Mr. Moore, you must face this situation, that it is going to cost a very large sum. On those figures that have been mentioned it would cost something like thirty million dollars a year. I notice you take the position that at the present time we are still supporting the aged and sick, only we are doing it in a lot of diversified and unsatisfactory ways, and the old-age pension would do away with that and put it into one more satisfactory scheme, but the total cost would then have to be borne by the Government. The cost of this scheme now in existence will not be subtracted from the Government scheme, because they will cease to exist, so this Government will be charged with a total expenditure of something like thirty-three million dollars, calculated at $10 a month, less than which you could not give. Where are you going to raise that money? I admit that it does not cost any more than it would now, under the present unsatisfactory and diversified ways, but still it is diversified now. Under this scheme it will all be paid by this Government, and it will cost somethink like thirty-three million dollars, and if you do not have it contributory



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where do you get the money?—A. There is a problem there, of course. This year we had the Government reduce its taxation by twenty-four million dollars, because you had a twenty-four million dollar surplus. I am just taking that statement from Hansard, and I do not wish to enter into the question of whether it is authentic or not. That is a statement which was made in the Budget speech. It is a question if industry would not prefer to have the burden of the aged taken off their shoulders by the institution of a system of this kind, rather than the remission of that twenty-four million dollars in taxes this year. That is just a question. Of course I would be more than a Finance Minister if I started to outline to you how taxation, or rather revenue, might be raised in a country like Canada. I may have a lot of ideas; some of them may be wild and foolish, but if I may I will leave one suggestion with you. I would suggest that the total cost to date of maintaining the aged and needy is in many cases borne partly by provincial governments and municipalities in maintaining institutions, and it may be possible, though the Federal Government would administer an Act and would be responsible for it, to arrange with the Provincial Governments for assistance to meet the cost to the country, because of the amount they would be liberated from that they have already undertaken. In certain directions it has been done to-day; you have the result of the co-operative efforts in the maintenance of the employment agencies of this country, and in some countries that principle is followed out. Just in glancing over some material I have, I notice that the cost of old age pensions is in some countries met by the State only, but in some otheers by the State and local governments. The former system is followed by Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, and Uruguay, and in other countries the cost is met by a special tax on employers in proportion to the number of men employed, and landed owners, and so on. Some of you may never have heard of Uruguay, but that is a country that has advanced legislation in this direction. In Denmark, France and Belgium, the State pays one-half of the pensions, and the Communes the other half. In Belgium the State bears five-eighths of the cost, the province one-eighth, and the Communes two-eighths. In these countries the administration is generally entrusted chiefly to the local authorities. I just quote that briefly, because it was under my eye at the time.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. Is it not a fact that some companies and some firms have a pension fund for which money is collected from the employees, and if these fellows are discharged before getting a pension, they lose all their money?—A. Yes. We have had a great number of complaints of that kind, where a man has worked to within a year of becoming eligible for his pension, he has suddenly been found inefficient, or perhaps a reduction of staff has taken place, and he has had to go. These things do occur.

Q. So that man loses his money?—A. Yes. There is really nothing to look forward to definitely, a man may not hold a job as long as he expects to.

Mr. FOSTER: Might I suggest a point you have overlooked, relative to certain industries which have an age limit which makes a man get out whether he wants to or not, and usually he is at an age where he finds it hard to get another position.

The WITNESS: Yes. The railways have an age limit because of the pension system to which a man shall be admitted to industry, and many firms refuse to employ workers over a certain age. In a State pension there would be no such control needed. I mean, a man is not able to work for the railways after a certain age.





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Mr. FOSTER: Might I just make this clear; I would like the Committee to understand this, because we have had several cases of this character. There are certain large industries, principally in the railroads, who say that after a certain age a man cannot remain in their employment, but must get out. Now, in the case of a high class mechanic who would probably be earning reasonable wages, he may be in a position to retire, but they have a great many men who are not high class mechanics, who never have been earning enough to put any by. The consequence is that they have to get out of employment, nobody else will employ them, and they have nothing to keep them, and we have been forced to make application for at least three that I know of to get them in a refuge home in the city of Montreal, because they were out on the streets, without anybody to take care of them.

Mr. PRESTON: I thought the railways had pensions for these men?

Mr. FOSTER: I could tell you of the case of a man who was employed by this company approximately ten years before the strike. That strike lasted. if you remember, for about 9 weeks. He was re-employed on the terms of reconciliation, and he remained in their employment until 1919, when he was discharged without pension because he was cut out during the strike. He had nobody to look after him, and he had an extension of time granted to him, for a year, I think, and we had to get him in an institution to take care of him.

*By Mr. Sexsmith:*

Q. These are very rare cases?—A. I know of three, anyway.

The WITNESS: I have a case on my desk at the present time; a pilot in St. Johns Harbour who has passed the examinations again this year, has passed them regularly showing his eyesight and physical condition is good, has reached the age limit and has been given extensions for two years and now he must retire, and the money he would receive is not enough to live on. He is applying for permission to continue in the Service, having passed the examinations again. I could submit the letter if you wanted it, because I have it in my possession at the present time.

Mr. ST. PÈRE: A company like the C.P.R. would have a pension fund, has it of their own free will?

Mr. FOSTER: Yes, absolutely.

The WITNESS: We had a case yesterday on the Canadian National where a man had fourteen years service. The Grand Trunk pension scheme, which is the only one operating, says a man must have fifteen years' service to become eligible. He joined at the age of 55, so he is now 69, and he had to be discharged, and there was no pension coming to him. We had another one where a man had been in a signal box on a joint-operated road, between junior road and senior road, and because of some changes he was passed over to the C.P.R. three years ago, which was the senior road there. They discharged him after about a year's service; he is not eligible for pension on our lines, and he is not eligible on the C.P.R. and yet he has about 41 years' service in.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. These are isolated cases?—A. These are coming in all the time. There are hundreds of them, and we are just giving you the concrete ones which come to our minds at the moment.

The CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, perhaps you would like to hear Mr. Foster, if he has any points in addition to what we have heard from Mr. Moore.

Mr. NEILL: Who is Mr. Foster?

The CHAIRMAN: He is the Vice-President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.



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Mr. J. T. FOSTER, a witness, called.

I am also President of the Montreal Trades and Labour Council. I do not know that I could further supplement the presentation of President Moore. Really, I think the fact that your Committee is sitting is proof sufficient to know that the question is considered necessary, that some action should be taken along these lines. As Mr. Moore has stated, we can only present to you the isolated cases showing the need of some provision being made of this character. Montreal is the largest city in the Dominion of Canada, and we find in charitable work that a great deal of work that has to be attended to by these charitable organizations, has to be done among families where the wage earner has been unable to secure employment on account of his age, and on account of the fact that he has been unable to earn sufficient during the time he was working to put anything by to maintain his family. That has necessitated the upkeep of a number of institutions, some of them peculiarly adapted to the looking after of aged people. We have several of them in the city of Montreal. We have had to make application on a number of occasions to have admitted to these institutions men who have spent their lives in an industry where there was no independent pension scheme, and others where there was a pension scheme, but for various reasons they have not been permitted to enjoy the benefits of it. In addition to that we have a number, quite a few, coming under my own personal observation, of men who are living on their children, keeping the children back; that is to say, the young folks have got married and have had to support their parents. It seems that some provision has to be made to look after these people. If they have to be provided for in the most modern and scientific manner, we feel that it is possible that provision might be made by the Government for the establishment of old-age pensions. You have already seen the principle applied in the Mothers' Pension Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act, and it is only going a step further to provide for the man who cannot go any further in industry.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. This would not take the place of the Workmen's Compensation Act?—A. Not at all. Where a man was already provided for by the Workmen's Compensation Act he would not come in for pension. We have already cited a number of isolated cases, but at the present time there are about five applications from men I know of from men who have been actively engaged for years in industry, and who cannot get a job at all; they are too old, they are relegated to the scrap heap. They are living now upon their relatives, and making it a bit harder for those relatives to get on.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. Supposing a man gets hurt, or something of that kind, and gets money from the Compensation Act; then at the age of 65 he has spent all that money, would he come under the new law?—A. You are considering that as having happened in the province of Quebec, where they get all the money in a lump sum. That is one thing in which the province of Quebec is behind the other provinces of Canada, and we sincerely hope that Quebec will adopt a more modern, more effective and more efficient system which would eliminate that condition which you are speaking of. There is a Commission investigating it now, and we hope that they will come to some more modern manner of administering the Act.

I think that is about all I have to say at this time.

Mr. MOORE: Mr. Foster will be the Acting President of the Congress during my absence overseas, so after Saturday if your Committee desires further information, Mr. Foster will be available at any time.

[Mr. J. T. Foster.]



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The CHAIRMAN: Just one question. Have you at the present time any estimates as to what would be an adequate amount for the pension?

Mr. MOORE: We might take an established basis in that regard, and I would not want to commit myself to saying that it would be considered as entirely sufficient or satisfactory, but I would give you this suggestion. We have at the present time in the province, Minimum Wage Boards who have made a study of the minimum amount necessary for the existence of single girls. It only applies to females, and young persons. They have issued orders decreeing that industries employing these single females shall not pay less than certain sums, which vary according to the industry and the size of the city and so on. Speaking generally, I think you could say the average would be not less than $10.00 per week. After the careful investigation of these Boards, that this is the minimum amount at which a single girl could maintain herself, it would be a fair assumption, I think, that that sum could be recognized as necessary for the maintenance of an aged person who would need more attention than a single girl would. I just give that as a basis for an amount.

Mr. NEILL: I am sure there is no one here more enthusiastic in support of this scheme than I am, but do you realize that according to the figures already submitted that that would cost this Government, one hundred and thirty-two million dollars a year to pay $40.00 a month. Do you not think that is a little too high?

Mr. MOORE: Whether the Committee or whether the Government should consider making the amount adequate would be a question that would have to be seriously considered.

Mr. NEILL: Can you seriously take an expenditure of one hundred and thirty-two million dollars at the beginning of this scheme? Is there any country in the world which pays $10 a week?

Mr. MOORE: No, there is no country in the world except the United States which has as high a standard of living as Canada has, I am proud to say, and I hope we can maintain that. I think your question was whether I had given any thought to what would be an adequate amount. I do not say your Committee or the Government could give an adequate amount, but I think in justice I should give you a fair answer to your question, and leave it to your discretion as to how far you could meet it in a recommendation.

The CHAIRMAN: That is the point upon which we would have to get some information.

Mr. MOORE: Of course, two things can be done by an old age pension. One is to provide an adequate amount, the other is to provide relief, which supplemented with various earnings would be adequate. I think in Great Britain they vary the amount according to the income of the individual, to make it up to the adequate amount. In other words, if an individual had savings which would bring in an income of $7.50 per week, then he would receive $2.50, if you fixed $10.00 as an adequate amount. On the Grand Trunk Railway system, and I believe on the C. P. R., they have a minimum of $30.00 per month. Although the pension is 1 per cent of the earnings of the individual averaged for the last five years, and multiplied by the number of years of his service, yet the minimum is fixed at $30.00 per month.

Mr. SPENCE: There is no doubt that $10.00 a week would not be anything too much to give them; they could not live on anything less, that is, if they had no other income, but you could vary it as Mr. Moore says.

Mr. NEILL: Would these old persons rather have a promise of $10.00 a week which we could not afford, or a smaller sum which we could give them? I would like to give them $50.00 a month, but can we?



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Mr. ST. PÈRE: According to the last figures of the census, Mr. Secretary, how many people of Canada would fall under the new law?

The SECRETARY: Let me say first that the number of old age people, that is 65 years and upwards, is 419,107, according to the census of 1921.

Mr. NEIL: About 30 per cent of those will be pensioners?

The SECRETARY: Yes. If you take the Australian basis it would be 40 per cent of our old age population, and under the New Zealand basis it would be 35 per cent. On the Australian basis we would have 168,000 old age pensioners in round numbers, and on the New Zealand basis 145,000.

Mr. FONTAINE: A good many persons over 65 years of age are still able to earn some money, are they not?

The SECRETARY: Yes, and then some of them would have some income as well.

The CHAIRMAN: That would be about eighty-four million dollars.

The SECRETARY: Might I explain that in Australia the number of persons that I have given to you would not all receive the maximum pension. That was the total number of pensioners, but many of them receive much less than the maximum.

Mr. FONTAINE: Yes, a good many persons could still earn something and they would not need to get so much. I know some persons over 65 years of age who can earn a salary now just as well as a younger man.

Mr. MOORE: It is not my rightful privilege to reply to a member of the Committee, but I would like to say that the eighty-four million dollars would be based on the fact that everyone of these people would be receiving the maximum pension and that it was a cost which was not being borne to-day. If you take out of this 168,000 all the civil servants, the employees of the C.P.R., the Grand Trunk, the Intercolonial, I think you would reduce it to much less than that amount.

Mr. NEILL: But would not the immediate result of this law be that these private companies would cease doing business that way?

The SECRETARY: Will you allow me to give you additional figures? On the 30th of June, 1923, Australia was paying pensions to 107,389 persons. The disbursements for pensions on June 30, 1923, amounted to £5,337,936, and the amount paid for the keep of people in asylums was £86,080. The cost of administration was £87,910. That totals approximately £5,450,000.

Mr. NEILL: We would have 186,000 in Canada.

The SECRETARY: Yes. Of course, the population is a great deal larger.

Mr. SPENCE: What is the maximum or minimum there?

The SECRETARY: The population of Australia, roughly speaking, is 5,518,000.

Mr. NEILL: What do the Australian pensions run to?

The SECRETARY: The maximum pension obtainable by an old age pensioner in Australia is £45, 10s. or about $221.00 a year.

Mr. NEILL: That is about $19.00 a month.

The witness retired.

After discussion the Committee adjourned.

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APPENDIX No. 4

## MEMORANDUM OF THE RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION BROTHERHOOD

OTTAWA, June 2, 1924.

To—

"The Chairman and Members of the Special Committee appointed to make inquiry in an Old Age Pension System."

GENTLEMEN:—We, the undersigned representatives of the Canadian Railway Engine, Train and Yard Service Employees respectfully submit to your Honourable Body the following brief summary of our views on the desirability of an adequate and equitable system of pensions for those who are both old and poor.

The well known fact that most of the Canadian Railway Companies have established pension funds to provide an allowance for employees retiring from the service on account of old age should not debar us as citizens from eagerly advocating the establishment of a Dominion fund for the care of those of our citizens who are both old and poor.

While some of the pension rules, and methods of administrating same, adopted by the Railway Companies are unquestionably objectionable to the Employees, nevertheless, in a large sense the resultant benefit therefrom has taught us the desirability and the crying need of an old age pension system for all Canada.

We desire to go on record by registering our discord with some of the evidence presented to your Honourable Body on May 16th as witness, page 52, of the printed Minutes, as one instance only of several we could quote.

Question by Mr. St. Père:

Q. "In your opinion would a system of that kind (State system) be preferable to the already existing pension funds carried by different Companies.

A. Absolutely, Sir, etc., etc.

In our opinion the witness inadvertently, it is to be hoped, failed to take into consideration the whole aspect of the railway pension question, for while the rules and methods practised by the Railways in connection with their pension system are, in our opinion, unquestionably faulty—there are undeniable benefits to be considered, and we venture to suggest that our efforts might more profitably be directed to curing the ailments rather than to killing the patient. Further, the disparity between the old age pensions paid and the conditions under which they are paid by the railway companies to their aged, retiring employees and those at all likely to be provided under any or by any conceivable federal State fund system precludes the possibility of the State fund being accepted or imposed as a substitute for the system in vogue on the railways.

Nevertheless, we are heartily in sympathy with an old age pension system created and administered by the Dominion and which will provide that the funds therefor shall be created out of taxation and that persons who live beyond a certain age and have insufficient means to support themselves shall receive a set sum bi-monthly as a pension.

Inasmuch as a State fund is created by taxation which all people bear, the pension is indirectly a contributory one—even the pensioner as a tax payer will indirectly contribute a portion of his pension back to the fund—besides the bulk of the evidence apparently indicates that a State fund can be administered



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both efficiently and economically. We suggest that any citizen—or naturalized citizen having the required years of residence in Canada—who has reached the age provided for and has not personally sufficient means to support himself, shall be eligible to participate in the funds without restriction of any kind except those absolutely necessary to safeguard the fund. Old age and poverty combined plead their own cause and we ought not to seek through technicalities to evade our plain duty.

We have refrained from suggesting any set sum to be paid to the pensioner. We believe, of course, that there is a minimum below which it would be unworthy to go. We feel, also that experience is the great teacher and that it may be wiser at the beginning to set a sum below the worthy minimum—half a loaf is better than no loaf at all and the experience gained may point the way to a full loaf.

Your respectfully,

BYRON BAKER,
Legislative Representative, B. of L. E.

T. J. COUGHLIN,
Legislative Representative, B. of R. T.

L. L. PELTIER,
Legislative Representative, O. R. C.

WM. L. BEST,
Legislative Representative, B. of L.F. & E.
Per B. B.

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## STATEMENT SHOWING ESTIMATED COST TO CANADA IF AN OLD AGE PENSION SYSTEM WERE ESTABLISHED

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of persons, 65 years of age and over in Canada according to Census of 1921 | 419,107 |
| Number of persons, 70 years of age and over, in Canada according to Census of 1921 | 247,103 |
| Based on records given in reports of Australia for 1921, our number of eligible pensioners would be approximately 40 per cent of the above figures, namely: | |
| Would-be pensioners, 65 years of age and over | 168,738 |
| Would-be pensioners, 70 years of age and over | 98,841 |
| Cost per pensioner in Australia including pension, cost of administration, and maintenance of certain pensioners in Old Peoples Homes, is £51 6s. or say approximately, per pensioner, per annum | $ 250 00 |
| Canada's 168,738 would-be pensioners at $250 each | 42,184,500 00 |
| Canada's 98,841 would-be pensioners at $250 each | 24,710,250 00 |

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| Under the Old-Age Pensions Act, 1923, of the State of Montana, benefits received by a pensioner must not exceed $300 per annum | |
| Canada's 98,841 would-be pensioners, 70 years and over, at $300 per annum would amount to | 29,632,300 00 |
| Canada's 168,738 would-be pensioners, 65 years and over, at $300 per annum would amount to | 50,621,400 00 |



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In Belgium, under the Act of August, 1920, the expenses necessitated by the payment of the pensions provided in the Act is chargeable as follows:— $\frac{5}{8}$ to the State, $\frac{1}{8}$ to the Province, and $\frac{1}{4}$ to the Communes (Municipalities). Under such arrangement as between our Federal Government of Canada, the Provinces and the Municipalities, our Federal share would be—

| | |
|---|---|
| 168,738 pensioners (65 years of age and over) at $\frac{5}{8}$ of $250 per annum | $ 26,365,312 50 |
| 98,841 pensioners (70 years of age and over) at $\frac{5}{8}$ of $250 per annum | 15,353,906 25 |
| 168,738 pensioners (65 years of age and over) at $\frac{5}{8}$ of $300 per annum | 31,638,375 00 |
| 98,841 pensioners (70 years of age and over) at $\frac{5}{8}$ of $300 per annum | 18,532,687 50 |

V. CLOUTIER,
*Clerk of the Committee.*

House of Commons,
Committee Room 436,
June 3, 1924.



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APPENDIX No. 4

# MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

ROOM 436,
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
THURSDAY, June 5, 1924.

The Special Committee on Old Age Pensions met at 11 o'clock a.m., the Chairman, Mr. Raymond, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: We had better proceed with business, gentlemen. We have with us Mr. Keane of the Social Service Department of the City Hall, Ottawa.

Mr. JOHN KEANE called and examined.

The CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure to swear the witnesses, gentlemen?

Mr. SPENCE: I do not see any necessity except that it is a rule of the House.

Mr. FONTAINE: There is no necessity for it.

The CHAIRMAN: If you think it is not necessary we will not do so.

*By Mr. Irvine:*

Q. Has Mr. Keane a statement he would like to make to us before we question him?

The CHAIRMAN: I thought perhaps being an officer in charge of that department in the City Hall he would have some information as to the cost of maintenance of old and indigent persons.

The WITNESS: I have been in charge of this work for some years in the City Hall and have naturally come in contact wiith a large number of people thus requiring aid and assistance in various forms, who come to the City Hall seeking such assistance as we would be able to offer. During the last year, 1923, there was $43,000 expended in the outdoor relief of families in the city.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. That would be families and persons of over 65 years of age?—A. No, I am speaking of all kinds. Of these about 136 heads of families were men over 65 years of age, were the heads of families of those who were applying for relief.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. One hundred and thirty-six people?—A. That is, were the representative heads of families.

*By Mr. Fontaine:*

Q. For the City of Ottawa alone?—A. Yes.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. I thought you gave figures, money value. Was it 43,000 people?—A. About $43,000 was spent directly by the city in that respect.

Q. You say there are 136 that the money was spent on?—A. They are all families, because whether they were young or whether they were old these families had to be kept during the inclement season.

Q. Either have it by numbers or by money. In one case it was $43,000 and in the other case it was so many people. Can we not get a comparison? Can you tell us the average cases?—A. The number of families applying was 1,710 for the year 1923. There were 169 eliminated out of that as not being eligible either through non-residence or being able to help themselves and thus the actual



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number was 1,541. Some of those were assisted only once, some only twice but the rest for a longer or a shorter period. The total amount spent, as I stated before in this outdoor relief of families was $43,000; some $3,000 less than that for the year 1922. 1922 was an exceptional year on account of the question of returned soldiers and the Dominion Government and the Provincial Government united in affording some assistance that year to the extent of about equal to the amount of what the city spent. Speaking of the old age, we find that of those 1,541, 136 were parties over 65 years of age, the heads of families. This does not include those who are in institutions. We have nothing to do directly with the institutions. Those in the institutions numbered 328, distributed in seven institutions in the city.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. Were the 328 over 65 years of age?—A. Three hundred and twenty-eight over 65 years of age, were distributed in institutions in the city.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. Really those are the ones that we have to do with. The others were casual relief. They would be only given relief once. It is those permanent people that count.—A. Those were parties that were in institutions. The reason there were so many institutions caring for 328 people was on account of religious and racial cleavages among the population. The French Canadians have one Home, the St. Charles Home, and also the Irish Roman Catholics have a home.

Q. What was the average cost of these 328 people in the institutions? That would give us some information. What was the average cost of these 328 people in the institutions over age?—A. I think I have the numbers in each case that were receiving aid in that way. There were also some six or seven receiving from the mother's allowance over 65 years of age, which I presume was on account of the grandmother of the children taking charge in place of the mother of the children taking charge of the mother who was either dead or not available.

Q. Has the witness any figures to show what the cost to the city of these 328 people of old age was. That would give us some information?—A. The city did not support them.

Q. Not at all?—A. They make a grant to each of the institutions.

Q. What did it cost per head?—A. They give a grant to all the institutions in various ways amounting to $35,000, distributed over the various institutions of the city.

Q. How much?—A. About $35,000 was spent last year in grants to the institutions. Of course, all these grants did not include the old age, because there were some grants for children's homes.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. It is the old age cases we want to get at more particularly. You have not separated the old age from the others?—A. No, I do not know what the cost was but I could tell you concerning the home for the aged on Bank street where I am more familiar. I am a director there and the actual cost there per head per day is about 63 cents.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. Does that include the cost of administration?—A. Yes, except that it does not include the contributions that are made in kind. There are contributions made every month by people sending in stuff to the home. It also does not include, of course, rent, nor does it include clothing. The clothing is sent in free. I think the same principle prevails in most of the other institutions.

[Mr. John Keane.]



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APPENDIX No. 4

*By Mr. St. Pere:*

Q. Supposing an old man goes to your office in the City Hall asking for relief and is placed in a sectarian institution, either Catholic or Protestant, does the city contribute a certain share to the support of these institutions?—A. Undoubtedly, they make grants every year.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. They give a general grant?—A. A general grant each year.

Q. They do not give a special amount to everyone of these institutions? —A. Every one of these institutions have aid from the city.

Q. It is not so much per man per annum? It is just a grant?—A. They are talking about adopting a system by which it is going to be given pro rata according to the number of persons who are in the institutions.

Q. At present they have no system at all?—A. They are just considering that question now. Formerly we had a report on the same subject some years ago but they were not prepared for it then.

*Mr. Fontaine:*

Q. So you could not say what amount the city spent for the old people above sixty years of age? You could not specify any amount which the city spent to maintain those old people?—A. No, I could not tell you about that, what the cost would be.

Q. This is to look after the pension for old age.—A. You must remember in some of these institutions—one or two of them at least—some of these people who are sixty-five years and over have had means before they went into the institution and they simply endowed the institution with whatever they had and went there and lived. Their names are still included in the list. There are a very limited number that way.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. So when you say the cost is 63 cents that would not include that amount?—A. Yes, practically that amount, because in the institutions to which I refer there is only one that is contributing anything.

Mr. NEILL: I think that is really all this witness can tell us.

The CHAIRMAN: It does not seem to give us exactly what we want.

Mr. SPENCE: We might get more information later on.

Mr. NEILL: Could we have one of these railway men. I would like to ask him a few questions.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Keane. That is all that will be required this morning.

Witness retired.

Mr. L. L. PELTIER called and examined.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. Will you give your qualifications to the reporter?—A. I am Deputy President of the order of Railway Conductors, legislative representative and Chairman of the Legislative Board for the Brotherhood.

*By Mr. Irvine:*

Q. You want our questions to stay within the limit of your statement?— A. It covers a very wide field.

Q. Will you describe how the affairs of the brotherhood are carried on?— A. Yes.



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Q. You have a pension in connection with the brotherhood?—A. Yes, we have. Well, I would speak of it as an old age pension, by monthly assessment.

Q. On each member of the brotherhood?—A. Not a compulsory assessment. They join voluntarily and it is graded from 30 years up to 65 years.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. It is among the men themselves?—A. It is among the men themselves.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. Not compulsory?—A. Not compulsory.

*By Mr. Irvine:*

Q. Do you know the per capita charge for that? Have you any idea?—A. I have not the figures with me but it runs in our organization from somewhere around 55 cents a month up to $3.50 for the time when men are allowed to join up to 70 years of age.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. When does the pension become operative?—A. At 65.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. They could not join at 70 and get the pension at 65?—A. That was a concession at the time, to allow old men to join and at that age; they were only getting $20 a month.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. What is the average pension?—A. The average would be, I should judge, off-hand, about $45.

*By Mr. Fontaine:*

Q. It is a fixed pension for everybody, the same pension is paid to everyone?—A. Only those who have joined this department.

*By Mr. Irvine:*

Q. In the event of the Dominion Government putting into force some old age pension scheme, have you considered the relation of that to your own organization?—A. We have not, although if the organization continued to pay those who were entitled to pension under the fund of course they would not come under the State pension fund.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. Any men who would contribute would come under the Government fund?—A. The State fund.

Q. Have you any similar system run by railway companies?—A. The railways have pension funds established by act of Parliament. I might just remark here that the National Railways, that is the old Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk Pacific had no pension fund except that the Board of Directors of the Grand Trunk had allowed the Grand Trunk pension system to apply temporarily to the men on those other lines until such time as they establish a fund, which work they are now engaged on.

Q. That will be a compulsory contribution?—A. That is not known yet.

Q. It will look to a pension at 65?—A. Yes. The C.P.R. and the Grand Trunk have a pension fund which is non-contributory.

Q. Then if a man left the Grand Trunk he would forfeit his rights to it, would he?—A. If he left there prior to having attained the age of 65. The roads also have a system where a man at 55 may receive a pension under certain conditions.



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APPENDIX No. 4

Q. In the case of the railways it is entirely non-contributory and the railways practically give it, and they do not need to give it unless they choose to? —A. Perhaps it might be well to explain that. It is not a gift. We look upon it as being simply deferred wages. The way it is established is that a man is granted two per cent, we will say, on his earnings and for long and faithful service. When he becomes 65 years of age and retires he is still on the payroll of the company with his pension and there is a connection between the company and this old man. It is well to keep this in mind. There is a dual reason for it. One is philanthropic, and the other is probably a little mercenary, which it is difficult to avoid, and that is the reason why certain complaints were made before your Committee some time ago in connection with it. What I mean by that is that the prospect of a pension for long and faithful service has a mollifying effect upon the men, among the old men, they being to a certain extent missionaries to prevent too drastic measures being adopted by the unions. This reflects itself back, of course, and I do not blame the companies any. It reflects itself back in the rates of wages probably slightly.

Q. It is an advantage to the company?—A. It is an advantage to the company, and it is really a matter of deferred wages, back pay.

Q. If it were strictly deferred wages you could collect it at any time, but if the railway company, for any reason, perhaps on account of a strike, fired a man, he could not collect a cent.—A. Not under the law he could not, because the Act of Parliament gave the Board of Directors the right to make such rules as they saw fit for governing the administration of the fund.

*By Mr. Irvine:*

Q. The tendency would be to make some of these older men rather docile under certain circumstances?—A. Yes, and yet probably the companies have grown a little wise. The feeling of loyalty of old men to the younger ones have in many cases been so strong that they have not paid full attention to their own losses if any would accrue.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. I presume your organization would regard that as an undesirable feature of the railway pension, that it is liable to lose it at the caprice of the company?—A. Yes. The railway people are practically 100 per cent organized and if the grievance was a very serious one they would make use of their economic power to redress it. That is a thing that probably men in my position would not always give out as clearly, so that the grievance cannot be so very serious and if it is it will be remedied through their action or some action on the part of Parliament or this committee in compelling the withdrawal of that system of pensions. May I point out this: it grows out of our submission, it being so recognized by the companies in discussing it themselves with their officers. I might say that they do not try to edge away from this that it is really back pay the men get as pension, conductors $75, engineers $100, regardless of whether they have other income or not, while the State pension would be paid where the men had no other means of subsistance. You can imagine the difficulty there would be in getting the men to surrender or the companies to surrender under the circumstances. The men would rather seek to remedy any defects through their economic power.

Q. You mean the men as a whole would prefer the present system to abandoning it and going in for the Government system under the old age? —A. Look at the difference. What would the men get under old age? And there are employees that have been retired from the company, say through misfortune or otherwise at 65 and get no pension from the railways. When they come to be 65 they would come under the State pension.



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Q. As working men you would be favourable to the idea of the State pension while you might not wish to come under it in your own corporate capacity?—A. I might point out where would the hundred thousand railway employees be who through taxation would be willing to contribute to the State fund their share? We do not hope to become eligible under it anyhow. It is only for those who would be less fortunate.

Q. As to this voluntary system of contribution, how about the men who drop out? Do they lose the benefit of what they have been paying in for thirty years?—A. We have several funds from $3,000 up to $5,000 in which men pay monthly assessments, if they lose a hand or an arm, lose their eyesight or a limb, become disabled in their work, these men are paid from three to five thousand dollars.

Q. Supposing a man has been paying his 55 cents a month for twenty years into your brotherhood, voluntarily paying it, and for some reason, at the end of twenty years he quits working for the railway; he also automatically quits belonging to your organization?—A. No. He can continue in the railway organization although he is not in the service.

Q. So there is no danger of his losing the money he paid in, providing he paid his fees?—A. We have old age; we have accident; we have a relief fund for men who through some unfortunate circumstance become, we might say, in straitened circumstances and out of the service are entitled to $40 a month. I am putting that as an average among the organizations, so when the men themselves through their conventions are taking these precautions is there any reason why the State, of nine or ten million people should not exercise itself a little? Another thing, while I am going on with that, comparative figures have been given with Australia but Australia's railway employees come under the State pension. They have no railway pension, and these 200,000 Government railway employees should not be included in any estimate that this Committee can make in reference to pensioners that would be included in the State pension. This should not be a difficulty unless it is the intention of the Committee to try to have the railway pensions voided.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. The 200,000 employees,—does that comprehend all the railways in Canada?—A. I am estimating that at about 200,000.

Q. For all the railways?—A. Yes.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. When we were figuring the basis of comparison, when we come to Canada we would need to say that our expenses would not be as great as that in Australia. We would have men who dropped out before they were fifty.—A. I would like to point out a peculiar thing about Canada. I do not wish to give the name of the railway organization but a railway organization in making application for relief for poverty of members that I spoke about, while it amounts in capita of the membership, and in number of the men in the United States to $1.51, it is only 52 cents in Canada.

Q. You mean the men contributing?—A. I mean the amount paid out.

Q. For relief?—A. For relief.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. That is in connection with your organization?—A. With the brotherhood, one of the brotherhoods.

Q. Then is the inference from that that the brotherhood is not as generous in Canada?—A. No. We are our own bosses over here. That is one great big mistake with the International overriding us, but we contribute to a fund. It is





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cheaper to handle one fund than two or three. There is no discrimination. I might just remark while passing that while it is true our debt in Canada is burdensome yet it is not any more burdensome than that of Australia, New Zealand or Belgium.

Q. Australia has increased hers?—A. I might just remark that in the closing clause of our presentation we made no recommendation as to the amounts. It is a difficult matter without experience to decide just what you can do to establish it at the minimum possible amount.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. You would make no suggestion as to the amount?—A. We made none.

Q. Would you yourself feel like making any as to the minimum amount? —A. No, sir, I would not without having all the information that the Committee will have collected. We have confidence in the Committee that their hearts are just as tender towards the poor as ours are.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. Your opinion is that it would be more valuable to get the principle established?—A. Yes, and you would get information through the machinery.

Q. It would be liable to go up. It would not go down anyway.—A. I might say looking at the expense for administration in the Old Country, does it not strike you it is overloaded? Look at the hundreds of thousands of pounds for administration.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. You think the administration of Australia is costing too much money? —A. It looks like it, without knowledge of the whole of the circumstances.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. I am afraid you would find the Canadian administration would be heavier than the Australian.—A. It does not appear to. Look over your figures. Look at the way we are working our Mother's Pensions in the Workmen's Compensation Act, one per cent. I might point out that in the Workmen's Compensation Act a man gets $40 who loses an arm or a limb. There would be elimination there that I am sure your Committee cannot decide what it would amount to.

*By Mr. Irvine:*

Q. In your opinion would it be wise to include in any pension scheme which might be decided upon by this Government men who have been disabled and who have no income from any brotherhood or from any insurance of any kind under 65 years of age?—A. That might be. Take for instance Ontario, which I understand has 400,000 employees, working men, under their Act. It probably would not amount to a great deal if the Committee did recommend that.

Q. You think the Workmen's Compensation Act would lessen the obligation?—A. Yes, it would lessen the obligation greatly, of course.

*By the Chairman:*

Q. Would farm servants come under the Workmen's Compensation Act, agricultural labourers?

Mr. SPENCE: Not in Ontario. Nothing but manufacturers come under that.

WITNESS: I think there are a certain number of employees, all of them.

Mr. SPENCE: If you are not connected with manufacturing I do not think you are under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

WITNESS: There is another matter, if you will pardon me: Is it not a fact that all that are generally classed as workers become poor in their old age?



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There are many business men and professional men who in their last days come under very dependent conditions. There should not be too many restrictions. In some countries a man whose children can support him gets nothing. Take a business man or even a lot of labouring men, you must not imagine as they get older they lose their sense of self-respect, and it is pretty difficult if you have to help with your children, only one of which is yours, to beg for a three-cent stamp to write to somebody or for railway fare. If you are going to have pension at all you should not restrict it to evade, as it were—

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. The British system does not make any restrictions in cases of children being able to support. They recognize the right of every destitute aged person to get enough to live on regardless of who does or who does not support him. That was the motive in the Act, that they should not be dependent.—A. That is what it amounts to.

*By Mr. Fontaine:*

Q. Supposing that a State pension system comes into force, you do not want the organization to come into it?—A. It is not an organization. We are not any more generous than anyone else. We do not want to give away a pension of eighty or ninety dollars a month regardless of whether we have three or four houses. The State pension would not be over forty or fifty dollars a month anyway.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. The pension that the State might give is nothing as compared with the pension given by the railways?—A. The reason why we have hesitated is because we have discussed this matter. Remember, it is only deferred wages. It is a bonus, as it were, for good and faithful service. They say, "If you give us good and faithful service until you are sixty-five you will get two per cent on such-and-such an amount in ten years.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. So you claim this money is yours?—A. It is ours. That is all.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. When that man gave his evidence the other day and told us if old age pensions were started that the railway system of pensions would be dropped, he must have been wrong?—A. They base that on some of the rules and methods of the railway companies that are not as altruistic as they might be but I just might point this out that if they were sufficiently grievous the men through their organization would themselves tackle it and we think that in any case the railway companies would have something to say about it, for as I pointed out they have two purposes, one which is kindly and the other which is business.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. That is what you would expect?—A. Yes.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. When do you draw this pension? When you get out?—A. If a man becomes 55 and gets disabled he would get a pension. Sixty-five is the limit.

Q. Supposing a man loses his job and he gets out of the service of the company does he lose the pension?—A. He does not get anything because the company would claim they contributed.

Q. He loses his own money?—A. He did not pay anything in. In the C.P.R. and the Grand Trunk they do not pay anything as a pension and I think probably





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the pension established by the National Railways—I could not say positively—

Q. For instance in my riding in Hochelaga, you have the Angus shops. There are a few pensioned people there. Is the company giving this pension of its own free will to these people?—A. That is a pension created by Parliament and the company make their own rules and they contribute this themselves out of the fund, and that fund has a pro rata over their bonds or anything else.

*My Mr. Fontaine:*

Q. You said each employee paid two per cent to that fund?—A. The company bases the pension the employee will receive on say two per cent. On the C.P.R. it is the last ten years; on the Grand Trunk it is the best ten years. There is some objection to the C.P.R's last ten years.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. That is, they will dig in and work harder the last ten years to get a larger pension?—A. Yes.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. If a man takes part in a strike he would lose everything.—A. He does if he is beaten.

Q. They were beaten once, because I know three of those fellows who lost their jobs.—A. It only makes the fight harder and the railway companies are getting wise to that. It makes the fight harder. There have been cases where men on pensions have been asked to take the strikers' places.

Q. I am talking about men who work in the shops. They are all union men; not the engineers or the train men.—A. I am thinking of those.

Q. Because I know three fellows whose pensions were refused them.—A. Section men would get less wages.

Q. But it would be on the same basis.—A. It would be on the same basis regardless of whether the man had anything else to live on or not.

Q. How many pensioned people have you got in your organization?

Mr. PELTIER: You are not referring to the Railway pension.

*By Mr. St. Père:*

Q. I mean the pension from the organization.—A. From the organization? Well, I cannot tell you just now. I have not the figures with me.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. It would not be of any value anyhow because it only takes the proportion out of his brotherhood.—A. This part of our organization was established four years ago. Being voluntary it takes time for men to join.

*By Mr. Spence:*

Q. Some of your members after sixty-five years draw a pension from the railway and one from the brotherhood. That is what makes for the large pensions?—A. No, sir. He might get a pension from the brotherhood. He might draw from some organization his beneficiary insurance when he gets to certain age. He might get that as a pension that I spoke about, paid by the railway, when I was referring to conductors and engineers because I did not want to take in the whole thing. That is the pension paid by the railway regardless of any other pension or income. That is the emphatic point I want to place before you, how difficult it would be to get these men to withdraw from the system of pensions on the railways. They look upon it as back pay. They get this regardless of whether a man had one hundred thousand dollars income. They are entitled to it.



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*By Mr. St. Pere:*

Q. It comes to them as back pay?—A. Yes.

Q. For faithful service?—A. For long and faithful service. It is in the nature of a pension.

*By Mr. Neill:*

Q. But your brotherhood pension is dependent on poverty. The pension they would get from your brotherhood by paying 55 cents a month would depend on their being hard-up.—A. It would not depend on anything. He would get the brotherhood pension no matter what income he had.

Q. It is the same principal as the railway? A. Yes, he gets an amount from the relief fund if he has nothing else.

Q. It is only casual?—A. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: I have a list of books to be found in the department of Labour library which will be found to be interesting:

## SELECT LIST OF REFERENCES ON OLD AGE PENSIONS.
## DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR LIBRARY.
## GENERAL.

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APPENDIX No. 4


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Frankel, Lee K. and Miles M. Dawson. Workingmen's insurance in Europe. New York. Charities publication committee. 1910.

### Denmark

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APPENDIX No. 4


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Witness retired.

The Committee adjourned.



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(Copy)

DEPARTMENT OF INSURANCE,
OTTAWA, June 13, 1924.

V. CLOUTIER, Esq.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Cloutier,

There is given below the rates of mortality and the complete expectations of life of certain classes of assured lives which may be of some use use to you. In the construction of each of the three tables the experience of the first five years of insurance was excluded with a view to obtaining mortality rates fairly free from the effects of medical selection.

| Age | American Men 1900-1915 | | Canadian Men 1900-1915 | | English Men 1863-1893. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Death rate per 1000 | Complete Expectation | Death rate per 1000 | Complete Expectation | Death rate per 1000 | Complete Expectation |
| 30.. .. .. | 4.46 | 37.70 | 4.28 | 38.98 | 7.47 | 35.06 |
| 35.. .. .. | 4.78 | 33.51 | 4.45 | 34.77 | 8.37 | 31.35 |
| 40.. .. .. | 5.84 | 29.32 | 5.33 | 30.55 | 9.78 | 27.67 |
| 45.. .. .. | 7.94 | 25.22 | 6.98 | 26.39 | 12.00 | 24.04 |
| 50.. .. .. | 11.58 | 21.29 | 9.87 | 22.36 | 15.45 | 20.52 |
| 55.. .. .. | 17.47 | 17.62 | 14.71 | 19.55 | 20.83 | 17.17 |
| 60.. .. .. | 26.68 | 14.29 | 22.58 | 15.02 | 29.21 | 14.04 |
| 65.. .. .. | 40.66 | 11.34 | 35.18 | 11.85 | 42.21 | 11.20 |
| 70.. .. .. | 61.47 | 8.81 | 55.07 | 9.10 | 62.19 | 8.71 |

You will notice that the English Table relates to a much earlier period than the other two tables. Insurance companies have become much more skilful in the selection of risks in recent years. By increasing or relaxing the severity of selection companies can very materially affect the mortality experienced. So that in the absence of rather precise information concerning the standards of selection followed, conclusions from the above or any such data must be drawn with caution.

Yours truly,
A. D. WATSON,
*Actuary.*

## COPY OF CIRCULAR LETTER SENT TO MAYORS THROUGHOUT CANADA (NUMBERING 135)

HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA,
OTTAWA, June 10, 1924.

DEAR SIR,—The Special Committee appointed by the House of Commons, on 29th April last, to inquire into an old-age pension for Canada, is desirous of obtaining reliable information regarding the desirability of establishing such a system of pension by federal legislation and federal aid as would provide for the maintenance and care of our aged, deserving poor throughout Canada.

Representations have been made to the Committee by presidents and vice-presidents of labour organizations, but in addition to such representations, it is considered advisable by certain members of the Committee to obtain the views of mayors of Canadian cities and towns, where it is believed measures of relief have had to be instituted to aid the aged poor who are in distress or whose conditions are such that they must receive aid from other sources than their own.

1. Your opini
an old age pensio
2. Number of
number of men an
Must be British su
of life?
3. How many
receiving in 1924,
much per day or p
homes.
4. Number of
in your city or to
Poor, or other C
separately if possi

COPIE DE LE
VILL

Cher monsieur,

Le comité spé
nier, avec mission
Canada, désire se
d'établir un systè
également fédéral
tout entier, qui, b
Des président
des observations a
convient d'obteni
on a dû prendre
âgés, disons de 65
leur faut recevoir
Vous pourriez
de répondre à cet
ci-après quant à l
le maire, parmi le
fonds municipaux.

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APPENDIX No. 4

You could greatly assist the Committee if you would kindly reply by following the queries which are hereunder set out as to the conditions which exist in your city or town amongst the aged poor, say those who are 65 years of age and over for whom municipal funds are expended.

Please address your communication as indicated upon the envelope which is enclosed herewith. No postage stamp is required. The Committee would be gratified to have your reply within the next few days.

Yours respectfully,

W. G. RAYMOND, M.P.,
*Chairman.*

V. CLOUTIER,
*Secretary.*

1. Your opinion, briefly given, regarding the desirability of establishing an old age pension system for Canada?

2. Number of persons, 65 years of age and over, in your city or town, giving number of men and women separately, who would qualify to receive federal aid. Must be British subjects and of insufficient provident means to obtain necessities of life?

3. How many of such as above described who now receive or have been receiving in 1924, aid from your municipal funds? Amount of same, say so much per day or per month? Include only those who receive such aid at private homes.

4. Number of such aged poor, 65 years of age and over, who claim residence in your city or town, but are kept in a House of Refuge or Home for the Aged Poor, or other Charitable Institution, giving number of men and women separately if possible? What is the cost of same to your municipality?

## COPIE DE LETTRE CIRCULAIRE ENVOYÉE AUX MAIRES DES VILLES DU DOMINION (AU CHIFFRE DE 135)

CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES DU CANADA,
OTTAWA, 13 juin 1924.

Cher monsieur,

Le comité spécial nommé par la Chambre des Communes, le 29 avril dernier, avec mission de s'enquérir au sujet du système de pension du vieil âge au Canada, désire se procurer des renseignements dignes de foi sur l'opportunité d'établir un système de pensions semblable au moyen d'une loi et d'une aide également fédérales qui pourvoieraient à l'entretien des vieillards du Canada tout entier, qui, bien que pauvres, méritent toutefois qu'on s'occupe d'eux.

Des présidents et des vice-présidents d'organisations ouvrières ont soumis des observations au comité, mais en outre de ces représentations, on estime qu'il convient d'obtenir l'avis des maires des cités et des villes du pays, où, croit-on, on a dû prendre des mesures de secours pour aider les femmes et les hommes âgés, disons de 65 ans et plus, qui sont dans le besoin ou dans un état tel qu'il leur faut recevoir de l'aide de provenance étrangère.

Vous pourriez grandement seconder le comité, si vous aviez l'obligeance de répondre à cette lettre, en basant votre réponse sur les questions énoncées ci-après quant à l'état de choses existant dans la cité ou la ville dont vous êtes le maire, parmi les personnes âgées et pauvres, pour lesquelles on dépense des fonds municipaux.

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Veuillez adresser votre réponse tel qu'indiqué sur l'enveloppe ci-incluse. Vous n'avez pas besoin d'apposer de timbre de poste. Le comité vous serait reconnaissant, si vous lui faisiez parvenir votre réponse le plus tôt possible.

Bien respectueusement,

W. G. RAYMOND, M.P.,
*président.*

V. CLOUTIER,
*secrétaire.*

1. Votre avis au sujet de l'aide fédérale destinée à l'entretien des indigents ou, disons, des pauvres qui méritent qu'on s'occupe d'eux et qui ont atteint l'âge de 65 ans ou qui ont dépassé ce nombre d'années, et dont les revenus ne peuvent suffire à leur procurer les choses nécessaires à la vie?

2. Le nombre de ces vieillards nécessiteux, indiquant, séparément, si vous le pouvez, le nombre des hommes et celui des femmes qui se trouvent dans ce cas. Ne comptez que les sujets canadiens ou britanniques qui sont domiciliés dans votre cité ou votre ville ou dans une institution de charité?

3. (1) Le nombre des vieillards habitant des résidences particulières?

(2) Le nombre de ceux qui se trouvent dans des institutions de charité, mais ne comptez que les vieillards âgés de 65 ans ou plus?

4. Coût de leur entretien, par jour ou par mois?

5. Montant total acquitté par votre municipalité, en 1923, pour l'entretien de ces personnes indigentes dont l'âge représentait 65 ans ou plus?

6. Que représenterait un montant raisonnable destiné à l'entretien de ces indigents et cela, par mois ou par jour?

1

## REPLIES RECEIVED TO ANNEXED LETTER SENT TO 135 MAYORS OF TOWNS AND CITIES THROUGHOUT THE DOMINION

*Note.*—Circular Letters were mailed to Mayors on June 10th and 12th—Replies were still being received, June 30th and July 1st.

BRANDON, Man., June 19, 1924.

DEAR SIR:—

*Re Old Age Pensions*

On behalf of His Worship the Mayor, I beg to say that there is and must necessarily be in comparatively new districts such as the Prairie Provinces, many people who though not improvident in their way of living, are for legitimate reasons, unable to make adequate provision for their old age and thus become dependent on some Public Body or Charitable Institution.

At the behest of the City Union Brandon City Council has from time to time taken up this question in its various forms, such as annuity fund, life and sickness insurance and up to the present time has arrived at no satisfactory solution.

The Provincial Homes for aged and infirm in Manitoba are quite inadequate to meet the demands on them for accommodation and the Government has, I believe, been memorialized to add to the capacity. At the present time we have two or three on the waiting list and some others who would be

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APPENDIX No. 4

qualified to receive Federal aid but who are not willing to go to the Provincial Institutions owing to prejudice, therefore there is little doubt as to the desirability of the Government of Canada establishing an old age pension system.

Brandon has this year assisted 10 men and 7 women by out-door relief and otherwise, who have insufficient means to obtain the necessaries of life. In four cases by pension, in others by the payment of the monthly rent of their homes and the remainder by the furnishing of necessities from time to time.

The Municipality also maintains five men and eight women in the Provincial Institutions at a cost of approximately $1,500 per year.

It would be rather difficult without taking a census to give an accurate answer to question No. 2.

*Sec. Treas.*

2

(Telegram)

BRANTFORD, ONTARIO, 24th June, 1924.

The O.S.B. Alumni beg to give consideration to making the blind eligible for old age pension upon obtaining age of fifty, same as in England.

W. D. DONKIN,
Secy.

3

CALGARY, June 21, 1924.

1. My opinion stated in brief would be that a pension of this description is an absolute necessity. Public sentiment favours Federal provisions for old people. To see old age suffering through want is not tolerated to-day. The method of assistance which is given at the present time is not uniform, but very haphazard. The different Institutions and Municipalities furnishing the funds do not give satisfactory results.

2. In the absence of official figures I have estimated that the number of old people who would be eligible under this scheme would be approximately three for each 200 families. With a population of 65,000, I would state there would be 180 old people entitled to pension, or say 85 old men and 95 old women.

3. The number of old people who have been receiving aid from the City during the period stated in paragraph 3, is 35. The average amount for each individual per day is 70 cents, or $20.00 per month.

4. The City either directly or indirectly is paying for 35 people over the age of 65 years. The amount contributed directly, amounts to $6,800.00. The number of men will total 18; women, 17. In addition to the above there are several philanthropic institutions who are caring for and providing maintenance for a number of old people over the age of 65 years. These do not become a direct charge to the City, but the cost is met from these different Institutions and Societies.

The above replies have been discussed with the Mayor and meet with his approval, which I trust will be satisfactory to you.

JOHN T. ROBINSON,
Supt. Civic Relief Dept.

4—7

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4

CAMPBELLTON, N.B., June 13, 1924.

An old age pension system properly administered, would no doubt be a good thing.

We have about ten or twelve persons who are receiving a weekly grant from the town ranging from $3 to $5 per week. Of these three are women.

It would be hard for me to estimate the number of persons over 65 who would qualify to receive federal aid, but probably the number would not be more than twenty all told.

JOHN T. REID,
*Town Clerk.*

5

FARNHAM, P.Q., 18 juin 1924.

1. Il faut en prendre soin.
2. 3 hommes; 4 à 5 femmes.
3. (1)—3. (2) 7.
4. Moyenne 10 à $12.
5. $300.
6. Il en coûte $10 par année à notre hospice pour chaque individu hospitalisé dans notre localité.

(*Translation*)

FARNHAM, P.Q., June 18, 1924.

1. We must take care of them.
2. 3 men 4 to 5 women.
3. (1) 3—(2) 7.
4. Average $10 to $12.
5. $300.
6. The municipality pays $10 a year for each inmate of the Refuge in our locality.

6

FERNIE, B.C., June 20, 1924.

The opinion expressed by the Council regarding the desirability of an old age pension system for Canada was somewhat divided.

In answer to question No. 2 we do not think that there would be more than, say, ten to twenty who would qualify to receive Federal aid. None of these have received any aid whatever from the Municipality, as they are being supported by their families or by whatever work they can obtain.

There are three men who are kept in the Provincial Home at a cost of nearly $700.00 per annum. Another man is also resident there from the district immediately adjacent to the City, but his case is taken care of by the Provincial Government of British Columbia.

ARTHUR J. MOFFATT,
*City Clerk & Treas.*



Re F

A son avis Son Ho
prendre sur lui une ch
sidérables de fonction
déjà trop lourde du I
parviennent assez bien
Quant aux questio
Trois-Rivières pourrai
c'est à cet endroit que
Espérant que cet

(*Translation*)

His Worship the
the federal governmen
entail heavy expenses
too heavy debt of the
succeed quite well to
Regarding questio
Rivers, could supply
aged persons there.

Monsieur,—En ré
le Maire, je dois vous
l'hospice St-Charles, C
quels la Cité de Hull
de l'institution et la C

(*Translation*)

In reply to you
Mayor, I beg to say
St. Charles Home, Ot
cents a day towards
authorities of the Ins



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APPENDIX No. 4

7

GRAND'MÈRE, P.Q., 19 juin 1924.

Re *Pension aux vieillards de plus de 65 ans*

A son avis Son Honneur le Maire croit que le gouvernement fédéral devrait prendre sur lui une charge fort louable mais qui entraînerait des dépenses considérables de fonctionnaires, locaux, etc., qui ajouterait beaucoup à la dette déjà trop lourde du Dominion. De plus les autorités provinciales et locales parviennent assez bien à subvenir à l'entretien de ces personnes âgées.

Quant aux questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, les officiers de l'Hôpital Saint-Joseph des Trois-Rivières pourraient vous fournir tous les renseignements désirés puisque c'est à cet endroit que nous envoyons nos vieillards.

Espérant que cette question vous donnera satisfaction, je suis,

Votre tout dévoué,

HENRI NEAULT,
*Secrétaire Trésorier.*

*(Translation)*

GRAND'MÈRE, P.Q., June 19, 1924.

Re: *Old Age Pension*

His Worship the Mayor is of the opinion that it is most commendable for the federal government to adopt a system of Old Age Pension, but which would entail heavy expenses for officers, quarters, etc., and greatly add to the already too heavy debt of the Dominion. Moreover, the provincial and local authorities succeed quite well to provide for the maintenance of these old persons.

Regarding questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, the officers of St. Joseph Hospital, Three Rivers, could supply you with all the desired information, as we send all our aged persons there.

HENRI NEAULT,
*Sec. Treas.*

8

HULL, P.Q., juin 18, 1924.

Monsieur,—En réponse à la vôtre en date du 13 juin adressée à son Honneur le Maire, je dois vous dire que la Cité de Hull a actuellement 19 vieillards placés à l'hospice St-Charles, Ottawa, dont 15 hommes et 4 femmes, pour l'entretien desquels la Cité de Hull paie $0.35 par jour, suivant convention entre les autorités de l'institution et la Cité.

H. BOULAY,
Greffier de la Cité.

*(Translation)*

HULL, P.Q., June 18, 1924.

In reply to your letter of the 13th June, addressed to His Worship the Mayor, I beg to say that the City of Hull has at present 19 aged persons in the St. Charles Home, Ottawa, 15 men and 4 women, and the City of Hull pays 35 cents a day towards their maintainance, according to an agreement between the authorities of the Institution and the City.

H. BOULAY,
City Clerk.



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**9**

LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., June 20, 1924.

My opinion in answer to question No. 1 is that Old Age Pensions are very desirable and in the long run would not cost the country much more than our present manner of taking care of Indigents. It would increase the Dominion Budget, but there would be a corresponding decrease in the Provincial and City Budgets. Further the elimination of the indignity of indigency would be a great deal in itself.

W. D. L. HARDIE,
Mayor.

1. You will know best how to answer this.
2. 10 women—9 men.
3. 10 women—9 men—60 cents a day.
4. None.

A. M. TILLEY,
Supt. of Mothers' Pensions,
City Charities and Relief.

**10**

MAGOG, QUE., 16 juin, 1924.

Monsieur.—En réponse à votre lettre il me fait plaisir de répondre comme suit aux questions que vous nous posez:

1. Je crois que c'est un devoir pour le gouvernement fédéral de venir en aide aux vieillards âgés de soixante-cinq ans et plus qui ne peuvent se procurer les nécessités de la vie.

2. Le nombre de vieillards nécessiteux secourus par la ville de Magog, est de dix, actuellement, dont 6 hommes et 4 femmes.

3. Le nombre des vieillards habitant des résidences particulières, auxquels la ville vient en aide, est de quatre dont deux hommes et deux femmes.

4. Le nombre de ceux qui se trouvent dans des institutions de charité est de six dont 4 hommes et 2 femmes.

5. Le coût de leur entretien est de $12 par mois.

6. Le montant total payé par la municipalité en 1923 est de $1440.

7. Le montant raisonnable qui serait nécessaire pour l'entretien d'un de ces indigents, serait un montant représentant un revenu annuel d'environ $150.

ALF. TOURIGNY,
Sec. Trés.

*(Translation)*

MAGOG, Que., June 16, 1924.

1. I believe it is the duty of the Federal Government to assist persons aged 65 and more who cannot provide for themselves the necessities of life.

2. The number of old persons in need assisted by the city of Magog is at present 10, namely, 4 men and 6 women.

3. The number of aged persons living in private residences, assisted by the city, is 4—2 men and 2 women.

4. The number in charitable institutions is 6—4 men and 2 women.

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5. The cost of their maintenance is $12 a month.

6. The total paid by the municipality in 1923 was $1,440.

7. The reasonable amount necessary for the maintenance of these indigents would be an amount representing an annual revenue of $150.

ALF. TOURIGNY,
Sec. Treas.

11

MEDICINE HAT, ALTA.

1. My opinion is that the establishment of an Old Age Pension System for Canada is most desirable.

2 and 3. This is a question that is rather hard to answer with any degree of accuracy. No doubt census returns would give some idea as to the number of people 65 years of age and over in this city that we have no means of ascertaining. So far, we have 13 men and 11 women all over 65 years who have been more or less assisted during the last year. These people are all in private homes and have been assisted in various amounts from $8.00 to $30.00 per month.

4. There are no aged poor at present who are kept in any House of Refuge or Home for the aged poor at the cost of our municipality.

WALTER HUCKVALE,
Mayor.

12.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C., June 19, 1924.

1. It is desirable that an old age pension be established in Canada; the benefits of same have been fully shown in England.

2. The number of persons 65 years and over who would benefit is not easily ascertained but might be estimated in this city at 50; the greater number of whom would be women.

3. We have in this city a "Benevolent Society" that looks after indigent cases, and the expenditure of same is about $3,000.00 per annum.

The greater part of this expenditure is for women and children and mostly for persons under age of 65. There are, however, 5 men and 8 women over that age on the list of beneficiaries, and the average cost of each is about $10.00 per month.

There are besides in Hospital two men and two women who will probably be there until they die. They are over 65 years of age and the cost to the Corporation is $2.50 per diem. There is also one man taken care of in a private home at a cost to the City of $20.00 a month. At the Provincial Home for old men there are five men who cost the Corporation $283.04 per month, less 25 per cent paid by the Provincial Government.

To reply fully to query No. 2 would require a canvass of the city, as we have no records of the ages of the people generally. The population is estimated at 16,000 and I dare say there is the average number of old persons who would be affected by the proposed pensions.

W. A. DUNCAN,
Actg. City Clerk.

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13

OTTAWA, Canada, June 17, 1924.

1. Some form of social insurance for aged and indigent people would undoubtedly help to solve many of our problems. The establishment of the Canadian Government Annuities, in 1908, was an excellent means of saving against a possible dependent old age to a great number of people but many who have taken out annuities would doubtless have saved in some other way and it is with the people to whom this system or any system of voluntary saving does not appeal that we as a municipality are concerned.

2. There are no available figures on which to pass an accurate estimate in reply to this question.

3. In reply to this question would state that on May 27, 1924, there were the following over 65 years of age and of insufficient provident means, receiving aid through the City Social Service Department:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Men | 60 |
| Women | 76 |
| | 136 |

4. St. Charles Home for the Aged, 53 men, 106 women.. $3,780
St. Patrick Orphans' Home, 24 men, 35 women .. .. 1,215
Protestant Orphans' Home, 18 women .. .. .. .. .. 675
Protestant Home for Aged, 27 men .. .. .. .. .. .. 1,350
Home for Friendless Women, 7 women .. .. .. .. .. 675
Perley Home for Incurables, 4 men, 5 women.. .. .. 2,970

5. Average amount per month was $3.50 for each individual.

6. The city also contributed an average of $20 per month to six women over 65 years of age as its share under the Mothers' Allowance.

NAPOLEON CHAMPAGNE,
*Mayor.*

14

PARIS, Ont., June 14, 1924.

1. Commendable.

2. There are no old people being provided for in Paris outside of the House of Refuge.

4. We had only two old people receiving help this winter and then only to the extent of about $20.

4. We have 3 old ladies and 2 old men in the House of Refuge at a cost of about 14½c. per day.

C. B. BARKER,
*Clerk and Treasurer.*

15

PEMBROKE, Ont., June 17, 1924.

1. We consider it very desirable that such a system should be established.

2. It is very difficult to give an accurate number of persons 65 years of age or over who would qualify to receive federal aid in our town, but think we are safe in giving the number as 15—9 males and 6 females.



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APPENDIX No. 4

3. We have one male receiving $26 per month from the municipal funds; in addition to several who are supported by societies connected with the different churches in the town.

4. We have 6 inmates in the House of Industry at Perth, but the town is under no expense in connection with these, same being borne by the county of Renfrew.

D. W. BLAKELY,
*Clerk-Treasurer.*

16

PETERBOROUGH, Ont., June 21, 1924.

The number of males in the city over 65 years of age, as near as can be ascertained, is 449. The number of women is not ascertainable from the records, but probably can be approximated from the number of men. There would only be a proportion of these who have insufficient means.

The number receiving aid from municipal funds, not in any institution, is eight.

In the Protestant Home there are eleven men and seven women for whom the municipality pays $3.50 per week. In the House of Providence there are five men and eighteen women. The city pays to this institution a lump sum yearly.

S. R. ARMSTRONG,
*City Clerk.*

17

PORT ARTHUR, Canada, June 17, 1924.

I am of the opinion that it would be most desirable to establish an Old Age Pension System in Canada, from a humane standpoint and as a relief to the municipalities, who in many instances find it a serious burden to care for this relief.

It would be impossible to estimate the number of persons in the city who would qualify to receive federal aid. The only reliable check that we have is obtained from applications which come to us for relief, although there are no doubt some who would qualify but who hesitate to ask the city for relief.

At present we are giving assistance to eight (8) women and 4 men who are living in the city in private homes. To two of these we pay $10 per month. To 4 $15, 2 $20, and 4 $25.

We are maintaining in Homes and Houses of Refuge two women and four men. For one of these we pay $75 per year, and for the remainder $150 per year.

J. W. CROATS,
*Mayor.*

18

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE, Man., June 21, 1924.

The question was discussed by the City Council, and I was directed to advise you that the members of the Council were of the opinion that the care of the aged indigent could be better administered by the municipality itself,

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when all local conditions are known. The cost of looking after the aged indigent must be borne by the taxpayer in either case, and the cost of administering a department for this work would add considerably to the cost of maintenance.

There is also less chance of abusing the system when administered locally.

In answer to question two there are eleven men and ten women who would qualify to receive federal aid.

Question three: two men and one woman receiving help in their own homes, which amounts to approximately $500 per year.

Question four: two men and 1 woman receiving help at Home for Aged and Infirm, at the rate of 50 cents per day each.

W. R. GRIEVE,
Sec.-Treas.

19

PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.

We feel that the time is approaching when the Federal Government would fill a long felt need in dealing with the matter of the old age pensions system, particularly in the west where in proportion, we have many more persons eligible for an old age pension. In municipalities where financial conditions make it very difficult for them to handle the situation, the establishment of such a system would be a great benefit.

I cannot give you an accurate idea of the number of persons of sixty-five years and over who would be qualified to receive such aid as there are many such cases being dealt with by private organizations and individuals. However, the city itself cares for approximately eight to twelve cases annually and on an average each case costs this city slightly over $1 per day. We usually manage to keep such persons in our own district but within the last few years we have been obliged to send three of these persons who were incapacitated to the home for the aged poor at Wolesley, Saskatchewan.

I should be very pleased to learn of any developments of this question or any recommendations which your Committee may have to make in the matter.

20

REGINA, SASK., June 20, 1924.

1. While the figures available for the City of Regina are not indicative of a dire necessity for an old age pension scheme yet there are undoubtedly many aged people who would be greatly assisted by such a scheme. As the days go on it is likely that this necessity will become more apparent and therefore it is desirable that the Government of Canada should formulate a Dominion wide and generous Old Age Pension Scheme.

2. Unable to ascertain, except through survey.

3. 3 women—5 men—Approximately $30 per month.

4. 2 Women—3 men—$1 per day.

The reply to question (1) is to be regarded as the Mayor's personal view of the matter, though he is sure that it is shared by a number of the Aldermen. Questions (2), (3) and (4) were answered by our Relief Department.

E. BLACK,
*City Clerk.*

1. My opinion is t
65 years of age unless i
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2. In St. Catharines
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GRIEVE,
Sec.-Treas.

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SK., June 20, 1924.

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Mayor's personal view
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f Department.
. BLACK,
*City Clerk.*



APPENDIX No. 4

21

ST. CATHARINES, ONT., June 14, 1924.

1. My opinion is that no grants should be made to men and women over 65 years of age unless in establishing a Pension Fund. A certain proportion of their earnings should be set aside weekly, monthly or annually as a retirement fund through the manufacturers or employers but I do not think that an out and out grant by the government would be wise as it would tend to encourage improvident living. As the care of these indigent persons is mainly a municipal problem an amount is provided in each year's taxes for the care of these people; the Government might make some annual grant to the municipalities.

2. In St. Catharines we have 12 men and 7 women in institutions which cost us $6.50 per week in one institution and $7.50 in another, the second institution being outside our county; consequently the charge is a dollar more a week. We have 2 women who are boarded out in private families that have no means, at an expense of $5.50 per week each. These persons that are cared for by this municipality are not considered in any way as relief as we have something like one hundred that are cared for through our Relief Accounts, which is largely due to the unemployment situation.

Last year this city made an actual expenditure of $6,092.23 in providing homes for aged persons, this being quite apart from any amounts that were spent for relief.

JACOB SMITH,
*Mayor.*

22

ST. STEPHEN, N.B., June 14, 1924.

The Mayor of St. Stephen desires to express his opinion that an old age pension system is desirable, though we in this town are so fortunate as to have very few aged poor who might claim its benefits.

One man only is receiving aid regularly from the town funds, and his allowance is $20 a month.

The number of old men who are supported by relatives or friendly societies, and who have no property or income of their own, is perhaps not more than five or six. The number of aged women in like condition is, of course, much larger. The town is not paying for the maintenance of any aged persons in charitable institutions, with the exception of two in the Provincial Hospital for Nervous Diseases.

J. VROOM,
*Town Clerk.*

23

STELLARTON, N.S., June 16, 1924.

In answer to your circular letter of June 10th would say, I am in favour of an Old Age System for Canada.

We have only a few who would qualify for same but if there was a pension system there would be more.

At present we have but three and they are kept in a home at the town's expense. All women; at a cost of about $16 per month.

J. W. HENDERSON,
*Town Clerk.*

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24

SUSSEX, N.B.

1. Have no opinion. Have given no thought to the question.
2. Two men—no women.
3. One man gets $1 per day paid by Town Council. The other $3 per week.
4. Have none whatever in this latter class specified in No. 4.

25

TROIS-RIVIÈRES, P.Q., 17 juin 1924.

1. Très louable.
2. .....
3. (1) 7 hommes et 20 femmes, sans comprendre 66 familles. (2) 38 vieillards dont 6 sous la loi de l'assistance publique. 69 vieilles dont 27 sous la loi de l'assistance publique.
4. 45 cents par jour, dont ⅓ payable par la cité.
5. Quote-part de la Cité $1,806.75.
6. 50 cents par jour.

ARTHUR BETTEZ,
*Maire.*

*(Translation)*

THREE RIVERS, P.Q., June 17, 1924.

1. Most commendable.
2. .....
3. (1) 7 men and 20 women, not including 66 families. (2) 38 old men of whom 6 are under the public assistance law. 69 old women of whom 27 are under the public assistance law.
4. 45 cents a day of which ⅓ is payable by the City.
5. Share of the City $1,806.75.
6. 50 cents a day.

ARTHUR BETTEZ,
*Mayor.*

26

WESTMOUNT, CANADA,
June 19, 1924.

I take pleasure in submitting the following information and in making a few suggestions:—

1. I am of the opinion that there should be some form of Old Age Pension system in Canada and that it would be the right thing for the State to provide the same.

2. I would suggest that the scheme should primarily provide for the working class people and I would therefore suggest that the scheme be contributory on the part of the beneficiary thus stimulating his interest in the scheme.

3. That the contribution of the State should be sufficient to provide say 50 per cent of the amount required for a minimum pension and that the participant be required to pay the balance with an option to him of increasing his contribution.

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APPENDIX No. 4

4. That the pension should be greater or less according to the increased contribution made by the beneficiary.

5. That the Government or State create each year a Reserve Fund sufficient to provide the amount necessary for the obligations accruing each year. In other words, that the scheme shall be on an Actuarial Reserve Basis.

6. That in estimating the annual liabilities in connection with an Actuarial Reserve basis Old Age Pension Fund Scheme the rate of interest of 5 per cent earning power be used and that the Government or State shall make up any deficiency if it is found in actual practice that 5 per cent is not earned by the funds.

7. That the State guarantee that the contributions of the beneficiary or participant will earn 5 per cent per annum (the Government's present method of figuring Pension Funds on a basis of 4 per cent earning power is using a basis below the present market values and the Government has for years actually been making a profit on the funds contributed by the beneficiary or participant). The 5 per cent guaranteed earnings in my opinion would draw a very much larger group into taking advantage of such a scheme and the Government would be well advised to extend its present pension scheme on such a basis to those who are participating and contributing the whole cost at the present time.

8. That all employers be required to make deductions from the wages of the employee and that such deductions be continued up to the age of say 55 with optional contributions to be made thereafter, such contributions to increase the amount of annuity at retirement.

9. That the retiring age be 65, provision to be made for retirement on account of incapacity through injury or disease.

10. There are so many things to be considered in connection with a Pension Fund Scheme that I would suggest that if it is not already being done that your Committee call for a report of Actuarial Experts to study the various suggestions which your Committee would finally be prepared to make before they are reported on to Parliament.

In answer to your second question; the number of men 65 years of age and over now resident in the City of Westmount is 194.

We have no information regarding women.

In answer to your third question; the only persons receiving aid from Municipal Funds in this year of 1924 are indigent persons sent to the hospitals on account of sickness or disease.

In answer to your fourth question; we have one woman in hospital paralyzed, the charges being paid by the city. One orphan child of nine years of age supported in one of the institutions by the city and 25 in the hospitals for the insane.

P. W. McLAGAN,
*Mayor.*

27

WOODSTOCK, ONT., June 21, 1924.

1. Members of the Finance Committee of the City of Woodstock are of opinion that in this new country it is not necessary or desirable to establish an old age pension system.

2. Number of persons in city who would qualify to receive federal aid difficult to estimate if the system were established but at present very few.

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3. No old people at present receiving municipal aid, one man and one woman who receive $2 a week each and who prefer not to go to the House of Refuge.

4. Number of city inmates in County House of Refuge over 65 years is 13, 5 women and 8 men. Cost of maintenance to the city will average $2.50 a week each.

JOHN MORRISON,
City Clerk.

28

*Received too late for Classification*

MONCTON, N.B., June 26, 1924.

1. His Worship the Mayor has advised me to state that he is strongly in favour of An Old Age Pension Scheme for Canada.

2. Without taking a census of the city of the number of 65 years of age and over who would be qualified to receive the federal aid, it would be impossible to give you the exact number, but I wish to say that it has been necessary for the past three or four years to have what is known as a Relief Committee. Last year the city gave this committee a grant of $1,100 to be used in relief work. In addition to that about $200 was obtained by public subscription. This money was paid out to persons who would qualify for the pension as they were old men and women and have no means of support. The province of New Brunswick is gathering information to form what is known as Mothers' Pension Scheme. This commission may be able to give you more information than I can.

3. Judging from the number who have obtained relief from the Relief Committee and from the records of the Municipal Home Commissioners, there would be about forty in this Municipality. All of this number received relief, in some cases rent and in other cases food and clothing. In one case we found it necessary to place one man in a home for which we pay $15 per month. During the summer a great many of these people are able to obtain temporary employment and are thereby able to maintain themselves.

4. Fourten persons of 65 years and over are kept in the Home known as the Municipal Home. The operation of our Municipal Home this year costs us $6,000. There are a number of inmates under 65 years of age.

S. B. ANDERSON,
*City Clerk.*

29

SASKATOON, SASK., June 24, 1924.

1. In my opinion it is desirable that the Federal Government adopt some measure to take care of aged people. At present the responsibility rests with the municipality in which they reside and the tendency is for such persons to move into large centres of population and reside there long enough to establish citizenship and then apply to the authorities for assistance. Saskatoon has had to take care of such persons even after they have been residents for only two or three months.



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4. Five men
Wolsley, Sask., e

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2. In reply to question No. 2, we are looking after six men and five women at the present time, but intermittently quite a number of persons, who qualify for this assistance, are helped.

3. We have one man and two women costing the city approximately $80 per month.

4. Five men and three women are cared for in the Home for the Infirm at Wolsley, Sask., each costing $1 per day.

W. N. CLARE,
*Mayor.*

30

ST. LAMBERT, P.Q., June 26, 1924.

1. I am directed by the Mayor, E. P. Gordon, to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 10th instant and to state that the establishing of an old age pension is a very worthy object. As for the city of St. Lambert, fortunately there are no persons that would come under your questionnaire No. 2.

JAMES R. BEATTY,
*Secretary-Treasurer.*

31

SAULT STE. MARIE, ONT., June 25, 1924.

1. I have been Mayor of this city for the past three years and during that time closely in touch with the work of our Relief Department. We have had to spend very little in assistance to old people outside of the regular yearly levy made upon the city by the trustees of the House of Refuge. We have, where possible, compelled the son or daughter of applicants to render assistance and in other cases sent them to the Home, which in most cases is the most comfortable home they have ever had.

JAMES DAWSON,
*Mayor.*

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# OLD AGE PENSIONS

## Federal Legislation

The problem of providing for aged people who have neither the strength to earn a livelihood nor the necessary means of support was brought to the attention of the Federal Parliament as early as the session of 1906-07. The subject was debated in Parliament on several occasions at subsequent sessions and received the consideration of parliamentary committees. No effort to legislate in the matter was made until the session of 1926, when a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons based on the recommendations of a parliamentary committee which, in 1924 and 1925, had made an enquiry into an old age pension system for Canada. In the House of Commons the Bill was adopted unanimously. Severe opposition, however, was encountered in the Senate, where a motion for the second reading was rejected by 45 to 21 votes.

A Bill, identical in terms with that presented to Parliament in 1926, was introduced in the House of Commons by the Hon. Mr. Heenan, Minister of Labour, during the 1927 session, and, after considerable discussion, was passed by the House of Commons and by the Senate, receiving Royal Assent on March 31, 1927.

The legislation provides for a Dominion-Provincial system, under which the administration and payment of pensions is entrusted to the provinces, the Dominion Government to reimburse each province coming into the scheme one-half of the net sum disbursed by the province in pensions. The system is not effective in a province until the province has passed legislation authorizing payment of pensions and agreeing to bear one-half of the cost. The continuance of the federal grant is designated as dependent upon an agreement between the Dominion and each of the provinces desiring to come into the scheme, the agreement to be terminable only upon the repeal of the provincial legislation authorizing payment of pensions or upon ten years' notice by the Dominion.

In view of the desirability of having the scheme uniform in all the provinces, the Act specifies the classes of persons who are entitled to pension. A pension may be granted to every person who is a British subject (or, being a widow, who is not a British subject, was such before her marriage) of seventy years of age and upwards who has been resident in Canada for at least twenty years immediately preceding the date of commencement of a pension and who has lived in the province in which the application is made for at least five years immediately preceding the granting of a pension. A person is disqualified from receiving a pension who is an Indian as defined by the Indian Act, or who has made any voluntary transfer of property in order to qualify for a pension. The maximum pension payable is fixed at $240. yearly, and from this is deducted the amount of any private income received by the pensioner in excess of $125 a year, the total of any pensioner's income, including pension, being, therefore, $365 a year, or $1 a day.

Early in the fiscal year 1927-28 regulations were made under the provisions of the Old Age Pensions Act, and the administration of the Act and Regulations was vested in the Honourable the Minister of Labour.

Old Age pensions are at present payable in the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and the Northwest Territories.

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## Provincial Legislation

### British Columbia

While the Old Age Pension Bill was before the Dominion Parliament a law was enacted by the legislature of British Columbia approving the federal scheme and giving authority to the Provincial Government to enter into an agreement with the Dominion for the establishment of a system of old age pensions in that province.

By proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council the British Columbia enabling law came into operation on August 17, 1927. During the same month the Hon. Mr. Heenan visited British Columbia and conferred with the provincial authorities on the question of the inauguration of the old age pension system and the lines of administration to be followed. An approved agreement was signed on behalf of the province of British Columbia by Hon. A. M. Manson, Provincial Attorney-General and Minister of Labour, and, on authority of the Privy Council of Canada, Hon. Peter Heenan affixed his signature. British Columbia accordingly was the first province in which the old age pension system came into effect. The administration of old age pensions in British Columbia was entrusted to the Provincial Workmen's Compensation Board, and pensions became payable from September 1, 1927.

### Saskatchewan

Legislation similar to that of British Columbia was enacted by the Legislature of Saskatchewan during its 1928 session and, in accordance with an agreement entered into between the Dominion Government and the Government of the Province of Saskatchewan, pensions became payable in that province from May 1, 1928. The administration of the Saskatchewan Act is vested in the Minister in charge of the Bureau of Child Protection.

### Alberta

The Legislature of Alberta passed an Old Age Pensions Act during the 1929 session. In accordance with an agreement entered into between the Government of Alberta and the Dominion Government pensions became payable in that province from the first day of August, 1929. In Alberta administration is vested in the Workmen's Compensation Board of the province. Also in Alberta a Board of Review is established, the duties of which are to investigate cases brought to its attention by the pension authority and issue a ruling accordingly.

### Manitoba

The Manitoba Old Age Pensions Act was passed at the 1928 session of the Provincial Legislature and an agreement was entered into between the Federal Government and the Government of Manitoba providing for pension payments in that province from September 1, 1928. The Manitoba law designates the Workmen's Compensation Board of the province as the pension authority.

A Bill to amend the Manitoba Act was passed during the 1930 session of the Provincial Legislature. The amendment provides that applications for pensions shall be made in the first instance to local authorities, the recommendation of the local authority to be forwarded to the Board administering the Act, for final decision.

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Ontario

Legislation with respect to old age pensions was enacted by the Ontario Legislature at its 1929 session and an agreement was subsequently entered into between the Dominion Government and the Government of the Province of Ontario for the payment of pensions in Ontario from and after the first day of November, 1929. The scheme of administration in Ontario differs materially from that of the other provinces in that it provides for the establishment of local boards, which boards are charged with the consideration of all applications for old age pensions in the first instance. From any decision of this board an appeal may be made to a central authority in Toronto. This central body is charged with the payment of all pensions.

New Brunswick

An Old Age Pensions Act was passed by the New Brunswick Legislature at the close of its 1930 session and the Act will become effective on proclamation, probably during the summer.

Northwest Territories

The administration of old age pensions in the Northwest Territories was, by Order of the Governor General in Council dated January 25, 1929, vested in the Department of Labour.

Interprovincial Board

An Interprovincial Board to interpret and recommend alterations in the Old Age Pensions Regulations was established on October 3, 1928, under the authority of section 19 (r) of the Federal Act and section 34 of the Old Age Pensions Regulations. The membership of the Board is as follows:- J. D. O'Neill, Departmental Solicitor, Department of Labour, Ottawa, Ont.; R. S. H. Winn, K.C., Chairman of the British Columbia Workmen's Compensation Board, Vancouver, B.C.; Alexander Ross, Chairman of the Alberta Old Age Pensions Board, Edmonton, Alta.; F. J. Reynolds, Saskatchewan Commissioner of Old Age Pensions, Regina, Sask.; Major C. K. Newcombe, Chairman of the Manitoba Old Age Pensions Board, Winnipeg, Man.; and Hon. Dr. D. Jamieson, Chairman of the Old Age Pensions Commission, Toronto, Ont.

Summary of Payments

Generally the Provincial Acts are alike in that each of them authorizes the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to enter into an agreement with the Governor in Council as to the payment of old age pensions in accordance with the terms and provisions of the Dominion Act and the regulations made thereunder.

Payment of old age pensions in British Columbia and Saskatchewan is made from Consolidated Provincial Revenue.

The Manitoba law as enacted in 1928 provided for a special levy on the municipalities of fifty per cent of the amount payable for old age pensions, the other fifty per cent being recovered by the province from the Dominion Government. The

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C 93401

1930 Amendment to the Manitoba Old Age Pensions Act reduces the levy on the municipalities to twenty-five per cent, the provincial contribution also, therefore, to be twenty-five per cent.

In Alberta the provincial Act provides that ten per cent of the amount payable for pensions in each municipality shall be repaid to the provincial treasury by such municipality. Fifty per cent is repaid by the Dominion, leaving a balance of forty per cent to be provided for from the provincial exchequer.

In Ontario the proportion is fifty per cent from the Dominion, thirty per cent from the province and twenty per cent from the municipalities, except in the provisional judicial districts where no municipal or local contribution is required.

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C 93402

The following table shows the total amount paid out in each Province for pensions from the date of the inception of Old Age Pensions Act and the number of pensioners on March 31, 1930.

SUMMARY OF OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA, AS AT MARCH 31, 1930.

| | Alberta Act effective Aug. 1, 1929. | British Columbia Act effective Sept. 1, 1927. | Manitoba Act effective Sept. 1, 1928. | Ontario Act effective Nov. 1, 1929. | Saskatchewan Act effective May 1, 1928. | Northwest Territories Order in C. effective March 1, 1929. | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total amount of pensions paid since inception of the Old Age Pensions Act ..... | $267,420.04 | $2,049,674.52 | $1,649,295.67 | $2,255,688.32 | $1,319,942.83 | $557.74 | $7,542,579.12 |
| Dominion Government's share of expenditure. | $133,710.01 | $1,024,818.51 | $ 824,647.85 | $1,127,844.16 | $ 659,971.41 | $557.74 | $3,771,549.68 |
| Number of pensioners on March 31, 1930. | 2,017 | 4,576 | 5,104 | 26,370 | 4,482 | 4 | 42,553 |

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

Comparative statement showing grants paid to provinces under agreement with the Federal Government on account of Old Age Pensions during the three fiscal years ending March 31, 1930.

| | 1927-28 | 1928-29 | 1929-30 | Totals | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PRINCE EDWARD ISIAND..... | --- | --- | --- | --- | Not under agreement with Federal Government |
| NOVA SCOTIA..... | --- | --- | --- | --- | Not under agreement with Federal Government |
| NEW BRUNSWICK..... | --- | --- | --- | --- | Not under agreement with Federal Government |
| QUEBEC..... | --- | --- | --- | --- | Not under agreement with Federal Government |
| ONTARIO..... | --- | --- | 355,828.97 | 355,828.97 | Pensions paid from November 1, 1929 |
| MANITOBA..... | --- | 242,303.86 | 427,143.44 | 669,447.30 | Pensions paid from September 1, 1928 |
| SASKATCHEWAN..... | --- | 191,041.97 | 333,287.21 | 524,329.18 | Pensions paid from May 1, 1928 |
| ALBERTA..... | --- | --- | 62,555.15 | 62,555.15 | Pensions paid from August 1, 1929 |
| BRITISH COLUMBIA..... | 131,452.01 | 399,340.95 | 357,801.04 | 888,594.00 | Pensions paid from September 1, 1927 |
| Totals..... | $131,452.01 | $832,686.78 | $1,536,615.81 | $2,500,754.60 | |

Note - Accounts for the last quarter of 1929-30 which have not yet been rendered by the provinces will necessitate additional payments by the Federal Government approximating $1,300,000.00.

Collateral C 93404

Pensions - Old age

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CANADA

ANONYMOUS

211 S-

C 93405

May 1, 1930 -

MAY 1, 1930 S-24

Pensions - Old Age

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Federal Legislation + Provincial Provinces

The problem of providing for aged people who have neither the strength to earn a livelihood nor the necessary means of support was brought to the attention of the Federal Parliament as early as the session of 1906-07. The subject was debated in Parliament on several occasions at subsequent sessions and received the consideration of parliamentary committees. No effort to legislate in the matter was made until the session of 1926, when a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons based on the recommendations of a parliamentary committee which, in 1924 and 1925, had made an enquiry into an old age pension system for Canada. In the House of Commons the Bill was adopted unanimously. Severe opposition, however, was encountered in the Senate, where a motion for the second reading was rejected by 45 to 21 votes.

A Bill, identical in terms with that presented to Parliament in 1926, was introduced in the House of Commons by the Hon. Mr. Heenan, Minister of Labour, during the 1927 session, and, after considerable discussion, was passed by the House of Commons and by the Senate, receiving Royal Assent on March 31, 1927.

The legislation provides for a Dominion-Provincial system, under which the administration and payment of pensions is entrusted to the provinces, the Dominion Government to reimburse each province coming into the scheme one-half of the net sum disbursed by the province in pensions. The system is not effective in a province until the province has passed legislation authorizing payment of pensions and agreeing to bear one-half of the cost. The continuance of the federal grant is designated as dependent upon an agreement between the Dominion and each of the provinces desiring to come into the scheme, the agreement to be terminable only upon the repeal of the provincial legislation authorizing payment of pensions or upon ten years' notice by the Dominion.

In view of the desirability of having the scheme uniform in all the provinces, the Act specifies the classes of persons who are entitled to pension. A pension may be granted to every person who is a British subject (or, being a widow, who is not a British subject, was such before her marriage) of seventy years of age and upwards who has been resident in Canada for at least twenty years immediately preceding the date of commencement of a pension and who has lived in the province in which the application is made for at least five years immediately preceding the granting of a pension. A person is disqualified from receiving a pension who is an Indian as defined by the Indian Act, or who has made any voluntary transfer of property in order to qualify for a pension. The maximum pension payable is fixed at $240. yearly, and from this is deducted the amount of any private income received by the pensioner in excess of $125 a year, the total of any pensioner's income, including pension, being, therefore, $365 a year, or $1 a day.

Early in the fiscal year 1927-28 regulations were made under the provisions of the Old Age Pensions Act, and the administration of the Act and Regulations was vested in the Honourable the Minister of Labour.

Old Age pensions are at present payable in the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and the Northwest Territories.

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C 93406

## Provincial Legislation

### British Columbia

While the Old Age Pension Bill was before the Dominion Parliament a law was enacted by the legislature of British Columbia approving the federal scheme and giving authority to the Provincial Government to enter into an agreement with the Dominion for the establishment of a system of old age pensions in that province.

By proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council the British Columbia enabling law came into operation on August 17, 1927. During the same month the Hon. Mr. Heenan visited British Columbia and conferred with the provincial authorities on the question of the inauguration of the old age pension system and the lines of administration to be followed. An approved agreement was signed on behalf of the province of British Columbia by Hon. A. M. Manson, Provincial Attorney-General and Minister of Labour, and, on authority of the Privy Council of Canada, Hon. Peter Heenan affixed his signature. British Columbia accordingly was the first province in which the old age pension system came into effect. The administration of old age pensions in British Columbia was entrusted to the Provincial Workmen's Compensation Board, and pensions became payable from September 1, 1927.

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C 93408

1930 Amendment to the Manitoba Old Age Pensions Act reduces the levy on the municipalities to twenty-five per cent, the provincial contribution also, therefore, to be twenty-five per cent.

In Alberta the provincial Act provides that ten per cent of the amount payable for pensions in each municipality shall be repaid to the provincial treasury by such municipality. Fifty per cent is repaid by the Dominion, leaving a balance of forty per cent to be provided for from the provincial exchequer.

In Ontario the proportion is fifty per cent from the Dominion, thirty per cent from the province and twenty per cent from the municipalities, except in the provisional judicial districts where no municipal or local contribution is required.

May 1, 1930

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... we dealt about un Senate - Collateral - Pensions - old age
contrast attitude of Conn.

C 93409

(9)

Mr. Bennett's Promise

Re:Federal Government paying
Old Age Pensions - 100%

(At Chatham, New Brunswick, July 11, 1930,
Reported in Ottawa "Citizen", July 12,/30)

"I say to you, if the Conservative party is returned to power we will provide for the payment of old age pensions from the federal exchequer, so that the provinces will not be called upon to contribute a cant and so that the provinces who now find the burden too great will be able to benefit equally with all the provinces of the Dominion."

The constitutional point had been raised by the premier. "If," he said, "it is constitutional to pay 50 per cent, would it not be constitutional to pay one hundred per cent? We will pass the law to pay one hundred per cent and it will be legal."

(Note: Ch. 42, Statutes of 1931,
increased Federal contribution
from 50% to 75%.)

Old Vocational Act - passed 1931

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History of -

Old Age Pensions Bill introduced;

- not doing everything at once.

Next question to be considered -

the Parliaments of the day - majority of 1;

no majority;

after 1926 - majority;

Senate - always Conservative;

Senate would have thrown out unemployment insurance on issue of jurisdiction.

Dominion-Provincial Conference 1927.

Appointment of Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations.

References to Committee -

and reports of.

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(3)

-5-

Building on sand instead of rock - — Bread = Stone = Serpents

danger of making confusion worse confounded.

Principle of Bill -

accept;

because always for - Statement from "Industry and Humanity"

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CANADA

C 93412

(3) (9)

Re Enactment of Old Age Pensions Legislation

Boa... budget
Wife... Chang... Pl...
Soldiers - pensions
... of ...

1924 - Apr.

Special Committee appointed on motion of Mr. Mackenzie King to make inquiries into an Old Age Pensions system for Canada.

Recommended that provinces be communicated with.

1925 - May 1.

Special Committee again appointed.

June 16.

Special Committee recommended in favour of setting up scheme but that effort be made to receive co-operative action on part of provinces.

1926 -

very foolish Hon. gentn. Ottawa

Bill, after much debate and criticism from Conservatives, adopted ~~unanimously~~ in House of Commons. - Defeated in Senate 45 - 21.

1927 -

Bill identical in terms of previous Bill introduced by Mr. Heenan.

After considerable discussion passed by House of Commons and Senate.

Received Royal Assent - March 31

... Unemployment ...
1938 Council ... Dominion-Provincial Relations

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CANADA

C 93413

(16)

## Old Age Pensions

## Grants by Dominion to Provinces

| Fiscal Year | |
|---|---|
| 1927-28 | $ 131,452 |
| 1928-29 | 832,687 |
| 1929-30 | 2,806,852 |
| Total - | $3,770,991. |

Reduced annual debt
240 000.00

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CANADA

WLMK.

C 93414

JUNE 2, 1931.

Need to amend B.N.A. Act - 1931

Financial Re-adjustment between Dominion and Provinces,
Dominion Assumption of Social Services, and
B.N.A. Act Amendment.

16

Pensions - Old Age ✓ ✓
B.N.A. Act - Amendments

Mr. King:

We believe old age pensions should be a part of the social insurance scheme of this country. But we think it should be a national scheme; it should be administered nationally, 100 per cent of the money raised and the entire scheme administered by the federal government. We say that the present government ought immediately to take steps to have the British North America Act amended so as to make ~~that~~ possible federal administration, so that when the time comes of paying the old age pensions 100 percent, we shall not be met with ~~that~~ any constitutional obstacle in the administration of the scheme in its entirety by the federal government.

(June 2, 1931 - Revised Hansard p. 2265)

I say the British North America Act should be amended so as to make it possible for the federal government to undertake the administration of that scheme (old age pensions). . . . . The time has come when the federal parliament should seek to have the British North America Act amended so as to make it quite clear that it will be within the jurisdiction of this parliament to administer an old age pension act.

(June 2, 1931 - Revised Hansard p. 2266)

many cases might be cited
1930-31

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CANADA

C 93415 file old age pens.

Memorandum for Mr. King:

Mr. Heenan expressed the wish to have a word with you, if possible, on the whole matter of old age pensions.

The return in question (No.315) is now in Mr. Heenan's possession.

The reason why the figures given as the Dominion's share of the total amounts is on account of overlapping periods of previous year.

V. L.

July 24, 1931.

Dom. Prov. Relations - Financial
Social Security -
Pensions - Old Age -

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4.

(As at March 31, 1931)

5 provinces pay pensions to over ~~60,000~~ 57,930 pensioners.

The total amount paid out by the 5 provinces during the fiscal year 1930-1931 ---- $11,560,292.83

Dominion's share of the above - 5,780,927.77

Thus for arguments in round figures it would be as follows:-

The provinces paid out last year approximately $12,000,000.

The Dominion paid approximately $ 6,000,000.

Under the Bennett Bill now before the House the Government proposes to pay 75% of the $12,000,000 which would amount to $9,000,000.

If, however, the remaining 4 provinces come into the scheme it is estimated it would cost the nine provinces approximately $24,000,000. annually. Under the Bennett Bill the Dominion would then pay 75% of the $24,000,000.or $18,000,000.

---

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C 93417

*Reprinted from the* LABOUR GAZETTE, *May, 1931*

# OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA

## Statistical Summary of Administration During First Quarter of 1931 and Since Inception of the System

THE acompanying table gives particulars of operations under the Old Age Pensions Act (Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, chapter 156) and the various provincial concurrent Acts, during the first three months of 1931, and since these Acts became severally effective. Similar tables, bringing the statistics down to December 31, 1930, were given in the LABOUR GAZETTE, Februray 1931. The text of the Old Age Pensions Act was given in the issue for April, 1927, page 375. It makes provision for the establishment of a Dominion Provincial pension system to be effective in such provinces as have enacted special legislation for this purpose. These provinces are British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario. The New Brunswick Legislature passed an Old Age Pensions Act at its session last year, to become effective on its proclamation by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. In Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island Acts providing for the participation of these provinces in any federal scheme were passed at the session of 1931, both these Acts to take effect on proclamation.

Under the Old Age Pensions Act a pension is payable to any British subject of 70 years and upwards who is not in receipt of an income of as much as $365 a year and who has resided in Canada for the 20 years preceding, and has also resided in the province in which the application is made for the five years immediately preceding the granting of the pension. The maximum amount of pension payable under the Act is $240 yearly. In cases where pensioners have a private income the amount of their old age pension is subject to a reduction by the amount, if any, that their private income exceeds $125

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA AS AT MARCH, 31 1931

| — | Alberta | | British Columbia | | Manitoba | | Ontario | | Saskatchewan | | Northwest Territories | | Totals | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total number of pensioners | 3,287 | | 5,557 | | 5,834 | | 37,334 | | 5,913 | | 5 | | 57,930 | |
| Percentage of pensioners to total population | 0·50% | | 0·93% | | 0·87% | | 1·13% | | 0·67% | | 0·05% | | ..... | |
| Percentage of persons over 70 years of age to total population | 1·17% | | 1·84% | | 1·68% | | 3·48% | | 1·17% | | 1·17% | | ..... | |
| Percentage of pensioners to population over 70 years of age | 42·58% | | 50·53% | | 51·49% | | 32·32% | | 57·56% | | 4·46% | | ..... | |
| *Conjugal Condition*— | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Married | 950 | 425 | 1,300 | 652 | 1,813 | 1,021 | 8,723 | 4,739 | 1,948 | 997 | 3 | ..... | 14,737 | 7,834 |
| Single | 249 | 53 | 819 | 175 | 289 | 126 | 2,487 | 2,659 | 273 | 60 | ..... | ..... | 4,117 | 3,073 |
| Widowed | 648 | 881 | 896 | 1,427 | 891 | 1,657 | 5,948 | 12,556 | 1,028 | 1,554 | 1 | 1 | 9,412 | 18,076 |
| Living apart | 62 | 19 | 208 | 80 | 27 | 10 | 124 | 98 | 36 | 17 | ..... | ..... | 457 | 224 |
| | 1,909 | 1,378 | 3,223 | 2,334 | 3,020 | 2,814 | 17,282 | 20,052 | 3,285 | 2,628 | 4 | 1 | 28,723 | 29,207 |
| *Classification of British Subjects*— | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Birth | 2,359 | | 4,981 | | 4,008 | | 35,872 | | 3,650 | | 4 | | 50,874 | |
| Naturalization | 877 | | 490 | | 1,772 | | 1,003 | | 2,217 | | 1 | | 6,360 | |
| Marriage | 51 | | 86 | | 54 | | 459 | | 46 | | ..... | | 696 | |
| | 3,287 | | 5,557 | | 5,834 | | 37,334 | | 5,913 | | 5 | | 57,930 | |
| *Number of pensioners with previous residence in other provinces during the 20 years immediately preceding the date of commencement of pension*— | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alberta | ..... | | 480 | | 54 | | 89 | | 105 | | 2 | | 730 | |
| British Columbia | 112 | | ..... | | 78 | | 57 | | 59 | | ..... | | 306 | |
| Manitoba | 97 | | 312 | | ..... | | 131 | | 400 | | ..... | | 940 | |
| New Brunswick | 29 | | 55 | | 9 | | 26 | | 23 | | ..... | | 142 | |
| Nova Scotia | 34 | | 87 | | 22 | | 40 | | 27 | | ..... | | 210 | |
| Ontario | 297 | | 367 | | 231 | | ..... | | 506 | | ..... | | 1,401 | |
| Prince Edward Island | 10 | | 14 | | 2 | | ..... | | 12 | | ..... | | 38 | |
| Quebec | 71 | | 67 | | 41 | | 369 | | 71 | | ..... | | 619 | |
| Saskatchewan | 166 | | 367 | | 257 | | 134 | | ..... | | ..... | | 924 | |
| Northwest Territories | ..... | | 1 | | 12 | | ..... | | ..... | | ..... | | 13 | |
| Yukon | 3 | | 33 | | ..... | | 1 | | ..... | | ..... | | 37 | |
| | 819 | | 1,783 | | 706 | | 847 | | 1,203 | | 2 | | 5,360 | |

28549

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## COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, MARCH 31, 1931

| — | Alberta | British Columbia | Manitoba | Ontario | Saskatchewan | Northwest Territories | Total | — | Alberta | British Columbia | Manitoba | Ontario | Saskatchewan | Northwest Territories | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 1,532 | 2,497 | 2,598 | 27,412 | 2,505 | 4 | 36,548 | Jugo Slavia | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 10 | .... | 10 |
| England | 525 | 1,545 | 838 | 5,171 | 685 | .... | 8,764 | Turkey | ..... | 2 | ..... | 6 | 1 | .... | 9 |
| Scotland | 194 | 596 | 351 | 1,350 | 313 | .... | 2,804 | Syria | ..... | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | .... | 8 |
| Ireland | 86 | 248 | 169 | 1,545 | 104 | .... | 2,152 | Greece | 2 | 1 | ..... | 2 | 1 | .... | 6 |
| United States | 326 | 242 | 100 | 680 | 307 | .... | 1,655 | British East Indies | ..... | 1 | ..... | 4 | ..... | .... | 5 |
| Austria | 102 | 15 | 374 | 46 | 595 | .... | 1,132 | Isle of Man | ..... | 2 | ..... | 1 | 2 | .... | 5 |
| Poland | 104 | 10 | 464 | 81 | 299 | .... | 958 | Gibraltar | ..... | 1 | ..... | 3 | ..... | .... | 4 |
| Germany | 78 | 59 | 46 | 383 | 132 | 1 | 699 | Luxembourg | ..... | ..... | 1 | 1 | 2 | .... | 4 |
| Russia | 55 | 2 | 170 | 133 | 276 | .... | 636 | Bulgaria | 2 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 | .... | 3 |
| Iceland | 8 | 10 | 391 | ..... | 54 | .... | 463 | Malta | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2 | 1 | .... | 3 |
| Sweden | 75 | 82 | 87 | 54 | 133 | .... | 431 | New Zealand | ..... | 2 | ..... | 1 | ..... | .... | 3 |
| Norway | 89 | 55 | 35 | 24 | 160 | .... | 363 | Bahamas | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | 1 | .... | 2 |
| France | 17 | 17 | 59 | 35 | 35 | .... | 163 | British Guiana | ..... | ..... | 1 | 1 | ..... | .... | 2 |
| Hungary | 5 | 2 | 12 | 5 | 133 | .... | 157 | Isle of St. Helena | ..... | ..... | 1 | 1 | ..... | .... | 2 |
| Italy | 5 | 40 | 4 | 102 | 3 | .... | 154 | Japan | ..... | 2 | ..... | ..... | ..... | .... | 2 |
| Roumania | 15 | 2 | 26 | 21 | 74 | .... | 138 | Labrador | ..... | 1 | ..... | 1 | ..... | .... | 2 |
| Newfoundland | 4 | 26 | 2 | 99 | 4 | .... | 135 | Latvia | ..... | ..... | 2 | ..... | ..... | .... | 2 |
| Wales | 10 | 1 | 9 | 51 | 17 | .... | 88 | Lithuania | ..... | ..... | 2 | ..... | ..... | .... | 2 |
| Belgium | 6 | 13 | 42 | 6 | 14 | .... | 81 | Persia | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2 | .... | 2 |
| Denmark | 21 | 19 | 11 | 14 | 16 | .... | 81 | Peru | ..... | 2 | ..... | ..... | ..... | .... | 2 |
| Finland | 5 | 18 | 3 | 16 | 16 | .... | 58 | Algeria | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | .... | 1 |
| Holland | 4 | 11 | 11 | 6 | 4 | .... | 36 | Arabia | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | .... | 1 |
| British West Indies | 1 | 5 | 6 | 16 | 1 | .... | 28 | Chile | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | .... | 1 |
| Czecho-Slovakia | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | .... | 26 | China | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | .... | 1 |
| Switzerland | 7 | 2 | 5 | 10 | 2 | .... | 26 | Madeira | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | .... | 1 |
| Australia | 3 | 8 | 2 | 9 | ..... | .... | 22 | Samoa Islands | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | .... | 1 |
| India | ..... | 6 | 2 | 9 | 1 | .... | 18 | Spain | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | .... | 1 |
| Channel Islands | ..... | 1 | 1 | 15 | ..... | .... | 17 | | 3,287 | 5,557 | 5,834 | 37,334 | 5,913 | 5 | 57,930 |
| South Africa | 1 | 3 | 1 | 7 | ..... | .... | 21 | | | | | | | | |

## FINANCIAL SUMMARY OF OLD AGE PENSIONS IN CANADA AS AT MARCH 31, 1931

| — | Alberta — Act effective Aug. 1, 1929 | British Columbia — Act effective Sept. 1, 1927 | Manitoba — Act effective Sept. 1, 1928 | Ontario — Act effective Nov. 1, 1929 | Saskatchewan — Act effective May 1, 1928 | North West Territories — Order in Council effective Jan. 25, 1929 | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total number of pensioners as at March 31, 1931 | 3,287 | 5,557 | 5,834 | 37,334 | 5,913 | 5 | 57,930 |
| Average monthly pension | $19 53 | $19 03 | $19 25 | $19 15 | $19 37 | $19 83 | ..... |
| Total amount of pensions paid during last quarter of fiscal year 1930-31, (period Jan. 1-Mar. 31, 1931)....$ | 185,458 80 | 324,749 04 | 345,333 89 | 1,578,840 82 | 351,591 85 | 468 44 | 2,786,442 84 |
| Dominion Government's share of expenditure....$ | 92,729 40 | 162,374 52 | 172,666 95 | 789,420 40 | 175,795 92 | 468 44 | 1,393,455 63 |
| Total amount of pensions paid during fiscal year 1930-31, (period April1,1930, Mar. 31, 1931).....$ | 683,640 90 | 1,213,926 60 | 1,340,551 32 | 7,068,422 25 | 1,252,189 02 | 1,562 74 | 11,560,292 83 |
| Dominion Government's share of expenditure....$ | 341,820 44 | 606,963 30 | 670,275 67 | 3,534,211 11 | 626,094 51 | 1,562 74 | 5,780,927 77 |
| Total amount of pensions paid since inception of Old Age Pensions Act to March 31, 1931...$ | 951,060 94 | 3,263,563 64 | 2,989,846 99 | 9,324,110 57 | 2,572,131 85 | 2,120 48 | 19,102,834 47 |
| Dominion Government's share of expenditure....$ | 475,530 45 | 1,631,781 81 | 1,494,923 52 | 4,662,055 27 | 1,286,065 91 | 2,120 48 | 9,552,477 44 |

a year. The administrat
sions is entrusted to the
by the respective prov
The Department of Lab

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a year. The administration of old age pensions is entrusted to the authorities appointed by the respective provincial governments. The Department of Labour of Canada pays quarterly to each province one-half of the total amount of the pensions paid by the provincial pension authority during the preceding three months.

| Northwest Territories | Total |
|---|---|
| .... | 10 |
| .... | 9 |
| .... | 8 |
| .... | 6 |
| .... | 5 |
| .... | 5 |
| .... | 4 |
| .... | 4 |
| .... | 3 |
| .... | 3 |
| .... | 3 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 2 |
| .... | 1 |
| .... | 1 |
| .... | 1 |
| .... | 1 |
| .... | 1 |
| .... | 1 |
| .... | 1 |
| 5 | 57,930 |

931

Totals

57,930

2,786,442 84

1,393,455 63

11,560,292 83

5,780,927 77

19,102,834 47

9,552,477 44

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C 93418

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1923.

Message of the President to the Senate, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of State to the President, and asking the Senate's consent to the United States' adhesion to the Protocol under thich the Permanent Court of International Justice has been erected at The Hague. To be held in confidence and no part, intimation or synopsis released for publication until these documents have been delivered to the Senate.

---

TO THE SENATE:

There has been established at The Hague a Permanent Court of International Justice for the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods, now effective through the ratification by the signatory powers of a special protocol. It is organized and functioning. The United States is a competent suitor in the court, through provision of the Statute creating it, but that relation is not sufficient for a nation long committed to the peaceful settlement of international controversies. Indeed, our nation had a conspicuous place in the advocacy of such an agency of peace and international adjustment, and our deliberate public opinion of today is overwhelmingly in favor of our full participation, and the attending obligations of maintenance and the furtherance of its prestige. It is for this reason that I am now asking for the consent of the Senate to our adhesion to the protocol.

With this request I am sending to the Senate a copy of the letter addressed to me by the Secretary of State, in which he presents in detail the history of the establishment of the court, takes note of the objection to our adherence because of the court's organization under the auspices of the League of Nations, and its relation thereto, and indicates how, with certain reservations, we may fully adhere and participate, and remain wholly free from any legal relation to the League or assumption of obligation under the covenant of the League.

I forbear repeating the presentation made by the Secretary of State, but there is one phase of the matter not covered in his letter with which I choose frankly to acquaint the Senate. For a long period, indeed, ever since the International Conference on the Limitation of Armament, the consideration of plans under which we might adhere to the protocol has been under way. We were unwilling to adhere unless we could participate in the selection of judges, we could not hope to participate with an American accord if adherence involved any legal relation to the League. These conditions, there is good reason to believe, will be acceptable to the signatory powers, though nothing definitely can be done until the United States tenders adhesion with these reservations. Manifestly the Executive can not make this tender until the Senate has spoken its approval. Therefore, I most earnestly urge your favorable advice and consent. I would rejoice if some action could be taken, even in the short period which remains of the present session.

It is not a new problem in international relationship, it is wholly a question of accepting an established institution of high character, and making effective all the fine things which have been said by us in favor of such an agency of advanced civilization. It would be well worth the while of the Senate to make such special effort as is becoming to record its approval. Such action would add to our own consciousness of participation in the fortunate advancement of international relationship, and remind the world anew that we are ready for our proper part in furthering peace and adding to stability in world affairs.

WARREN G. HARDING.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

FEBRUARY 24, 1923.

Enclosures:
Letter of Secretary of State,
Copy of Protocol.

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C 93419

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
Washington
February 17, 1923.

My dear Mr. President:

Refering to our interviews with respect to the advisability of action by this Government in order to give its adhesion, upon appropriate conditions, to the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice, I beg leave to submit the following considerations:

From its foundation, this Government has taken a leading part in promoting the judicial settlement of international disputes. Prior to the first Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899, the United States had participated in fifty-seven arbitrations, twenty of which were with Great Britain. The President of the United States had acted as arbitrator between other nations in five cases, and Ministers of the United States, or other persons designated by this Government, had acted as arbitrator or umpire in seven cases. In 1890 the Congress adopted a concurrent resolution providing, --

> "That the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and be peaceably adjusted by such means. (Cong. Rec. 51st Cong., 1st Sess., Part 3, Vol. 21, p. 2986)."

In his instructions to the delegates of this Government to the First Peace Conference at The Hague, Secretary Hay said:

> "Nothing can secure for human government and for the authority of law which it represents so deep a respect and so firm a loyalty as the spectacle of sovereign and independent States, whose duty it is to prescribe the rules of justice and impose penalties upon the lawless, bowing with reverence before the august supremacy of those principles of right which give to law its eternal foundation."

A plan for a permanent international tribunal accompanied these instructions.

At that Conference, there was adopted a "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" which provided for a Permanent Court of Arbitration. This organization, however, while called a permanent court, really consists of an eligible list of persons designated by the contracting parties respectively, from whom tribunals may be constituted for the determination of such controversies as the parties concerned may agree to submit to them.

In 1908 and 1909 the United States concluded nineteen general conventions of arbitration which, in accordance with The Hague Conventions, provided for arbitration by special agreement of differences which are of a legal nature or which relate to the interpretation of treaties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, provided that the differences do not affect the vital interest, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting States and do not concern the interests of third parties. Moreover since the First Peace Conference at The Hague a number of Conventions have been concluded by this Government submitting to arbitration questions of great importance.

It is believed that the preponderant opinion in this country has not only favored the policy of judicial settlement of justiciable international disputes through arbitral tribunals specially established, but it has also strongly desired that a permanent court of international justice should be established and maintained. In his instructions to the delegates of the United States to the Second Peace Conference held at The Hague in 1907, Secretary Root emphasized the importance of the establishment of such a tribunal in conformity with accepted judicial standards. He said:

> "It should be your effort to bring about in the Second Conference a development of The Hague tribunal into a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility. These judges should be so selected from the different countries that the different systems of law and procedure and the principal languages

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shall be fairly represented. The court should be of such dignity, consideration and rank that the best and ablest jurists will accept appointment to it, and that the whole world will have absolute confidence in its judgments."

The Second Peace Conference discussed a plan looking to the attainment of this object, but the project failed because an agreement could not be reached with respect to the method of selecting judges. The conference adopted the following recommendation:

"The Conference recommends to the signatory powers the adoption of the project, hereto annexed, of a convention for the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice and its putting into effect as soon as an accord shall be reached upon the choice of the judges and the constitution of the court".

The Covenant of the League of Nations provided, in Article 14, that the Council of the League should formulate and submit to the members of the League plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, which should be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto should submit to it, and which also might give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly of the League. This provision of the Covenant, it may be said, did not enter into the subsequent controversy with respect to participation by this Government in the League of Nations; on the contrary it is believed that this controversy reflected but little, if any, divergence of view in this country with respect to the advisability of establishing a permanent international court.

Pursuant to the direction contained in the Article above quoted, the Council of the League appointed an advisory committee of jurists which sat at The Hague in the summer of 1920 and formulated a plan for the establishment of such a court. Honorable Elihu Root was a member of that committee. It recommended a plan which was subsequently examined by the Council and Assembly of the League; and, after certain amendments had been made, the Statute constituting the Permanent Court of International Justice was adopted by the Assembly of the League on December 13, 1920

While these steps were taken under the auspices of the League, the Statute constituting the Permanent Court of International Justice did not become effective upon its adoption by the Assembly of the League. On the contrary, it became effective by virtue of the signature, and ratification by the signatory powers, of a special Protocol. The reason for this procedure was that, although the plan of the Court was prepared under Article 14 of the Covenant, the Statute went beyond the terms of the Covenant, especially in making the Court available to States which were not members of the League of Nations. Accordingly a Protocol of Signature was prepared by which the signatory powers declared their acceptance of the adjoined Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Permanent Court, thus established by the signatory powers under the Protocol with the Statute annexed, is now completely organized and at work.

The Statute of the Court provides for the selection of the judges; defines their qualifications; and prescribes the jurisdiction of the Court and the procedure to be followed in litigation before it.

The Court consists of fifteen members. -- eleven judges, called "ordinary judges", and four deputy judges. The eleven judges constitute the full Court. In case they cannot all be present, deputies are to sit as judges in place of the absentees; but, if eleven judges are not available, nine may constitute a quorum. It is provided that the judges shall be elected regardless of their nationality from amongst persons of high moral character, possessing the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointments to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law. The judges are elected by the Council and Assembly of the League, each body proceeding independently The successful candidate must obtain an absolute majority of votes in each body. The judges are elected for nine years and are eligible for re-election. The ordinary judges are forbidden to exercise any political or administrative function. This provision does not apply to the deputy judges except when performing their duties in the Court.

The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provides for in Treaties and Conventions in force.

Provision has also been made so that any signatory power, if it desires, may in signing the Protocol accept as compulsory "ipso facto and without special Convention" the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning (a) the interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an

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ternational obligation; and (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

This is an entirely optional clause and unless it is signed the jurisdiction of the Court if not obligatory.

The first election of judges of the Court took place in September 1921. The eleven ordinary judges are the following:

Viscount Robert Bannatyne Finlay, Great Britain,
B. C. J. Loder, Holland
Ruy Barbosa, Brazil
D. J. Nyholm, Denmark
Charles Andre Weiss, France
John Bassett Moore, United States
Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, Cuba
Rafael Altamira, Spain
Yorozu Oda, Japan
Dionisio Anzilotti, Italy
Max Huber, Switzerland

The four deputies are:

Michailo Yovanovitch, Serb-Croat-Slovene State
F. V. N. Beichmann, Norway
Demetre Negulesco, Roumania
Chung-Hui Wang, China

It will be noted that one of the most distinguished American jurists has been elected a member of the Court, Honorable John Bassett Moore.

In considering the question of participation of the United States in the support of the Permanent Court, it may be observed that the United States is already a competent suitor in the Court. The Statute expressly provides that the Court shall be open not only to members of the League but to States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant.

But it is not enough that the United States should have the privileges of a suitor. In view of the vast importance of provision for the peaceful settlement of international controversies, of the time-honored policy of this Government in promoting such settlements, and of the fact that it has at last been found feasible to establish upon a sound basis a permanent international court of the highest distinction and to invest it with a jurisdiction which conforms to American principles and practice, I am profoundly convinced that this Government, under appropriate conditions, should become a party to the convention establishing the Court and should contribute its fair share of the expense of maintenance.

I find no insuperable obstacle in the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations. The Statute of the Court has various procedural provisions relating to the League. But none of these provisions save those for the election of judges, to which I shall presently refer, are of a character which would create any difficulty in the support of the Court by the United States despite its non-membership in the League. None of these provisions impair the independence of the Court. It is an establishment separate from the League, having

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a distinct legal status resting upon the Protocol and Statute. It is organized and acts in accordance with judidal standards, and its decisions are not controlled or subject to review by the League of Nations.

In order to avoid any question that adhesion to the Protocol and acceptance of the Statute of the Court would involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Covenant of the League of Nations, it would be appropriate, if so desired, to have the point distinctly reserved as a part of the terms of the adhesion on the part of this Government.

Again, as already npted, the signature of the Protocol and the consequent acceptance of the Statute, in the absence of assent to the optional compulsory clause, does not require the acceptance by the signatory Powers of the jurusdiction of the Court except in such cases as may thereafter be voluntarily submitted to the Court. Hence, in adhering to the Protocol, the United States would not be required to depart from the position, which it has thus far taken, that there should be a special agreement for the submission of a particular controversy to arbitral decision.

There is, however, one fundamental objection to adhesion on the part of the United States to the Protocol and the acceptance of the Statute of the Court in its present form. That is, that under theprovisions of the Statute only members of the League of Nations are entitled to a voice in the election of judges. The objection is not met by the fact that this Government is represented by its own national group in the Hague Court of Arbitration and that this group may nominate candidates for election as judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This provision relates simply to the nomination of candidates; the election of judges rests with the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations. It is no disparagement of the distinguished abilities of the judges who have already been chosen to say that the United States could not be expected to give its formal support to a permanent international tribunal in the election of the members of which it had no right to take part.

I believe that the validity of this objection is recognized and that it will be feasible to provide for the suitable participation by the United States in the election of judges, both ordinary and deputy judges, and in the fillingof vacancies. The practical advantage of the present system of electing judges, by the majority votes of the Council and Assembly of the League acting separately, is quite manifest. It was this arrangement which solved the difficulty, theretofore appearing almost insuperable, of providing an electoral system conserving the interests of the Powers both great and small. It would be impracticable, in my judgment, to disturb the essential features of this system. It may also be observed that the members of the Council and Assembly of the League in electing the judges of the Court do not act under the Covenant of the League of Nations but under the Statute of the Court and in the capacity of electors performing duties defined by the Statute. It would seem to be reasonable and practicable, that in adhering to the Protocol and accepting the Statute, this Government should prescribe as a condition that the United States, through representatives designated for the purpose, should be permitted to participate, upon an equality with other States members of the League of Nations, in all proceedings both of the Council and of the Assembly of the League for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Court or for the filling of vacancies in these offices.

As the Statute of the Court prescribes its organization, competence and procedure, it would also be appropriate to provide, as a condition of the adhesion of the United States, that the Statute should not be amended without the consent of the United States.

The expenses of the Court are not burdensome. Under the Statute of the Court, these expenses are borne by the League of Nations; the League determines the budget and apportions the amount among its members. Imunderstand that the largest contribution by any State is but little more than $35,000 a year. In this matter also, the members of the Council and

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Assembly of the League do not act under the Covenant of the League but under the Statute of the Court. The United States, if it adhered to the Protocol, would of course desire to pay its fair share of the expense of maintaining the Court. The amount of this contribution would, however, be subject to determination by Congress and to the making of appropriations for the purpose. Reference to this matter also might properly be made in the instrument of adhesion.

Accordingly I beg leave to recommend that, if this course meets with your approval, you request the Senate to take suitable action advising and consenting to the adhesion on the part of the United States to the Protocol of December 16, 1920, accepting the adjoined Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, but not the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction; provided, however, that such adhesion shall be upon the following conditions and understandings to be made a part of the instrument of adhesion:

I. That such adhesion shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Covenant of the League of Nations constituting Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.

II. That the United States shall be permitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other States members respectively of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or for the filling of vacancies.

III. That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

IV. That the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the Protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

If the Senate gives its assent upon this basis, steps can then be taken for the adhesion of the United States to the Protocol in the manner authorized. The attitude of this Government will thus be defined and communicated to the other signatory Powers whose acquiescence in the stated conditions will be necessary.

Copies of the Resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations of December 13, 1920, the Protocol of December 16, 1920, and the Statute of the Court are enclosed herewith.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

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C 93424 E-1304

COPY

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Communicated to Council and Members of the League.

C.362. M.162.1923. V.

Geneva,

April 30th,1923.

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

Note by the Secretary-General.

In accordance with a decision taken by the Council at its meeting on April 17th,1923, the Secretary-General has the honour to forward for the information of the Members of the League, a memorandum dated March 29th, 1923, presented to the Council by the British Government, on the subject of the election which is to be held to fill the vacancy on the Permanent Court of International Justice created by the death of M. Ruy Barbosa.

The Secretary-General has further the honour to forward for information a copy of a Resolution adopted by the Council on April 19th,1923, on the subject of the election.

Referred to: May 23/23
The Prime Minister
The Minister of Justice.

MAY 23 Rec'd

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C 93425

COPY

- 1 -

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

Memorandum by the British Government.

Note. This memorandum was submitted to the Council on April 17th, 1923, and is now by direction of the Council, circulated for the information of the Members of the League.

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Foreign Office,

London

March 29th, 1923.

Election of a Judge to fill a vacancy on the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Council at its meeting in April will consider the question of placing on the agenda of the next Assembly the election of a judge to the Permanent Court of International Justice to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Monsieur Ruy Barbosa.

2. His Majesty's Government desire to draw the attention of the Council to the desirability of candidates for election to the Permanent Court of International Justice having a working knowledge of both French and English, the two official languages of the Court.

3. Interpreting, however well done, cannot reproduce the exact effect of the language originally used, and it is of particular importance in judicial proceedings that the exact sense and not merely the general effect of a speech by counsel should be appreciated by the judges. Further, if every member of the Court of International Justice knew both English and French it might

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often be possible to dispense with translating, which would save a great deal of time and expense. A knowledge of both languages would also be a great convenience for the purpose of discussions between members of the Court when they are considering their conclusion after the hearing of an argument; at such discussions an interpreter is not, and cannot fitly be present.

4. Another and perhaps even more important consideration is that in certain sections of international law there exists what may be termed an Anglo-Saxon system and a continental system. Works and writings dealing with the former are usually written in English; works and writings dealing with the latter are usually written in French. A judge of the International Court should be acquainted with the writings of both schools of thought and the chances of his having a knowledge of both are greatly diminished if he is not acquainted with the two languages.

5. His Majesty's Government accordingly suggest that if the Council agrees, the Secretary-General should be authorised to circulate this memorandum to all members of the League for their information.

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C 93427



PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

Resolution adopted by the Council on April 19th, 1923.

Experience has already shown that the functions of judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice are increasingly absorbing. During the first twelve months of its existence the Court sat for 144 days and its work may be expected to increase. The number of judges and deputy -judges is not more than sufficient to provide for occasional absences caused by sickness or other unavoidable impediments.

The attention of the Council has accordingly been drawn to the desirability of appointing as judges persons in a position to take an effective part in the work of the Court, and to the fact that the duties of a judge will necessitate his presence at the seat of the Court during a somewhat considerable period of each year.

Without desiring to restrict its own freedom of choice or that of the Assembly, the Council feels it desirable to note that the above consideration is one of those to which considerable importance should be attached.

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C 93428

SOCIETE DES NATIONS.

C.L.34,1923. V.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Geneva, May 3rd 1923.

ELECTION TO THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations has the honour to inform the Canadian Government that a vacancy among the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice has been created by the death of M.RUY BARBOSA, and that the Council has placed upon the agenda of the next session of the Assembly commencing on September 3rd and upon that of a meeting of the Council to be held during the session of the Assembly, the following item:

Election to the Permanent Court of International Justice necessitated by the decease of M.Ruy Barbosa (Art.14 of the Statute of the Court.)

Under Article 14 of the Statue of the Court, the vacancy is to be "filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election", that is to say, by election by the Assembly and Council in the manner provided in Articles 4 to 13 of the Statute from a list of candidates nominated in accordance with these articles.

Articles 4 and 5 of the Statute of the Permanent Court are in the following terms:

ARTICLE 4.

"The members of the Court shall be elected by the Assembly and by the Council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Court of Arbitration, in accordance with the following provisions:

"In the case of Members of the League of Nations not represented in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the lists of candidates shall be drawn up by national groups appointed for this purpose by their Governments under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration by Article 44 of the Convention of The Hague of 1907 for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes."

ARTICLE 5.

"At least three months before the date of the election, the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall address a written request to the members of the Court of Arbitration belonging to the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant or to the States which join the League subsequently, and to the persons appointed under paragraph 2 of Article 4, inviting them to undertake, within a given time, by national groups, the nomination of persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the Court."

The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

Referred to:Premier,
Justice.

Sir Joseph Pope says this communication is receiving attention of Dept. of Justice.

L Oliver

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"No group may nominate more than four persons, not more than two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case must the number of candidates nominated be more than double the number of seats to be filled."

The Secretary General is informed by the Secretary-General of the Permanent Court of Arbitration that Canada is not represented in that court, The invitations to nominate candidates for the present vacancy upom the Permanent Court of International Justice have therefore to be addressed in the case of Canada to the members of the national group appointed by the Government of Canada in accordance with the above-quoted paragraph 2 of Article 4 of the Court's Statute.

The Secretary General has the honour to request that the Canadian Government will be so good as to inform him what persons will constitute its national group on the present occasion.

The formal invitation to nominate must be addressed to these persons by the Secretary General, and will be so addressed, through the intermediary of the Canadian Government, so soon as the Secretary-General is informed of their names. This information should, if possible be received before June 1st, so that the invitations may be dispatched by that date in accordance with article 5 of the Statute of the Court.

I n order, however, to allow the members of the national group as much time as possible for considering their nominations ( which should be made not later than August 1st), the Secretary General would venture to ask that they may be invited at once, on his behalf, by the Canadian Government to enter into communication with one another and to inform him by August 1st of the persons whom they may decide to nominate. For this purpose it would be desirable that their attention should be directed to the following provisions of the Statue of theCourt concerning the qualifications required of the judges and the discharge of their functions by the national groups:

The nomination is to be undertaken "by national groups", and the persons nominated are to be "persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the Court". ( Art.5.)

"The number of candidates nominated by any group may not be more than double the number of seats to be filled." (Art.5) Consequently, on the present occasion no group may nominate more than two candidates.

The Permanent Court is to be composed " of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from amongst persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices or are jurisconsults of recognised competence in international law"(Art2)

Before making nominations "each national group is recommended to consult its Highest Court of Justice, its Legal Faculties and Schools of LAW? AND ITS National Acadamies and national sections of International Academies devoted to the study of Law " (Art.6).

"A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose period of appointment had not expired will hold the appointment for the remainder of his predecessor's term". (Art.14.) M.Barbosa's successor will accordingly be appointed for the remainder of M.Barbosa's term of 9 years, i.e., until December 31st 1930.

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"The ordinary members of the Court may not exercise any political or administrative function". (Art.16.)

"No member of the Court can act as agent, counsel or advocate in any case of an international nature". (Art.17.)

"A session of the Court shall be held every year. Unless otherwise provided by Rules of Court, this session shall begin on the 15th of June and shall continue for so long as may be deemed necessary to finish the cases on the list. The president may summon an extraordinary session of the Court whenever necessary."(Art.23)

It may assist the national groups to know that, since its foundation, the Court has been called upon to sit for 144 days, divided as follows:

Preliminary Session: (January 30th 1922, to March 24th,1922 (40 meetings, 54 days):

First (Ordinary) Session: June 15th, 1922, to August 12th,1922 (50 meetings 59 days.)

Second (Extraordinary) Session: January 8th 1923, to February 7th 1923 (20 meetings, 31days.)

The official languages of the Court are French and English, in accordance with Article 39 of the Statute of the Court and Articles 37 and 44 of the Rules of Court, which are as follows:

Article 39 of the Statute.

"The official languages of the Court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment will be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment will be delivered in English.

"In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers: the decision of the Court will be given in French and English. In this case, the Court will at the same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered as authoritative.

"The Court may, at the request of the parties, authorise a language other than French or English to be used."

Article 37 of the Rules.

"Should the parties agree that the proceedings shall be conducted in French or in English, the documents constituting the written procedure shall be submitted only in the language adopted by the parties.

"In the absence of an agreement with regard to the language to be employed, documents shall be submitted in French or in English.

"Should the use of a language other than French or English be authorised, a translation into French or into English shall be attached to the original of each document submitted.

"The Registrar shall not be bound to make translations of documents submitted in accordance with the above rules.

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"In the case of voluminous documents, the Court, or the President if the Court is not sitting , may, at the request of the party concerned, sanction the submission of translations of portions of documents only."

ARTICLE 44 of the Rules.

"The Registrar shall arrange for the interpretation from French into English and from English into French of all statements, questions and answers which the Court may direct to be so interpreted.

"Whenever a language other than French or English is employed, either under the terms of the third paragraph of Article 39 of the Statute or in a particular instance, the necessary arrangements for translation into one of the two official languages shall be made by the party concerned. In the case of witnesses or experts who appear at the instance of the Court, these arrangements shall be made by the Registrar."

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C 93432

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS. [March 17, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[W 2286/338/98] No. 1.

*Memorandum respecting Compulsory Jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

THE Permanent Court of International Justice was set up in accordance with article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which reads :—

"The council shall formulate, and submit to the members of the League for adoption, plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly."

Article 36 of the statute of the court reads :—

"The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force.

"The members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the annex to the covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto*, and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning—

"(*a.*) The interpretation of a treaty;
"(*b.*) Any question of international law;
"(*c.*) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
"(*d.*) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

"The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally, or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain members or States, or for a certain time.

"In the event of a dispute as to whether the court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court."

It is urged by Mr. Lowes Dickinson that the optional declaration provided for in this article should be made by His Majesty's Government.

This declaration has so far been made by—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Austria. | Finland. | Norway. |
| Brazil. | Haiti. | Panamá. |
| Bulgaria. | Latvia. | Portugal. |
| China. | Liberia. | Salvador. |
| Costa Rica. | Lithuania. | Sweden. |
| Denmark. | Luxemburg. | Switzerland. |
| Esthonia. | Netherlands. | Uruguay. |

and ratified by—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Austria. | Esthonia. | Norway. |
| Brazil. | Finland. | Portugal. |
| Bulgaria. | Haiti. | Sweden. |
| China. | Lithuania. | Switzerland. |
| Denmark. | Netherlands. | Uruguay. |

Acceptance is, in some cases, for five years only, and it is generally subject to reciprocity.

The question of accepting compulsory jurisdiction of the court for this country was considered in relation to a draft statute earlier than the statute actually adopted;



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the earlier draft made jurisdiction compulsory without option. The decision of the Cabinet (the 18th October, 1920) was adverse, on the grounds—

1. That compulsory jurisdiction went far beyond article 14 of the covenant, which only contemplates a scheme for a court to hear disputes which the parties thereto may voluntarily submit to its jurisdiction.
2. The scheme was detrimental to us as a sea Power, since it would enable predominantly land Powers to build up a code of international law which would fetter the exercise of our sea power. Unless precautions were taken to prevent its application being made retrospective, it would even enable appeal to be made against the decision of our prize courts in the late war.
3. Even if it were generally recognised that decisions of the court in particular cases did not constitute future precedents, the fact that the court had given a decision might seriously hamper Great Britain in a future war and strengthen the position of neutral States against her.

Sir Eyre Crowe wrote of the early draft :—

"The most dangerous provision is an article under which the court will have power to decide any question of international law which any State thinks fit to bring before it.

"To judge of the merits of such a provision, the best means is to consider what might and would have happened in the time of our greatest national peril—during the late war—if this provision had been in force.

"Every single point which either our enemies or any neutral State had chosen to raise against us in regard to the blockade, or any of the special measures we took which interfered with neutral trade, would certainly have been brought before the court. The United States would undoubtedly have taken a strong and leading part in obtaining decisions adverse to our interests. It is more than doubtful whether we should have got judgments in our favour on any issue so raised. The effect of adverse decisions, coupled with the infliction of heavy penalties (which are also to be within the powers of the court), would have been to cripple us, probably beyond recovery. We should have had to choose between losing the war or defying the International Court.

"I cannot believe that any scheme is sound which created such a situation."

Sir C. Hurst wrote :—

"Under article 33 one State can, in case of a dispute, be brought against its will before the tribunal by another, and under article 34 between States which are members of the League the court shall have jurisdiction (without any special agreement) to determine any case of a legal nature concerning a question in international law. The effect of these two articles appears to be such that, if the tribunal existed during a great war in which the British Empire was taking part, any neutral nation, one of whose ships or cargoes had been seized by the British fleet and which was dissatisfied with such British belligerent action as being unjustified by international law, would be entitled, if His Majesty's Government declined to accord satisfaction, to bring the case before this new permanent court. It reproduces, in fact, in an even balder manner, all which the scheme for the creation of an international prize court would have achieved. That scheme for an international prize court, which was worked out in 1907 after the experiences of the Russo-Japanese war, was rejected by Great Britain, and most people now think wisely rejected. So far as I can see, this scheme for the Permanent Court of International Justice contains no safeguards or limitations which would exclude the court from dealing with matters as to which the national prize courts should be final."

A memorandum by the Lord Chancellor and the Law Officers of the Crown contained the passage :—

"In our opinion there are good grounds for apprehending that the establishment of such a court as is suggested—at all events at the present time—would be contrary to the interests of this country. Under articles 33 and 34 a State can, in case of a dispute, be brought, against its will, before the court by another, and as between States which are members of the League the court is to have jurisdiction,

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without any special agreement, to determine any case of a legal nature concerning a question in international law. It may, we think, be gravely doubted whether it would be politic for Great Britain in any circumstances to bind herself to refer any disputes which might arise in the future within this very wide jurisdiction to a tribunal of whose impartiality she has no assurance. It may be asked, perhaps, whether it is reasonable to expect impartiality from any permanent international court. And there are special reasons why this country should not be a party to such an engagement now. It is well known that some neutral nations (*e.g.*, Sweden and Holland) are dissatisfied with our proceedings during the war, and also with some of the decisions of our prize courts. If the proposed court were established it would be open to these and other States to make claims based on such proceedings, and, if they were not settled diplomatically, to carry them before the new court, with the result that we might, and probably should, have to pay very heavy compensation, and various decisions of the prize courts might, in effect, be reversed."

The question of sanctions for the judgment of the court becomes of particular importance in cases where a party appears before it with reluctance. On this point Sir Eyre Crowe wrote in connection with the earlier draft:—

"There is nothing in the draft scheme, so far as I can see, to regulate the execution of any judgment given by the International Court. Such judgments are bound, in many cases, to call for action by the defeated Government which may require parliamentary sanction. What guarantee is there that such sanction will invariably be forthcoming? It may be argued that each Government pledges itself to carry the necessary legislation, and that this corresponds to what happens when a Government signs a treaty the provisions of which can only be carried out in virtue of special legislation to be passed.

"But the position is not strictly analogous. A Government when signing a treaty, or even when advising the King to ratify a treaty, may consider itself to be in a position to ensure that the particular treaty is approved by Parliament. In the last resort, a treaty signed, but not ratified, can be nullified by refusing ratification. This is what happened to the Prize Court Bill after its defeat in the House of Lords.

"But a judgment rendered in the International Court is final. It cannot be repudiated. At the same time, no Government can foretell what kind of claim against it may some day form the subject of an international judgment. At the moment when the judgment is given, the Government against whom it is given may realise that in no case would the national Parliament pass the necessary legislation to give effect to it. But it will then be too late.

"This difficulty is likely to arise in an acute form in the United States. I very much doubt whether any American Government or President could give a really effective pledge that a judgment given against an American Government will be executed, especially if the consent of the Senate should be required.

"Hitherto the United States have invariably adopted the attitude of strongly advocating international courts, arbitrations, compulsory adjudications, &c., and then blandly explaining that the Constitution of America was so peculiar as to require that all the obligations specially binding upon other countries must be modified in favour of the United States.

"I think Great Britain should never agree to any international jurisdiction unless at least the United States are equally and fully bound by it. So long as the United States are not members of the League of Nations, I think His Majesty's Government should firmly resist to submit to it.

"All our best expert opinion, after all, is that we have everything that is practically required and practically valuable, in the existing Permanent Court at The Hague."

We are already under extensive obligations under article 13 of the Covenant of the League, which reads as follows:—

"The members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

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"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

"For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

"The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

*Foreign Office, March* 17, 1924.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS. [June 18, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[W 5045/338/98] No. 1.

*Memorandum by Sir C. Hurst.*

THE question under consideration is whether His Majesty's Government would gain or lose by acceding to the optional clause in the statute creating the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, whereby the signatories accept an obligation to submit to the court all disputes on legal matters which may arise between them. The actual text of the provision in article 36 is as follows:—

"The members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the annex to the covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognise as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning:—

"(*a.*) The interpretation of a treaty.
"(*b.*) Any question of international law.
"(*c.*) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.
"(*d.*) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

"The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain members or States, or for a certain time.

"In the event of a dispute as to whether the court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court."

I can only advise on the subject from the legal point of view, but the subject is, of course, one on which political considerations may well outweigh legal considerations.

So far as regards the type of dispute which arises between this Government and a foreign Government in normal times, *i.e.*, times of peace, it is noticeable that where a suggestion for reference of the dispute to arbitration is made, it almost always emanates from the British side. It is not the foreign Power which asks His Majesty's Government to arbitrate and His Majesty's Government who hesitate; it is His Majesty's Government who seek arbitration as the mode of settling the dispute.

The reason is not far to seek. I doubt whether there has ever been a case in the last fifty years in which a British Government has deliberately acted in a manner which it knew to be contrary to the rules of international law as understood in this country. Consequently, where a dispute has arisen and has bid fair to be troublesome, resort to arbitration is welcomed as the best way out of what might develop into a tiresome situation. No Government which has had experience of the inconvenience of a diplomatic deadlock and is faced with a dispute with another Government on a matter which is legal in character and, therefore, susceptible of settlement by arbitration, and on which it believes itself to be in the right, is likely to prefer the continuance of the dispute to its solution.

It seems to follow almost logically that so long as British Governments continue to be actuated by the same motives as those which have moved preceding Governments, there is no appreciable risk in accepting an obligation to submit any dispute of this character which may arise to the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court.

Positive advantage would only accrue from the increased facility for obliging a foreign Government to submit a dispute to the jurisdiction of the International Court. It must be confessed that for some little time to come this advantage would be slight. It is with the more important Powers that disputes generally occur, and these Powers are not likely at present to enter into similar obligations. Nevertheless, if the concrete gain is likely to be small for some years, so is the risk, as British



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acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the court would only operate in respect of Powers which entered into similar obligations.

The net result is, to my mind, that in respect of disputes which arise in peace time His Majesty's Government would gain more than they lose by signing the optional clause, and thereby accepting the system of compulsory submission to the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of disputes of a legal character.

It is not peace time disputes, however, which are the real problem in connection with compulsory arbitration. It is in connection with disputes which may arise out of British belligerent action in time of war.

No democracy is going to allow itself to become engaged in war if it can help it, and when it does become involved in war it is going to fight with its back to the wall. This is particularly true of Great Britain; and of Great Britain's belligerent operations, the most important will be at sea. Naval operations bring a belligerent into conflict with neutral Powers far more than military operations on land, and the problems surrounding the submission to arbitration or international judicial settlement of disputes arising out of belligerent measures are, therefore, more difficult and the risks greater for Great Britain than for other great Powers whose strength is devoted to fighting on land.

It has been the policy of this Government for more than a century to resist any attempt to define in a rigid code the limits of lawful naval action against neutral seaborne commerce assisting the enemy, except so far as the body of our own prize court decisions establish such definitions. Consequently, when war breaks out and Great Britain strives to attain the mastery of the sea, she is bound to incur the ill-will of neutral Powers. It is the moment when neutral commerce can reap large profits out of the needs of the enemy; and the greater the struggle the more pressing will be the needs of the enemy, and the larger the anticipated profits of the neutral; more determined also will be the British measures to repress that commerce, and the more certain, therefore, the friction with neutral Powers.

Is it safe in such circumstances to agree to a system under which the neutral Power would have the right in future to bring the legality of British action at sea before an international tribunal?

In actual practice what acceptance of the obligatory jurisdiction of the court at The Hague would mean in this connection would be that a neutral who failed to get satisfaction in the prize court would, after exhausting his right of appeal to the Privy Council, be entitled to question the legality of the British action in the court at The Hague and demand compensation. The International Court would then decide whether or not British action was in accordance with international law. If it decided that it was so, the action would be upheld; if it decided that it was not, His Majesty's Government would have to give compensation. The question, therefore, would narrow itself down to the issue whether or not the British belligerent action was a violation of international law.

The risk involved in submission to international judicial decision is undoubtedly great, but it is very easy to exaggerate it. Naval struggles come at rare intervals, and the precedents of one war are no safe guide as to what is legitimate in the next. The prize court decisions as to what is legitimate belligerent action given in one war always show a great advance on those given in a preceding war, because novel applications must be made of the basic principles. The British belligerent measures at sea during the recent war seemed to constitute very startling developments, but I doubt whether any of them were inconsistent with the old principles; and if they were not, there is no reason to assume that an international court would have condemned them. That, however, must necessarily be a matter of speculation.

In the past the potent check on belligerent excesses has been found in the fear that the neutral Power will join the enemy. It is better to submit to some inconvenient arbitrations than to be faced with a new enemy.

A good example of the working of this principle may be seen in our relations with the United States of America at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

The parent of all forms of international review of belligerent prize court decisions was the commission under article 7 of Jay's Treaty of 1794. The Caribbean captures, under the Orders in Council of June and November 1793, had produced such exasperation in the United States that, when Jay was sent over by Washington in the hope of effecting a settlement, the situation from the British point of view was precarious. Firstly, Great Britain was faced with a possible renewal with American co-operation of the Armed Neutrality of 1780. Secondly, there was

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appreciable risk of an American declaration of war, which would have diverted British energies from the French war and would have weakened the British financial position. Thirdly, the embargo already imposed by the United States had complicated the food position in the West Indies.

None of these were risks which Great Britain could face, and at an early stage Grenville decided that the advice of the British Minister in the United States must be acted on, and that satisfaction must be given in respect of the Order in Council of November 1793. The commission under article 7 of the treaty was the result, and in the end 478 awards were given in favour of American claimants and compensation was paid to the extent of over 2¼ millions.

Fifteen years later Great Britain was at the height of the struggle against the continental system of Napoleon, and was issuing and enforcing the retaliatory Orders in Council, against the Berlin and Milan decrees. American commerce was neutral and was feeling the effect of the Orders in Council. The United States took measures in reply, and ultimately, driven to desperation, in part by the impressment of American seamen, in part by the seizures under the Orders in Council, embarked on the war of 1812.

Clearly the course pursued in 1794 was the wiser. It is better to risk some adverse arbitration awards than to face another war.

If I read the signs of the times aright, however, there is a new factor, which will vitally affect this problem in the future. The League of Nations is not likely to eliminate war from the world, but it is practically certain that any belligerent, forced, as Great Britain will be forced, to take measures, and, perhaps, novel measures, at sea, will endeavour to secure the concurrence of the League in those measures. If that concurrence is secured, neutral protests (if there are any neutrals) are only likely as to questions of fact involved in the prize court decisions which are the subject of protest. If the neutral protests are directed against the principles adopted, *i.e.*, against the terms of the Orders in Council directing what ships or cargo are liable to capture, it is improbable that the court at The Hague would uphold the protests, or would condemn as inconsistent with international law measures which were taken with the concurrence of the League.

The reason which makes me assert with some confidence that the belligerent, particularly if it is Great Britain, will endeavour to secure the concurrence of the League in measures which involve any departure from the admitted rules of international law, is the fact that the neutral who protests is bound to come to the League before he takes any forcible measures in support of his protest. He is prevented by the terms of the covenant from going to war without complying with the elaborate machinery set out in the covenant. Up till now the neutral's power of decision as to whether he would declare war in defence of his rights has been unfettered. Now he must go to the council and comply with the formalities of article 15. Consequently, the reasonableness and the legality of the belligerent's measure are, in case of acute conflict, bound sooner or later to come before the League. The belligerent, therefore, if he is well advised, will see the advantage of getting the League's approval of the particular measures he contemplates at the moment when he can urge the necessity for them, and before a neutral who desires to oppose them can bring forward a piteous tale of woe of the intolerable injury which the measures are doing. It is true the League may refuse to sanction the measures which the belligerent desires to take, but if the war has been sanctioned by the League it is not likely that the League will take the responsibility of refusing to sanction belligerent measures for which a good case can be made out.

I admit that this is an unforeseen result of the working of the covenant; but, nevertheless, I think that it is what will happen.

If it is sound, it is manifest that it reduces substantially the risk involved in accepting, so far as belligerent measures are concerned, the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court.

The result seems to be that from the legal point of view no serious risk would be entailed so far as concerns (*a*) peace time disputes, and (*b*) disputes arising out of *future* belligerent measures, by British acceptance of the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court.

This is not so, however, with regard to disputes arising out of past belligerent measures, *i.e.*, out of British naval measures in the late war. With regard to these there might be serious risk. At any rate, the Admiralty would probably be alarmed at the proposal and would oppose it.

If the idea of accepting the compulsory jurisdiction at all is adopted, it would



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be well to limit the acceptance to disputes arising out of events subsequent in date to that of the signature. This would exclude disputes arising out of belligerent seizures during the late war. It would be a reasonable condition for a new Government to attach, and would be defensible on the ground that its members cannot be expected to undertake any such responsibility in respect of the acts of their predecessors.

Another prudent limitation to attach would be to fix a time limit and accept the obligation only for five years. It will then be possible to see whether other powerful States seem disposed to follow Great Britain's lead. Article 36 provides specifically for acceptance for a specified time only, and Denmark has signed for five years.

The general conclusion at which I arrive is that as regards peace time disputes Great Britain would gain a little by accepting the obligatory jurisdiction, and that as regards disputes arising out of future wars there is no serious risk in accepting it.

CECIL J. B. HURST.

*June* 18, 1924.

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No. 2.

*Memorandum by Mr. Malkin.*

THIS note is only an attempt to indicate the consequences, from the legal point of view, of an acceptance by His Majesty's Government of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the cases provided for by article 36 of the protocol establishing the court. No attempt is made to deal with the political side of the question.

The first point to note is that the sphere in which any acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the court would operate is somewhat limited. It would not provide an additional means of settling serious international disputes by measures other than war; for we are already bound, under article 15 of the covenant, to submit any dispute likely to lead to a rupture either to arbitration or to the Council of the League, and therefore, if the compulsory jurisdiction is accepted, the only result as regards disputes of this nature will be that a certain number of cases, which would otherwise have gone to the council, will go to the Permanent Court. Further, we have already a considerable number of arbitration treaties with foreign Powers which provide for the submission to arbitration of differences of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties, provided that they do not affect the vital interests, independence or honour of the contracting States. Thus, the only disputes for which the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the court would provide a remedy which does not exist at present are those which (*a*) are not of such a nature as to be likely to lead to a rupture, and (*b*) either arise with a State with which we have not an arbitration treaty, or affect the vital interests, independence, or honour of the States concerned.

These cases may be divided into two classes:—

1. The minor differences which arise in the everyday intercourse of States, and
2. Those arising in time of war.

As regards the first class, I do not think that, from the legal point of view, either the advantages or disadvantages of accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the court are very great. It would enable us to get a certain number of cases submitted to the court where at present we are not in a position to insist on arbitration, but I doubt whether the number of such cases is very large. In cases of the sort with which article 36 of the protocol deals, we can generally obtain arbitration if we really want to,* and the recent dispute with France over the Tunis nationality decree shows that the existence of the League of Nations may sometimes enable us to obtain arbitration in a dispute which the other party is not legally bound to settle in that way. On the other hand, we should, no doubt, be forced to arbitrate a certain number of cases where at present we should be in a position to refuse

* A certain proportion of cases of this nature are not sufficiently important to be submitted to arbitration in any case.

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arbitration, and as it may fairly be said that in such matters honesty is the policy of the British Government, such cases would probably be ones where we really had a strong case, and ought to be fairly certain of winning, if the court could be depended upon; though at the same time it is unfair and, in cases where colonial Governments are concerned, sometimes very inconvenient, that we should be put to the trouble and expense of an arbitration where the other side have really no case. This is, however, not a very important consideration.

The second class of cases, however, is of vital importance. I do not propose to say anything about matters arising in the course of land warfare; there are always a certain number of these (cases of requisitioning, damage done by troops, &c.), but the rules applicable to them are reasonably well settled, and there is not usually much difficulty in disposing of such cases, especially as it is a common practice for belligerents to set up commissions to deal with claims of this nature after the war. From our point of view the question can really be considered exclusively in relation to naval warfare.

In cases where this country is a neutral, the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the court would enable us, as against a belligerent who had also accepted it, to obtain the submission to the court of claims by British subjects arising out of that belligerent's action at sea—a result which in the past we have almost invariably been unable to obtain. From the point of view of the claimant (who in most cases is an underwriter) this would, no doubt, be an advantage, and it would no doubt be convenient for His Majesty's Government to be able to dispose in this way of an extremely troublesome class of cases. But there is another side to the question. If we have a legal right to bring the action of a belligerent before the court, we shall find it very difficult to avoid doing so in any case where the British claimant can make anything of a case against the action of the belligerent, and we shall be responsible for the arguments by which the case would be supported before the court. Now it must always be remembered that, especially in these matters, international law is not a fixed code, so that it is impossible at any given moment to know definitely what rules are to be applied in considering the legitimacy of belligerent action; and, especially towards the end of a period in which no great naval war has taken place, it may be found that many of the rules which have been admitted in the past are obsolete. If, therefore, we have to take up and argue any apparently well-founded complaints against belligerent action, we may find ourselves committed to rules which are no longer applicable, and which might be extremely injurious, or even fatal, to ourselves if we found ourselves subsequently at war. I can well conceive, for instance, that if during the Russo-Japanese and Italo-Turkish wars we had been in a position to insist on a reference to the court of the claims by British subjects arising out of belligerent action, we should have committed ourselves to principles which might have had serious consequences to us in the recent war.

In cases where we are belligerent, I can see nothing but disadvantage from accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the court, and the only question would appear to be how serious those disadvantages are. This question is to a large extent not a legal one. It is, however, material to observe that the idea that there is an established rule of international law that a neutral may require the decisions of a belligerent prize court to be submitted to arbitration (or, which is much the same thing, that claims based on such decisions may be so submitted) is not really supported by history. So far as I am aware there is only one case in which we have submitted the decisions of our prize court to international arbitration; and only one case in which we have obtained such submission of cases dealt with by a belligerent when we were neutral. The first case is, of course, the Jay Treaty of 1795. The reasons which led the British Government of that day to agree to arbitration in 1795 are somewhat obscure, but the impression left on my mind is that, owing to the absence of notice of the coming into force of certain Orders in Council affecting trade with the French West Indian Islands, and irregularities committed by the British prize courts in the West Indies, it was generally admitted here that some form of restitution or compensation must be accorded to American claimants, and that the only question was whether they should be left to their remedy before the Privy Council or if a special Anglo-American tribunal should be set up at once to deal with these cases. The latter course was adopted—probably for reasons of policy—and so far as I can make out, what the tribunal did, in at any rate the great majority of these cases, was not to discuss whether the Prize Court decision was right, but to assume that in the special circumstances the claimant

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was entitled to something, and that the only question was how much.* The only case in which we obtained arbitration in British claims arising out of the decisions of a belligerent prize court was the Anglo-American Commission of 1871; this was agreed to as a sort of counterpoise to the "Alabama" arbitration, in order to deal with British claims arising out of the war, and out of the 478 British claims presented to the commission, less than a dozen arose out of the decision of an American prize court.

It is, of course, in connection with the possibility of arbitrating claims arising out of our belligerent action at sea that the point referred to above, as to the absence at any given moment of any definite rules of international law, becomes so important. It is very difficult for a court composed of international lawyers, when dealing with cases of this nature, to realise that what they have got to do is not to apply the rules which they will find in the text books, based as they are entirely on the experience of the past, but to endeavour to discover what should be regarded as the applicable rules of international law in the circumstances of the present. If, for instance, a really serious attempt had been made to test before an arbitral tribunal the validity of the decisions of the American prize courts in the civil war in relation to contraband and blockade, I think there can be little doubt that these decisions would at that time have been condemned; but even before the last war there was almost general agreement that the development of the old rules embodied in those decisions was sound.

The real question which has to be decided is how far the certainty (for this is what it would really amount to) of having to submit our action to the decision of an international court would hamper a British Government in taking measures which they may consider legitimate in the circumstances of the time. It is not merely the possible financial consequences which would have to be considered, important though these might be; for it cannot safely be assumed that the neutral Powers concerned would be content to allow our measures to continue until the end of the war, subject to demands for pecuniary damages afterwards; they might well claim, if political conditions permitted such action, that the question of the legitimacy of the British measures should be submitted to arbitration at once, in order that our right to continue to carry them into effect might be decided. And a point which requires to be taken into consideration—although it is very difficult at present to form an opinion upon it—is the extent to which, at the time when the case actually arose, confidence could be felt in the ability of the Permanent Court to deal with cases of this nature.

Another point which has an important bearing on the question, but which it is difficult to deal with at present, is the extent to which the situation may be affected by the existence of the League of Nations. If we could be certain that in any future war in which we may be engaged we should have the League behind us, and if we could be certain that at that time no important States would not be members of the League, the situation would obviously be different and the above considerations might lose much of their force. But any consideration of this point must at present partake to a considerable extent of the nature of conjecture.

I assume that if it were decided to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the court, it would be possible to do so in such a manner as to confine it to cases arising in the future, so as to exclude the possibility of any cases arising out of our action in the late war being brought before the court. This seems to be essential in any case; it looks as if the neutrals, including the United States, realise that it is not practical politics to expect us now to submit the legitimacy of our action at sea to arbitration, but there is a certain amount of correspondence still passing with Holland, and it would be almost impossible for a country which was in the position to bring us before the court to resist the pressure which would be put upon it to do so.

The whole question must, of course, be considered in consultation with the fighting departments, and any other departments concerned, and also with the dominions, since it does not seem practically possible for us to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the court unless all the dominions are prepared to do so too.

H. W. MALKIN.

*Foreign Office, May* 21, 1924.

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* It is material to note that cases arising under the Orders in Council of 1805 were never submitted to arbitration.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS. [July 13, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[REVISED COPY.]

[W 6063/338/98] No. 1.

*Memorandum respecting Compulsory Arbitration.*

THE question at issue is ably argued in the two opinions submitted by Sir C. Hurst and Mr. Malkin, and dated respectively the 18th June and the 21st May last. I may at once state that my own view harmonises with the opinion of Mr. Malkin and dissents from that of Sir C. Hurst. As the point is of supreme practical importance I submit in explanation of the view I favour the following observations :—

2. The objections to entering into a solemn engagement to submit to arbitration any disputes arising under the four heads set out in article 36 of the Statute creating the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague are twofold. One is concerned with the degree of confidence which can be placed in the impartiality and competence of the tribunal. The other arises from the doubt whether it is right to accept the risk of an adverse award, possibly in cases where the carrying out of such award would present insurmountable obstacles, so that the undertaking to be bound by the award, whatever it be, could not in fact be honoured.

3. The first objection is not seriously discussed by either Sir C. Hurst or Mr. Malkin. This is the more remarkable in that it has largely influenced the situation in which the question as now raised presents itself. When the constitution of the International Court was considered in 1920, the draft scheme then prepared contained articles (Nos. 33 and 34) providing for compulsory arbitration in the very cases now under discussion. Attention was then called to the danger involved in the acceptance of those provisions, and in due course the question was referred to the highest legal authorities in this country. A considered and unanimous opinion was pronounced on the 14th October, 1920, and signed by the then Lord Chancellor, Attorney-General and Solicitor-General (Lord Birkenhead, Sir Gordon, now Lord Hewart, and Sir Ernest Pollock). It declared decidedly against the acceptance of the two articles in the draft scheme on several grounds, one of which was the grave doubt " whether it would be politic for Great Britain to bind herself in any circumstances to refer any disputes which might arise in the future within the very wide jurisdiction to a tribunal of whose impartiality it has no assurance."

4. This doubt has always been felt. It does not necessarily throw discredit on the personal honour of the fifteen individual judges forming the Court, although the circumstances in which its present members were selected by the League of Nations certainly justify some scepticism as to the standing and competence of some of them. The apprehension which may legitimately be entertained is that, as happened in important cases of arbitration in the past, political considerations of expediency and hesitation to wound the so-called susceptibilities of particular Powers, will always influence the votes of some if not most of the judges, so that a really impartial judgment given strictly on the merits of the case cannot be counted upon with any degree of certainty. It is clear that failing such confidence, statesmen having the honour and vital interests of their country at heart, must hesitate to subscribe blindly and in advance to an undertaking to submit to such a Court any and every dispute over a question of international law in which the country may become involved.

5. In any case the opinion of our high legal authorities prevailed. It was as a result of our opposition that the provisions of articles 33 and 34 of the draft Statute were ultimately so modified by the League as to assume the form in which they now stand as article 36 of the Statute. That is to say, it is now optional for a State to undertake the obligation of compulsory arbitration under the four heads. It is therefore well to realise that the present proposal that His Majesty's Government should, by exercising this option, agree to compulsory arbitration on the four points is nothing less than a demand for a deliberate reversal of the decision taken by the Cabinet in 1920 on the advice of the Lord Chancellor and the Law Officers.

6. I pass to the second objection, which arises in connection with the carrying out of adverse awards. The difficulties which here present themselves may be general or



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specific. As Mr. Malkin points out, the essence of the new obligation which it is now sought to impose upon us is that we should waive the reservation as to the vital interests, independence or honour of the State in generally agreeing to arbitration in regard to all questions otherwise suitable. No doubt the object in advising withdrawal of this reservation is to prevent other countries, acting in bad faith, from putting forward such a plea merely as a dishonest subterfuge in order to avoid arbitration. But it would be wrong to go on the assumption that there may not be cases where the reservation can and will be pleaded in perfect good faith and quite legitimately. Sir C. Hurst in his Opinion rather implies than states that, so far as the British Government is concerned, it would, except as regards cases arising out of acts of war, never wish to refuse arbitration.

7. I would recall a very important case, not so long ago as to have lost its force as a notable precedent, in which His Majesty's Government had to contemplate the possibility of refusing to submit to arbitration a dispute over a grave political issue with France. It arose out of the Newfoundland fisheries settlement which formed part of the Agreements constituting the *Entente* of 1904. It was in 1908 when France insistently demanded what was practically a reopening of the principal point supposed to have been settled in 1904. She revived her claim for the exemption of French fishermen from the colonial jurisdiction in Newfoundland waters, basing herself on an alleged possible interpretation of the clauses of the agreement. Now, the Government of Newfoundland had made it an absolute condition of any agreement negotiated with France that the colony would recover complete and unrestricted sovereign rights within her waters, and His Majesty's Government had given a solemn and written pledge to the colony that this point was definitely conceded by France under the terms which had been finally negotiated. The French argued that the wording did not amount to this, and failing our accepting their thesis, demanded arbitration.

8. The view taken here was that, in the circumstances, the Government of Newfoundland might find it impossible to agree to arbitration, and that His Majesty's Government would accordingly have to base a rejection of the demand for arbitration on the ground that a vital interest of the Empire was involved. Fortunately, France did not pursue the controversy, and the matter dropped.

9. It would be rash to assume that similar cases will never arise again, and it is highly significant that the United States Government have always attached the highest importance to maintaining the exemption from arbitration of any cases touching the vital interests, independence or honour of the State.

10. There is a more specific reason which militates against an unconditional acceptance of any possible arbitral award, and that is the impossibility of any constitutional government in modern times guaranteeing that the national parliament will agree to pass the legislation required to give effect to an arbitral award where the vital interests, independence, or honour of the country are adversely affected. For no Government could foresee what kind of claim against it might some day form the subject of a judgment by the International Court. At the moment when judgment is pronounced, the Government against which it is given may realise that in no case would the national parliament pass the necessary legislation to give effect to it. But it would then be too late. This difficulty might well arise in Great Britain as well as in other countries. In the United States it may be counted upon to arise almost with certainty. So much is this understood at Washington, that the State Department notoriously puts every obstacle in the way of arbitrations for the very reason that the United States could not be considered bound except with the express consent of the Senate, which that body would never give in hypothetical cases in advance.

11. Sir C. Hurst and Mr. Malkin deal at length with the question how this country would be affected by compulsory arbitration when cases arising out of rights of belligerents and of neutrals are at issue. Mr. Malkin is clearly alarmed by the danger to which this country would be exposed when belligerent. Sir C. Hurst now tries to minimise this danger, though his view was very different in 1920, when the question was referred by the Cabinet to the Lord Chancellor and the Law Officers, as will be seen by reference to his minute written at that time, which is quoted in the Foreign Office memorandum of the 17th March, 1924. Sir C. Hurst's former objections cannot have altogether lost force even in his own estimation, since he continues, agreeing in this with Mr. Malkin, that we must in any case make sure that compulsory arbitration, however freely applied in future wars, must not be allowed to extend to anything that happened during the late war. If we cannot afford running the risk of our belligerent action in the late war becoming the subject of arbitration, how can it be seriously maintained that such risk would be negligible as regards all future wars?

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12. I must own to not being much impressed by Sir C. Hurst's contention that since we have the League of Nations (which, it may be said in passing, did already exist in 1920) all fear of our belligerent rights being whittled away or paralysed by the International Court may be put aside. He admits that his argumentation on this point is in some measure necessarily speculative. I cannot but feel that the risks are too grave to be neglected on such merely speculative grounds, as to which, to say the least, profound differences of opinion are permissible.

13. Nor is it easy to agree with Sir C. Hurst's reading of history when he discusses the war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812. He suggests that, in order to induce the latter not to declare war, we should have consulted our best interests by agreeing to have our differences as to the legality of our famous Orders in Council submitted to arbitration. I might invoke, as against this opinion, the authority of the great American writer Admiral Mahan, who has recorded his considered opinion that the British policy and the refusal to compromise with the United States on it were both right in themselves and necessary in order to win in the life-and-death struggle with Napoleon. But it must be doubted whether any non-British arbitrator at the time would have taken that view. In all probability an arbitral award would have pronounced against the legitimacy of the Orders in Council, and this would have rendered a continuance of the policy which played a decisive part in breaking the power of Napoleon, if not absolutely impossible, at least exceedingly difficult and costly.

14. It remains to consider what advantages we or anyone else would reap from our now reversing our policy on the subject of compulsory arbitration. Those who advocate it do so largely, if not exclusively, on purely theoretical and abstract sentimental grounds. In their eyes arbitration all round and in all circumstances is a panacea for all ills. The claim is surely exaggerated. It might, perhaps, be urged that the various parties who in all countries have written the battle-cry of compulsory arbitration in international affairs on their banners, offer as a rule determined resistance to compulsory arbitration in their own home affairs, such for instance as trade union disputes, which may be taken to imply an acknowledgment that there are certain classes of difficulties in regard to which arbitration may not necessarily be the proper remedy. However this may be, no evidence has so far been adduced by anybody that the introduction of unrestricted compulsory arbitration in international disputes would meet any really felt need. We have all the existing advantages and facilities of the League of Nations to deal with grave international conflicts. Of course it yet remains to see the League machinery tested in a real and important crisis. But if that machinery should prove inadequate to meet such a crisis, the introduction of fresh guarantees for settling by arbitration deep-seated conflicts that might otherwise lead to war, will hardly advance matters, but may rather increase the feeling of scepticism with which all such paper guarantees are still regarded in many quarters. There is a strong conviction, widely held, that there is nothing to gain from unnecessarily hurrying the pace of further development, and that pacifist energies would be better spent on fostering and spreading what in modern jargon is called the will to peace, rather than on concentrating on the erection of more machinery for dealing with hypothetical problems.

15. I have ventured in the above to express my own opinions. It would not be right to omit calling attention to the strong popular feeling aroused in our country when the attempt was made after The Hague Conference of 1907 to carry a measure of compulsory arbitration in the shape of an International Prize Court. Sir C. Hurst himself as late as 1920 declared that the country rightly and decisively rejected it. It is likely to do so again if the same scheme is once more brought forward and this time on a much more extended scale.

E. A. C.

*Foreign Office, July* 13, 1924.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS. [July 21, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[W 6062/338/98] No. 1.

*Memorandum by the Lord Chancellor respecting Compulsory Acceptance by His Majesty's Government of the Jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, under Article 36 of the Protocol signed at Geneva on December 16, 1920.*

THE question is whether His Majesty's Government should recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or State accepting the same obligation (article 36), the jurisdiction of this court. The subjects which would be submitted to the jurisdiction are—

(*a.*) The interpretation of a treaty.
(*b.*) Any question of international law.
(*c.*) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.
(*d.*) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

The article further provides that the declaration may be made either unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of other members or States, or for a certain time, and that, in the event of a dispute as to jurisdiction, the matter is to be settled by the decision of the court.

At first sight it appears natural to give the court compulsory authority in as many cases as possible, for it looks as though it were by doing so that disputes which might lead to war will be most effectually avoided. In the instances of small States with unitary Constitutions this seems true, for the jurisdiction could strengthen their position against more powerful nations.

But in the instance of the British Empire it is not so clear that this is true. In substance the Constitution of our Empire is not unitary, and it is perilous for the Imperial Government to proceed as if it were. We have to secure the assent of the Dominions and of India at every step. An analogous difficulty has confronted the United States. The Executive does not dare to give undertakings unless the President is sure—which he rarely is—that the Legislature will adopt his action. That is the real reason why the President, however disposed to an arbitratory treaty, will rarely join in one.

In the cases of Great Britain and the United States alike it is thus, for reasons which although not the same are analogous, undesirable to give unqualified undertakings which it afterwards may prove unpracticable to fulfil. The condition of things in the event of failure is apt to show itself more provocative of unsoluble dispute than if no unqualified undertaking had been given.

There is therefore more to be considered in connection with the present proposal than its *primâ facie* desirability on grounds only of international policy or public morality. Even on these grounds it may be perilous to give an undertaking which, under a Constitution which is in substance non-unitary, we cannot be sure of being able to fulfil. At a later stage in the evolution of the unwritten Constitution of the Empire it may be easier to get over this difficulty. Lord Balfour seems to have hinted so much in the speech he made to the Assembly of the League in December 1920.

But there are also other reasons for hesitation which require consideration. The words of article 36 are wide enough to extend to disputes arising out of past events in the course of the late war. Now the nation rejected the Declaration of London, although approved by their Government, and consequently it is not clear that the principles applied by an international court would harmonise with all of those actually adopted during our actual conduct of that war. In addition there may well be other points on which the decisions of our prize courts might be set aside. I think that we should thus be compelled to exclude a number of questions to which the article as it stands may well extend.

Sir C. Hurst, whose opinions on a matter of this kind always carry much weight, is inclined to think that, so far as legal points are concerned, the risk of accepting compulsion would not be great It may be that this is true. But it is not possible to



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predict it with certainty, and I am myself inclined to believe that if we acceded to the other view we should be free from the real danger of raising a question of principle within the Empire which we should not be able to control. Speaking for myself, I think it safer in the present state of the Constitution of our Empire to avoid trying to go further than article 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This article binds us to refer to arbitration any matter which is suitable and which diplomacy cannot satisfactorily settle, including the interpretation of treaties, questions of international law, the existence of facts constituting a breach of international obligations and the extent of the reparation to be made. The language used in this article is less stringent than that in article 36 of the protocol of 1920, and gives rise to less embarrassment. I agree with Lord Balfour, in his suggestion of 1920, that resort to the Permanent Court is likely by degrees to become more and more general. In the end I think it will probably become compulsory. But this requires time to enable a firm conception to mature fully and to become familiar to our own people. For the present I am adverse to the explicit acceptance of a principle which will probably give rise, if so accepted, to keen controversy.

H. OF C.

*July* 21, 1924.

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O.D. SKELTON TO (WLMIC) Imperial Relations - Methods of communication & consultation
C 93447 Permanent Court International Justice

(Action should be taken to-day)

March 3, 1925.

RENEWAL OF ARBITRATION AGREEMENTS

His Britannic Majesty and: Norway, Sweden, and Portugal

On Jan. 22, 1924, the Colonial Secretary informed us that it was proposed to renew Arbitration Agreements with Norway, Sweden, and Portugal, as usual, for a five-year period, and asked whether Canada concurred.

On Feb. 14, 1924, it was replied "that the Minister of Justice of Canada has no objection to the renewal of these agreements in due course."

On Nov. 27, 1924, the Colonial Secretary stated that Norway and Sweden proposed (1) to enlarge the scope of the agreements and (2) to substitute the League organ, the Permanent Court of International Justice, for the older body, the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The British Government expressed its objection to the first and its concurrence in the second proposal.

No reply has been sent. On Feb. 24, 1925, the Colonial Secretary telegraphed (urgent) that as the agreements had expired and all the other Dominions had concurred, a reply at earliest possible moment was desired, if possible before the end of the week (Feb. 28).

A statement (March 2) has ~~now~~ today been received from the Department of Justice stating that the Minister of Justice sees no objection to such concurrence.

On the substance of the proposal, there appears no ground for question.

On the form of the agreements, exception might be taken, as they have been negotiated and signed only by British plenipotentiaries, and, in the case of similar agreements in the past, have been ratified only by the

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British Government.

On the other hand, they are only renewals of treaties signed in 1904, long before the Imperial Conference resolution of 1923, and are for a limited term of years. Similar agreements have been renewed with the United States (1923) and with Spain (1924), etc., without any exception being taken on our part, and in February, 1924, we expressed concurrence in renewal of the present treaties, in their original form, without any question as to procedure. On the whole, then, it hardly seems necessary to enter a caveat in this particular connection.

O.D.S.
O.D. SKELTON

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C 93449 E-1310-A

Unofficial

DRAFT TELEGRAM

FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Sent

TELEGRAM
CODE

Ottawa, March 3, 1925.

URGENT

Your telegram February 24th (STOP) Regret delay (STOP) My ministers have no objection to offer to renewal of agreements with proposed modification.

Arbitration

Aft[illegible]
Memo
Mar 3-25

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C 93450 E-1304
Vol 4.

THE DEPARTMENT OF CANADA APR 3 1926 EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

C.192.M.60.1926.V.

Communicated to the Council
and the Members of the League.

Geneva, March 17th 1926

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

Communication to the Secretary-General from the Government of the United States of America.

Note by the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General has the honour to inform the Members of the League that he has received the following communication from the United States Government through the intermediary of the United States Legation at Berne:

Department of State,
Washington.

To the Secretary-General:

March 2, 1926

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to the communication of this Department, dated August 15, 1921, acknowledging the receipt of a certified copy of the Protocol of Signature relating to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and take pleasure in informing you that the Senate of the United States of America, on January 27, 1926, gave its advice and consent to the adherence on the part of the United States to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated December 16, 1920, and the adjoined Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, without accepting or agreeing to the Optional Clause for Compulsory Jurisdiction, contained in the said Statute on the condition of the acceptance by the Powers signatory to the Protocol of the conditions, reserva-

Returned April 6/26

APR 7 Rec'd

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THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA APR 3 1926

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

C.192.M.60.1926.V.

Communicated to the Council and the Members of the League.

Geneva, March 17th 1926

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

Communication to the Secretary-General from the Government of the United States of America.

Note by the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General has the honour to inform the Members of the League that he has received the following communication from the United States Government through the intermediary of the United States Legation at Berne:

Department of State,
Washington.

To the Secretary-General:

March 2, 1926

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to the communication of this Department, dated August 15, 1921, acknowledging the receipt of a certified copy of the Protocol of Signature relating to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and take pleasure in informing you that the Senate of the United States of America, on January 27, 1926, gave its advice and consent to the adherence on the part of the United States to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated December 16, 1920, and the adjoined Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, without accepting or agreeing to the Optional Clause for Compulsory Jurisdiction, contained in the said Statute on the condition of the acceptance by the Powers signatory to the Protocol of the conditions, reserva-

Referred April 6/26

APR 7 Recd

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tions and understandings contained in the Senate Resolution which reads as follows:-

> "Whereas the President, under date of February 24, 1923, transmitted a message to the Senate, accompanied by a letter from the Secretary of State, dated February 17, 1923, asking the favourable advice and consent of the Senate to the adherence on the part of the United States to the Protocol of December 16, 1920, of signature of the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, set out in the said message of the President (without accepting or agreeing to the Optional Clause for Compulsory Jurisdiction contained therein), upon the conditions and understandings hereafter stated, to be made a part of the instrument of adherence:
>
> "Therefore be it
>
> "Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring), That the Senate advise and consent to the adherence on the part of the United States to the said Protocol of December 16, 1920, and the adjoined statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice (without accepting or agreeing to the Optional Clause for Compulsory Jurisdiction contained in said Statute), and that the signature of the United States be affixed to the said Protocol, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution, namely:
>
> "(1) That such adherence shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Treaty of Versailles.

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"(2) That the United States shall be permitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other states, members, respectively, of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice or for the filling of vacancies.

"(3) That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

"(4) That the United States may at any time withdraw its adherence to the said Protocol and that the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the Protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

"(5) That the Court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all states adhering to the Court and to all interested states and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any state, concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

"The signature of the United States to the said Protocol shall not be affixed until the powers signatory to such Protocol shall have indicated, through an exchange of notes, their acceptance of the foregoing reservations and understandings as a part and a condition of adherence by the United States to the said Protocol.

"Resolved further, As a part of this act of ratification that the United States approve the Protocol and Statute hereinabove mentioned, with the understanding that recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the settlement of differences between the United States and any other state or states can be had only by agreement thereto through general or special treaties concluded between the parties in dispute; and

"Resolved further, That adherence to the said Protocol and Statute hereby approved shall not be so construed as to require the United States to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall adherence to the said Protocol and Statute be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

"Agreed to January 16 (Calendar day, January 27),1926."

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I have the honour, therefore, to inform you that the signature of the United States will not be affixed to the said Protocol until the Governments of the Powers signatory thereto shall have signified in writing to the Government of the United States their acceptance of the foregoing conditions, reservations and understandings as a part and a condition to the adherence of the United States to the said Protocol and Statute.

I have addressed a communication to the representative of each of the Governments of the Powers signatories of the Protocol asking these several Governments to be good enough to ascertain and to inform me in writing whether they will accept the conditions, reservations and understandings contained in the resolution as a part and condition of the adherence of the United States to the said protocol and statute.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) FRANK B. KELLOGG.

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C 93454

March 18, 1926.

Permanent Court

ADHERENCE OF UNITED STATES TO WORLD COURT
Letter from Manley Hudson to Justice Duff.

Col. Biggar has forwarded 2 copies of the attached letter to Dr. Skelton, with a suggestion that the Prime Minister might be interested.

Mr. Hudson's letter was written for publication if desired. Col.Biggar has told Mr. Duff he does not think it should be published in the daily press, as it might rather raise than allay doubts about United States action among uninformed Canadians. He has sent a copy to the League of Nations Society for publication in its Bulletin if desired.

The letter contains a résumé of the situation as Mr. Hudson understands it. He states:

(1) He is enclosing a copy of the U.S. Senate resolution, (attached).

(2) The resolution will probably give little concern in other countries, except for the 5th reservation, which falls into 2 parts:

(a) The first part, requiring publicity in procedure when giving advisory opinions, will probably not be objected to, as it corresponds closely to the present Court Rules. It is designed to preclude giving secret advisory opinions to the League.

(b) The second part is intended to give the United States the same power to block requests for advisory opinions as League members probably have in matters of interest to them, through their right to ad hoc representation on the Council. The question whether League members really have such power is discussed.

(3) Mr. Hudson thinks it would create a most unfortunate situation in the United States if the reservations were not accepted, as it would give the movement for adherence to the Court a setback from which it would probably never recover.

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C 93454

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C 93455

C O P Y

Ottawa, March 17th, 1926.

My dear Skelton,

I enclose a couple of copies of a letter written by Manley Hudson to the Honourable Mr. Justice Duff shortly after Hudson's return home from his visit here.

I thought you would be interested in this, and perhaps the Prime Minister also. The letter was written, as I understand, for publication if thought desirable, but when Mr. Justice Duff asked me about it before he went away, I told him I was inclined to think that publication in the daily press would rather raise than allay doubts about United States action among uninformed Canadians. I have sent a copy to the Secretary of the League of Nations Society with a suggestion that that Society might use its discretion about inserting the letter in the Bulletin which it publishes.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) O. M. BIGGAR

Dr. O. D. Skelton,
Department of External Affairs,
Ottawa, Ont.

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C 93456

LAW SCHOOL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

March 5, 1926.

Dear Mr. Justice Duff:

I was very grateful for the opportunity to discuss with you last week the situation created by the resolution passed by the United States on January 27th, 1926, concerning the Permanent Court of International Justice. Will you allow me to give a resumé of the situation as I understand it?

I think the resolution, of which I enclose a copy, will give little concern in other countries except for the fifth reservation. There are two parts to this reservation. The first part merely relates to publicity in the procedure of the Court in giving advisory opinions. I doubt if there will be any objection to this in other countries, for the procedure is practically that which is already provided for in the Rules of Court. In some quarters in this country there arose a fear that the Court might be called upon to give secret opinions to the Council of the League of Nations. Whatever may have been people's attitude in the beginning, I think it is now pretty generally perceived that it would be unfortunate to have the Court used for any such purpose. Indeed, it is questionable whether such an employment of the device of advisory opinions would not constitute a departure from the constitutional law of the Court itself. I can see little objection to having a formalization, as a result of the acceptance of the United States'

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reservations, of the practice which has already grown up, and I doubt if any country will make objection on this score.

The second part of the fifth reservation is designed to give to the United States a position of equality with members of the League of Nations, with respect to their capacity to block requests for advisory opinions relating to matters in which they have or claim an interest. I take it to be generally agreed that under the covenant, any member of the League of Nations is entitled to be represented on the Council when the Council deals with any matter affecting its interests. If, therefore, the Council were considering a request for an advisory opinion concerning any question in which a member of the League is specially interested, that member could demand and obtain representation on the Council ad hoc. Now, if the Council must act by unanimous vote in making a request for an advisory opinion, then any member of the League of Nations can prevent a request for an advisory opinion concerning a matter in which it is specially interested. I agree that it has never been decided formally that unanimity is necessary. In 1923, when a proposal was made that the Council seek an advisory opinion concerning a Roumanian minority question, such action was opposed by Roumania, and it was thought by some people at that time that unanimity was necessary. In 1925, when the Council made its request for an advisory opinion concerning the Mosul question, it is not clear in the record that the Turkish representative sitting on the

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Council voted in the negative. Moreover, the Council was acting in this case under special competence given it by the Treaty of Lausanne. It is possible that requests for advisory opinions relating to minority questions are also on a special basis.

In view of this situation, it does not seem unreasonable to have the contention made in the United States that any member of the League of Nations can block a request for an advisory opinion, and that the United States is merely seeking a parity in this reservation. I cannot imagine that any future government of the United States is likely to make trouble on account of this reservation. Whatever be said on paper, I think it can be expected that the United States will act with a fair amount of discretion. I believe that the acceptance of the American reservations by other countries would not lead to any difficulties, therefore.

But as I said to you last week, I think it would create a most unfortunate situation in this country if the American reservations were not accepted. It would mean that the fat would be thrown back into the fire here, and I am sure we should have great difficulty in getting as far again as we now are. As you know, a campaign is being waged by certain people in the United States against the support of the Court. These people would be greatly strengthened if the American reservations were not accepted abroad, and I should really have little hope that we could again

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C 93459



bring the situation to as favorable a pass as it now holds. For this reason I spoke to you last week very earnestly about the situation, and I have no doubt that you will do what you can to have the American reservations thoroughly understood.

Faithfully yours,

(Sgd) Manley O. Hudson.

Mr. Justice L. P. Duff,
Supreme Court of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

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C 93460

# APPENDIX

## THE SENATE RESOLUTION OF JANUARY 27, 1926.'

Whereas the President, under date of February 24, 1923, transmitted a message to the Senate, accompanied by a letter from the Secretary of State, dated February 17, 1923, asking the favorable advice and consent of the Senate to the adherence on the part of the United States to the protocol of December 16, 1920, of signature of the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, set out in the said message of the President (without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained therein), upon the conditions and understandings hereafter stated, to be made a part of the instrument of adherence;

Therefore be it

RESOLVED (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring), That the Senate advise and consent to the adherence on the part of the United States to the said protocol of December 16, 1920, and the adjoined statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice (without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained in said statute), and that the signature of the United States be affixed to the said protocol, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution, namely:

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Appendix (2)

(1) That such adherence shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the treaty of Versailles.

(2) That the United States shall be permitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other states, members, respectively, of the council and assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the council or the assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice or for the filling of vacancies.

(3) That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

(4) That the United States may at any time withdraw its adherence to the said protocol and that the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

(5) That the court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all States adhering to the court and to all interested States and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any State concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for

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an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

The signature of the United States to the said protocol shall not be affixed until the powers signatory to such protocol shall have indicated, through an exchange of notes, their acceptance of the foregoing reservations and understandings as a part and a condition of adherence by the United States to the said protocol.

RESOLVED FURTHER, As a part of this act of ratification that the United States approve the protocol and statute hereinabove mentioned, with the understanding that recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the settlement of differences between the United States and any other State or States can be had only by agreement thereto through general or special treaties concluded between the parties in dispute; and

RESOLVED FURTHER, That adherence to the said protocol and statute hereby approved shall not be so construed as to require the United States to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall adherence to the said protocol and statute be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

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('Senate Document 45, 69th Congress, 1st session.)

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C 93463 E-1304 Vol 4

AP.

# DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

From :
The League of Nations, Geneva,
To :
External Affairs, Ottawa.

May 31st, 1926

Copy of enclosure on file Dept. External Affairs - 209-25.

Adhesion of U.S. to Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice - Replies from the Finnish and Netherlands Governments (1) to Invitation to Attend Meeting at Geneva, on September 1st, 1926.

Submitted to the Right Honourable

The Prime Minister.

O. D. Skelton

*Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

OTTAWA, June 18th, 1926. 192

Req. 1192—20-2-25

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C 93464 E-1304 vol. 7

Submitted to the Prime Minister-

C.661. M.258. 1926. V.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

APPLICATION INSTITUTING PROCEEDINGS CONCERNING THE DENUNCIATION OF THE TREATY BETWEEN CHINA AND BELGIUM OF NOVEMBER 2nd, 1865.

Geneva, December 3rd, 1926.

At the request of the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice, acting under paragraph 3 of Article 40 of the Statute of the Court, the Secretary-General has the honour to notify the Members of the League that the Belgian Government, on November 25th, 1926, addressed to the Registrar of the Permanent Court an Application instituting proceedings against the Chinese Government in a matter concerning the denunciation by China of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation concluded between Belgium and China, at Peking, on November 2nd, 1865.

------ A certified true copy of the Application is enclosed with the present communication.

DEC 21 REC'D

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C 93465

To the Prime Minister: March 19, 1928.

Attached is a memorandum on the Adshead resolution re acceptance of Article 36.

The memorandum summarizes the position and concludes with reasons for postponing immediate action, if that is the course which you wish to take. If you decide to discuss the question with the British Government immediately, of course this latter part can be varied.

I am sending a copy of the memorandum also to Mr. Lapointe; attached to the memorandum is a copy of Mr. Lapointe's statement on the subject at the Imperial Conference of 1926.

O.M.

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C 93466

# Adshead Resolution
# re
# Acceptance of Compulsory Jurisdiction of Permanent Court under Article 36.

---

## Summary.

1. Resolution.

2. Distinction between Justiciable and Non-Justiciable disputes.

   (only Justiciable disputes involved here).

3. League solutions for Justiciable International Disputes:

   Article 13 of Covenant: accepted by Canada - pledges signatories to submit to Court questions which they agree are suitable for judicial settlement.

   Article 36 of Statute of Permanent Court: not accepted by Canada: acceptance of this "optional clause" pledges signatories in advance to submit all disputes of certain classes to the Court.

4. Acceptance of Optional Clause: 17 nations, Germany only Great Power.

5. Attitude of Great Britain and Dominions:

   British Government opposed:

   Vital questions could not be submitted to hazard
   Particularly with some countries.
   Court not yet perfected, etc.

   Canada in favour, with any necessary reservations.

   Discussion in Imperial Conference of 1926:

   Majority opposed to acceptance now.
   Canada not convinced, but agreed to postpone action.
   Canada agreed to consultation, not necessarily to joint or uniform action.

6. Reasons for Canada not bringing question up immediately:

   Not urgent for Canada - our questions chiefly with United States, where Article 36 would not apply.

   Whole question of arbitration machinery under consideration at Geneva.

   Need for further development of public opinion.

Attached:

1. Covenant of the League of Nations
2. Statute of the Permanent Court.
3. Pamphlet: The Permanent Court of International Justice.
4. Mr.Lapointe's statement at Imperial Conference 1926(confidential).

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C 93467

1.

February 1—*Mr. Adshead*—PROPOSED RESOLUTION—That, in the opinion of this House, the time is opportune that according to agreement, the Government of Canada should discuss with the Government of Great Britain, the desirability of Canada accepting Article 36 of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice providing for Compulsory Arbitration in International Disputes.

2. Distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes.

Necessary to recall the distinction usually made between the two main classes of international disputes, and between the methods of settlement appropriate to each in case ordinary diplomatic methods fail:

(a) Justiciable questions, involving interpretation of law or fact, claims as to rights, and therefore appropriately dealt with by legal methods by a court or arbitrators.

(b) Non-justiciable questions, matters of policy, of conflicting interests and aims, more appropriately dealt with by methods of conciliation, by the endeavour to find what is a workable solution for both parties rather than what is the right of either.

3. Justiciable Disputes:

League solutions:

At present concerned with disputes and solutions of the first class - justiciable questions. So far as the League is concerned, there have been two main endeavours to deal with such disputes:

(a)

ARTICLE 13 *.

1. The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement*, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration *or judicial settlement.*

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement.*

(italics not significant)

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(b) Non-justiciable questions, matters of policy, of conflicting interests and aims, more appropriately dealt with by methods of conciliation, by the endeavour to find what is a workable solution for both parties rather than what is the right of either.

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(italics not significant)

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3. *For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article* 14, *or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.*

4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award *or decision* that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award *or decision*, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

It will be noted that the members of the League are not hereby pledged to bring all questions before the Court; the Court has not automatic jurisdiction; the two countries at odds must both agree that the specific question is one suitable for judicial settlement; and though certain classes of disputes are indicated, they are only stated to be <u>generally</u> suitable for arbitration or judicial settlement.

"<u>The Optional Clause</u>".

(b) <u>Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice</u>.

The Article of the Covenant following that above quoted provided for the establishment of a Permanent Court for two purposes:

(1) To hear and determine any international dispute which the parties thereto submitted.

(2) To give an advisory opinion on any question referred to it by Council or Assembly.

In 1920 a Statute or Constitution of such a court was drafted and approved by the Assembly. It was ratified on behalf of Canada in 1921, and the Court set up in 1922. Article 36 of the Statute is as follows:

The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in Treaties and Conventions in force.

The Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning:

*(a)* The interpretation of a Treaty;
*(b)* Any question of International Law;
*(c)* The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
*(d)* The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain Members or States, or for a certain time.

In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

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Any state which signs this 'optional clause' therefore agrees in advance to accept on a reciprocal basis, the jurisdiction of the Court in all the types of disputes indicated, and to leave it to the Court itself to decide whether a particular dispute falls within one of these classes.

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4. Acceptance of Optional Clause.

Of the forty States which have accepted the Statute of the Permanent Court, some seventeen have signed and ratified the Optional Clause, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Abyssinia | Haiti |
| Austria | Lithuania |
| Belgium | Netherlands |
| Bulgaria | Norway |
| China | Portugal |
| Denmark | Sweden |
| Estonia | Switzerland |
| Finland | Uruguay |
| Germany | |

The only one of the Great Powers to adhere is Germany, which signed and ratified a few months ago. France has signed, but its ratification was made dependent on the general ratification of the Protocol of Geneva, of which there is no present prospect.

5. Attitude of Great Britain and Dominions.

The present British Government and most of its predecessors have been opposed to accepting Article 36. The grounds usually given are that there are certain questions, justiciable in their nature, which yet involve such vital national interests that no government could safely promise in advance to submit them to arbitration or give an assurance that parliament or people would accept an adverse decision. A recent statement by the British Government to the League Committee on Arbitration and Security ran as follows:

> "One of the controlling elements in formulating any model arbitration treaty or in considering what measures can be taken for promoting the conclusion of arbitration treaties is the extent to which public opinion in any particular country can be counted on to accept and to carry out loyally a decision which is unfavourable to its own contentions. Arbitration treaties impliedly, if not explicitly, impose upon the parties the obligation loyally to accept the decision of the tribunal. An arbitration treaty which goes beyond what the public opinion

of a

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> of a country can be counted on to support when the interests of that country are in question and when a decision unfavourable to those interests is pronounced is a treaty which is useless. It is merely calculated to deceive the public. In a moment of grave importance it may fail to achieve a solution of a dispute even if the dispute is arbitrated in accordance with its terms. It would embitter relations between the two countries instead of improving them, and would cause a set-back to the movement now so steadily advancing in favour of the pacific settlement of justiciable disputes by means of arbitration."

An example of such questions is the law of warfare as to neutral and belligerent rights; particularly in view of the lack of agreement as to what is the law, and the predominance of Continental jurists on the Court. Domestic matters, as for example, immigration policy, are also sometimes referred to, though it is not easy to see how any claim of right on the part of a foreign country could arise in this particular case.

Again, exception is taken to a general undertaking to arbitrate with any country whatever which accepts the same clause. To quote again from the same statement:

> "The cause of the somewhat small measure of acceptance that article 36 has hitherto met with is to be found in the fact that the considerations which deter States from accepting binding obligations to arbitrate all justiciable disputes operate in varying degrees as regards other foreign States. In contracting an international obligation towards another State a country must take into account the nature of its relations with that State. Obligations which it may be willing to accept towards one State it may not be willing to accept towards another. Reservations and exceptions which it may think necessary as regards one State may not be considered necessary as regards another. The method of signing a general undertaking, even when coupled with the power to make exceptions as to the categories of disputes to be arbitrated, lacks the flexibility which enables the measure of the obligations to be varied in the case of the particular States

towards which

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towards which the obligation is being accepted. More progress is likely to be achieved through bilateral agreements than through general treaties open to signature by any State which so wishes. When a bilateral treaty is to be open to other Powers by way of accession, it should provide that the invitation to accede should emanate from all the parties which have already become bound by the treaty." *

* Strictly Confidential.

The real reason for abstaining is, in general, that the British Government is not willing to abandon the advantage a great power has in a dispute of potential economic or military coercion, and, in particular, its unwillingness to risk a question such as the occupation of Egypt or right to the Sudan coming before a court.

It is sometimes urged (e.g., Chamberlain's speech of November 24th, 1927) that Great Britain cannot or should not act unless the whole Empire acts the same way: in view of the fact that it was chiefly Great Britain which sought to block action in the 1926 Conference, this argument is hardly ingenuous.

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It is further urged that the Court is new and that there is not as yet sufficient agreement as to the procedure to be followed or the law to be applied.

At present there is a vigorous public movement in Great Britain for acceptance, particularly by League of Nations Union, Lord Grey, Viscount Cecil, etc.

Canada. The Canadian Government has considered that any objection in which there is force, as for example, the uncertainty of the law of neutral and belligerent rights in warfare, can be met temporarily by reservations which would be acceptable to the other signatories. In spite of Canada having suffered some unfortunate experiences with arbitration, it believes that in the long run Canada and the whole world will gain by setting up the rule of law rather than the rule of force. In declaring its unwillingness to recommend acceptance of the Protocol of Geneva, in 1925, the Government of Canada informed the League:

> "That as Canada believes firmly in the submission of international disputes to joint inquiry or arbitration and has shared in certain notable undertakings in this field, we would be prepared to consider acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in justiciable disputes, with certain reservations."

Imperial Conference of 1926.

The question came before the Imperial Conference of 1926. The British Government, for the reasons above indicated, and others, expressed its opposition to accepting Article 36, and the majority of the other representatives took the same view. The representatives of the Canadian Government, while not considering the objections

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objections by any means conclusive, did not press the matter. It was agreed that before taking action, any government there represented would seek an opportunity of further discussion on the subject:—

"(a) Compulsory Arbitration in International Disputes

One question which we studied was that of arbitration in international disputes, with special reference to the question of acceptance of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, providing for the compulsory submission of certain classes of cases to the Court. On this matter we decided to submit no Resolution to the Conference, but, whilst the members of the Committee were unanimous in favouring the widest possible extension of the method of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, the feeling was that it was at present premature to accept the obligations under the Article in question. A general understanding was reached that none of the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference would take any action in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court, without bringing up the matter for further discussion."

Imperial Conference Report.

Consultation, not Joint Action Implied.

Necessary to make it clear that this understanding does not involve acceptance of the view that it is essential that all the units of the British Commonwealth represented in the League should adopt the same policy in this matter, or that no one member could accept Article 36 unless the others did.* In a matter of such moment, we believe that consultation with other Empire members of the League is advisable, but in last analysis we must reserve our freedom of action.

*Note: Sir Austen Chamberlain, Sir Douglas Hogg, etc., have taken the view that unanimity of action is essential.

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6. Present View of Canadian Government.

The reasons why, notwithstanding, the Canadian Government has not brought up the question nor proposed to sign Article 36 are:

(1) Canada is not so immediately concerned as, e.g., Great Britain. So far as Canada is concerned, the country with which most questions are likely to arise is on geographical grounds, the United States. Now (i) the United Statea has not adhered and is not immediately likely to adhere to the Statute of the Permanent Court, with or without Article 36, or to any other provision for compulsory arbitration; incidentally, it may be noted that in the recent Arbitration Treaty with France, the United States merely undertakes in general fashion, as we have done in Article 13 of the Covenant, to bring justiciable questions before a court, but no specific case can so be brought without the consent of the Senate. (ii) As regards the United States, we already have in our International Joint Commission a body to which any such dispute may be referred.

(2) A League of Nations Commission, on which Canada is represented, has recently been considering various possible alternative methods of providing for arbitration and conciliation, including model bilateral and multilateral treaties. It will be desirable to examine these carefully, and to determine in the light of the developments of the next few months what will be the most promising line of advance. That a further advance should be sought, in what appears the most favourable time and manner, this Government is fully agreed. Meanwhile, desirable that

public

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public discussion should proceed and a public opinion be formed without which, particularly in matters of this kind, governments and parliaments cannot effectively act.

Good service of Mr. Adshead's motion in this regard.

---

Note:

My own feeling is that we should sign Article 36 some time, or some similar agreement, but as we have undertaken to consult the other governments of the Empire (incidentally, a dubious procedure in League matters), it is a question as to a convenient time: perhaps at the next Imperial Conference, or the constitutional sub-committees preceding it, or better, at Geneva next fall. It might also be well to await the possibility of a return of a Liberal Labor Government to power at the next election in Great Britain, though this is hardly a purpose we can avow.

O.A.

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MOST SECRET

Extract from

Minutes of the Ninth Meeting of the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations, November 9, 1926

. . . . Mr. Lapointe then made the following statement:-

"I have read with interest the memorandum circulated by the British Government on the subject of compulsory arbitration. In view of the fact that the Canadian Government last year expressed readiness to consider acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in justiciable disputes, though with certain reservations, I may perhaps make a brief statement on the question now.

"Public opinion in Canada is strongly in sympathy with the extension of the methods of joint enquiry or arbitration in the settlement of international disputes, assuming, it should be added, that the enforcement of the findings is to be left to the pressure of national and international opinion, and is not to be undertaken by force in the hands of third parties. We have not always fared well in international arbitrations in which our interests have been at stake, but the gain to world peace involved in the acceptance and application of the principle of arbitral settlement of disputes may more than offset specific disadvantages.

"I have not been wholly convinced by the considerations advanced against acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court under Article 36 of its statute. Jurisdiction would be limited to disputes relating to the interpretation of a treaty, any question of international law, the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligation, and the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation. These are exactly the four types of cases which by Article 13 of the Covenant we have all recognised as 'generally suitable for submission to arbitration.' It is true they are stated to be generally suitable; an agreement in advance to accept every dispute falling within one of these categories is undoubtedly a much more precise and binding obligation.

"It has been urged that, while we would loyally carry out our engagements, we have no security that foreign powers would do so, and, further, that there is no likelihood of either the United States or Soviet Russia accepting compulsory arbitration. We may surely believe that some at least of foreign powers would honour their word, and that the united force of our example will in time set higher standards of international conduct. In any case, Article 36 provides that acceptance may be made on condition of reciprocity, or for a limited time.

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"There may, it is true, be difficulty in a democratic country in securing the assent of Parliament to the enforcement of awards. That difficulty, however, faces us alike, whether we have made a general agreement of arbitration or a special agreement to submit one specific question. It is not until the terms of the award are known that the attitude of Parliament can be revealed.

"We agree that there are some vital issues which our public opinion would not wish to see exposed to the hazard of arbitration - for example, the validity of restrictions on immigration into a Dominion. It is not apparent, however, that such an issue would fall within one of these four categories; and, in any case, it has, I believe, been considered by high British legal authority that such issues could be safeguarded by explicit reservations.

"There seem to us good grounds for believing that the general acceptance of the optional clause by the members of the British Commonwealth represented in the League would make for confidence and peace. At the same time, we recognise the force of the consideration that in a matter of such moment it may be desirable to await the test of time and to observe the methods and the measure of success of the Permanent Court before making further commitments. We are therefore prepared to postpone further consideration of the proposal for the present."

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C 93479

May 29. 1928
Y 96

House of Commons
Canada

Rt Hon Mc Kenzie King

Thanks Thanks many thanks for
Confirming Sirois' adoption of that resolution
re Optional Clause.

I do trust that 300000 ℔ Anticosti affair
was out of the way. It doesn't appear to me to
be anyway in line with the Liberalism i.e
true Liberalism.

H. B. Ashley

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C 93480

Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay Macdonald

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C 93481

December 12,1928

Pending Arbitration and Conciliation Questions.

Summary.


Page 1. Five phases of arbitration requiring consideration.

2. Kellogg Pact makes no provision for settlement of disputes but requires notification.

3. Optional Clause for judicial settlement of justiciable disputes:

Question brought before House of Commons last session.

Distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes.

Provision for dealing with justiciable disputes made

4. (1) By Article 13 of Covenant.

(2) By Article 36 of Statute of Permanent Court(Optional Clause).

6. Acceptance of Optional Clause by thirty states (eighteen ratified).

Attitude of British and Dominion Governments; Postponement agreed by 1926 Imperial Conference

8. Public opinion in Great Britain and Canada(linked by Dafoe with Kellogg Pact).

9. Resolution in favour in Canadian House of Commons,1928; Mr.Lapointe's statement.

Australia veering toward acceptance.

10. Arguments for acceptance.

Arguments against acceptance considered:

10. Retain right to use force

11. Public and Parliament might not support.

12. Foreign countries would not carry out.

13. Council procedure provides adequate means.

14. Vital interests or honour jeopardized.

15. Court an inadequate body.

16. Maritime War cases might be decid ed against British practice.



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Page 16. Empire would break up if Canada signed without Great Britain.

18. No disputes of concern to Canada.

18. Canada's unfortunate experience with arbitration.

19. Summary - no apparent conclusive reason against taking up with other governments of His Majesty.

Reservations.

League(1928) Treaties of Conciliation and Arbitration.

20. Treaties drafted under League auspices.

Second group of such treaties not of concern.

First group presents complete system of pacific settlement.

21. Summary of General Act or multilateral treaty:

Provisions for A. Conciliation

Provisions for B. Judicial settlement(legal disputes)

Provisions for C. Arbitration(non-legal disputes).

General provisions; reservations.

23. Possible Canadian attitude; favourable but defer action.

Comparison between "B" and the Optional Clause.

Arbitration Treaty with the United States.

25. United States draft; our view requested by London.

Previous agreements: Bryan conciliation treaty
Bryce-Root arbitration treaty.

26. United States proposals for revision.

27. United States draft.

30. British comments.

Observations:

31. Advisability of retaining International Joint Commission for distinctly Canadian questions.

32. Advisability of adhering to general treaty for questions concerning Canada in common with rest of British Commonwealth.

33. Suggestion of veto a la Senate illusory.

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Observations(continued)

Page 33. Reservation of domestic questions acceptable.

34. Reservation of British belligerent rights against United States neutral ships most unwise.

Should Britain revise view and seek settlement of maritime law with United States?

36. Reservation re Monroe Doctrine vague but inexpedient to alter.

37. Desirability of Canada participating directly in further negotiations

38. British Government proposes temporary renewal of arbitration agreements with France, Italy and Spain; no objection seen.

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Pending Arbitration and Conciliation Questions.

The question of Canada's position on the pacific settlement of international disputes has been brought to a head by several recent developments:-

I. The signatories to the Briand-Kellogg pact agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and seek a solution of every dispute that may arise among them by pacific means; it therefore becomes necessary to ensure that these pacific means are provided.

II. A resolution was introduced in the House of Commons last session requesting the Canadian Government to consult with the other governments of His Majesty as to acceptance by Canada of the Optional Clause, providing for compulsory arbitration of justiciable disputes. The Minister of Justice, for the Government, expressed sympathy with the proposal.

III. The 1928 Assembly of the League drafted and recommended to the consideration of all states model treaties of conciliation and arbitration.

IV. The termination this year of the Bryce-Root arbitration treaty between His Britannic Majesty and the United States makes it necessary to consider what revisions should be made in a new treaty.

V. Temporary renewal of Arbitration Agreements with France, Spain and Italy is suggested by the British Government, pending negotiation of new treaties.

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I. The Briand-Kellogg Pact.

No specific provision for settling disputes

The Pact of Paris does not include any specific provision for settlement of disputes. It pledges the signatories to seek pacific settlement but leaves for another day the task of working out the means. That means may be found in the Optional Clause, in the new League treaties, in bilateral treaties of arbitration such as the United States is now negotiating, or in other directions. The chief significance of the Pact is that it pledges the parties to seek that means, and gives an added emphasis and practical urgency to all the specific proposals under consideration.

Approval by Canadian Parliament.

It will of course be necessary to secure a resolution approving Canadian adherence to the Pact during the coming session. Six countries have already ratified - Soviet Russia leading the way. Thirty-five others have signed and will probably ratify during the coming year. Some of the Latin American states, particularly Argentina, Brazil and Chile, are holding back to see if the United States Senate includes a reservation regarding the Monroe Doctrine; if it does, they will abstain. Mr.Kellogg and Senator Borah are trying to get the Pact through without any such reservation. The question will probably be decided in the United States before it will come before the Canadian Parliament.

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II. Signature of Optional Clause.

Justiciable and other disputes.

The Minister of Justice expressed sympathy last session with a resolution calling for re-opening with the other Governments of the Empire the question of the advisability of accepting the Optional Clause under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, thereby undertaking, with or without reservations, to refer to the Court for settlement all disputes of a legal or justiciable nature.

It is necessary first to recall the distinction between the two main classes of international disputes, and between the methods of settlement appropriate to each class in case ordinary diplomatic methods fail:

(a) Justiciable questions, involving interpretations of law or fact, claims as to rights and therefore appropriately dealt with by legal methods by a court or arbitrators.

(b) Non-justiciable questions, matters of policy, of conflicting aims and interests, more appropriately dealt with by methods of conciliation, by the endeavour to find out what is a workable solution for both parties rather than what is the right of either.

Justiciable disputes dealt with.

The present proposal has to do with disputes of the first class - justiciable questions. So far as the League of Nations is concerned, there had been, before the 1928 Assembly, two main endeavours to deal with such disputes.

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II. Signature of Optional Clause (continued)

By Article 13 of the Covenant.

Article 13 of the Covenant of the League embodies the first attempt:

> 1. The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.
>
> 2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.
>
> 3. For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.
>
> 4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

It will be noted that the members of the League are not hereby pledged to bring all justiciable questions before the Court; the Court has not automatic jurisdiction; the two countries at odds must agree that the specific question is one suitable for judicial settlement, and though certain classes of disputes are indicated, they are only stated to be generally suitable for arbitration or judicial settlement.

And by Article 36 of Statute of Permanent Court.

Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice embodies the second provision.

The Covenant of the League, in Article 14, provided for the establishment of a Permanent Court for

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two purposes:

(1) To hear and determine any international dispute which the parties thereto submitted;

(2) To give an advisory opinion on any question referred to it by Council or Assembly.

Accordingly, a Committee of eminent jurists (including Lord Phillimore from England and Elihu Root from the United States), was appointed to draft the Statute or Constitution of such a Court. This Committee unanimously recommended to the Council that all States adhering to the Court should agree to submit all legal disputes and accept its judgment. The representatives of Great Britain and France objected both in the Council and in the Assembly, where they stood alone. A compromise was effected, whereby all states adhering to the Court recognized its jurisdiction only in cases which both parties to a dispute agreed to refer to it, but an optional clause was added, permitting any state which wished to accept jurisdiction in advance, in all the types of disputes indicated, to do so. These provisions are found in Article 36 of the Statute of the Court:

including the Optional Clause.

Article 36

The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the prties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in Treaties and Conventions in force.

The Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognize as compulsory ipso facto and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning:

(a) The interpretation of a Treaty;
(b) Any question of International Law;
(c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
(d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

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I. Signature of Optional Clause(continued)

The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain Members or States, or for a certain time.

In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Acceptance by Thirty States.

Of the forty states which have adhered to the Permanent Court, thirty have signed, and eighteen ratified, the Optional Clause. These are chiefly the smaller and more progressive countries, such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, but they include one Great Power, Germany, which ratified in March, 1928. Spain and Greece ratified during the 1928 Assembly. France has signed, but its ratification was made dependent on the general ratification of the Protocol of Geneva, of which there is no present prospect.

Rejection by Great Britain

The outstanding exception, and the chief obstacle to general adoption, is afforded by Great Britain and some of the Dominion members of the League. The present British Government and most of its predecessors have been opposed to accepting Article 36. This opposition was publicly manifested in the discussion regarding the constitution of the Court, in a speech by Sir Cecil Hurst at the Assembly in 1925(though in 1924, when the Ramsay MacDonald Government was in power he agreed that acceptance with certain reservations, was advisable), in speeches by Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr.Locker-Lampson in the House of Commons in 1927, and in a statement to the League Committee on Arbitration and Security early in 1928. The Canadian Government, on the other hand, expressed its sympathy in 1925, on the occasion of rejecting the Protocol of Geneva: the Prime Minister informed the Secretary-General of the League as follows:(telegram of March 10, 1925)

Canadian Government prepared to consider

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II Signature of Optional Clause(continued)

> "That as Canada believes firmly in the submission of international disputes to joint inquiry or arbitration and has shared in certain notable undertakings in this field, we would be prepared to consider acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in justiciable disputes,with certain reservations".

The Irish Free State also expressed sympathy with the proposal in 1925; Australia,mildly, in 1925, and New Zealand,strongly, in 1924,expressed disapproval.

Discussion at Imperial Conference, 1926.

The question was raised at the Imperial Conference of 1926 by the British Government through a Memorandum opposing acceptance. In a session of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee on November 9th,Sir Douglas Hogg repeated the statement of the case against acceptance; Mr.Lapointe criticised the views set forth in the Memorandum,but agreed to postpone further consideration for the present; Mr.Bruce expressed sympathy with the principle but thought it unsafe to take the pledge for the present; General Hertzog took much the same view; Mr.Fitzgerald took the same position as Mr.Lapointe. Sir Douglas Hogg and Mr.Bruce expressed the view that this was a matter on which all the Governments in the Empire should act unanimously; Mr. Lapointe and Mr.Fitzgerald made no such commitment. The conclusion was thus set forth in the Report of the Committee:

> "(a) Compulsory Arbitration in International Disputes
>
> One question which we studied was that of arbitration in international disputes,with special reference to the question of acceptance of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice,providing for the compulsory submission of certain classes of cases to the Court. On this matter we decided to submit no Resolution to the Conference,but,whilst the members of the Committee were unanimous in favouring the widest possible extension of the method of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes,the feeling was that it was at present premature to accept the obligations under the Article in question. A general understanding was reached that none of the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference would take any action in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court,without bringing up the matter for further discussion."

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Public opinion in Great Britain,

While the British Government thus secured postponement, the movement for acceptance has continued to gain in strength. In Great Britain, the Liberal party is strongly committed to acceptance, Viscount Grey being particularly earnest in support. The Labour Party is also in favour. Ramsay MacDonald's Government took no direct action while in power, partly under Lord Haldane's opposing influence, though it did father and support the Geneva Protocol which went much further not only in compulsory arbitration but in agreement to help enforce decisions. The League of Nations Union is emphatically in favour, and every year since 1924 has urged the British Government to sign at once the Optional Clause, with any compatible reservations considered necessary.

and in Canada.

In Canada League of Nations Society sentiment supports action. Sir George Foster recently urged signature by Canada, without any reservations.

Women's organizations and Labour organizations have taken similar action. A recent speech of Mr.J.W.Dafoe(Winnipeg Nov.7,1928) is particularly interesting as emphasizing the connection with the Briand-Kellogg Pact:-

> "By the Kellogg Pact the signatory nations pledged themselves always to find a solution to international disputes by pacific means. This could only mean that they thereby agreed to submit themselves to the judgment of arbitral bodies - in the case of disputes of a legal character to the World Court, and in other cases to ad hoc courts of conciliation. There was an obvious inconsistency between the attitude of the governments which were signatories of the peace pact and the policies which they pursued in respect to arbitration and disarmament. If they intended to live up to the obligations of the pact, they ought not to object to putting themselves under the jurisdiction of the World Court and supplementing this with all-in arbitration treaties. Following this, disarmament, upon a large scale, would be not only possible but inevitable. The refusal of the great powers to live up to the implications of their solemn renouncement of war showed that the governments, still largely under the influence of so-called experts who were immunized against new ideas, were hesitating between two worlds, reluctant to give up the advantages and opportunities associated with great power. In this they lingered behind their peoples; and if this

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attitude were persisted in it could only result in the public opinion of each country disciplining its government by political methods. It was, for instance, quite evident that the British government was going to be called upon at the coming election to justify its international policies; and the same developments might be looked for elsewhere. If the people wanted international amity, full acceptance of the principle of arbitration and disarmament, as they certainly did, they would find a way to give effect to their desires."

Discussion in Canadian House of Commons 1928.

The question arose in the Canadian House of Commons on April 11, 1928, on a motion by Mr. Adshead, that the Canadian Government should discuss with the British Government the desirability of Canada accepting the Optional Clause. Mr. Adshead's remarks were cut short by the six o'clock hour, whereupon he concluded:

> I do not know whether I would be right in asking the Government to make a declaration on this point. The time is getting late and I should like the Government to say something upon this point.
>
> Mr. Lapointe: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that the hour is so late, but it is early enough for me to say simply that I am in sympathy with the subject matter of the resolution. I have some more reasons to give in support of my statement.

Debate was not resumed.

Australia also considering acceptance.

It is noteworthy that the Australian Government is also turning in the same direction. Speaking in the House of Representatives on the 26th April, 1928, the Hon. J.G. Latham, Attorney General, after making a clear analysis of the position, and referring to some difficulties in the way, stated that the question was receiving the careful consideration of the Government and that it was "hoped that it may be possible to arrive at a solution of them which will enable Australia to join with other parts of the Empire in some degree of adherence to the clause with reservations".

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It may next be considered what are the arguments for and against acceptance.

Arguments for Acceptance

In brief, the argument for acceptance is simply -

(1) that submission of legal disputes to court decision is merely extending the rule of law as against the rule of force from national into international life;

(2) that the alternative in the last analysis is war, with all the loss and suffering and the danger to civilisation itself that war with the weapons of today and tomorrow involves;

(3) that for the smaller and peaceful countries like Canada the need of peace and of arbitration as a means to peace, is particularly urgent; and

(4) that the recent solemn pledge to renounce war and seek peaceful means of settlement makes action doubly imperative if we are not to be convicted of hypocrisy.

Arguments against Acceptance.

The arguments against acceptance may be noted more fully. As set forth by British opponents, they may be summed up as follows:

1. Retain right to use force.

(1) <u>That a great and growing country cannot renounce the right to throw its sword into the scales.</u> This is not often openly avowed, but is the root of much instinctive objection. It is open to criticism on moral grounds as subversive of the very foundation of civilised international relations, and on practical grounds because of the uncertainty when many swords are thrown as to how the scales will tip, and because in Senator Dandurand's

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phrase, 'a bad arbitration is better than a good war'. The League of Nations Union deals with this argument as follows:

> That doctrine is repudiated as utterly false. No country has done more to discredit that doctrine, and no country has better cause to put its trust in the rule of law than Great Britain. For our country was a pioneer of arbitration...Never once throughout this long experience have we had occasion to regret having chosen the way of arbitration - never, not even when, as in the Alabama case, the award went against us... The very fact that our interests are world-wide, that our contacts with other powers are innumerable, and that we are in some respects the most vulnerable of nations, should make us the more anxious to establish and extend the rule of law, and to complete the renunciation of the right of private war.

2. Public and Parliament would not support.

2. That public opinion or parliament might not support the Government in submitting important legal issues to arbitration. The British memorandum at the 1926 Imperial Conference declared:

> It seems impossible for any democratic government to bind itself in advance to accept compulsory arbitration in every case falling under the specific categories referred to in Article 36 of the Statute, because it might well be that any particular dispute falling within those categories, was such that effect would have to be given to an adverse award by legislation, and it is impossible to guarantee in advance that the Parliament of the country concerned would be prepared to pass the legislation required in every case. On the other hand, if the jurisdiction is optional, it is always possible to submit the matter to Parliament in advance in any case where Parliamentary action might be necessary.

And the British statement to the Security and Arbitration Committee in 1928 declared:

> An arbitration treaty which goes beyond what the public opinion of a country can be counted on to support when the interests of that country are in question and when a decision unfavourable to those interests is pronounced, is a treaty which is useless.

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It would undoubtedly be dangerous to run ahead of public and parliamentary opinion. But presumably if a government in Canada or in Great Britain accepts the Optional Clause, it will be because it believes the public supports it and, in Canada at least, only with parliamentary approval. In Canada, public opinion, so far as vocal, appears to support the movement; true, not all who support it understand it, and those actively in support are only a minority of the whole people, but of what popular movement could not the same be said? Mr.Lapointe observed at the 1926 Conference:

> There may, it is true, be difficulty in a democratic country in securing the assent of Parliament to the enforcement of awards. That difficulty, however, faces us alike, whether we have made a general agreement of arbitration or a special agreement to submit one specific question. It is not until the terms of the award are known that the attitude of Parliament can be revealed.

3. Foreign countries would not carry out.

3. That some foreign countries will not accept arbitration or carry out a court's findings; therefore a general obligation is not advisable. In the words of the British 1926 Memorandum:

> While an undertaking by any part of the Empire will always be loyally carried out to the fullest practicable extent, there is no security that foreign countries will not attempt to evade their obligations in cases where it suits them to do so. In any case, whatever other countries may decide to do, there is no prospect that either the United States of America or Soviet Russia will accept the principle of compulsory arbitration.

Or in the British Security and Arbitration Committee statement, 1928:

> The cause of the somewhat small measure of acceptance that Article 36 has hitherto met with is to be found in the fact that the considerations which deter states from accepting binding obligations to arbitrate all justiciable disputes operate in varying degrees as regards other foreign states.. Obligations which a country may be willing to accept towards one state it may not be willing to accept towards another. ..More progress is likely to be achieved through bilateral agreements than through general treaties open to signature by any state which so wishes.

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It is true some countries have low standards of international honour, but, as Mr.Lapointe remarked, we may perhaps count on the force of our noble example raising them to higher levels. It is by no means certain that neither the United States nor Soviet Russia will accept the principle of compulsory arbitration; the contrary is likely as regards the United States, though doubtless the Senate will insist on being consulted in each specific case, but if true it is immaterial, since it is not customary to accept the Optional Clause save on a reciprocal basis. As to bilateral treaties, the present British Government has refused to join in such engagements with Switzerland or Holland, surely honourable and peaceful countries.

4. Council procedure provides adequate means.

4. That recourse to the Permanent Court is unnecessary, since we are already committed to peaceful settlement through the Council of the League. Sir Cecil Hurst expressed this view in Geneva, in 1925:

> Whether that dispute goes to arbitration or whether it goes to the Council makes no difference as to the certainty that by some means or another that dispute will be the subject of pacific settlement. Consequently, I think it follows that for that whole category of cases covered by Article 15 of the Covenant, you will not advance the cause of peaceful settlement by accepting the Optional Clause, because the only effect of so doing is to tie the hands of the members of the League concerned to choose one method of pacific settlement rather than another. My Government, for reasons which I hope are sound, have always felt that it is better, so far as concerns the disputes which fall into this first category, to keep its hands free to determine which method of pacific settlement should be adopted in any particular case which may arise.

If this view were correct, the question would arise, why does the British government prefer to send a legal question to the Council rather than to the Permanent Court? Obviously because the Council is in large measure a political body where a great power can hope to wangle a deadlock, if not a decision. But it is not correct. M.Rolin of Belgium, in replying to Sir Cecil Hurst, observed:

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> While the peaceful settlement of a dispute through arbitration or by appeal to the Court of Justice is final, a settlement through the Council was only provisional and might thus leave the door open to war.
>
> The League of Nations Union comments as follows:
>
> Here again it will be noted the Covenant is incorrectly represented. The Covenant does not ensure that all disputes "likely to lead to a rupture" shall be "the subject of pacific settlement". It only ensures that they shall be the subject of pacific procedure. That famous "gap in the Covenant" cannot be ignored. The Covenant leaves us free to choose the way of conciliation or of arbitration, and if we do choose conciliation and the Council is not unanimous, then, after three months' delay, we are free to fight. Thus, instead of its making no difference whether we sign the Clause or not, it makes just all the difference between retaining and renouncing the right in certain circumstances to resort to war for the decision of a legal dispute.

In any case, it would be permissible, if desired, to stipulate that a dispute should go to the Council first, and if not settled there, go to the Permanent Court.

5. Vital interest or honour jeopardized.

5. That recourse to the Permanent Court would put in jeopardy matters touching the vital interests, independence or honour of the State. Cf. the British 1926 Memorandum:

> The proposed undertaking would involve the complete waiver of the right to reserve from submission to arbitration disputes touching the vital interests, independence or honour of the State. Such a waiver might, however, have most serious consequences, since it is very doubtful whether public opinion in any part of the Empire would tolerate the acceptance of an unfavourable award on a question of primary importance to that part, e.g. one affecting the position of Great Britain in relation to Egypt, or the validity of restrictions on the immigration of nationals of foreign countries into the Dominions.

When a man or a nation speaks loudly of honour, it is usually meant to cover a position which conscience whispers is not wholly honourable. In such a case, there are two possibilities open - to refuse to submit the dispute to arbitration, or to change the policy which will not stand examination as to its legality.

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The League of Nations Union recalls how Germany torpedoed the Hague Conference in 1899 by insisting on reserving from arbitration "all instances where the vital interests or honour of a state are affected", and the Kaiser's appropriate comment: "In practice, I, at any rate, will henceforth rely and call upon God and my bright sword alone! And damn their resolutions".

The reference to immigration into a Dominion is specious. The immigration policy of Canada is a policy, not a question of legal rights; it is difficult to see how in any way it could come before a Court, but if that were thought to be possible, a reservation of domestic questions might be made, as in the proposed United States arbitration treaty (see IV below).

6. Court an Inadequate Body.

6. That the Permanent Court is not a satisfactory tribunal.

The British memorandum of 1926 declares:

> From the purely legal standpoint, the Permanent Court is not a satisfactory body for the task of adjudicating on disputes of primary importance, since it has decided not to be bound by any rules of evidence, and the absence of any such rules makes it very dangerous to give an undertaking in advance to accept decisions of the Court on any questions which may arise.

It is true that the Permanent Court is not perfect. (Is the Privy Council, for that matter?) Some weak appointments have been made, though recent nominations such as that of Charles Evan Hughes go far to strengthen it. Its procedure may show room for improvement; this is only natural in a new body; neither Roman nor British courts were build in a day. The Assembly of the League at its last session requested the Council to investigate and report on the organization of the Court; further strengthening may reasonably be expected. In any case, the surest way to strengthen it is to use it.

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7. Maritime War Cases decided against British practice.

7. That on important questions such as maritime war law the Permanent Court would probably decide against British practice. Sir Douglas Hogg stated at the 1926 Conference:

> Another difficult question was that of the law of prize, in which there were such differences between the British, United States and Continental practices. If such a question was submitted, it would be with the knowledge that the tribunal with a majority of foreign lawyers, would find against the British practice; and yet it was a matter vital to the Empire.

This is a real difficulty. The question what law would be applied in determining the rights of maritime belligerents and neutrals in war-time is a serious one for a sea-power, and it is true that in the absence of an agreed code, Continental judges would be likely to decide according to their national rules, which differ materially from British practice. Yet the difficulty is not insuperable. A reservation can be made of disputes concerning the rules of naval war, or, as has been suggested, a reservation of disputes concerning the rules of naval war when acting on the League's behalf. Further, steps can be taken to bring about a codification of international law in this field, a course which is desirable in any case, as is indicated in the discussion of arbitration with the United States.

Two objections may next be noted which have special reference to Canada.

8. Would break up Empire if Canada signed without Britain.

8. That it would break up the Empire if Canada were to sign and Great Britain to refuse.

Sir Austen Chamberlain in 1927 gave as a reason for Great Britain not signing, "the decision reached by the British Imperial Conference not to sign" (a decision, he did not explain, due to Great Britain's urging). He continued:

> I need not say to the House how important it is that in this matter the whole Empire should act together. The embarrassment to all of us would be obvious if one member of the Empire were engaged in a dispute which another member of the Empire had undertaken to arbitrate while he himself had not done so. Indeed, it would make our position here one in which, as I think, it would be impossible for us to carry out the engagements we should have undertaken.

act as I act.

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This is simply a variation of Sir Austen's rooted feeling that the British Empire must have one foreign policy and that this policy must be what London prefers. Granted that it would be desirable for all parts of the Empire to adopt similar policies in such a case. If all are in agreement, this may be done. If not in agreement, the adoption of similar policies is possible only on a basis of unquestioning subordination to whatever British government may be in power. Equality means freedom to differ. Differences at present exist. The British government of the day is apparently not prepared to accept the Clause even if Canada, the Irish Free State and South Africa wished it. If in 1930 a Liberal Labour government were in power in Britain, and ready to sign the Clause, should Canada and Australia then hasten to sign, if not themselves convinced? Or should it be only Conservative governments that should be followed?

The League of Nations Union observes, in urging the British Government to sign:

> The possible reluctance of one or two of the Dominions to join in signing the Clause need not prevent the other members of the Commonwealth from doing so.

Again, is uniform action necessary? Would not any dispute as to rights in which Canada would be involved with a foreign power be one of primary interest to Canada alone, or, if affecting other parts of the Empire, be covered by a reservation e.g. of maritime law, or not be divisible and submissible unless the other British parties affected were also pledged to refer it to the Court?

A conclusive consideration is that in 1926 Sir Austen Chamberlain and the British Government did not hesitate to sign the Locarno Pact, and to undertake to make war upon either France or Germany if violating the terms of the Pact, though none of the Dominions signed. If Great Britain can by herself sign an

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agreement to go to war in case one of the other parties violates its pledges, why cannot Canada by herself sign an agreement not to go to war but to settle differences by reason?

We agreed in 1926 to further consultation, not to uniform action. For that matter, Canadian initiative now (or Australian), might lead to uniform action shortly if a change of government occurs in Great Britain, in which case Canada would have the credit of striking out on a distinctive path, rather than of meekly going north if a Conservative Government in London called out 'north', and switching 'south' if a Labour Government called out 'south'.

9. No dispute of Canadian concern.

9. That Canada is not likely to have international disputes with any country except the United States, and the United States is not likely to sign the Optional Clause.

It is true that it is chiefly with the United States that our problems will arise, and for their settlement other means exist or are to be sought. But our relations with other countries are growing fast. Our signing of the Briand-Kellogg pact is one indication of that growth, and our very membership in the League, where the United States is not represented, is the expression of a belief that today no country can live to itself or its own continent.

10. Canada's unfortunate experience with arbitration.

10. That Canada has suffered from international arbitrations and should beware in future. Not from arbitration before an international tribunal with foreign arbitrators. We lost in an "arbitration" on one coast when one of the British "arbitrators" sided with the United States, on frankly political grounds. We lost 100,000 square miles on the other coast in a decision by the British Privy Council. We won in the

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Bering Sea Seal Arbitration, where three foreign arbitrators - French, Italian and Swedish - deciding. We won in the North Atlantic Fisheries arbitration, where three foreign arbitrators - Austrian, Dutch, Argentine - held the scales. Perhaps we got bare justice in all four cases, but certainly there is no argument here against an international tribunal. And if there were, what was the alternative?

Summary

There do not appear therefore to be any conclusive reasons against proceeding to carry out the promise given last session, and communicating our attitude before the next session of parliament opens to the other governments of His Majesty, asking for an expression of their views.

What Reservations?

In so doing, it would be necessary to decide what reservations, if any, should be contemplated. Clearly they should be kept to a minimum, if adherence is to be of any value.

(a) It is customary to make adherence conditional on reciprocity, and for a term of years, say, five.

(b) It does not appear to be necessary to exempt domestic issues specifically, as they may be presumed to be excepted: however, this could be done if felt necessary.

(c ) Questions of maritime rights in war time might be reserved, until such time as a code of maritime law has been established, and in disputes where acting on the League's behalf.

(See discussion re United States Arbitration Treaty, IV below).

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## III. The 1928 League Treaties of Conciliation and Arbitration.

Treaties drafted under League auspices 1927-28.

The 1927 Assembly entrusted a Committee on Security and Arbitration with the task of inquiry into appropriate "action by the League of Nations with a view to promoting, generalising and coordinating special or collective agreements on arbitration and security". The Committee prepared two groups of model treaties, one relating to arbitration and conciliation, and one to non-aggression and mutual assistance. These drafts were materially revised by the First and Third Committees of the 1928 Assembly, and finally commended by the Assembly itself to all members of the League.

Second Group not of concern.

The second group of treaties does not require detailed consideration. The treaty of non-aggression is practically covered by the Briand-Kellogg pact. The treaty of mutual assistance provides for giving assistance forthwith to any signatory which in the view of the Council of the League has been attacked by another signatory. It revives the Protocol of Geneva on a smaller scale. It goes beyond the Briand-Kellogg Pact in pledging each signatory not only to avoid aggression but to punish aggressors. It goes beyond the Covenant in giving the Council, not the individual member of the League, the right to determine whether a violation has been committed. It may be assumed that Canada will not be interested in either treaty in this group.

First Group presents complete system of pacific settlement.

The first group presents a very comprehensive system of peaceful settlement, worked out after analysis of all existing treaties and of many fresh suggestions. It offers wide option, first between collective and bilateral

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agreements, and secondly, between the varying degrees of obligation. A distinction is made between conciliation, judicial settlement and arbitration; a bilateral treaty provides for the use of each of these three methods of settlement, and the General Act, or Collective Treaty, while embodying all three methods, provides for accepting conciliation only, or conciliation and judicial settlement, or all three procedures, as may be desired.

Provisions of the General Act.

It will suffice to refer to the more important provisions of the General Act (which contains 47 Articles).

1. Conciliation: (all disputes).

The parties agree to submit to the procedure of conciliation all disputes which it has not been possible to settle by diplomacy, subject to any reservations as under '4' below.

The disputes are to be referred to a Conciliation Commission of five members, one from each party to the dispute, three from other countries. A permanent Commission may be established in advance on a request from one party; otherwise the Commission will be constituted ad hoc when a dispute arises.

The Commission will ordinarily meet in private. Its task will be "to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect with that object all necessary information by means of inquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement".

2. Judicial Settlement (legal disputes).

The parties agree to refer to the Permanent Court or to a special arbitral tribunal, all disputes as to their respective rights, subject to any reservations as under '4' below.

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By agreement, such disputes may first be submitted to the procedure of conciliation.

Any disputes as to rights excluded by reservations from judicial settlement shall be submitted to conciliation.

3. Arbitration (non-legal disputes)

Any dispute not as to rights, if not settled by the Conciliation Commission, shall be referred to an arbitral tribunal, subject to reservations as under '4' below.

The tribunal is to consist of five members, one from each country, three from other and different countries.

4. General Provisions.

Special agreements for settlement of certain disputes to hold good.

Provision made for participation of interested third parties.

Accessions to the General Act may extend:

A. To all the provisions, 1,2,3,4.

B. To conciliation and judicial settlement, 1,2,4.

C. To conciliation only, 1,4.

Reservations may be made as to disputes:

(a) Arising out of facts prior to accession.

(b) Concerning questions which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of states.

(c) Concerning particular cases or clearly specified subject matters, such as territorial status or disputes falling within clearly defined categories.

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Disputes as to interpretation of Act to go to Permanent Court.

Act to be open to accession by Heads of States or other competent authorities.

Act to remain in force for five years, and five year periods thereafter until denounced.

Possible Canadian Attitude.

These provisions are well-devised and adaptable to almost any circumstances. It may be assumed that Canada would hesitate at present to accept the procedure of "arbitration" as here defined, that is, to undertake to submit non-legal disputes to a tribunal for decision, in case conciliation fails. It may further be assumed there would be little or no objection in principle to the procedure of conciliation. As to the intermediate procedure, judicial settlement of legal disputes, the chief question appears to be where in it differs from the procedure laid down in the Optional Clause. The main differences are:

Comparison with Optional Clause.

1. The Optional Clause covers four specific classes of legal disputes; the new treaty covers all legal disputes, including those mentioned in the Optional Clause.
2. The Optional Clause provides for reference to the Permanent Court only; the new treaty affords as an alternative reference to a special arbitral tribunal to be agreed on by the parties.
3. The Optional Clause makes no provision for resort to conciliation procedure; the treaty permits recourse to conciliation before submission to the Tribunal, and requires submission to conciliation of disputes on subjects reserved from arbitration.

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It might be advisable to defer action for a time. If the British Government were to express a preference for Judicial Settlement under the new Treaty over the Optional Clause, it might be well to assent. Otherwise, the Optional Clause appears to have the right of way. It was, it may be added, again endorsed by the Assembly, with a clause contributed by Senator Dandurand, asking any countries which cannot accede to indicate any unsettled questions of international law which if codified would facilitate their accession.

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**IV.** Arbitration Treaty with the United States.

United States Proposals: Our view requested.

The United States has made a proposal to the British Government for the revision of the Root-Bryce treaty of 1908, which lapsed this year. The British Government has indicated its tentative views and has asked for our view.

Previous Agreements.

There were in force until recently two agreements for conciliation and arbitration between His Majesty and the United States.

(1) Bryan Conciliation Treaty.

(1) Bryan Conciliation Treaty of 1914: This is still in force and is identical with treaties concluded with France, Italy and other countries. It provides for setting up a Permanent International Commission as a conciliation body, to investigate and report on any dispute the settlement of which is not provided for and in fact achieved by other means. Neither party is to declare war before the report is submitted. The Commission is to consist of five members, one "chosen from each country by the Government thereof", one chosen by each Government from some third country, and the fifth by agreement; "His Majesty's Government" to be free to substitute a Dominion member if the interests affected are mainly of Dominion concern. The Treaty is further not to affect in any way the provisions of the Treaty of 1909 relating to questions arising between the United States and Canada (Boundary Waters Treaty, setting up International Joint Commission).

No question has yet been referred to this Commission.

(2) Root-Bryce Treaty.

(2) Root-Bryce Arbitration Treaty of 1906. (Five year term, renewed 1913, 1918, 1923, lapsed in 1928). Similar treaties were made with France, Italy and other countries.

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It provided for arbitration of legal questions and questions of interpretation of treaties, by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Questions affecting vital interests, independence or honour were excluded. A special agreement was to be made in each case defining the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators and the procedure - this agreement being subject on the part of the United States to the approval of the Senate, and His Majesty's Government reserving the right in any matter affecting the interests of a self-governing Dominion to obtain the concurrence of its Government.

United States proposals for revision.

The United States last year submitted a draft treaty as a substitute for the expiring Root-Bryce Arbitration Treaty.

(1)The draft is linked up with the Bryan Conciliation Treaty by a clause providing for sending to the Permanent International Commission therein prescribed any disputes not settled by diplomacy or submitted to arbitration.

(2)Instead of the reservation of questions affecting "vital interests, independence or honour", reservations are proposed of domestic questions, questions involving the interests of third parties, and questions involving the Monroe doctrine.

(3)The special agreement in each case, which is still required, is to be made on the part of the United States by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and "on the part of the British Empire in accordance with the constitutional laws of the British Empire", His Majesty's Government reserving the right before concluding an agreement affecting the interests of a

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Dominion to obtain the concurrence of its Government.

United States Draft.

The draft submitted by the United States is as follows:-

Draft Treaty of Arbitration.

THE President of the United States of America and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, determined to prevent so far as in their power lies any interruption in the peaceful relations that have happily existed between the two nations for more than a century, desirous of reaffirming their adherence to the policy of submitting to impartial decision all justiciable controversies that may arise between them, and eager by their example not only to demonstrate their condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, but also to hasten the time when the perfection of international arrangements for the pacific settlement of international disputes shall have eliminated forever the possibility of war among any of the Powers of the world, have decided to conclude a new Treaty of Arbitration enlarging the scope and obligations of the Arbitration Convention, signed at Washington on the 4th April, 1908, which expires by limitation on the 4th June, 1928, and for that purpose they have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries;

The President of the United States of America,

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, who, having communicated to one another their full powers,

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found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:-

Article 1.

Any disputes arising between the high contracting parties of whatever nature they may be, shall, when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed and the high contracting parties do not have recourse to adjudication by a competent tribunal, be submitted for investigation and report, as prescribed in the treaty signed at Washington, the 15th September, 1914, to the Permanent International Commission constituted pursuant thereto.

Article 2.

All differences relating to international matters in which the high contracting parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, which have not been adjusted as a result of reference to the above-mentioned Permanent International Commission, and which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of the 18th October, 1907, or to some other competent tribunal, as shall be decided in each case by special agreement, which special agreement shall provide for the organisation of such tribunal if necessary, define its powers, state the question or questions at issue, and settle the terms of reference.

The special agreement in each case shall be made on the part of the United States of America by the President of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and on the

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part of the British Empire in accordance with the constitutional laws of the British Empire, His Majesty's Government reserving the right before concluding a special agreement in any matter affecting the interests of a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire to obtain the concurrence therein of the Government of that Dominion.

Article 3.

The provisions of this treaty shall not be invoked in respect of any dispute the subject matter of which -

(a) Is within the domestic jurisdiction of either of the high contracting parties.

(b) Involves the interests of third parties.

(c) Depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe doctrine.

Article 4.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof and by His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in accordance with the constitutional laws of the British Empire. The ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible, and the treaty shall take effect on the date of the exchange of the ratifications. It shall thereafter remain in force continuously unless and until terminated by one year's written notice given by either high contracting party to the other.

In faith thereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in duplicate and hereunto affix their seals.

Done at Washington, the day of in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty .

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Foreign Office Comments.

In a memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated March 3, 1928, and contained in a Foreign Office print, the views of the Foreign Office on this draft are set out. They may be summarized as follows:

Preamble: No serious objection; omit words "to one another" at end; read "between their respective countries" for "between the two nations"; alter wording to provide for event of signature by Dominions and India under separate full powers on 1926 Conference model.

Article I: All to the good, if serving to give greater prominence to principle of conciliation.

Article 2: Drafting defective, "justiciable" means same as "differences as to rights".

The difficulty found in all treaties with the United States occurs here - the Senate having the power, by refusing to sanction the conclusion of the special agreement, to prevent arbitration on a matter which admittedly falls within the terms of the draft treaty. It might be well to substitute the following:

> The special agreement in each case shall be made on the part of the United States of America by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and on the part of His Majesty's dominions by His Majesty the King in accordance with constitutional practice. (H.M. dominions in this sense meaning the whole of the British Empire and not the self-governing 'Dominions').

This clause would make it possible for any government, if desiring, to submit the special agreement to Parliament before ratification, which could then, like the Senate, reject if so desiring.

Article 3: The first article provides that all disputes are to be submitted to conciliation; this article reserves certain disputes from "the provisions of the treaty". There is clearly a conflict. The article should be amended: "The provisions of Article 2 of this treaty shall not be invoked, etc"

The reservation as to domestic jurisdiction is considered somewhat vague: however, no strong objection is expressed.

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The reservation as to disputes involving the interests of third parties might be amended so as "to exclude from arbitration any question affecting our belligerent rights at sea. Perhaps not well to reserve this question explicitly, which would raise a storm, but some form of words should be found. No doubt that any dispute which might prevent the exercise of naval pressure by the British fleet in time of war must be excluded from the operation of the new treaty."

The reservation as to the Monroe Doctrine is hazy: probably implies intention on part of United States to avoid arbitrating any dispute which might ultimately call into question the validity of the Monroe Doctrine; might be dangerous to ask for a definition and preferable to ask United States to confirm certain specified declarations on the subject; a similar reservation already conceded by Great Britain in the 1907 Hague Convention and by Article 21 of the League Covenant.

Article 4: For "in accordance with the constitutional laws of the British Empire" read: "in accordance with constitutional practice".

Add reservation of League obligations, as made by France, in her revised treaty with the United States.

Worst feature possibility of submitting belligerent rights at sea to arbitration.

Initial Question for Canada - relation to Treaty of 1909.

The initial question from the Canadian standpoint is whether we should adhere to the Arbitration Treaty, or stick to what Sir Wilfrid Laurier once termed "our own Hague Tribunal", the International Joint Commission, or combine both methods.

The following procedure might be considered:

1. Retain and develop the International Joint Commission for distinctly Canadian questions.

Articles 9 and 10 of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 provide for the reference of any question whatever between Canada and the United States to the International Joint Commission, for investigation and report if one party so desires, and for binding decision if the two parties so agree.

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This agreement, taken in conjunction with the Kellogg-Briand pact undertaking to find a pacific settlement for all disputes, covers everything (and more) that the Bryan Conciliation Treaty and the proposed new Arbitration Treaty together cover. The International Joint Commission exists, and there is no necessity of finding new organs to duplicate its work. Further, it is better adapted to the work, under our circumstances, than the new bodies would be. Not to utilize it to the full would seriously injure its prestige and usefulness.

2. Adhere to the general Arbitration Treaty for questions which concern Canada in common with other parts of the British Commonwealth.

For such purposes the general procedure could be utilized. It would be necessary to change the phraseology of the new Treaty (and possibly of the Bryan Conciliation Treaty) to conform to current views of equality between His Majesty's several governments; this would not be difficult. It would be more difficult to adapt the machinery of a Permanent International Commission with one member from His Majesty's domains, to meet this same condition: this might be effected (1) by having this representative appointed jointly by all His Majesty's Governments, with freedom to substitute another member if a special interest only was concerned, e.g., Great Britain or Australia only; or (2) by having the representative appointed in the first instance by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, with freedom to substitute later - perhaps more convenient but less logical.

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As to Veto à la Senate.

Sir Austen has suggested a method of giving Great Britain or a Dominion the same right of rejecting a special agreement made under the treaty as the United States Senate exercises. Superficially this appears fair, but it is doubtful if it will stand examination.

1. The phrasing suggested does not explicitly provide for such procedure, and recriminations might follow if it were adopted.
2. The procedure is illusory, owing to the difference in the relations between President and Senate in the United States, and Cabinet and Parliament under the British system. The Senate is distinct from and independent of the Executive and usually exercises its right of veto against the wishes of the Executive. Parliament is inseparably linked with the Cabinet, and would not, unless in an extraordinary case reject a proposal made to it by the Cabinet.

Incidentally, if adopted, this qualification should be varied in wording: the phrase 'His Majesty's Dominions' is confusing; it would seem sufficient to say, "and on the part of His Majesty in accordance with constitutional practice" (as proposed in Article 4).

As to Reservations.

As to reservations:

(a) Domestic Questions.

(a) The provision for exemption of domestic questions, is, as Sir Austen notes, vague, and might be deemed unnecessary; once proposed, however, there seems to be no adequate reason for rejecting it.

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(b)Naval War.

(b) The suggestion to devise a form of words to exclude the exercise of British belligerent rights at sea is extremely dubious.

1. It would provoke more ill-feeling than the treaty would do good, to try to devise a set of "weasel words" which would mean one thing to the British Government and another to the United States.

2. The object in view, i.e. retaining the right to"exercise naval pressure by the British fleet in time of war"(i.e.against United States as a neutral power), is suicidal. The proposal indicates the frame of mind responsible for the abortive Anglo-French naval pact. If there is one point in Anglo-American relations which can be taken as certain, it is that the United States will never consent to Great Britain exercising such pressure in a war in which she is not herself participating and that if it became known that the British Foreign Office and Admiralty were insisting and preparing to exercise this right in future, nothing could prevent the expenditure by the United States of billions to give it an overwhelming navy.

It is considered by many that the time has come for Great Britain to revise its attitude on naval war claims, in spite of the importance rightly attached to the great advantage to a dominant sea power of being able to starve out its enemies by cutting off neutral trade with them.

(1) When she is neutral, her own interest lies

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in expanding rather than in restricting neutral rights.

(2) When she is belligerent, she may have to face determined opposition from the United States, with its rapidly growing fleet, to any curtailment of neutral rights. A policy expedient when Britain was dominant at sea might cease to be expedient when she ceased to be dominant. If the United States becomes dominant, she may cease to lay as much emphasis on neutral rights - always the plea of the weaker naval power: when herself a belligerent, she has always taken a high view of belligerent rights.

(3) The setting up of the League of Nations has changed the situation. It may avert a war. If not, it will provide some assistance against the aggressor. Presumably Great Britain will not embark on an aggressive war. Any war in which she will be engaged will presumably be as the victim of aggression. If this is clearly established, all the other members of the League, whether or not they would give direct military and economic assistance, would at least be prepared to be a little more than benevolently neutral. This does not apply to the United States, but here again, the Kellogg Pact, while not providing for any positive co-operation against a violator of it, at least might be expected to prevent a signatory objecting to pressure brought by other signatories against the violator or against neutrals supplying him.

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It might be, then, considered timely not only to question the view set forth by the Foreign Office, but to suggest the desirability of

(1) exploring the possibilities of codification of maritime law and,

(2) restricting the exercise of belligerent rights at sea to wars carried on with the sanction of the League or against a violator of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Senator Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, has announced his intention to bring up the question of codification of naval war law. If this could be settled, it would tremendously ease the tension of Anglo-American naval rivalry. But it is of course not an easy task.

(c) Monroe Doctrine.

(c) The Monroe doctrine is as vague as it is frequently irritating. It would not, for the reasons set forth by Sir Austen, be expedient to question it, and to define it by quoting carefully selected declarations would only lead to a reply containing other carefully selected declarations including Mr. Hughes' 1923 declaration that it was for the United States alone to define and determine that doctrine. It will be better to leave it to the Latin American states which are primarily concerned to clarify the situation. An opportunity may well be afforded in the meeting of the Pan-American Union to be held in Washington in December to discuss this very question of arbitration.

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(d)Covenant Obligations.

(d) Obligations under the Covenant. It is not apparent how these would conflict.

Canadian Participation in Negotiations.

The final point to consider is the procedure to be followed in any further negotiations. In a treaty so vitally affecting Canada, we should participate directly in the discussion, as was arranged in the case of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, not deal only at second hand through the British Government.

A draft telegram to London embodying some of the above points is attached for consideration.

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V. Renewal of Arbitration Treaties with France, Italy and Spain.

In 1903 an agreement was concluded between Great Britain and France for submission of differences on legal questions or treaty arbitration to the Hague Court, provided they did not affect vital interests, independence or honour, nor concern the interests of third parties. The agreement covered a period of five years and has been renewed for similar terms. It expired on October 14th of this year. The British Government has raised the question of revising it, but in the meantime suggests a temporary renewal of the old agreement by an exchange of notes, in which the Foreign Secretary will state that "His Majesty's Governments" accept the proposal for a renewal.

There appears to be no objection to such action, provided it is made clear that so far as Canada is concerned, the Foreign Secretary acts on the authority of the Canadian Government. Similar considerations apply to expiring agreements with Italy and Spain.

Draft telegrams attached.

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Permanent Court of International Justice C 93522
Anglo-American Relations
Imperial Relations - Methods of Communication & Consultation
Canadian-American Relations

E-1310-A
Arbitration
Unofficial

To the Prime Minister: Jan. 17, 1929.

I enclose revised telegrams on the subject of arbitration, namely, acceptance of the optional clause and comments on the arbitration treaty with the United States. I have shown both to Mr. Lapointe, who approves of both, and have sent a copy of each to Colonel Ralston. I think both should go this week, particularly the one regarding the United States, as it is several months since our opinion on the subject was asked for.

O.S.

(Enclosure not attached)
jc.

(O.D. SKELTON)
jc.

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E 1310-A

Arbitration - Treaties

C 93523

To the Prime Minister: Jan. 18, 1929.

ARBITRATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

On March 15 the British Government sent a despatch communicating their provisional observations on the Arbitration Treaty, and asked if the Dominion Governments could communicate any observations of their own by telegraph.

On June 1 they advised that, in view of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, they proposed to postpone a reply to the United States until decision as to that pact had been made. Meantime they asked us to inform them by cable of any observations. No reply was made beyond acknowledgement, as it was desirable to await the outcome of the Briand-Kellogg pact and the League arbitration treaties.

On Nov.21 and again on Nov. 26 the acting Foreign Secretary stated in the British House of Commons that consideration of the arbitration treaty was held up pending consultation with the Dominions. Last week a press despatch appeared from Washington, stating that it was understood that the British Government was awaiting answers on the subject from several of the Dominions.

The matter is pressing, but it is also important, and in view of the so long delay that has already occurred, I do not see any objection to delaying till the first of the week if it is felt desirable to give the subject further study.

O.D. SKELTON.

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Anglo-American Relations
Imperial Relations - Methods of Communication
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E-1310-A

Memorandum for the Prime Minister: 12th February, 1929

C 93524

Attached is a reply from London to our two telegrams on the Optional Clause and United States Arbitration Treaty.

You will note that the British Government is of the view that it is desirable to postpone any decision as to the Optional Clause, which involves in some measure the question of arbitration of belligerent rights, until the same question has been considered in the more immediate aspect presented by the Arbitration Treaty with the United States. It is added that they expect to indicate their views on this question very shortly.

I note that Mr. Adshead has asked a question on the Optional Clause. It would not seem advisable to make any reference at the present time to the fact that the question of belligerent rights is under consideration either in connection with the Optional Clause or with the United States Arbitration Treaty. Mr. Adshead might be informed, if he presses again for a reply, that the Canadian Government had indicated to the other Governments of the British Empire its belief that it was advisable to adhere to the Optional Clause, though, if at all possible, it would seem better to confine any reply at present to a statement that the Government was in communication with the other Governments on this subject.

O.D.

O. D. SKELTON.

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Canada-American Relations E-1310-A
Anglo-American Relations
Permanent Court of International Justice C 93525 - Original
Imperial Relations - Methods of Communication & Consultation
W LMK

Memorandum for the Prime Minister: 6th March, 1929

Optional Clause.

Our suggestion as to signature of the Optional Clause appears to have been made at an opportune moment, as the Australian Government had evidently been reaching much the same decision.

Replies have been received as follows:

British Government suggests that as the signature of the Optional Clause involves the question whether a reservation of disputes as to belligerent rights at sea should be made, and as the same question is raised in its most important and immediate aspect in connection with the Arbitration Treaty with the United States, consideration of the Optional Clause might be deferred.
It is added that the British Government is now engaged in a special study of relations with the United States in which it is recognized that the question of arbitration will be important, and in this study deriving great assistance from views and suggestions from Canada and other Dominions.

South African and New Zealand Governments agree with British suggestion to postpone consideration of Optional Clause until United States Arbitration Treaty settled.

Australia replies in lengthy and able telegram that it has for some time been considering the question of the Optional Clause and has concluded that in view of public opinion, particularly since the signing of the Kellogg Pact, it is desirable that action should be taken. They do not think it possible to maintain non possumus attitude much longer. They suggest, however, certain reservations. The Optional Clause provides that "questions of international law" are to come before the Court. The Australian Government suggests limiting this provision by adding the words "questions which can be determined by the application of a rule formally accepted by parties to the dispute", or in other words ~~except~~ jurisdiction in any phase of international law which has been codified or otherwise agreed upon. (They could accept

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A similar reservation is suggested in connection with jurisdiction over breaches of an international obligation. Reservations of this general character would, it is added, remove the necessity of any specific reservation regarding belligerent rights at sea or domestic jurisdiction. The Australian Government believes it would be advantageous to reach a definite decision on this question even before the next Imperial Conference, but agrees with the British Government suggestion that the Arbitration Treaty with the United States should be settled first.

(At the request of the Australian Government, this telegram has been circulated to the Governments concerned).

Attached are copies of the following telegrams:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| From External Affairs | to Dominions Office. | Jan.23,1929. |
| From Dominion Affairs | to External Affairs. | Feb. 9,1929 |
| From New Zealand | to External Affairs. | Feb.13,1929 |
| From South Africa | to External Affairs. | Feb.15,1929 |
| From Australia | to External Affairs. | Feb.22,1929 |
| From External Affairs | to Australia | March 1,1929 |

Acknowledgment to the Australian Government has been sent by telegram of March 1st (enclosed as above).

A reply should be sent to the suggestion of the British Government; the attached draft is submitted.

(O. D. SKELTON)
J.E.

(Enclosures not attached)
J.E.

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C 93527 E-1304 vol 7 B

To the Prime Minister: Aug. 9, 1929.

Attached is a draft reply to the British telegram on the Optional Clause, together with your file on the subject. I have gone over it with Mr. Lapointe this morning, who approves the draft.

The chief point is that an unqualified reservation such as is proposed in the 8th point of the British reply would enable any country with a seat on the Council, or with a friend which had a seat, to block indefinitely the submission of a legal question to the Court. Hungary has been trying for three or four years to have the question of the Hungarian-Rumanian optants sent to the Court, but Rumania, through its influence on the Council, has succeeded in blocking this proposal.

If you approve, the telegram will be sent off immediately, and I assume that we should inform the other Dominions of our attitude.

Even if the British accept the suggestion contained in this draft, I do not altogether like the idea of Canada accepting verbatim a common form of declaration, particularly when Ramsay MacDonald, judging from his telegram, evidently intends to take all the glory of proposing the scheme to the Assembly. Senator Dandurand has been thinking of speaking the first day or two of the Assembly. Instead of giving the lecture to Germany and Hungary which he contemplated, it might be considered whether, in view of the fact that Canada was the first to decide on accepting the Optional Clause, he should not announce that at an early stage. If we were placed on record in that way first there might not be so much objection to accepting a uniform declaration. In any case

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it is quite possible that Australia or the Irish Free State may not be prepared to accept all the British suggestions.

As the British Government has fully stated its views in its telegram of Aug. 1, it does not appear necessary for you to give Sir William Clark an interview at the present time. A copy of whatever telegram is sent to London goes to him automatically.

O.D.

O.D. SKELTON

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C 93529

Abstract of Protocol Concerning the Accession of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice.
September 14th, 1929.

Article 1. The States Signatories accept the five reservations requested by the United States Senate in 1926 upon the terms set out in the following articles:

Article 2. The United States shall participate in the election of the judges of the Court on equal terms with the States Members of the League.

Article 3. No amendment of the Statute of the Court may be made without the consent of all the Contracting States.

Article 4. The Court shall render advisory opinions in public session after notice and opportunity for hearing

Article 5. setting forth procedure in the matter of advisory opinions is the kernel of the agreement. It provides that "with a view to ensuring that the Court shall not without the consent of the United States entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest" the Secretary-General shall inform the United States

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C 93530

of any proposal before the Council of Assembly for obtaining an advisory opinion and thereupon, if desired, an exchange of views as to whether an interest of the United States is affected shall proceed "with all convenient speed" between the Council of Assembly and the United States.

When a request for an advisory opinion comes before the Court, the Registrar will notify the United States - as he now notifies the Members of the League. If difficulties develop proceedings may be stayed until an adequate exchange of views between the Council or Assembly and the United States takes place.

If, after the exchange of views above provided for it appears that no agreement can be reached, the United States can withdraw from the Court without "any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to cooperate generally for peace and goodwill".

Article 6. provides that the provisions of this Protocol shall have the same force and effect as the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 7. states that this Protocol shall be ratified, and shall come into force as soon as all States signatories to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, have

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C 93531

deposited their ratifications.

Article 8. provides (1) that the United States may at any time withdraw from the Court. If, and when the United States exercises its right of withdrawal, this Protocol ceases to be in force; (2) that each of the other contracting States may at any time notify the Secretary-General that it desires to withdraw its acceptance of these special conditions attached to the United States' adherence to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920. If, and when two thirds of the States signatories shall have notified the Secretary-General to this effect, this Protocol shall cease to be in force.

NAR/B

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C 93532

# Abstract of the Protocol for the Revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice September 14th, 1929.

The present protocol is subject to ratification, if possible, before the 1st September, 1930, and shall enter into force on that date provided that the Council of the League is satisfied that those signatories, whose ratifications of this protocol have not been received by that date, have no objections to the coming into force of the amendments to the Court Statute therein set forth.

The substantial changes in the Statute of the Court as set forth in the Annex to the Protocol are as follows: (the references are to the Articles in the original Statute.)

Article 3. The Court shall consist of fifteen members instead of eleven full judges and four deputy judges as at present.

Article 4. is amended to provide for the participation of States not members of the League but adhering to the Court in the election of judges.

Article 8 is amended to bring it into conformity with the change noted in Article 3.

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C 93533

Article 13 is amended to define the procedure to be followed in the case of the resignation of a member of the Court.

Article 14 is amended to define the procedure to be followed in filling a vacancy in the Court.

Article 15 in the present text is the second sentence in the former Article 14.

Article 16 is amended to prohibit a member of the Court from engaging in any work of a professional nature.

Article 17 is amended to bring it into conformity with the change noted in Article 3.

Article 23 provides that the Court shall remain permanently in session except during the judicial vacations which will be fixed by the Court - hitherto the Court Session has begun each year on the 15th June. In view of the change, provision is made for special leave for judges from non-European countries.

Article 25 provides for the internal ordering of the Court.

Article 26 providing for the optional hearing of Labour cases by a special panel of the Court is amended by deleting the third paragraph of the present Article and by providing for recourse to the summary proceedings defined in Article 29.

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Article 27 providing for the optional hearing of cases relating to transit and communications is amended in the same sense as Article 26.

Article 29 providing for summary procedure as with a view to speedy despatch of business is amended by increasing the number of judges in the special chamber from three to five.

Article 31 is amended by deleting the references to deputy judges (abolished by the Protocol) and by adding the provision for representation of interested nationals, which is transferred to this Article from Articles 26 and 27.

Article 32 relating to the judges' indemnity is slightly modified.

Article 35 is amended to profide for the adherence to the Court of States not members of the League.

Article 39 is slightly altered by providing that the Court may at the request of any party authorize the use of a language other than English or French.

Article 40 providing for the notification of cases is amended to meet the situation arising when States not members of the League adhere to the Court.

Article 45 the English text is slightly changed - the French text remains unaltered.

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C 93535



A new chapter. Chapter lV is added to the Statute of the Court setting forth in Articles 65, 66, 67 and 68 the procedure to be followed in the case of Advisory Opinions- along lines already outlined in the Memorandum on the Protocol concerning the Accession of the United States of America to the Protocol of the 16th December, 1920.

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C 93536

Prime Minister Apr. 9

Copies of the Protocols for revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court and for the accession of the U.S. to the Court, should be laid on the table. They have been printed by the Department and will be distributed to members this afternoon.

O.D.

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C 93537

## Memorandum for the Prime Minister

## Optional Clause

Attached is

1. a brief memorandum dealing with the history of the Optional Clause; it does not make any reference to the reservations which were agreed to by Great Britain and all the Dominions except the Irish Free State.
2. extract from Senate Debates of April 1st containing in addition to the declaration made by Senator Dandurand at the time of signing, a list (page 78) of countries which have ratified or signed the Clause. Great Britain has already ratified following Parliamentary Resolution of approval.
3. Senate Debates of April 4th, on page 152 of which is found a brief commentary by Senator Dandurand on the four reservations. Mr. Lapointe is familiar with the relation between the second amendment as to inter-commonwealth disputes and the discussions of the Sub-Conference in London as to the establishment of an inter-commonwealth court.

Ottawa, 9th April, 1930.

~~Copies should be laid on H. of C. table today~~ :
~~they are being distributed to members~~

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C 93538




Miscellaneous No. 12 (1929)

# MEMORANDUM

ON THE SIGNATURE BY
HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE
~~UNITED KINGDOM~~ OF THE

# OPTIONAL CLAUSE

*of the*

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Presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
to Parliament by Command of His Majesty

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C 93539

# Memorandum on the Signature by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

---

*The Effect of Signature of the Optional Clause.*

1. ARTICLE 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provides as follows :—

> "The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.
>
> "Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.
>
> "For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.
>
> "The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

2. This article provides a description of classes of international disputes which are to be regarded as justiciable, that is to say, suitable for decision by a court applying rules of law. But it does not impose upon the Members of the League any actual obligation to have such disputes settled in this manner; the words "*they recognise to be suitable* for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement," and "those which are *generally* suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement," leave it open to any Member of the League to refuse to have any particular dispute settled in this way.

3. The original draft of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice contained a provision giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction in the classes of cases set out in Article 13 of the

Covenant. In the
was replaced by a
Statute. It is as foll

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Covenant. In the Statute as adopted by the First Assembly this was replaced by a provision which appears in Article 36 of the Statute. It is as follows :—

"The Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning—

(*a*) the interpretation of a treaty;
(*b*) any question of international law;
(*c*) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
(*d*) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

"The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain Members or States, or for a certain time."

4. It is the making of the declaration referred to in the above provision which is generally known as "signing the Optional Clause." States which have signed the clause have done so in varying terms, but the model form which is annexed to copies of the Statute of the Court is as follows :—

"The undersigned, being duly authorised thereto, further declare on behalf of their Government, that, from this date, they accept as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special convention, the jurisdiction of the Court in conformity with Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Court, under the following conditions : "

5. The terms of Article 36 have been regarded as admitting the making of a reserve or exception of any kind when accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, because the jurisdiction of the Court may be accepted "*in all or any*" of the classes of legal disputes enumerated. Up to July in the present year, the Optional Clause had been signed and ratified by the following States : Abyssinia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Haiti, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Panamá, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Uruguay.

*Reasons why Signature of the Optional Clause is desirable.*

6. Article 2 of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy, now generally known as the Pact of Peace, provides that :—

"The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of what-

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ever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

The treaty, however, does not provide any machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes. As regards disputes of a justiciable character, therefore, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom consider signature of the Optional Clause as the logical consequence of the acceptance of the Pact of Peace. Acceptance of the Optional Clause means that disputes falling within its terms will receive from the Permanent Court of International Justice a definite solution, which the parties to the dispute are bound under Article 13 of the Covenant to "carry out in full good faith." If the Pact of Peace is to be made fully effective, it seems necessary that the legal renunciation of war should be accompanied by definite acts providing machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom believe that the first step in thus building up barriers against war is to secure the general acceptance of a system under which justiciable disputes will be settled by the operation of law. His Majesty's Government were, therefore, most anxious to sign the Optional Clause at the earliest possible moment. By so doing they hoped both to give to the world a proof of their confidence in the Pact of Peace and an earnest of their own desire to secure the peaceful settlement of justiciable disputes in which they might become involved, and also to do what lay in their power to stimulate other nations to do the same. The extent to which the latter object has already been fulfilled is shown by the fact that the Optional Clause was signed during the last Assembly by Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Latvia, Nicaragua, Peru and Siam, in addition to all the Dominions which are separate Members of the League and India. There are, indeed, at the present moment, only thirteen Members of the League which have not signed the Optional Clause, and it is understood that some of the thirteen now have the matter under consideration.

*The Declaration of Signature made by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.*

7. After discussion with the Governments of the Dominions before and during the Assembly, the Optional Clause was signed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the 19th September in the following terms :—

8. "On behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and subject to ratification, I accept as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special convention, on condition of reciprocity, the jurisdiction of the court in conformity with article 36, paragraph 2, of the statute of the court, for a period of ten years and thereafter until such time as notice may be given to terminate the acceptance, over all disputes arising after the ratification of the present declaration with regard to situations or fa
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tion with regard to situations or facts subsequent to the said ratification, other than :—

"Disputes in regard to which the parties to the dispute have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement; and

"Disputes with the Government of any other member of the League which is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree; and

"Disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom.

"And subject to the condition that His Majesty's Government reserve the right to require that proceedings in the court shall be suspended in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to and is under consideration by the Council of the League of Nations, provided that notice to suspend is given after the dispute has been submitted to the Council and is given within ten days of the notification of the initiation of the proceedings in the court, and provided also that such suspension shall be limited to a period of twelve months or such longer period as may be agreed by the parties to the dispute or determined by a decision of all the members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute."

9. The Optional Clause was also signed by the Dominions and by India. All these, with the exception of the Irish Free State, made Declarations identical in terms with that set out in the preceding paragraph above. The Declaration made by the Irish Free State was as follows :—

"On behalf of the Irish Free State I declare that I accept as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special convention the jurisdiction of the Court in conformity with Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice for a period of twenty years and on the sole condition of reciprocity. This declaration is subject to ratification."

*The Effect of the Exclusions contained in the Declaration of Signature.*

10. At the time of signature the Secretary of State made the following statement explaining the formula of acceptance adopted by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom :—

11. "The 'optional clause,' which His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are now accepting, gives the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague jurisdiction over juridical disputes with other parties accepting the like obligation without the necessity for framing in respect of each dispute a special agreement for its submission to the court.

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"The formula which I have just signed on behalf of the United Kingdom, and copies of which are, I believe, available, follows the usual practice in being subject to reciprocity and in including a time-limit. This is fixed at ten years, but the acceptance continues in force after the expiration of the period, unless notice is given to terminate it. The signature is also subject to ratification. This will enable the question to be raised in Parliament, if so desired, before the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction comes into operation.

"The declaration accepting the jurisdiction covers only disputes which may arise in future. Past disputes and disputes relating to past events will continue to be submitted to the court under a special agreement concluded in each case.

"Three classes of disputes are excluded from the operation of the declaration of acceptance. These are disputes for the submission of which to some other method of peaceful settlement provision is made by existing or future agreements, disputes with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and disputes about matters which fall within what is called the domestic jurisdiction of a State. Commercial treaties and conventions dealing with special subjects, such as reparations, or with technical matters, such as copyright, very often contain provisions setting up special tribunals to deal with disputes which may arise as to the meaning or application of their terms. When that is the case, the dispute will be dealt with as provided in the agreement and will not be submitted to the court at The Hague. This is the effect of the exclusion of the first class of disputes.

"Disputes with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations are excluded because the members of the Commonwealth, though international units individually in the fullest sense of the term, are united by their common allegiance to the Crown. Disputes between them should, therefore, be dealt with by some other mode of settlement, and for this provision is made in the exclusion clause.

"On certain matters international law recognises that the authority of the State is supreme. When once it is determined that the subject-matter of the dispute falls within the category of cases where this is so, there is no scope for the exercise of the jurisdiction of an international tribunal.

"At the end of the formula comes a proviso which enables disputes to be referred to the Council of the League before they are dealt with by the court. This is to cover disputes which are really political in character though juridical in appearance. Disputes of this kind can be dealt with more satisfactorily by the Council, so that the conciliatory powers of that body may be exercised with a view to arriving at a friendly settlement of the dispute. This formula places the United Kingdom in much the same position as a State which has agreed to a treaty of arbitration and conciliation providing for the reference of all disputes to a conciliation commission before they are submitted to judicial settlement. The formula is wide in character because the extent to which it operates depends on the Council itself. It would cease to operate from the moment when the Council decided that it was better that the question should be sub-

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mitted to the court, and therefore declined to keep the dispute under consideration. Within these limits, however, the proviso would apply to any justiciable dispute, whatever its origin. It would extend, for instance, to disputes arising out of cases where it had been necessary for the United Kingdom to take action at the instance of the Council in pursuance of its obligations as a member of the League."

*Objections Raised to Signature of the Optional Clause at the Present Time.*

12. With the objects which have led His Majesty's Government to sign the Optional Clause, and to ask Parliament to approve their action in doing so, there is, it is believed, general sympathy throughout the country. The objections which have been raised to the signature of the clause—or, it might be more accurate to say, the hesitation which is felt in some quarters as to the desirability of doing so at the present time—relate rather to certain risks to which it is thought the acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in justiciable disputes might expose this country and the British Empire. The view has been expressed that so much uncertainty still exists both as to the scope of international law and as to what on many points it really is, that to bind ourselves to accept the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in all questions of international law involves a leap in the dark, and may expose us to decisions which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for us to accept. In particular, reference has been made to the difference which is alleged to exist between the Anglo-Saxon and Continental schools of thought in international law, and to the diversity in relation to such matters as the evidence which is admissible in connection with the interpretation of treaties.

13. In the view of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, there is, as regards the matters with which the Optional Clause deals, much less uncertainty in international law than is suggested. The alleged diversity between Anglo-Saxon and Continental schools of thought exists mainly, if not entirely, in relation to the question of belligerent rights at sea, which is dealt with later in this memorandum. In any case, this argument, if pressed to its logical conclusion, really means that the Optional Clause should not be signed until such time as international law has been codified to such an extent as to leave no room for uncertainty as to what it is in relation to any subject. This would mean that this country must postpone the acceptance of the obligation to have all justiciable disputes determined by an international court for a period the length of which it is impossible to determine. A commencement of the work of codification has already been made under the auspices of the League of Nations, and in this His Majesty's Government are taking their share, but they see no prospect of a complete code of international law materialising in the near future. Moreover, His Majesty's Government desire to point out that codification is rather

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a Continental than an Anglo-Saxon method of creating and clarifying a system of law.

While there are doubtless certain branches of international law which are suitable for codification, His Majesty's Government believe that the method of building up a body of law by a series of legal decisions, a method which produced the English Common Law, may be the more suitable for at any rate some important branches of the Law of Nations. This process would be indefinitely retarded if States were unwilling to submit their differences to that Court on the ground that the rules of law applicable to such cases were not definitely laid down in a code. As regards questions of evidence and procedure, His Majesty's Government consider that the Permanent Court can be trusted to build up a satisfactory system in relation to these matters, even if it does not conform in every respect to our British practice.

14. Another objection which has been raised is that there may well be disputes which, though falling within one of the categories defined in the Optional Clause, are really more of a political than a legal nature, and are therefore better dealt with by a political than by a legal tribunal. His Majesty's Government fully recognise that this may be so, and they have accordingly reserved the right, by means of the declaration whose terms are quoted above, to bring any such dispute before the Council of the League. This does not, of course mean that such a dispute will not receive a peaceful settlement, but it does mean that if the Council considers that the dispute is one which should be settled on political rather than on legal lines, it will have the opportunity of bringing about such a settlement.

*Belligerent Rights and the Optional Clause.*

15. It seems probable, however, that the practical question which underlies the apprehensions referred to above is whether the signature of the Optional Clause would, by exposing the legitimacy of British belligerent action at sea to the decision of an international court, hamper the operations of the British Navy in time of war, and on this point His Majesty's Government desire to explain fully their view of the position created by acceptance of the Covenant, the Pact of Peace, and the Optional Clause.

16. At the outset of any consideration of this subject it is important to emphasise that the possibility of British naval action at sea being brought before the Permanent Court of International Justice in consequence of our signature of the Optional Clause can only arise if the country which desired to challenge the validity of such action had itself signed the Optional Clause. The only States which can sign the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court, and consequently the only States which can sign the Optional Clause, are the Members of the League and the States mentioned in the annex to the Covenant. The only States mentioned in the Annex who are not now Members of the League are the United States, Brazil, Ecuador and The Hejaz.

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17. The position of Brazil, which has signed the Optional Clause but is no longer a Member of the League, is peculiar, but for present purposes the question may be discussed on the basis that only another Member of the League could bring our naval action before the Permanent Court under the Optional Clause.

18. It should also be borne in mind that the possibility of our belligerent action in the past being brought before the Permanent Court in consequence of our acceptance of the Optional Clause is excluded by the terms of our Declaration.

19. Disputes as to the exercise of belligerent rights at sea have in the past arisen from the clash of two conflicting rights; the right of the belligerent to make use of his naval strength to interfere with the sea-borne commerce of the enemy, and the right of the neutral to continue his trade irrespective of the existence of a war in which he is not engaged. Both of these rights are, within certain limits, equally recognised by international law, and in the course of the last two hundred years certain principles have emerged whose effect was to define the respective scope of these conflicting rights and to lay down certain rules for regulating the situation which arose from their clash. No one, however, will suggest that the establishment of rules of international law on this subject has reached a stage which eliminates the possibility of disputes between belligerents and neutrals, and unless one is prepared to accept the possibility of the production and general acceptance of a code which would provide a satisfactory solution for every question of this sort which might arise in a quite indeterminate future, it is difficult to see how this process could ever eliminate the possibility of serious disputes of this nature. And public opinion in this country is naturally sensitive as regards any action which might be considered as unduly limiting the exercise of British sea power in time of war.

20. But the whole situation described in the preceding paragraph rests, and international law on the subject has been entirely built up, on the assumption that there is nothing illegitimate in the use of war as an instrument of national policy, and, as a necessary corollary, that the position and rights of neutrals are entirely independent of the circumstances of any war which may be in progress. Before the acceptance of the Covenant, the basis of the law of neutrality was that the rights and obligations of neutrals were identical as regards both belligerents, and were entirely independent of the rights and wrongs of the dispute which had led to the war, or the respective position of the belligerents at the bar of world opinion.

21. Now it is precisely this assumption which is no longer valid as regards States which are Members of the League of Nations and parties to the Peace Pact. The effect of those instruments, taken together, is to deprive nations of the right to employ war as an instrument of national policy, and to forbid the States which have signed them to give aid or comfort to an offender. As between such States, there has been in consequence a fundamental change in

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the whole question of belligerent and neutral rights. The whole policy of His Majesty's present Government (and, it would appear, of any alternative Government) is based upon a determination to comply with their obligations under the Covenant of the League and the Peace Pact. This being so, the situation which we have to envisage in the event of a war in which we were engaged is not one in which the rights and duties of belligerents and neutrals will depend upon the old rules of war and neutrality, but one in which the position of the Members of the League will be determined by the Covenant and the Pact. If His Majesty's Government comply with their obligations under those instruments, there are only two conditions in which they could be involved in war: (1) where a State has attacked them in violation of one or both of those instruments,* or (2) if they were engaged in belligerent action, in fulfilment of Article 16 of the Covenant, against a Covenant-breaking State. In either case Article 16 would apply, and so far from the other Members of the League being in the position of neutrals with a right to trade with our enemy, which might conflict with our belligerent rights and thus produce a justiciable dispute, they would be bound under that article to sever all relations with him; they could neither trade direct with him nor allow their territories to be used for the passage of commerce between him and any other State. This being so, the conditions which might produce a justiciable dispute between this country as a belligerent and another Member of the League as a neutral would not exist; either the other Members of the League would fulfil their obligations under Article 16, in which case we should not require to effect any interference with their commerce, or if they did not, and such interference on our part therefore became necessary, they would have no ground on which to protest against our action, since any protest must be based on a claim to trade with the enemy, which would be inconsistent with their obligations under the Covenant. In other words, as between Members of the League, there can be no neutral rights, because there can be no neutrals.

22. Once this fundamental change in the situation is realised, it will be seen that the ordinary arguments against submitting British naval action to arbitral decision have ceased to be relevant to any discussion of the Optional Clause. Once it is established that in the conditions created by the Covenant and the Pact a Member of the League does not possess any right to carry on commerce with the State with which we are at war, and that we are no longer obliged to rely, in order to stop such commerce, on the old rules governing the relations of belligerent and neutral, it is immaterial to argue that those rules are uncertain and liable to become out of date, or that there is a difference between the Anglo-Saxon and Continental schools of law, or that the Permanent Court has no rules of evidence,

* It is still possible, in narrowly restricted circumstances, for a State to go to war in violation of the Pact without necessarily violating the Covenant, and in such a case Article 16 would theoretically not apply. These circumstances seem, however, most unlikely to arise in practice, and the possibility of their doing so will be eliminated if the Covenant is amended as proposed by the British Delegation at the 1929 Assembly.

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or that the majority of its judges will be neutrals and biased against the belligerent. Any such arguments can only be based on the assumption, express or implied, that the Covenant and the Pact will break down in practice. If this assumption is made, it means that the whole machinery for the preservation of peace, so laboriously constructed since 1918, would have broken down; the Peace Pact and the Covenant would have become scraps of paper, but at the same time the one thing which remained standing in the general wreck would be the Optional Clause and our commitments thereunder. This seems to His Majesty's Government an inconceivable situation. They do not believe that it would be possible for the Optional Clause to survive in the general ruin.

23. It is not, however, necessary to maintain that no difficulties would arise in the circumstances indicated in paragraph 21 above. It is always possible that a British warship might seize a ship under the mistaken belief that it was engaged in trade with the enemy State, and it is possible that a British prize court might condemn the ship or cargo on insufficient evidence of enemy destination. In such a case another Member of the League whose nationals were interested in the transaction in question might protest and make a claim against us. But the issue so raised would not involve any question of principle as to the legitimacy of our belligerent action at sea; the question would be simply one of fact—whether the transaction did, in fact, involve commerce with the enemy—and such matters can, if necessary, be disposed of, without involving any question of principle, by the release of the property or the payment of compensation. In any case, we have reserved the right to bring any such dispute before the Council instead of leaving it to the Court, and in so far as the action complained of was taken in accordance with Article 16, it is reasonable to claim that the Council, as the body at whose instance such action is taken, should deal with any such complaints. If, as suggested above, the issue raised in any such dispute could only be one of the facts in a particular case, it is likely that the dispute would be settled without being brought before the Court.

24. The above considerations may be summed up as follows :—

(1.) The policy of His Majesty's Government is based on a determination to fulfil their obligations under the Covenant of the League and the Peace Pact.

(2.) If those obligations are fulfilled, we cannot be involved in war in circumstances in which any Member of the League could claim the rights of a neutral; only Members of the League which have signed the Optional Clause can bring us before the Permanent Court under its terms, and, therefore, no dispute arising out of neutral complaints of our naval action could come before the Court. Arguments based on the state of affairs created by the old law of belligerency and neutrality are therefore irrelevant.

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(3.) If any dispute should, nevertheless, arise with another Member of the League as to the legitimacy of particular action which we have taken, it is probable that such a dispute wouldd be more suitable for settlement by the Council than by the Court, and we have the right to bring it before the Council if we wish to do so.

(4.) If the system erected by the Covenant and the Peace Pact breaks down, this catastrophe would sweep away the Optional Clause as well.

*Questions which by International Law fall exclusively within the Jurisdiction of the United Kingdom.*

25. The suggestion has been made that the exclusion from our acceptance of the Optional Clause of "questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom" would enable us to maintain that questions of prize were excluded from our acceptance of the Optional Clause. His Majesty's Government wish to make it plain that this is not their view. Although it is true that jurisdiction in matters of prize belongs to the courts of the States concerned, the law which prize courts administer in such matters is international law, and His Majesty's Government do not consider it possible to contend that international law regards such questions as being "matters of domestic jurisdiction"; such an argument would involve that belligerent action at sea could in no circumstances whatever properly become the subject of diplomatic discussion. As has been indicated above, however, it is possible that, should such a dispute arise with another signatory of the Optional Clause, the matter might be considered more suitable for determination by the Council than by the Court. His Majesty's Government further consider that our acceptance of the Optional Clause makes no difference to the principle that prize cases must be decided first in our own prize courts before any question of a reference to the Permanent Court could arise. The rule of international law that arbitration cannot be claimed unless and until the remedies provided by municipal courts have been exhausted is, in their opinion, as applicable to prize courts as to any other municipal tribunals. Moreover, the function of prize courts is to decide whether the action of the captor was legitimate, and until a final decision on this point has been given by those courts, it cannot be known whether any case for international complaint has arisen.

26. As considerable attention has been directed to the reservation relating to "questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom," it may be pointed out that this is merely an explicit recognition of a limitation on the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court which results from international law itself. It is merely the application in this connection of the principle that, subject to any relevant treaty stipulations, a State is entitled to regulate as it pleases matters which fall exclusively within the domain of its national sovereignty. Within that domain, and

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subject always to treaty provisions, a foreigner must take things as he finds them, and his State is not entitled to protest against the result.

*The Imperial Conference Resolution of* 1926 *concerning the Optional Clause.*

27. At the Imperial Conference of 1926 the following agreement was reached by His Majesty's Governments there represented :—

> "A general understanding was reached that none of the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference would take any action in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court without bringing up the matter for further discussion."

28. Such "further discussion" was begun on the initiative of His Majesty's Government in Canada in February 1929. It was actively continued during the months preceding the Assembly of the League of Nations, and reached its conclusion at Geneva, when Great Britain, the Dominions and India decided to sign the clause forthwith.

29. This new agreement among His Majesty's Governments concerning the vital question of international arbitration marks a further step in the acceptance of common principles for the conduct of foreign policy.

*Conclusion.*

30. The above examination of the effect of the signature of the Optional Clause by His Majesty's Government under the terms of the Declaration cited above shows that the fears which have been expressed as to the consequences of this signature are without foundation. The broad question remains : Is it safe to trust British interests to the decision of the Permanent Court? The question may be transposed : Is it wise to leave British interests without any safeguard except war, which we have undertaken not to wage? His Majesty's Government believe that to the last question only one answer can be returned. They hold that the whole course of international development for many years past has been in the direction of the substitution of arbitration for war, and they rejoice to think that there now exists an International Court, whose competence and impartiality are unchallenged, to which may safely be referred all international disputes of, at any rate, a justiciable character. Such a reform is, in their view, an essential part of the effort seriously to implement the undertakings of the Pact of Peace and to utilise the early years of peace in creating effective safeguards against war, before its realities have been forgotten.

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# Memorandum on the Signing of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

## Introductory.

As a charter member of the League of Nations Canada accepted the obligation set forth in Article 13 of the Covenant as follows:

> "The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.
>
> "Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.
>
> "For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.
>
> "The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

This Article provides a description of classes of international disputes which are to be regarded as justiciable, that is to say, suitable for decision by a court applying rules of law. But it does not impose upon the Members of the League any actual obligation to have such disputes settled in this manner.

The original draft of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice contained a provision giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction in the classes of cases set out in Article 13 of the Covenant. In the Statute as adopted by the First Assembly this was replaced by a provision which appears in Article 36 of the Statute. It is as follows:

> "The Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare

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that they recognize as compulsory ipso facto and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning--

(a) the interpretation of a treaty;
(b) any question of international law;
(c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
(d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

"The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain Members or States, or for a certain time."

The terms of Article 36 have been regarded as admitting the making of a reserve or exception of any kind when accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, because the jurisdiction of the Court may be accepted "in all or any" of the classes of legal disputes enumerated.

~~Reasons why Signature of the Optional Clause was desirable.~~

It will be recalled that Article 2 of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy, to which Canada is a party, provides that (

"The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be solved except by pacific means."

This treaty, however, does not provide any machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes. As regards disputes of a justiciable character, therefore, it is possible to consider signature of the Optional Clause as the logical consequence of the acceptance. Acceptance of the Optional Clause means that disputes falling within its terms will receive from the Permanent Court of International Justice a definite solution which the parties to the disputes are bound, under Article 13 of the Covenant, to "carry out in full good faith." If the Pact of Paris is to be made fully effective, it seems necessary that the legal renunciation of war should be accompanied by definite acts providing machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

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## Memorandum on the Signing of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

### Introductory.

As a charter member of the League of Nations Canada accepted the obligation set forth in Article 13 of the Covenant as follows:

> "The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.
>
> "Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.
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> "The Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare

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that they recognise as compulsory ipso facto and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning--

(a) the interpretation of a treaty;
(b) any question of international law;
(c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
(d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

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The terms of Article 36 have been regarded as admitting the making of a reserve or exception of any kind when accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, because the jurisdiction of the Court may be accepted "in all or any" of the classes of legal disputes enumerated.

Reasons why Signature of the Optional Clause was desirable.

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His Majesty's Government in Canada has given its careful consideration to this matter for some years past. The Canadian Government notified the Secretary General of the League in 1925, that it was ready to consider the acceptance of the Optional Clause.

It will be remembered that at the Imperial Conference of 1926, the following Agreement was reached by His Majesty's Governments there represented

> "a general understanding was reached that none of the Governments represented at the Imperial conference would take any actinn in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court without bringing up the matter for further discussion."

Such "further discussion" was begun on the initiative of the Canadian Government in February, 1929. It was actively continued during the months preceding the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations, and reached its conslusion at Geneva when Great Britain, the Dominions, and India decided to sign the Clause forthwith.

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The Optional Clause - as Limiting the

Freedom of Action of the British Navy.

In the debate in the House of Commons and in the country on the British Government's declaration of signature of the Optional Clause the principal point at issue concerned the "freedom of the fleet" as limited by the new obligation to submit all classes of legal disputes concerning any question of international law to the decision of the Permanent Court.

Before examining the political importance of the situation certain legal obscurities should be cleared away. At the time of signature of the Clause it was argued by some international lawyers that the reservation excluding "disputes which in international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom" from the jurisdiction of the Court could be construed to cover questions of Prize Law. If this interpretation had been confirmed, the "freedom of the fleet" would,of course, have remained unchanged. Its warlike activities would have been subject to the review of British Courts of Prize, against whose verdicts there could not be an appeal to the Permanent Court.

This view is untenable. The Law administered by British Prize Courts is the Law of War, an integral part of the body of international law. Disputes concerning its application, unless excluded by a specific reservation which was not made, are undoubtedly within the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court. The British Government recognized this fact, and in effect have accepted the Permanent Court as an International Court of Prize before which parties aggrieved by decisions of British Prize Courts will be able to compel the British Government to appear.

"As matters now stand," says Professor A. Pearce Higgins, "The laws of naval warfare are left to be settled by the Permanent Court of International Justice," whose members he proceeds to point

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out have been trained in the Continental views of Prize Law.

This observation introduces the first objection urged against the acceptance of the Permanent Court as an International Court of Prize. Great play was made in the House and in the Press with the divergent theories of the Law of War expounded by Continental and Anglo-Saxon international lawyers. This conflict of traditions is an interesting point in comparative law, but its practical importance in this context is, I think, exaggerated for two reasons. In the first place, the alleged unity of the Anglo-Saxon viewpoint of this problem is admirably illustrated and exposed by the continuing conflict of English and American opinion in matters of sea-law. During the War the Allied Powers on the Continent explicitly accepted the traditional British view of sea-law in order to enforce the blockade. The opposition to the British view did not come from her Continental Allies but from the United States of America, the other great exponent of the "Anglo-Saxon tradition" in the Law of War at Sea.

In the second place, as is suggested by the foregoing remarks, the real danger of divergence lies not in traditions but in interests. It was as neutrals that Continental Countries developed their theory of Sea Law in opposition to the British theses and it was as a neutral that the United States contested the British position during the late War.

It seems reasonable therefore to argue, as did the British White Paper, Cmd. 3452, on the signature of the Optional Clause, that the real force of the objections recited depends first on the prospect of war and secondly, on the nature of such neutrality as can be contemplated in the case of a future war. The British Government declined at Geneva in 1924 to consider for a moment the possibility of war waged by it in defiance of its undertakings with the Covenant.. If its obligations in this respect required endorsement they received it in the signing of the Pact of Paris. The formal outlawery of war may reasonably be held to have diminished the risk of private war, which Great Britain

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and presumably Canada, refused to comtemplate years prior to its registration. The substantial importance of these hypothetical appeal from a British Prize Court in the course of a hypothetical war may be held to have diminished in proportion.

The other aspect of the situation is the probable character of neutrality in the future war. It is again arguable, that the chance of collision between the British Navy acting in agreement with the Council of the League, and the rights of a neutral power is increasingly remote. It will be noted that such a neutral power can only cite Great Britain before the Court, if it has itself subscribed to the Optional Clause. Such a dispute could under the terms of the British reservation be referred to the Council for adjustment. Ultimately it would reach the Court for solution if prior attempts at settlement failed, but it is difficult to imagine circumstances in which this procedure would constitute a real risk to Great Britain. At most it is one of the "Risks of Peace" which the nations must take.

The criticisms outlined above was put on record by Sir Austen Chamberlain in moving an amendment, to Mr. Henderson's resolution approving ratification of Breat Britain's declaration of signature to the Optional Clause in the following terms:

"to add the words

"subject to the additional reservation relating to the Laws of War on Sea laid down by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Geneva on the 22nd September, 1924, as being absolutely necessary to safeguard the freedom of action of the British Navy."

The course of the debate on this amendment is outlined above; it is only necessary to quote Mr. Henderson's full statement therein referred to (attached) and to point out that the reservation laid down by the British Labour Government in 1924,

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was a condition of its acceptance of the Geneva Protocol of that year. With the disappearance of the Protocol and the emergence of the Pact of Paris, circumstances, it may be argued, had/so changed that the necessity of securing this specific reservation no longer existed. Sir Austen Chamberlain accused the Government of contradicting itself by withdrawing a reservation it had deemed essential. It was perhaps open to Mr. Henderson to reply that the contradiction in question was the contradiction between yesterday and today which somebody once said is better described as development.

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Mr. Arthur Henderson, addressing the Third Committee of the 5th Assembly on the 22nd of September, 1924, spoke as follows:

> "I come now to the question of the reservations which the British Government will feel themselves obliged to make in accepting the obligatory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court and this new procedure of compulsory arbitration. These reservations relate to disputes arising out of warlike operations in which the British Empire may in the future be involved. Let there be no misunderstanding. In the view of the British Government, it is not conceivable that the British Empire should be at war against the Covenant or against the stipulations of this new Protocol. We therefore only envisage the case in which we are engaged in war-like operations on behalf of the Covenant and with the approval of the Council or the Assembly of the League. We are sure that in such a case as this it would be necessary and desirable in the general interest, as well as in the particular interest of Great Britain, that the British fleet should be able to operate with the freedom that may be required to secure the rapid success and termination of the sanctions. We propose therefore, when we accept the obligatory jurisdiction of the Court, to make a reservation to the effect that disputes arising out of warlike operations undertaken by the British Empire in support of the League shall not be referred to the Permanent Court for settlement. It will be observed that a similar reservation appears in Article 5 of the Draft which is laid before the Committee. These reservations do not appear to us in any way to limit the value of what we are doing to-day. No one desires that the Permanent Court should become a body for controlling military operations. Its purpose and the purpose of these new arbitration arrangements we hope to set up is to prevent war altogether, by securing the peaceful settlement of disputes. We believe, therefore, that, in safeguarding the liberty of action of the British fleet - which, above all things, it is necessary for us to safeguard - we are not acting contrary to the general interest of the nations of the world.

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The final condition attached to our declaration of acceptance is a proviso enabling disputes to be referred to the Council of the League before they are dealt with by the Court. This is to cover disputes which are really political in character though juridical in appearance. This formula places this country in the position of a State which has agreed to a treaty of arbitration and conciliation providing for the reference of all disputes to a conciliation commission before they are submitted to judicial settlement. It would cease to operate from the moment when the Council decided that it was better that the question should be submitted to the Court, and, therefore, declined to keep the dispute under consideration. Within these limits, however, the proviso would apply to any justiciable dispute whatever its object.

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In considering the general question of reservations to the Optional Clause qua reservations, the following opinion of M. Politus, rapporteur of First Committee of the Fifth Assembly, may be of interest:

> "Careful consideration of the article has shown that it is sufficiently elastic to allow of all kinds of reservations. Since it is open to the States to accept compulsory jurisdiction by the Court in respect of certain of the classes of dispute mentioned and not to accept it in respect of the rest, it is also open to them only to accept it in respect of a portion of one of those classes; rights need not be exercised in their full extent. In giving the undertaking in question, therefore, States are free to declare that it will not be regarded as operative in those cases in which they consider it to be inadmissible

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APPROVAL OF RATIFICATION

BY BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the 27th January, 1930, Mr. Henderson moved the resolution sanctioning ratification of the British signature of the Optional Clause. He explained that this instrument of obligatory arbitration met all the defects of pre-war arbitration treaties in that it provided a ready-made procedure under ready-made tribunal. The Government maintained that its signature was the logical consequence of the Pact of Paris. That Pact bound its signatories never to resort to any pacific means for settlement of disputes, but did not define the pacific means. The Optional Clause filled this gap.

Mr. Henderson went on to define and explain the reservations attached to the British signature. Inter-Imperial disputes were excluded because they were family affairs, and disputes affecting the domestic jurisdiction of the State because international law recognized the existence of spheres in which the municipal law of the land was final. There was also a provision to submit suitable disputes in the first instance to the Council of the League, although they were not thereby withdrawn from the ultimate jurisdiction of the Permanent Court. This reservation was intended to cover those classes of disputes which though legal in form were political in substance and could be more appropriately dealt with by methods of conciliation and compromise. Mr. Henderson contended that this provision cancelled the need of reserving freedom of action to the British Fleet in time of war upon which he had himself insisted in 1924. As a result of the new obligations derived from the British signature of the Pact of Paris, a war was

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only conceivable wherein the British fleet was acting in support of the League Covenant. Any dispute arising out of its actions would now go to the Council of the League, and this fell in with his view that the Permanent Court should never control war-like operations.

In support of his argument he pointed out that all the Dominions had signed with the same reservations, except the Irish Free State which he observed had "once again gone one better than the rest of us" by signing without reservations at all. He, therefore, begged the Opposition not to disturb the unity of the Empire and invited the unanimous approval of the House for a policy which had been endorsed by the other members of the Commonwealth.

Sir Austen Chamberlain declined Mr. Henderson's request for unanimous ratification not because he disapproved of arbitration but because he disliked being bound by a stereotyped form of arbitration which might prove unsuitable and dangerous if too universal. The only question in his mind, therefore, was whether the reservations attached to the British signature were wide enough. He felt that the proviso reserving freedom of action to the British fleet which Mr. Henderson had thought necessary in 1924, should have been attached to the present declaration of signature. He pointed out that the United States did not consider signature of the Optional Clause to be a necessary endorsement before value could be ascribed to their signature of the Paris Pact.

He criticised the reservation excluding disputes relating to the past from the operation of the Optional

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Clause. He suggested that the Government were afraid of the consequences but saw no reason why the consequences of any future disputes should be less costly than those that had arisen in the past. He pointed out, moreover, that disputes which were to go to the League Council would have to go to the Court if there were a single dissentient voice to the solution suggested by the Council. Finally, he contended that the Kellogg Pact had not affected belligerent or neutral rights, as they existed under the League Covenant. Therefore, if the rights of action of the British Fleet ought to have been reserved in 1924 so they ought to be to-day.

Sir William Mitchell-Thomson supporting the Chamberlain Amendment claimed that blockade was a vital function of sea-power. The concepts of international law applicable to it in the Anglo-American and the Continental views differed widely. It would be most unwise to submit British practice at sea to the judgment of Continental jurists because it would mean the loss of the efficacy of sea-power.

Sir Herbert Samuel, in supporting Mr. Henderson's resolution on behalf of the Liberal parties, argued that the value of belligerent rights to Great Britain had changed with the changing character of warfare. It was not impossible that Great Britain instead of blockading might find herself blockaded in which case we might not be so sure of our wisdom in insisting on our traditional interpretation of the rights of blockade.

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The Attorney-General in winding up the debate for the government claimed that there was no great difference between British and Continental concepts of international law. He felt that to wait for the codification of that law before accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court was to postpone for decades, if not for generations, the effective rule of law in international affairs.

The amendment was defeated by 278 votes to 193 and the motion for ratification was carried without a division.

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PERSIA. [July 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 11.

[E 6588/6/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received July 3.)*

(No. 272.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May 7, 1922.*

ON my arrival in Tehran towards the end of last year, I found the Cabinet of Kawam-es-Saltaneh still in power; besides his Highness, the only member of the Government possessing real influence and importance was Reza Khan, Serdar Sepah, the Minister for War, who had led the Persian Cossacks on their advance to Tehran at the time of Seyyid Zia-ed-Din's *coup d'État* and had later on been responsible for the ejection of Seyyid Zia-ed-Din from the Presidency of the Council and for his enforced exile, which still continues. These two Ministers were in a state of rivalry as regards the essential exercise of power, and it appeared likely that the stronger and more resolute character of Reza Khan would prevail. This anticipation proved to be correct. The principal difficulty confronting that Government, and the question which took precedence of all others in its estimation, was the lack of money and, necessarily connected therewith, the means of raising it. Internal pecuniary resources not being available, recourse to a foreign Power was unavoidable, and a survey of the general political atmosphere and of the then Persian Government's relations with and feelings towards the three Powers which then and now bulked largest in the Persian imagination may therefore be of service in forming an appreciation of the situation which I found here.

As regards Russia, immediate preoccupation had ceased owing to the suppression, under Reza Khan's personal and vigorous impulse, of the rebellion of Mohammed Taqi in Khorassan and of that of Kuchik Khan in Gilan; these successes had enabled the Persian Government to resume direct control of the two border provinces in which an ill-disposed or unscrupulous Russia can always profit, thanks to her commanding geographical situation, by disorder or revolt. Gilan, indeed, was freed not only of Persian rebels, but also of Red troops—it is immaterial to discuss here whether these were under the orders of Baku or of Moscow—and the suppression of the former rendered the reappearance of the latter far less likely than would otherwise have been the case. Thus, if Moscow contemplated an aggressive policy, that policy had received a sharp set-back, and its resumption was, at all events, nominally excluded by the professions of amity and peaceful disposition recorded in the treaty recently concluded between the Russian Soviet and the Persian Governments. Moreover, the Persian Government had had time, since the advent of M. Rothstein, the Russian Soviet plenipotentiary, to take the measure of that envoy and of the policy which he represented. Their estimate was not a high one, and the dazzling initial prospect of a friendly and helpful northern neighbour, sedulously fostered by M. Rothstein, soon blurred and dimmed, notwithstanding that emissary's fair assurances and blandishments. A contributing factor to this result was no doubt the diminution in the pecuniary propaganda of which M. Rothstein had been so lavish in the earlier days of his mission, and a consequent slackening of the activities of Russian agents, whose principal objects are the destruction of British influence in Asia and the preparation of a revolutionary movement on Bolshevik lines in Persia. In other despatches I have from time to time brought to your Lordship's notice such information as has been obtainable in regard to Russian revolutionary intrigue in Persia and to M. Rothstein's endeavours to stir up trouble against the British in Irak, in collusion with the Kemalists. In this connection I have been specially on the look-out for definite and documentary proof that Russian agents have violated the undertakings to which the Soviet Government committed themselves in the preamble of the Trade Agreement with Great Britain. On the few occasions on which I have spoken with M. Rothstein his manner has been civil and even amiable; but other information convinces me that hatred, fear and suspicion of Great Britain dominate his mind to a quite unreasoning extent. Moreover, in my despatch No. 157 of the 15th March I had the honour of drawing your Lordship's attention to M. Rothstein's efforts to prevent the grant of the northern oil concession to an Anglo-American group.

America, on my arrival, was the latest craze. It was thought among the credulous and volatile people of this country, who seem incapable of realising facts unless these



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happen to accord with their own opinions or desires, that salvation was coming from America; that America, in a spirit of disinterested altruism, was going to develop Persian resources to the immediate and enduring profit of Persia and the Persians; that American advisers would come and reorganise the country and make mincemeat of the grasping ambitions of the British and other rapacious foreigners; that a vivifying stream of American gold would soon be coursing through the arthritic body of Persian finances, both public and private. With the aid of America, it was represented, Persia would swiftly regain her former greatness and would cast off the shackles of her foreign, and especially her British, oppressors. Such was the alluring prospect held out, and it was accompanied by praise of the United States for endeavouring to secure a hearing for the Persian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and by dissertations on the vast wealth and energy of that country. It did not occur to those windy enthusiasts that America might not view industrial enterprise in Persia in such rosy hues as they themselves visualised. One particularly quaint idea was put about, to the effect that the next war would undoubtedly be waged between Great Britain and the United States as being the only two world Powers left, and that as the latter would make a mere mouthful of the former it behoved Persia to throw in her lot early with the winning side.

I have dwelt elsewhere, in my despatch No. 131 of the 2nd March in regard to the situation in Fars, on the feelings entertained towards Great Britain and on the effect of recent events on the minds of our friends and our enemies in this country respectively. But there were other factors at work. As your Lordship very well knows, the Persian is always looking for a scapegoat for his own failures and shortcomings, and a foreigner is invariably the one which he finds nearest to his hand. The "Young Persians," if I may so term them, hated the association between England and Russia which ensued from the agreement of 1907; they were unfeignedly thankful when it was abruptly terminated by the collapse of Russia through the Bolshevik revolution. They expected to see the complete demolition of their hereditary enemy, and, even failing that, the presence of British troops in the Caucasus gave an unwonted and agreeable sense of security which made the policy represented by the Anglo-Persian Agreement not only possible but welcome; however, the successes of the Bolshevik armies, the withdrawal of the British troops from the Caucasus, and, later on, their retirement from Enzeli when Red troops for the first time set foot on Persian soil, revived the ancient fear of Russia and the respect which in the East is its natural companion, while the confidence that the strong arm of England barred the progress of the northern foe was undermined. To the Persian mind it looked as if England was going to take a back seat; preparation had therefore to be made for that unexpected eventuality and sails trimmed accordingly. Hence the nascent opposition to the agreement, and the ease with which it was fanned by certain foreign representatives. Even so, it is my belief that the opposition from the Persians themselves was directed less against the English than against the Persian authors of the agreement. The triumvirate had monopolised altogether too long the sweets and benefits of office; money was flowing in plenty from England, and it seemed a monstrous shame that no one else should have a share; politically the "outs," after, for Persia, a distressingly long sojourn in the wilderness, saw an unhoped-for chance of becoming the "ins," and they worked for that result with might and main; as usual, however, they put it all on the back of the foreigner, the British in this case—a course which was more convenient, more prudent in the event of the manœuvre failing, and could be adduced as shining evidence of the purest patriotism.

In kind, if not in extent, the failure of the Anglo-Persian Agreement bears a striking resemblance to the failure of President Wilson to carry the Treaty of Versailles through the American Senate, and the failure of the Veniselist policy in Greece. In each case the authors of a definite policy were overthrown in the attempt to carry out that policy by the opposition of their internal political rivals, who had been left out of account. As regards the essence of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, I have only heard one criticism meriting attention, which is that in its five clauses definite advantages were secured to Persia, that in none of them was any advantage sought or claimed for the other contracting party, and that this inexplicable departure from the Oriental conception of a bargain immediately aroused deep mistrust. There has, indeed, never been any serious criticism of the agreement as such, and the roots of its eventual failure are to be found not in its text, but in the circumstances which surrounded both its conclusion and the early attempts at its initiation. I would go so far as to say that this day nine out of every ten Persians would admit in private conversation that the agreement was an excellent thing for Persia, but not one would

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dare to stand up and say so in a public place. Moreover, the Persian attitude in this respect is characteristic of that which they adopt towards all things British at the present day ; it is an attitude which none but the Persians themselves can cure, but the process of intimidation on the Persians by an active and mischievous minority, and the campaign of misrepresentation and calumny against Great Britain, has gone so long unchecked by the rulers of Persia, while it is still steadily fanned by Russian agents and Russian subsidised newspapers, that it requires more courage than lies in any Persian stomach to stand up against the storm.

Another contributing factor to our unpopularity was the Seyyid Zia-ed-Din *coup d'État* and the support commonly supposed to have been afforded by this Legation to the Seyyid's Government, universally known as the " Black Cabinet." Persian opinion on this subject, as on so many others, is hopelessly distorted, but your Lordship will realise that in discussing it I am merely endeavouring to explain, so far as I am able, the reflexes produced on Persian opinion by recent events, without concerning myself with an examination of their justification or the lack of it, my desire in this portion of my despatch being to present your Lordship with a picture of the psychological factors which play so important a part among this vain and wayward people. It seems as though nothing will avail to eradicate the conviction that British policy was not only privy to, but actually provoked, the *coup d'État ;* indeed, even the recent proclamation of the Minister for War claiming the sole responsibility for the event has been received with an incredulous smile. There is a further conviction, equally deep-rooted, that on that occasion we threw over our friends and helpers among the Persians in a fit of caprice, and merely because we thought they had served their turn and were useless for our further purposes. This belief has seriously shaken the former Persian estimate of the British character, till then renowned for its constancy. This was the reason for the outburst of sympathy for Nosrat-ed-Dowleh when released from his captivity, and the universal detestation in which that prince is held to-day by his fellow-countrymen is not due, as is generally supposed, to the belief that he tried to sell his country to the foreigner, but to the conviction that he is still a British agent, and that his attempt to " purify " himself, to resume the rôle of a true Persian and Moslem, and to be the backbone of opposition to the British, is a delusion and a fraud practised in collusion with this Legation pending his restoration to power as the instrument of an aggressive British policy.

The fact of the matter is that neither the standard of reason nor that of interest can be applied in judging of present-day Persia. For example, the Persians are perfectly well aware that since my arrival in Tehran I have most carefully refrained from any semblance of interference in domestic politics ; in view of their repeated complaints of such interference in the past, some gratitude or appreciation of this attitude might not unreasonably be expected on their part. So far is this from being the case that I was accused of treating them as children, of unwisely leaving them to play by themselves and being pained and surprised when they kicked over the furniture, of taking no real interest in the country, of abandoning the traditional British policy, and, in the same breath, of hiding under a mask of patience and tolerance a sinister design, carefully plotted beforehand with your Lordship's Department, for reducing Persia to a state of complete dependence on Great Britain, which I am only biding my time to spring on a bewildered Persian Government ruthlessly startled out of its placid dreams of internal reorganisation. I am glad, however, to say that during the last six weeks there has been a marked improvement in the personal attitude adopted towards myself among the Persians, official and otherwise, with whom I have come in contact, and a perceptible diminution in the hostile press articles, both in quantity and substance.

The Persian characteristics thus revealed will not be new to your Lordship. They have been intensified by the events and causes to which I have already made allusion, but there are several other factors at work which it would be well to mention.

The cry for education and the efforts of the Government, however feeble, to satisfy it has seriously alarmed the ecclesiastical hierarchy of mujtehid and mollah, who rightly see in the spread of enlightenment a grave threat to their authority—and their pocket. There is a craving for Western learning and technical instruction ; therefore on the products of the Western mind the priesthood resolutely sets its ban.

In former days, when England was fighting an uphill battle against Russian penetration into Persia, a battle which the safety of our Indian Empire and the preservation of our general interests and influence in Asia imperiously dictated, the struggle had at least the characteristics of a duel between two gentlemen who had necessarily some community of instinct and tradition, and there were no incidental

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participants of serious note. That situation has completely changed. While Great Britain stands for the preservation of order and for political and economic stability, Bolshevik Russia cares for none of these things, and indeed disorder, unrest and poverty are the most fruitful soil for the seed of the Communistic gospel. But Russian propaganda is first and foremost anti-British, and only secondarily does it seek to undermine the political fabric of Persia by the spread of revolutionary ideas, the formation of revolutionary committees and the inculcation of class hatred. Anti-British propaganda pays best, for it has an easy market and a well-disposed audience ; while if the British can be overthrown in Asia, the rest of the programme follows easily enough.

But besides the Russian activities we have to contend with the intrigues of Kemalists, Afghans, pan-Islamists and pan-Turanians, all directed against Great Britain, which is held up from sunrise to sunset as the arch-enemy ; and this makes a great impression in a country like Persia, which, despite her schismatic faith, is yet a member of the republic of Islam. Nevertheless, the dividing line between Shiah and Sunni is still a sharp one, and too much stress must not be laid on the purely Islamic bond. Far more important are the political changes and movements which Persia sees in progress among her neighbours on every frontier, and what she watches most closely in these is their effect on British power and influence.

In the north she sees, or thinks she sees, Russia gradually working back into her former position in relation to Persia, and this in spite of strong British antipathy for Sovietic Russia and obviously to our annoyance.

In the east she has witnessed Afghanistan's liberation from British tutelage in the conduct of her foreign affairs and her acknowledgment by Great Britain as a fully independent State, and when an Afghan envoy is accredited to the Court of Tehran his attitude is openly anti-British, and he goes arm-in-arm with Bolshevik, Kemalist and German.

In the south, from the vast Indian possessions of the British Crown, the stronghold of the whole British position in Asia, where before the war British rule was unquestioned and supreme, Persia hears tales of rebellion, revolution and riot, of Swaraj, non-co-operation and Gandhism ; tags of inflammatory literature reach her, and are eagerly reprinted in her gutter press, crying out against " British oppression," inciting the Indian " nation " to rise and throw off its British chains, and promising the millennium when once the British have been thrown into the sea No account is taken of the peace and prosperity which British rule has brought to India, and the carefully-elaborated scheme of reforms which assures to the inhabitants of the Indian Empire an ever-increasing share in the management of Indian affairs, if it attracts any attention at all, is merely adduced as evidence that the British are surrendering, sulkily and reluctantly, what they are no longer strong enough to hold.

In the south-west, British efforts to create an autonomous Arab State in Irak are represented as a further British attempt to enslave a Moslem population, and Bagdad is regarded as a fresh British outpost in the policy of colonisation which aims at the absorption of Persia and the destruction of her independence.

In the west, the delay in settling the Turkish question, the successful resistance of the Angora Government to the enforcement of the Treaty of Sèvres, despite the supposed British support of their Christian enemies, is scored up as yet another failure of British policy and as evidence of England's unappeasable hostility to the Moslem world.

Thus events, or at least the impression they have created, have on all sides contributed to the formation of an anti-British feeling, and this has been enhanced by the rapid growth of a narrow and morbidly sensitive nationalist feeling ; by the supposed attempt of Great Britain, in forcing on a subsidised Persian Government the signature of the " obnoxious " Anglo-Persian Agreement, to bring Persia under her direct domination ; by a persistent and insidious Russian propaganda, far more anti-British than pro-Bolshevik in its essence ; and by the curious consciousness which seems to have run through Asia since the Great War that the European nations are no longer the superior people they would like to be thought, and are indeed no better than they should be, that the peoples of the East are in the throes of a rebirth, and that only a vigorous effort is needed to throw off the thraldom of the West in order that they may regain their ancient position of power and influence in the world. In Persia this consciousness is perhaps even more acute than elsewhere, for the Persian regards himself as superior in intelligence, ability and culture to his Asiatic neighbours ; he looks down on the Indians as a conquered race, on the Arabs as a set of rascals, on the Afghans for their stupidity and on the Turks for their brutality ; he is also mindful that the race

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from which he is sprung has at different times in its history held sway over large tracts of the regions now occupied by those four races, and that Persian culture and even the Persian language has survived to this day in distant places, far beyond the present confines of the Persian Empire, as a memorial of its former greatness.

It must not be concluded that considerations of this sort influence the mind of the average Persian in his everyday dealings or in the ordinary struggle for existence; Persia has, alas! fallen too low from her high estate, both morally and materially, for that to be true, for her civic, her political and her commercial life are steeped in a corruption, a deviousness and a base individualistic selfishness which have warped the whole moral fibre of the nation, and cases in which a Persian would set the welfare of the community above his personal advantage are hardly to be found. The sense of commonwealth, as understood in free countries, is wholly lacking.

What is remarkable in the present-day ideas which I have endeavoured to analyse is not their strength, but the fact that they exist at all, and their novelty. Social nationalism has always existed in Persia: what is significant to-day is the rebirth of a political nationalism. Perhaps in this one respect, coming after the events of the war, Bolshevik propaganda has touched a responsive chord in Persia, and scored a success. The presentation of the Bolshevik idea has been confused, but I think its underlying sense might be described as follows: The sole superiority of the Western capitalist Powers is of a military and mercantile order; the savagery of the late war is conclusive proof that their moral civilisation is of a lower rather than higher order than the ancient civilisation of the races of Asia. Russia, with her semi-Asiatic instincts and her Western connections, with her great strength and boundless resources, is the only sure buttress against the gradual absorption of Asia by Western capitalism, and is alone able to save Asia from final submersion. Therefore the peoples of Asia must group themselves round Russia, and the surest way to success is to adopt the remedies which Russia has evolved in the pangs of her liberating revolution against capitalism and Christendom. In Russia itself, so far as can be seen from the information at my disposal, two main currents of thought are struggling for supremacy: the one international and atheistic, the other national and Christian. It is, of course, the first of these two which is brought into prominence in Bolshevik propaganda in Asia, and that will no doubt continue to be the case so long as the men who represent such ideas remain the political and physical masters of the Russian Soviet and Federated Republics.

I have now concluded my review of the general atmosphere of Tehran as I found and understand it. It has up till now remained substantially the same, though certain changes are in slow operation, to which I shall refer later on. It is not necessary for me to describe the state of Anglo-Persian relations, the various questions at issue between the two Governments, the condition of British interests, or the political tendencies of the Persian Government, nor would it be becoming in me to do so having regard to your Lordship's unsurpassed personal knowledge of these matters.

Your Lordship is well acquainted with the circumstances of the fall of Kawam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet, but an explanation of its inward causes may throw some useful light on subsequent events. Kawam-es-Saltaneh, for securing Medjliss approval of his measures of a policy, relied on the support of a majority party controlled by Nosrat-ed-Dowleh, Modares and Serdar Moassam, who were likewise able to dominate the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Medjliss. This group was profoundly anti-British, and I am inclined to think that the friendly professions towards Great Britain frequently uttered by Kawam-es-Saltaneh were to this extent true, that his dependence on the majority group for parliamentary purposes often forced him into a lime of action against his personal inclinations, and perhaps his better judgment. As, however, Kawam-es-Saltaneh does not allow the fruits of office to wither unprofitably in his pocket, he preferred this state of dependence to a more courageous and honourable course, and the fact that others made a tool of him is therefore no real excuse. His fall was ostensibly due to differences with Reza Khan, but he was actually turned out by the Nosrat-ed-Dowleh Party, who thought they could do better, and experienced no great difficulty in making the differences between the Prime Minister and the Minister for War boil over.

The nomination of Mushir-ed-Dowleh to be President of the Council, actually effected by Reza Khan, was a severe blow to Nosrat-ed-Dowleh and his associates, but it was ingeniously parried by the appointment of Serdar Moassam to act as their jackal in the Cabinet in the guise of Minister of Justice. The group has been pursuing precisely the same tactics as regards the present Prime Minister, a fact of which I took the liberty of warning His Highness in a recent personal conversation without, of



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course, mentioning any names. Mushir-ed-Dowleh took my observation in very good part and expressed the opinion that I had diagnosed the position with absolute accuracy. There may not be much to say in favour of Mushir-ed-Dowleh's Government, but at least it is an honest one; even the Persians themselves do not accuse the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, or the Minister of Finance of ever having taken a penny, and the cases in Persian history when these three offices have been so impeccably filled in that respect cannot be very numerous. It is therefore not unfair to assume a definite improvement in Persian public life, and it may be hoped that the example will gradually expand into a tradition. The glaring defects of the present Government are, however, its irresolution, its secretiveness, its morbid fear of the slightest popular criticism, and its abject pandering to popular clamour; at the same time, however, Mushir-ed-Dowleh's personal reputation and uncontested integrity are such that the Medjliss could not refuse to take his lead if he gave it one. Unluckily he is a born coward in this respect; he dare not express is own opinion and stand by it, but must needs ascertain furtively the sense of the Medjliss in regard to any measure which he wishes it to adopt, and thus leaves the door wide open to every form of intrigue and obstruction. In dealing with Mushir-ed-Dowleh one has a certain feeling of security against betrayal or deliberate deceit, and I think that in his heart he would like nothing better than to work in confidence and collaboration with his Majesty's Government, but not at the risk of censure by his intemperate compatriots, so that his mouse-like methods and characteristics render him useless as the instrument of any constructive policy. He is a man who is well qualified to follow or to interpret opinions, but he entirely lacks the capacity for guiding them, and this is particularly unfortunate at a moment when public opinion is grossly ill-informed, and when the sources of information themselves are contaminated by a persistent and subversive propaganda. M. Rothstein is alleged to have said the other day, that for the purpose of weakening British influence it was better for the Bolsheviks to have a fool in any particular consulate rather than no one at all, and I fear he is right.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding all these handicaps, I can say that an improvement in our relations with the Persian Government and in the manifestations of opinion towards us is distinctly perceptible. The process of improvement is necessarily slow, but I believe that it will mature, unless thrown back by some unforeseen occurrence, and a gradual change will in the long run be infinitely preferable to an abrupt one.

It is my conviction that in this country there is no fundamental animosity against Great Britain, and in the earlier portions of this despatch I have endeavoured to trace the causes of the hostility and suspicion with which we have lately come to be regarded. Our position in Persia is, however, so inherently strong, and our interest in the country so demonstrably legitimate, that I am unable to believe that the temporary eclipse which we have suffered in prestige and influence can be of a more than transient nature. It has therefore been my endeavour to wear down this attitude of suspicion by complete frankness in my dealings with Persians by appeals to their reasoning intelligence, and by friendly personal relations with them. Moreover, I have taken care to let it be known, as well as to show it in my acts, that I abstain rigidly from all interference in Persian domestic politics, that I give no countenance to any form of pecuniary propaganda by this Legation, whether of an individual or collective character, and when questioned by individual Persians about the merits of this, that, or the other Government, I invariably reply that I should, of course, work most easily and most congenially with a Government itself convinced that Persia's true interests lay in a policy of friendly and cordial understanding with His Majesty's Government.

These methods, coupled with complete outspokenness in all my communications with Persian Ministers and Government officials, may have produced a calming effect, but if, as I believe to be the case, there is a real improvement in the Persian attitude towards ourselves, the cause is rather to be found in the fact that the methods of the Russian plenipotentiary have gradually stood out in sharp contrast with my own. In my despatch No. 234 of the 21st April, I had the honour to give your Lordship a brief account of the agitations provoked by the Russians in this capital and of the resentment felt thereat by the more respectable classes of the population, and when nowadays the frequent phrase "interference of the aliens" occurs in the daily press, it more often refers to the Russians than the British. That so insignificant a detail should be selected as a sign of the political times may appear quite ridiculous, and so in a sense it is, but the value of the comparison suggested is in perfectly true relation to the significance of political thought and movement in this country when viewed from any but a Persian angle of vision. The fact of the matter is that Persians are so totally incapable of objective thought that they are unable to think of British and Russians except in terms

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of a pair of scales: if one side goes up the other goes down; and even foreign residents in this country of long standing, though quite sane in other respects, frequently get infected with the same point of view. Perhaps, however, to take a familiar scriptural analogy, there are ten just Persians in Persia, whose existence justifies an attempt to effect the salvation of the rest.

I need not dwell on the deplorable economic state of the country, with which your Lordship is fully acquainted. It may be well to point out, however, that the state of affairs whereby the northern parts of Persia depend for their trade on the southern trade routes is entirely abnormal and cannot be perpetuated except, perhaps, by a system of railways constructed during the period in which Russian commercial competition remains in abeyance. For this reason Persia can never ignore Russia; Persia dreads a revival of Russian power, but her apprehensions are mingled with hopes of profitable trading with a reconstituted Russia, without which her naturally richest provinces are doomed to stagnation and decay.

The vice of the situation in Persia, viewed from whatever standpoint, lies not in its material elements, but in the minds of the Persians themselves, and in this respect the nation has not merely got the Government which it deserves, but has had a surfeit of such Governments. A courageous, enlightened and ordinarily energetic Government could easily remedy the material situation if given a reasonable chance. Some people maintain that the country does possess the elements of such a Government, and that the record of the Cabinet of Seyyid Nia-ed-Din, which, according to its still furtive admirers, accomplished more real work in a few months than other Governments in as many years, notwithstanding its tactless mismanagement of political affairs, is sufficient evidence of the truth of their assertion. On this point I am not competent to express any opinion of my own, but I cannot fail to observe that if such men exist they have not even attempted as yet to form a party in the country or the Parliament to advocate their programme or spread their convictions.

If the absence of native organising capacity be conceded, there remains the remedy of foreign advice; but experience has shown that if foreign advice threatens to become effective, it automatically coalesces against itself all the selfish instincts and forces of resistance of the Persians; and the Persian powers of passive ejection are quite exceptional. The American advisers, whose mission I have discussed in a separate despatch, will certainly start their work in far more favourable circumstances than any of their predecessors, for at the outset they will have the sympathy of the public, the whole-hearted support of His Majesty's Government and of this Legation, and the goodwill of all the other important Legations except, presumably, that of Russia. There will therefore be a real body of encouraging opinion behind their first endeavours and an assurance of not inconsiderable outside assistance if their advice be ignored or their activities thwarted. There is therefore fair ground for hoping that the experiment will succeed, and that their advent will be really a turning point in the history of modern Persia. If they fail, however, the position is indeed a dismal one to contemplate, for Persia will have proved, not only that she is incompetent to govern herself, but that she is unwilling to accept any ouside assistance, however capable and disinterested, in teaching her to do so.

I have forwarded copies of this despatch to the Government of India, His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad and to His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire.

I have, &c.

P. LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [July 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 6582/7/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received July* 3.)

(No. 258.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May* 8, 1922.

IT appears probable that the negotiations undertaken by the Persian Government for the engagement of American advisers in the Ministry of Finance, and maybe in other Departments also, will be shortly concluded. It would be foolish to attempt any forecast of the ultimate effect of introducing this altogether new element into the Persian situation, but I beg leave to offer some observations on certain bearings of the situation which will arise on the advent of the American advisers on the difficulties with which they will in all probability be confronted and on the effect thereof which I foresee on British interests and the British position in this country.

No one, I think, with a knowledge of Persia would contradict me in saying that the most fervent professions by any single Persian of a desire that his country's finances should be reorganised, and his clear recognition of the essential necessity of such reform, is always accompanied by an inward reservation against the interference of any reform scheme with his individual habits and interests. He is perfectly willing that all his friends and acquaintances should stand the test of reforms, but he is resolutely determined not to undergo it himself; nor does any serious doubt ever enter his mind of his ability to evade it; and it must be admitted that his resourcefulness in this respect has conclusively proved itself in the past to be almost inexhaustible. The habits and interests in question are unfortunately shared by practically the entire population, and the collective strength of passive resistance is therefore so enormous that nothing short of direct and unflinching executive action, backed by the whole machine of Government, can avail to overcome it. I fear, however, that the characteristics of the mass are likely to be reflected only too faithfully in any probable Persian Government of the present day, for pecuniary manipulations and accommodations with Mammon, often of the most bewildering ingenuity, have become ingrained in the customs of the race, and pervade every aspect of its public and private existence.

What then, it may be asked, is the purpose of the Persian Government, which must certainly be aware of these circumstances, in seeking American advisers, and how can the almost enthusiastic acquiescence of the general public in their engagement be accounted for? I fear that the answer to the question is a very simple one. The calculation is that the presence of these advisers will at once endow Persia with an impressive façade of financial stability and progressive ideas, and that the fact of having men in her service drawn from a country so renowned for its wealth, its integrity and its energy as the United States of America will at once raise Persia's prestige and credit to a height altogether unprecedented in her recent history. This will enable Persia to borrow large sums of money at favourable rates, and when that is done everyone will be happy. Persia will embark on another phase of her glorious spendthrift career and, when the money is spent, the future can look after itself—and the American advisers after themselves! Persia wants the advisers because she wants the money, not because she wants the reforms; and if reforms threaten seriously to materialise, they will be thwarted by every device and stratagem at the disposal of the fertile ingenuity of the race.

From the Persian point of view, however, the last thing that must be said, or believed, is that the experiment failed through the fault of the Persians, and subtle plans must be laid to avert such a calamity and the reproach that Persia has missed yet another chance of regeneration. Here, however, quite recent history has—luckily, they think—taught the Persians a useful lesson and pointed an example. M. Bizet's mission was wrecked, quite simply, by withholding from him the powers which he was not strong enough to grasp. Mr. Shuster had proved a much more formidable antagonist, and had actually gone to the lengths of collecting taxes from people by force! But he was such a real reformer, so obviously the Hercules required to clean out the Augean stable of Persian finance, that it would have ill become the grateful Persians to have been the authors of his removal; so, gently spurred on by a pathetic recital of Persia's



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wrongs suffered at the hands of overbearing and rapacious neighbours, who were the only real bar to the progress and enlightenment to which she so ardently aspired, he was led astray into the labyrinth of international political rivalries, until one day, to Persia's sorrow and amazement, his dismissal was brutally demanded by the Russian Minister, supported by his British confederate. So Persia breathed again; she was minus a vicious reformer, and plus a fresh grievance: for had not a baneful international rivalry blighted once more the tender plant of her fiscal regeneration?

England is already the chosen scapegoat for the predestined failure of this fresh reform scheme, and the tactics to be employed to saddle her with the blame are almost classical. The American band will be received with a set demonstration of enthusiasm; Persians will sit at their feet and explain that the newcomers are the only founts of wisdom, that their power for good and for evil is unlimited, that with them lies Persia's one and only remaining hope of salvation. The causes of Persia's present plight will be expounded to them with a wealth of imaginative detail and historical inexactitude; it will be demonstrably proved that at every turn of her existence British influence and British schemes of domination have blasted Persia's progress and sapped her independence; therefore the first great work is to deliver Persia from the "English clenches"—a picturesque expression which occurs almost daily in the translated summaries of the Tehran press—for until that is done no real reforms are possible, and meantime Persia must be given the money she needs and of which she has been so brutally starved; for that too is an indispensable condition of reform. Every effort of insidious suggestion will be made to goad on the Americans to attack British interests and undermine British influence, and it will be convincingly argued that when once these are destroyed Persia will flourish like the bay-tree under the benign sun of American help and guidance. If we support the Americans, they will be told that the designing English are merely luring them on to their destruction, and that association with us will irrevocably compromise them in Persian eyes; if we can be thrust into a position of antagonism to the Americans, then the Persians have won half the battle.

Much, of course, will depend on the personality of the Americans chosen, but whoever they may be the situation will want very careful handling. Obviously the only attitude for us to take up is one of the frankest and most helpful cordiality towards the new advisers and the closest co-operation with the United States Legation.

I rely greatly on the qualities which I have found of Mr. Kornfeld, the new United States Minister, to ensure the possibility and success of such co-operation. Though he has only been here but a few weeks, he has formed a very accurate estimate of the situation and of the Persian character. He said the other day that if a set of archangels were appointed to advise the Persian Government they would be stripped of the last shred of their prestige, their popularity and their usefulness if they stayed in Persia too long; he is determined that none of his compatriots shall be involved in a fiasco, and if it becomes clear that their efforts are being frustrated, he is resolved to send them back to the United States of America. Moreover, Mr. Kornfeld is a firm believer in the high part which Anglo-Saxondom is called on to play in the management and improvement of the world's affairs; he is impressed by the kindred nature of British and American conceptions and ideals, and of their will to good; and he is persuaded that nothing, and least of all in Persia, must be allowed to disturb their harmonious relations or impair their common efforts to secure peace and order. In these happy circumstances I look forward without misgiving to the difficulties which lie ahead, and with confidence that a frank and outspoken loyalty will enable them to be conquered.

I have forwarded copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [July 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 6590/6/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received July* 3.)

(No. 274. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May* 11, 1922.

RABBI JOSEPH SAUL KORNFELD took up his residence and his duties as United States Minister in this capital about a month ago.

I have had the honour to receive from your Lordship some particulars in regard to Mr. Kornfeld's earlier career and activities, on which therefore it is unnecessary to dwell, but I may be permitted to make some observations in regard to his character and attainments so far as I have been able to judge of them.

The new United States Minister is a man of quite unusual intellectual activity. I gather that he is a great reader, and a keen student of general politics, but the subjects which particularly attract him, and of which he evidently has considerable knowledge, are education and sociology. I understand that he is on terms of personal friendship with President Harding, and is a staunch believer in and supporter of the Republican Party. He told me that the President offered him a number of posts in Europe and elsewhere to choose from, and that he had selected Persia because he believed that there was a genuine and interesting work to be accomplished there, and he was given to understand that the United States Government regarded Tehran at the present moment as a post of special importance. Mr. Kornfeld has never been in the East before, and the information which he possessed in regard to Persia on his arrival was chiefly derived from sources of literature. I suspect, however, that before leaving America he had heard a good deal of the somewhat anti-British views in regard to this country which have apparently been current in that country since the recall of Mr. Morgan Shuster and the publication of his book. If this supposition be correct, I think that Mr. Kornfeld, who is a discerning and discriminating person, reserved his judgment pending the formation of his own estimate of the situation here and its origins.

There is no doubt that Mr. Kornfeld's early experiences of life in Tehran and Persian politics have been a severe disillusion. To begin with, he had no conception that the capital of any country, and particularly one with such traditions of greatness as Persia, could be so retrogade, so ill-kept, and so lacking in the ordinary elements of hygienic precautions and municipal enterprise. In the second place, he has been quick to reach the stage of exasperation with the Persian character and Persian methods, which rarely fails, sooner or later, to overtake the new-comer to this country. He finds that the vaunted Persian Constitution is a foolish and inapplicable document; his view of Islamic law is that he would not allow his own dog to be tried by it; he is disgusted at the perpetual Persian diatribes against their neighbours, and especially the British, and he has informed several of them rather roughly that unless they have something better to talk about they would be wise to keep away from his Legation; he is shocked at the egotistical and individualistic point of view of the Persians with whom he has come into contact, and at the total absence of any sort of co-operation among them for the welfare of their country. He says that, although each one declares the other to be dishonest, he is not unwilling to believe that they are honest as a race, but he is certain that anyway they are incompetent.

Furthermore, Mr. Kornfeld sees that the task of helping Persia to regenerate herself and to get on her legs may be one impossible of achievement, and, having set aside three years out of a steady, active and well-regulated existence in congenial surroundings among his own countrymen, the idea of wasting these years in a fruitless effort opens up a dismal prospect which he had not at all anticipated. Naturally he is on the look-out for indications showing the kind of situation in which the new American advisers will be placed, and here the result of his observations has been equally depressing.

These impressions have been related to me by Mr. Kornfeld himself, and your Lordship will see from that fact that he and I have very quickly sprung into personal



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relations of a friendly and cordial intimacy, and when I took leave of him at our last interview he told me what a relief it was to have someone to whom he could speak just what was in his own mind, and get it off his mind for the time being. I like the man, for he is intelligent, discerning and a trier ; also both his remarks and his manner bear an unmistakable stamp of frankness. His present discouragement at the general atmosphere and state of affairs here has, however, led to the somewhat paradoxical situation of a British Minister in Tehran exhorting his United States colleague to keep patience and temper with the Persians.

I look forward to a period of very friendly and close co-operation with the United States Legation under its present direction, and at the present juncture nothing I think could be more necessary, more useful or more fortunate.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [July 3.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 10.

[E 6599/6599/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received July* 3.)

(No. 295.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May* 19, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to draw your Lordship's special attention to a most interesting despatch enclosed herein, under flying seal, from the commercial secretary to His Majesty's Legation, regarding Russian commercial operations in Persia.

Comparing the results of nine months of these operations with their grandiose aims and carefully organised and lavishly equipped instruments, Major Temple has clearly demonstrated the failure of the Bolsheviks in this field, while wisely reserving a final opinion on the outcome of their future efforts.

This excellent report affords an instance, among many others, of the value of Major Temple's services here.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Major Temple to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*

(No. 100 (B). Overseas Trade. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May* 19, 1922.

NEARLY nine months have passed since I had the honour to report to the Comptroller-General of the Department of Overseas Trade (in my despatch No. 7, Middle East, dated the 1st September, 1921) the beginning of a great "commercial drive" in Persia which the Soviet Government of Russia had expensively organised with the object of regaining lost trade and of expelling British competition. Your Lordship may now be interested to hear what hitherto has been the progress of the operation.

I may be permitted to recall that the "drive" was from the north southwards, and, starting from Transcaucasia and Transcaspia, was designed to sweep all before it until it reached the Persian Gulf. Perhaps, too, I may presume to point out that the movement had, and has, significancies greater than Anglo-Russian trade rivalries and wider than Persian boundaries. It was Communism's commercial challenge to capitalism; it was to demonstrate that the united resources of the Russian State, in opposing the disunited enterprises of British individuals, must win the field from Batoum to Bunder Abbas. Moreover, commercial exploitation and political propaganda were to advance hand in hand; mercantile catalogues and revolutionary tracts were to be distributed together, and Bolshevism was to flow forward as a vivifying trade stream.

At once (in August 1921) numerous Russian trade commissioners entered Persia. First, they established trade bureaux at Caspian ports (Enzeli, Meshed-i-Sar, Bandar-i-Gaz and Astara) and at the great commercial capitals of the north-west (Tabriz) and the north-east (Meshed). Next, they and their agents extended the network to most of the market towns of the five northern provinces of Azerbaijan, Gilan, Mazanderan, Astrabad and Khurasan. Next, they moved into Central Persia and took up a strategic position on what I would call the "Orion's Belt" of the country (Ispahan–Yezd–Kerman). Last, they have penetrated to Shiraz, with Bushire as the end of the expedition, and perhaps they mean to deploy along the gulf littoral. From the beginning they have had their controlling headquarters at Tehran, yet not (so far as I can ascertain) under the Minister there but under a chief trade commissioner. This commercial commander was to be immediately under the commercial commander-in-chief at Moscow, but might also communicate with the commercial commanders in the regions on either side of the Caspian Sea from Erivan to Tashkent.

Such was the geographical constitution. The personal composition seemed no less



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formidable, and, moreover, money supplies seemed to abound. Altogether, the organisation presented an imposing front.

And now, from August 1921 to May 1922, a period of, say, nine months, what has the organisation—by name the Vneshtorg—so far achieved? At once the reply may be made that it has achieved nothing comparable in bulk with its own bulk. Some trade it could hardly help but do. In one hand it held revolutionary "loot" to be sold cheaply, and in the other hand it held Persian 5-kran pieces minted in Russia from Russian silver. At the same time, it needed foodstuffs for the starving myriads of South Russia. Regarded, indeed, as a famine-relief institution, not as a commercial institution, the Vneshtorg worked well here: it acquired North Persia's not very large exportable surplus of cereals (perhaps rather more than the true surplus); it contrived to pay only moderate or even low prices; it overcame or evaded the spasmodic exportational restrictions of the Persian authorities; it procured adequate transport cheaply, and it did all this quickly. Considered merely as a food-buying operation in famine time, begun and ended in itself, this was good work. Meanwhile, too, the Vneshtorg unloaded on the bazaars of North Persia "dead" stocks of Russian silver plate heavily alloyed, of glass-ware and of miscellaneous "loot," besides some petrolic products, at prices not much below value. But all the purchases and all the sales combined would probably not amount in value to one-tenth of Britain's total trade with Persia in the same period, and certainly a much less cumbrous and costly machine could well have been expected to transact so inconsiderable a business. That is the positive side of the estimate.

On the negative side the Vneshtorg has yet failed to re-establish a healthy, normal and mutually beneficial trade with Persia; has enlisted in its over-swollen official ranks some ugly elements of commercial ineptitude and dishonesty; has enforced its monopolist trading pretensions not only in Russia but also in Persia to the point of antagonising Persian merchants, who, whether on the right or the wrong side of the frontier, find themselves squeezed out of every market; has indulged in much petty tyranny and oppression; has bribed or coerced the Persian wardens of the marches; has sorely vexed the Persian Customs Administration; and, finally, considered as a Communist body, has done nothing that could not have been done more cheaply, more efficiently and more abundantly by Russian individualist merchants of the pre-revolution type, operating at their own charge.

It is too soon to present any of these tentative observations as final conclusions. The Soviet machine is new; the Vneshtorg is new; the theory and the practice of communistic commerce are new; experience has always to be worked for and paid for; a bad beginning may conceivably have a better continuation; the virtues of integrity, sagacity, competence and good humour may now be in the making. But, with all proper reservations for what the future may contain, I do not hesitate to declare that the inherent potency of Russia as a trade rival in Persia has gained nothing yet from Sovietism.

I may go further. Not only has the Vneshtorg, with the resources of the State at its command, failed yet to recover more than a fraction of the Persian trade which Russian merchants by their individual energy and enterprise had built up before the revolution; the Vneshtorg has not even succeeded till now (four years after the revolution) in restoring those facilities of transit which under the Tsarist Government gave Russia the advantages of her geography. Formerly, for oversea traffic the Batoum–Baku Railway, and for overland traffic the Lemberg–Baku Railway, brought Persia as near to Europe in time as it is in space. To-day Persia is further from Europe in time than is China or Peru. And it is a notable fact that every Western country with commercial interests or hopes in Persia has lately tried to utilise the Russian routes and has had to abandon them as impracticable. I have confidential up-to-date information from the Persian Customs Department that France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium are now transferring their Persian traffic from the Black Sea route to the Mesopotamia route.

Thus, in no respect is there yet any reason here for asking Persians to believe that economic regeneration is to be found in Bolshevism, or for asking the world to believe that a Soviet Government is the best of all traders.

I have, &c.

B. TEMPLE, *Major*,
*Commercial Secretary.*

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PERSIA. [July 24.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 5.

[E 7339/7339/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Earl of Balfour.*—(*Received July* 24.)

(No. 311.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May* 29, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 21st February, 1922, the Medjliss ratified an Arbitration Treaty between Persia and the United States of America, which had been concluded in 1914.

I beg leave to transmit to your Lordship a copy of that treaty.

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Copy of Arbitration Treaty between Persia and the United States of America.*

HIS Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia and the President of the United States of America, being desirous to strengthen the bonds of amity that bind them together and also to advance the cause of general peace, have resolved to enter into a treaty for that purpose, and to that end have appointed as their plenipotentiaries :

His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia, his Excellency Mirza Hassan Khan Vossough-ed-Dowleh, Minister for Foreign Affairs ; and the President of the United States, his Excellency Mr. Charles Wells Russell, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Persia, who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in proper form, have agreed upon the following articles :—

ARTICLE 1.

The high contracting parties agree that all disputes between them, of every nature whatsoever, which diplomacy shall fail to adjust shall be submitted for investigation and report to an International Commission, to be constituted in the manner prescribed in the next succeeding article, and they agree not to declare war or begin hostilities during such investigation and report.

ARTICLE 2.

The International Commission shall be composed of five members, to be appointed as follows : One member shall be chosen from each country by each Government thereof, one member shall be chosen by each Government from some third country ; the fifth member shall be chosen by common agreement between the two Governments.

The expenses of the commission, should the occasion arise, shall be paid by the two Governments in equal proportion. The International Commission shall be appointed within four months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, and vacancies shall be filled according to the manner of the original appointment.

ARTICLE 3.

In case the high contracting parties shall have failed to adjust a dispute by diplomatic methods, they shall at once refer it to the International Commission for investigation and report. The International Commission may, however, act upon its own initiative, and in such case it shall notify both Governments and request their co-operation in the investigation.

The report of the International Commission shall be completed within one year after the date on which it shall declare its investigation to have begun, unless the high contracting parties shall extend the time by mutual agreement. The report shall be prepared in triplicate ; one copy shall be presented to each Government, and the third retained by the commission for its files. The high contracting parties reserve the right to act independently on the subject-matter of the dispute after the report of the commission shall have been submitted.



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ARTICLE 4.

The present treaty shall be ratified by His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia, with the approval of the Medjliss thereof, and by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of Senate thereof, and the ratification shall be exchanged as soon as possible. It shall take effect immediately after the exchange of ratifications, and shall continue in force for a period of five years, and it shall thereafter remain in force until twelve months after one of the high contracting parties has given notice to the other of an intention to terminate it. In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereunto their seals.

Done in Tehran on the 8th day of Rabiol-Awal, 1332 (A.H.), corresponding to the 4th day of February, 1914.

VOSSOUGH-ED-DOWLEH.
CHARLES W. RUSSELL.

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PERSIA. [August 16.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 8135/6/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Earl of Balfour.*—(*Received August* 16.)

(No. 359. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, June* 15, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed to me by the military attaché to this Legation in which Colonel Saunders has summarised the most characteristic activities of the Russian Bolsheviks in Persia.

The precise effect of these activities is extremely difficult to gauge, but they seem to me to be paving the way so far as is possible for a revolution rather than actually seeking to provoke one. As I have had occasion previously to report, their main object is to undermine British influence and prestige as the easiest road to the establishment of Russian influence. I have some reason to suspect that the Soviet representatives in this country are themselves dissatisfied with the results hitherto attained by their efforts in that direction. There may be many reasons for the Russians not wishing to press matters in Persia, but one of the principal ones must be the uncertainty in regard to the mode of settlement of the Turkish question which, whatever its nature, is certain to react strongly on the situation in Persia.

The most serious question, and of course the most difficult one to answer, is whether, in the not impossible event of a collapse of the present system of government in Persia, either for financial reasons or from its inherent rottenness, Russian influence is strong enough to stampede Persia into a revolution of, one may almost say, the classical Soviet type; the liberating Red troops being called in at the allegedly unanimous appeal of the Persian people to redress centuries of wrong and oppression, and to deliver Persia from the clutches of the rapacious capitalist!

Such is the folly, the incompetence, the narrow selfishness and mean-mindedness of the rulers of Persia, that the Russians have only to bide their time to get their chance, but their readiness or ability to take it depends on such incalculable factors related to Russia's internal position as well as her external position in other directions, that no reliable forecast of her action in the event of a Persian collapse can be made here.

The Persian Minister for War, whom I entertained at dinner yesterday evening, told me that in his belief, M. Rothstein would merely return to Persia to present his letters of recall, and that the Moscow Government had recalled him as a rebuke for his interference in Persian domestic politics. His Excellency added that the present Chargé d'Affaires, M. Shumiatsky, who is generally supposed to be the Minister designate, had impressed him more favourably than M. Rothstein, and had seemed to him far less addicted to intrigue. As M. Rothstein took no steps to announce his departure on leave or to introduce to me the person who was to be in charge of his Legation during his absence, I have had no opportunity of making M. Shumiatsky's acquaintance, and am not therefore in a position to comment on Reza Khan's appreciation of him. Should, however, his Excellency's explanation of M. Rothstein's recall be the true one, it would mean that Moscow is taking a somewhat more rational view than formerly of the rôle of its representative in Tehran.

I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the Government of India, His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad, and to His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire.

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINE

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Lieutenant Colonel Saunders to Sir P. Loraine.*

(Secret.)

Sir, *Tehran, June* 15, 1922.

WITH the increase of internal disturbances in Persia, the growth of the net which the Bolsheviks are attempting to throw over the country, together with their keener activity in the provinces, appears to call for some notice.



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The Russian Legation in Tehran has recently undergone several changes in staff, which are mainly due to the discord prevailing among the members. The military attaché, Colonel Rogachof, was recalled to Moscow on the 3rd May, 1922, owing to his intrigues against the Minister, M. Rothstein, who in turn left Tehran for Moscow on the 23rd May, 1922, nominally on leave ; it is reported, however, that he is not to return, and that the real reason for his recall was the discovery made by an inspector sent by the Moscow Government, that large sums of money had passed through the Russian Legation with little result. Colonel Apin, the new military attaché, and M. Shumiatsky (shortly to arrive as Chargé d'Affaires) are both ardent Communists, so with their advent and the perfection of their arrangements a considerable increase in Bolshevik propaganda activity may be expected.

In Tehran Bolshevik activities have mainly been limited to the formation of various unions of workmen, and to newspaper propaganda which has taken the form of anti-British articles, and indictments against the War Minister, Reza Khan, who, the Bolsheviks feel, is the only indigenous defence Persia possesses against the spread of Communist doctrines.

The provinces, however, seem to offer a more fruitful field owing to the discontent and disorganisation prevailing in the various Government Departments, which is traceable to the impecunious condition of the Central Government. The Bolsheviks have not been slow to realise this fact, and there has been a considerable increase in their activity in districts where, owing to bad communications and the paucity of well-organised troops, the power of the Persian Government is not so strongly felt.

It is suspected that the existing disturbances in Azerbaijan are sedulously fanned by the Russian consuls in Tabriz, Maku and Ardebil ; it is reported that a Communist committee exists in the latter town, and that the consul, M. Digourof, is in correspondence with Simko, the Kurdish rebel leader. The connivance of the Russian authorities at the rebels' efforts is shown by the confidence with which the insurgent gendarme leader, Lahouti Khan, took refuge in Russian territory after his defeat by the Government forces in February last. It is reported also that the Governor of Persian Astara is in close connection with the Bolsheviks.

In spite of the failure of the abortive attempt at revolution, which led to the execution of its leader, Kerbelai Ibrahim, in early April, the province of Gilan, which of recent years has been a perpetual thorn in the side of the Persian Government, is again the scene of disturbances. Seyed Jellal Chamani, a follower of the late Kuchik Khan, who recently escaped from Tehran, has gathered a following of about 300 men, and is engaged in skirmishing with the Government troops in the neighbourhood of the Murdab. It is reported that Sipah Salar, a landowner of Russophile tendencies, is arming his followers and sending them into the jungle to support this movement. The Communist Party in Baku is in close touch with all rebel formations in Gilan by means of agents, who pass backwards and forwards through Resht and Enzeli ; and it will be recalled that Ihsanullah Khan, at one time a rebel leader in Gilan, visited Moscow in January last. It is of considerable importance that this incipient movement shall be crushed as soon as possible, otherwise it is likely to grow fast and to be more keenly supported from Baku should it offer a fair chance of success.

The Russian consul at Astarabad, M. Weiner, is engaged in intriguing with the Turkoman tribes, and has recently promised two of them a subsidy of 200 tomans a month. As a result of these intrigues, the position of the Governor is daily becoming weaker, and, not liking the conditions, he has sent in his resignation, as he is utterly unable to quell the looting which is rife in the town. The ports of Bandar-i-Gaz and Meshed-i-Sar each possess a branch of "Vneshtorg" and a Russian naval agent, who doubtless carry on the work of propaganda and facilitate the passing of agents into the country.

In Kermanshah the work of the Russian consul, M. Lebedef, is to keep in touch with the tribes of Southern Kurdistan and to spread discord by means of agents and other methods of propaganda. In addition, he has to deal with the work of passing agents into Irak and of keeping in touch with the malcontent elements in that country.

In Hamadan a branch of "Vneshtorg" has been started under Khushab ; this in itself can only be a propaganda centre, as, owing to the difficulties of transport between Russia and Hamadan, it is hard to see how trade can be sufficiently extensive to warrant the establishment there of a branch of the Foreign Trade Department.

Penetration into the south of Persia is being carried on steadily ; this is being done by means of the establishment of consuls in various places. The departure to Ispahan on the 30th April, 1922, of M. Tartof, to Kerman and Shiraz on the 11th May, 1922, of M. Evitsky and M. Tambakof respectively, are examples of this. Russian

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interests in these districts are so comparatively negligible that it appears that these so-called consulates are in reality purely propaganda centres and jumping-off places for further work south and east, with particular reference to India and the oilfields of South Persia.

The Foreign Trade Department, with its ramifications over North Persia, cannot be called a success in its strict sphere; it is questionable whether the amount of trade it gains for Russia can in any way counterbalance the expenditure which must necessarily be incurred in sending out the officials to their various stations and in maintaining their several offices. The chief duty of the Department is in collecting foodstuffs for export to Russia, in exchange for which it imports little except oil, sugar and glassware. It has, however, other work, being of considerable use for propaganda purposes; the mere fact of there being an official Russian office existing in a place would tend to impress the ignorant, and the officials no doubt do their share in disseminating Communist ideas.

From this short outline of Bolshevik activities it may be seen that they are making earnest endeavours thoroughly to permeate Persia with their doctrines, knowing well that a state of anarchy would considerably facilitate their efforts against India and Irak. In this respect it is interesting to note the recent demonstration by the Caspian fleet off Enzeli, made under the guise of manœuvres and carried out undoubtedly with a view to showing the mailed fist to the Persian Government.

In spite, however, of their efforts and large expenditure of money on propaganda, the Bolsheviks have made relatively little progress. Persians are willing to accept their money but not their doctrines, and there are no signs at present of any class of the community honestly desiring to turn the country into a Soviet republic.

I have, &c.

M. SAUNDERS, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
*Military Attaché.*

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PERSIA. [July 25.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 7030/7/34] No. 1.

*The Earl of Balfour to Sir P. Loraine (Tehran).*

(No. 273.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 25, 1922.

WITH reference to your telegrams Nos. 273 and 274 of the 15th July and the reply which I returned in my telegram No. 181 of the 22nd July, I think it desirable to deal in some detail with the question of Persia's indebtedness to His Majesty's Government for your general guidance.

2. In view of the repeated instructions sent to you to press the Persian Government to place our floating advances on a satisfactory footing, it is quite natural that you should have sought for a way to arrive at some compromise with the Persian Government in order to attain the objects aimed at. I note with satisfaction from your telegram No. 274 that during the course of your negotiations with Persian Ministers you have not receded from the position originally taken up regarding our claims, because though His Majesty's Government desire to obtain the Persian Government's acceptance of these claims and to induce them to set aside some of their resources for the payment of interest and sinking fund, there is no urgent need, from a political point of view, of having this matter settled by way of a compromise, and I have therefore telegraphed to you that no concession can be made at this stage.

3. The Persian Government are not showing any disposition to adopt a reasonable attitude towards His Majesty's Government, who still continue to receive evidence of an intention to disregard the legitimate interests of Great Britain in Persia. As instances I would cite :—

(*a.*) Negotiations with the French for wireless telegraphy ;
(*b.*) Unfriendly attitude as to British post offices and telegraph lines ;
(*c.*) Attempt to buy war-vessels for the Caspian in Germany ;
(*d.*) Activity of Persian representative at Angora ;
(*e.*) Differentiation between the customs treatment of British and Russian imports to our detriment ;
(*f.*) Unfriendly attitude towards us in Irak ;
(*g.*) Complaints against presence of our small garrisons in the Persian Gulf ;
(*h.*) Threat to send troops to coerce the Sheikh of Mohammerah ;
(*i.*) Revival of claim to Bahrein ;

and many other similar instances.

4. Until I see some definite proof of a change of attitude on the part of the Persian Government, I must request you to continue to press for a full settlement of our claims on the basis of the enclosure in my despatch No. 358 of the 14th December, 1921.

5. Dealing *seriatim* with the various points in your two telegrams, I have to make the following observations :—

(*b.*) The claim of 572,518*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* represents the British half of the so-called "moratorium" advances by Great Britain and Russia, which were called "suspension of the services of the British and Russian loans." You will see from Sir C. Marling's despatch No. 130 of the 21st October, 1915, that "this suspension, to which the Persian Government have attached the absurd name of 'moratorium,' is of course in reality nothing else than a monthly subvention from the two Governments." The Persian Government's suggestion, therefore, that "the share repayable to Great Britain and Russia should be in proportion to the total debt owing to each respectively by the Persian Government at the time," though no doubt ingenious, is quite unacceptable and should be rejected accordingly. The British claim is for the moiety advanced by His Majesty's Government, who are not concerned at this moment with the Russian moiety. As to the Persian Government's wish to repay this sterling advance in krans, a considerable loss would thereby be entailed to the British Exchequer, and I am not prepared to recommend this course to His Majesty's Treasury.



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(*c.*) As I have stated in my telegram No. 181 of the 22nd instant, the sum of 131,147*l.* 11*s.* was advanced to the Persian Government as a first instalment of the loan contemplated under the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, and we hold the formal receipt of the Persian Minister of Finance, as reported in Sir P. Cox's telegram No. 546 of the 15th August, 1919. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government cannot enter into any discussion with the present Persian Cabinet as to the manner in which the money was spent, and, basing themselves upon the official recognition of the debt by the Minister of Finance in office in 1919, they must hold the Persian Government solely responsible for this debt.

(*d.*) The Persian Government are at liberty to investigate the accounts of the former Governor-General of Fars (His Highness Farman Farma) if they suspect that he exceeded his powers or embezzled public money, but His Majesty's Government must maintain the claim in full. I would point out that, although the accounts were sent by your predecessor to the Persian Government at the time, no objections to it have been raised, so far as I am aware, up to the present.

(*e.*) As stated in your telegram No. 274, this claim of 108,345,315 krans for monthly advances of 3,500,000 krans is by far the largest item on the list. The Persian Government have no justification whatever for their suggestion that these advances should be regarded as a subsidy, nor was there any intention so to treat them if the Anglo-Persian Agreement had been carried out. The documents exchanged with the Persian Government in 1918 formed the enclosures in Sir P. Cox's despatch No. 69 of the 27th October, 1918, and it will be seen that "the repayment of these advances by the Persian Government will be determined by the two Governments on the basis of the arrangements of October 1915." The arrangements of 1915 are those referred to above under clause (*b*). This claim must therefore be maintained in full, and you should insist on its absolute validity.

(*f.*) The above remarks apply with equal force to this claim for the repayment of our monthly advances of 1,000,000 krans for the maintenance of the Cossack division from August 1919 to May 1920.

6. It is quite conceivable that, with the advent of American financial advisers, the Persian Government may at some future date seek to obtain a large loan from American sources with which to pay off their indebtedness to His Majesty's Government, and I would therefore prefer to come to a general settlement with the Persian Government by which a definite monthly sum is set aside for the payment of interest and sinking fund on their general debt to us before the American advisers reach Persia.

7. With these general considerations before you and the desirability of using these claims as a lever with which to bring pressure upon the Persian Government to improve their present unsatisfactory attitude towards us, I am content to leave to your discretion the adoption of such measures as you think best calculated to achieve the general results which I have in view.

I am, &c.
BALFOUR.

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PERSIA. [September 4.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 8811/1002/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Hodgson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received September* 4.)

(No. 658.)

My Lord, *Moscow, August* 29, 1922.

WITH reference to Foreign Office despatch No. 834 of the 18th August, I have the honour to report that negotiations between the Germans and the Commissariat for Foreign Trade here resulted in a preliminary agreement being signed, under which the Germans are to investigate the possibility of re-establishing the trade route by the Marinsky Canal system from the Baltic Sea to the Caspian.

They intend by two experimental trips to ascertain whether, under present circumstances, the project is feasible, and have, according to the press, already despatched one vessel—the "Pioneer"—which reached Petrograd recently. Should the two experimental trips be successful, they will discuss the matter of a concession giving to them a privileged position on the Volga. It is probable that the concessional rights will be given to a Russo-German mixed company to be formed for the purpose.

It is clear that this undertaking, if successful, is liable to give to Germany a very strong position, by placing in her hands Russia's most important waterway.

I am not convinced that it will secure for Germany any great advantage as far as trade with Persia is concerned, for I doubt very much whether the Volga route will ever be able to compete with the Batoum–Baku route.

The Russian canal system will only permit of the passage of vessels with a draught not exceeding 6 feet, and to deepen it so as to allow of its use by sea-going vessels with any considerable cargo capacity would entail very large capital expenditure, while transhipment into barges would greatly add to the cost of transport, and thus deprive the route of one of its apparent advantages; the navigation on the Marinsky system opens very late—some time in May—and closes already in October; Russian bureaucracy would, as always, place every conceivable obstruction in the way, and it is unlikely that the voyage from Hamburg to Enzeli could be effected in less than five weeks—in other words, one steamer could not do more than two trips per season.

These considerations make me sceptical as to the advantages which would accrue to Germany from the utilisation of this waterway for the carriage of her trade with Northern Persia.

The importance of the project consists, I think, not in the facilities which its execution will give to Germany for her trade with Persia, but in the strength which a privileged position on the great internal waterway of Russia would secure to her for establishing commercial supremacy in this country.

I will not fail to keep in touch with the matter, and will advise your Lordship of any further developments that may come to my knowledge.

I have, &c.

R. M. HODGSON.

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PERSIA. [September 29.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 10179/457/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received September 29.)*

(No. 551. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, September 4, 1922.*

IN reply to the telegram by which your Lordship was so good as to request an expression of my views in regard to the desire of the Sheikh of Mohammerah to purchase in Great Britain 10,000 rifles and 2,250,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, and on the effect which such a transaction was likely to have on our relations with the Persian Government, I had the honour to state that, in my opinion, the sheikh stands in no particular need of rifles and ammunition, as 5,000 have been recently supplied to him through the agency of the Government of India; that the shipment of so large a consignment of firearms to one or other of the Persian Gulf ports would certainly become known in Tehran, and that it would serve to confirm the suspicion which the Persian Government has entertained for some time, that the Sheikh of Mohammerah and the Bakhtiari khans, at British instigation and under British auspices, are conspiring together to set at defiance the authority of the Central Government, whenever it should suit their personal interests to do so, and to maintain, with British support, a position for all practical purposes independent of that authority. There is a further idea current at Tehran—and I regret to say that the Ministers of the Persian Crown, careful as they would be to avoid any allusion to the matter in my presence, have not a sufficiently clear conception of British interests and policy in regard to Persia to discredit it entirely—that Great Britain aims at an ultimate partition of Persia, and that she is using these alleged means to stake out her claim to the important southern portions of the Empire when the favourable moment comes for the execution of this remarkable design.

The fact of the matter is, of course, that, as usual, the Persians observe certain effects, but from inability to discover any defects in themselves, do not trace them to their real causes. Thus, in this instance, it is the centralising policy of the Persian Government, pursued mainly under the impulse of the Minister for War, but enjoying the ardent sympathy of the Tehran clique of hungry politicians and demagogues, which is insensibly driving the southern chieftains, by a community of threatened interest, to draw closer together in order to resist the impending encroachment by Tehran on their semi-independent position. This tendency I have already brought to your Lordship's notice by telegram, and you were so good as to reply, expressing your concurrence in my view that the process needed no facilitation by us, that we should be careful not to accept responsibility for any of the agreements which might be concluded between these chieftains, and that our general attitude should be one of welcome towards friendships between those who were already on friendly terms with His Majesty's Government and representatives.

Your Lordship is also aware that I have lost no opportunity of endeavouring to remove Persian suspicions in regard to the absolute loyalty of British policy in regard to this country, but the occasions on which this can be done with dignity are not numerous, as it would clearly be unbecoming to be perpetually taking up a defensive attitude towards unformulated accusations of a preposterous character. I think some progress has been made among the more enlightened Persians, but the unbridled licence accorded to a venal press, the assiduity of Bolshevik propaganda, and the animosity of the Medjliss as a body have been serious obstacles to a better realisation of the facts.

What the Persians are unable to understand, mainly owing to their inordinate vanity, is the fact that Great Britain, in order to protect and safeguard her important and legitimate interests in this country, has been compelled by the weakness of the Central Government and the absence of a single executive authority capable of imposing its will throughout the provinces to make such local arrangements and undertakings as have been necessary to carry on work; that the justification for these local arrangements is to be found in the fact that British trade and enterprise has been enabled to carry on for a long term of years, chiefly



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remarkable for sporadic local rebellions and innumerable political vicissitudes, and actually including the convulsions brought about by the world war; that the policy underlying these local arrangements has never been directed against the Central Government, but has, on the other hand, rendered it considerable services by acting as a steadying influence when chaos, and even anarchy, threatened to supervene. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to say that at certain moments whole districts, and even provinces, have been held in trust by British power and influence pending the emergence of a Persian Government capable of resuming control of them. The Persian politician is, unfortunately, incapable of seeing the matter in this light, and obstinately maintains that, if the outlying parts of the Empire are not completely subservient to Tehran, it is because of the persistent policy of disintegration pursued by the British.

With the Sheikh of Mohammerah the situation is more specialised. We have assumed definite obligations towards his Excellency which are accompanied, however, by the very important and necessary reservation that our fulfilment of them is dependent on his fulfilment of his obligations towards the Central Government. I am fully aware of the important services rendered by Sheikh Khazzal during the war and of the unswerving loyalty which he manifested towards the British cause during that trying and anxious period, which gives him as binding a claim on our support and consideration as any written agreement. It is, however, equally clear that an occasion necessitating the fulfilment of our undertakings towards the sheikh might well bring us into an actual, if unrecognised, state of hostility with the Persian Government, and is therefore one to be avoided by every means in our power. Anything which might encourage the sheikh to provoke a conflict with the Persian Government, or even to refrain from doing all he can to avoid one, is therefore to be avoided, and I cannot but feel that the possession of a large store of arms and ammunition might act as such an encouragement. Moreover, I happen to know that the Bakhtiari khans sent a special messenger to the sheikh not long ago, I fancy for the purpose of concerting common measures of defence against a possible attempt by the Persian Government to wreak on them a vengeance for the disaster to the Arabistan force, and the date of his arrival at the sheikh's residence would have approximately synchronised with, though preceding, the despatch of the sheikh's message to Sir Arnold Wilson. I strongly suspect that the consignment of rifles for which the sheikh is now applying is therefore intended to arm the Bakhtiari tribes, and in that case the fact that they were of British origin, which certainly could not be concealed, would add fuel to the Persian suspicions, to which I have alluded, and produce a far worse effect than if they were to remain in the comparatively quiet haven of the sheikh's own armoury. My suspicion is admittedly based on a conjecture, but it is reinforced by news which reached me from a reliable source in Tehran yesterday that the Bakhtiari khans are discussing between themselves the possibility of acquiring arms and ammunition through the agency of Sheikh Khazzal.

If it be desired to prepare for an emergency in which His Majesty's Government feel obliged to fulfil their undertakings to the sheikh to the extent of supplying him with arms and ammunition and to do so at short notice, I think there are other and safer means of providing for the contingency than to sell them to him in the manner suggested, quite apart from the disadvantages in connection with the Arms Traffic Convention, to which your Lordship's telegram No. 220 of the 31st August alluded.

I beg leave to suggest, for your Lordship's consideration, that, having regard to the fact that the military authorities in Irak have assumed responsibility in certain circumstances, and subject to certain limitations, for the protection of the Khuzistan oilfields, an appropriate reserve of rifles and ammunition might be created at a convenient spot, such as Basra, under the supervision of those military authorities, to remain the property of His Majesty's Government. If the case of utmost necessity to afford assistance to the sheikh were to arise, these weapons would then be available at twenty-four hours' notice for such purposes as His Majesty's Government might then direct. The means for supporting the sheikh would thus exist, but the temptation would be removed from his Excellency to take up a defiant attitude on any question at issue with the Tehran Government, which might possibly involve us in a futile and foolish conflict.

These are the reasons for which I ventured to deprecate the proposed transaction, and I may be permitted to express the opinion that the correct course at present is to give counsels of moderation both to the Bakhtiari and the Sheikh of Mohammerah, as well as to the Persian Government, and do what we can to allay the

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violent apprehensions which the incident of the Arabistan detachment has aroused. In the particular case of the sheikh, we should, I think, while telling him again that we regard our undertakings to him as absolutely binding, lay special emphasis on the fact that both his interests and ours are best served by his maintaining good relations with the Persian Government, and steadily discourage anything in the nature of a defiant attitude on his part. Indeed, I have presumed to anticipate your Lordship's concurrence generally in this view, and have sent to Sheikh Khazzal, by telegram through His Majesty's consul at Ahwaz, a personal message, of which the text is enclosed herein.

Although British representatives in the South of Persia and important British economic interests are very naturally anxious if anything appears to threaten the serenity of the local factors on which the latter's activities are dependent, it must, I think, be perpetually borne in mind that Tehran is the ultimate criterion of our relations with Persia, and that the cohesion of the Persian Empire as a whole is far more vitally important to British interests generally and in the long run than the local supremacy of any one of our particular protégés.

There is, however, another aspect of this question to which I beg leave to draw your Lordship's earnest consideration. Since the crushing of the Simko rebellion, it does appear that Sardar Sepah's plan of gradually bringing the whole country under the direct control of the Persian national army has a distinct chance of success; indeed, I regard it as not impossible that the task will be completed within the next twelve or eighteen months. Sardar Sepah, in spite of several set-backs, in spite of a depleted treasury, in spite of a weak and corrupt civil administration, in spite of political intrigues, is actually succeeding in the task which the British military advisers would in other circumstances have assumed. With the exception of the South Persia Rifles the Persian army of to-day is a better and more efficient force than any that Persia has possessed for many years, and probably since the days of Nadir Shah. Discipline and training have improved enormously, and though equipment and armament are still poor and somewhat primitive, the spirit of the troops seems good, and the prestige of the army, and Sardar Sepah's own reputation as a chief and organiser, have been enormously enhanced by the successful campaigns which have been waged in Khorassan, Gilan, Azerbaijan and Luristan. One could hardly imagine a country less disposed than Persia to the growth of a military spirit, but we are already in the presence of the apparition of that spirit, fortified by the fact that the army is a purely Persian force, unaided by foreign advisers or instructors. The whole fabric, of course, centres round Reza Khan, and if his personality were suddenly removed, it would probably collapse. There are still many rocks in the path towards the military hegemony to which he aspires; but to judge from his performances and from the historical subservience of the Persian character to any dominating personality, there is no particular reason why these rocks should not be evaded or removed, and the military hegemony become an accomplished fact. It may be that Reza Khan will be unable to complete his task without a stand-up struggle with some of the more important tribes, and especially the Bakhtiari, but I am inclined to think that, barring unforeseen circumstances, the Persian army would emerge victorious from the struggle. I have discussed the tribal question in a friendly manner with Reza Khan, and he quite realises that the best policy is, rather than antagonise those mediæval organisations, gradually to bring them into the army, and so into line with his own policy; whether he has the patience and skill to accomplish this result remains to be seen.

At all events, I see no inherent reason why the bold and adventurous plan of Reza Khan should not succeed, and the possibility of its doing so is one which we must take seriously into account, for in many respects it would radically alter the position which we have known in Persia for a great many years past, and to suit which our policy has necessarily been framed.

I think it is axiomatic that it would be much more convenient to us from every point of view to have to deal with a strong central authority, provided we were reasonably satisfied as regards its chances of stability. Such a state of affairs would necessarily involve a loosening of our relations with local chieftains, &c., and we should lay ourselves open to the accusation, when these were brought under the thumb of Tehran, of having sacrificed our old friends. Such a situation would soon readjust itself if the central régime remained solid and vigorous; but that is precisely the contingency with which it is impossible to reckon in a country like Persia; and suppose the central régime collapsed, as has happened so often in the previous history of the country, we should not find it so easy to resume our local friendships and relations.

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It is, of course, never very satisfactory to discuss hypothetical situations, but I crave your Lordship's indulgence for explaining certain eventualities which I foresee as possible. In my opinion, we must go very carefully for the present, and be as strictly non-partisan as possible; we must not abandon our existing friendships, but must attempt the delicate task of preparing the ground so as not to fall between two stools should any such radical change as I have suggested come about in the Persian situation; and we must gradually shape our course of action more definitely as circumstances develop.

It would be of the utmost utility to me to be acquainted with your Lordship's views on the various questions raised in the present despatch, and I shall, meanwhile, act generally on the principles which I have suggested in the hope that they may merit your concurrence.

I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the Government of India, His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad, and to His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to His Majesty's Consul at Ahwaz.*

(Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

*Tehran, September* 5, 1922.

PLEASE give sheikh, confidentially and personally, message from me to the following effect:—

I am satisfied that Minister for War will not take any violent or intemperate action. Dr. Young and I have explained to him thoroughly risk of armed conflict in neighbourhood of oil-fields, which would threaten Persian and British interests alike; he now understands position thoroughly, and has promised me to do nothing to endanger our common interests.

There is a general suspicion in Tehran, which is of course encouraged by Bolsheviks, demagogues and, I fear, by Governor-General of Arabistan, that you and Bakhtiari are conspiring together in order to resist authority of Central Government. It is very important that all possible steps should be taken to remove this obviously erroneous idea from the minds of the Persian Government, and especially from that of Minister for War, and I regard it as especially important for your personal interests. With your wide experience and power of wise discernment you know that more conflicts arise out of misunderstandings than from any other cause. Nothing would be more unfavourable to our mutual interests than a conflict between the Persian Government and yourself or the Bakhtiari, and I know well how contrary it would be to your own desires. I mention these misunderstandings because the truth may have been concealed from you, and in order that they may be removed, and I trust you to work and do your utmost to remove them. I believe that a good understanding between your Excellency and the Minister for War is perfectly possible, and am sure it would be advantageous. I have found him trustworthy in his dealings, but he is of course a little touchy about his authority and the Persian army. Sardar Jang is doing his best to remove the unjust suspicions which have fallen on the Bakhtiari, and to prove to Minister for War that Persian Government have no more loyal servants than the Bakhtiari. He and I agree that this is best course, and we commend it for your Excellency's consideration.

Please add suitable personal messages from me respecting friendship, health and welfare.—LORAINE.

(Repeated to His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire.)

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PERSIA. [November 8.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 6.

[E 12244/6/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received November* 8.)

(No. 570.)

My Lord, *Tehran, September* 15, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith copy of a despatch from His Majesty's acting vice-consul at Resht reporting the recall and departure of Vossugh-es-Saltaneh, Governor-General of Gilan.

Vossugh-es-Sultaneh was appointed Governor-General in February last by Mushir-ed-Dowleh. Not being a creature of the Bolshevik Legation, as was his predecessor, Saed-ul-Mulk, his appointment was protested against by M. Rothstein, who demanded its cancellation by the Persian Government on the ground that the Governor-General was pro-British, and that his nomination had been secured by His Majesty's Legation. The last statement lacks the slightest vestige of foundation; indeed, I only made Vossugh-es-Saltaneh's acquaintance after the official announcement of his appointment, and was even unaware until then that the Persian Government contemplated sending him to Gilan. The first statement may have some truth in it, for Vossugh-es-Saltaneh certainly does not believe in Bolshevik methods as a remedy for Persia's troubles, whereas he seems to regard British institutions with sympathy, and even admiration; in any case, he does not pass in this country for a notorious Anglophile, and the Russian demand for his revocation was hardly less improper than the reason adduced in its support, and both savoured of the crudest methods of Czarist diplomacy as formerly practised in this country. For once, however, the Persian Government declined to be browbeaten and maintained the nomination.

From the moment of his arrival in Resht the Russians and their rascally local partisans did everything in their power to render Vossugh-es-Saltaneh's position untenable, and, finally, the Persian Government threw him to the wolves; for, lamentable as it is to record, Kawam-es-Saltaneh yielded to a categorical demand from the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires for his recall, and pusillanimously appointed in his stead another Russian creature, Nayer-es-Sultan, who is as venal and crooked as he is incompetent.

Another flagrant case of Russian interference in Persian domestic affairs, tamely tolerated by the Tehran Government, is that of Sadik A'lam, formerly a disciple of Professor Browne at Cambridge, who was sent to Resht, after the suppression of Kuchik Khan's rebellion, as Director of Education for Gilan, with the special mission of reopening the schools and reorganising the whole educational apparatus of the province, which had been completely dislocated by the insurrection. Although he had no special funds placed at his disposal, Sadik A'lam, by carefully controlling the revenues allotted for educational purposes and preventing other officials from dipping their hands in the cash-box of his department, succeeded admirably in his task and reopened practically all the schools in a very short space of time, with the happiest results. In doing so he earned the resentment and hate of his fellow-functionaries and, naturally, of the Bolsheviks; the latter started the usual poisonous agitation against him, and he was promptly sacrificed by the Persian Government.

I beg leave also to enclose herein copy of a letter written by Sadik A'lam to Major Temple, which is a biting commentary on the fate of any Persian who attempts to do honest and serious work in this country in present circumstances.

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Acting Vice-Consul Brenan to Sir P. Loraine.*

(No. 43 )

Sir, *Resht, July* 20, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to report that, consequent on orders received from the Prime Minister, his Excellency Vossugh-es-Saltaneh handed over on the 13th instant the reins of government to the Karguzar, pending the arrival of Nayer-es-Sultan, the new Governor-General of Gilan.

Vossugh-es-Saltaneh left yesterday morning for Kazvin, where he intends to stay two or three days before proceeding to Tehran.

His departure was remarkable for the large number of people assembled to bid him good-bye. The street running past the British and Russian consulates was thronged from an early hour, a fact which testified to the very general regret at his Excellency's departure.

His Excellency paid me a farewell visit on Tuesday evening, and was good enough to express his appreciation at the cordial relations which have existed between us. He was obviously regretful at having to leave Gilan so soon, more especially as he feels that his dismissal was principally due to Russian opposition. He hinted more than once that this opposition was based on his supposed pro-British sympathies. I have, however, always maintained a very careful attitude in this respect, and can with confidence assert that the principal objection on the part of the Russians to Vossugh-es-Saltaneh was that he was insistent in his endeavour to curb and arrest the spread of revolutionary propaganda, which is directly and indirectly fostered by the Russian consular agents in Resht and Enzeli.

His Excellency was successful in deporting to Tehran some of the worst revolutionary elements of the district, and it is greatly to be regretted that his efforts were not seconded in Government circles in Tehran. In this connection it is remarkable that a number of leading agitators against the Government and partisans of the late Kuchik Khan and the present rebel, Seyed Jalal, not long since deported to Tehran, have been released and are now once more reinforcing the rebels in the jungle.

I have, &c.

T. V. BRENAN.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

*Sadik A'lam to Major Temple.*

8, *Khanigah Boulevard,*

Dear Major Temple, *Tehran, July* 28, 1922.

I AM in receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, and I apologise for having retarded so long to answer. I was busy this week preparing plans for the reform of the secondary school. Besides that, the supervision of the reparations of the house in which I am living took all my afternoons.

I am pleased to see that in spite of your being for some time in our corrupted and discouraging surroundings, you have good hopes for this country ; your feelings are like my own when I arrived in Persia more than three years ago.

I am not afraid to incur the accusation of pro-Britishism ; I love England as my own native land ; having seen the country and her institutions I could not have other feelings. And whenever in Persia I have heard people attribute to Englishmen what I know to be pure calumnies and slanders I have not borne it. My conviction has been that Persia cannot be regenerated without the help of England, and I have been—and I am still—in favour of the Anglo-Persian understanding of August 1919. I have not hidden my feelings and my opinion, and for that reason I have been injured because Persia has not—as you seem to imagine—a constitutional Government. I cannot define the form of our Government. If we had a constitutional Government everyone could face the facts with courage and boldness. But when, for instance, as in my case, you are placed at the head of an office which involves a number of duties you have to fulfil, when precisely for the accomplishment of those duties you are removed because you are pro-English, when you are degraded and your salary has been diminished by half because you have been in Cambridge, when you have no place to appeal to

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it against the persecution you have been the object, then you have no guarantee to express openly your opinion, then you must think twice before advocating what you think the right course to be taken by your country.

You think that there are thousands of Persians who are of my opinion and have my feelings and wait for a brave leader. I have been so much deceived by my countrymen that I have no confidence in their declarations. They tell you they are Anglophile. Who knows that they do not say to the Russians that they are Russophile? Suppose even that a number of them are sincere; as they are brought up in this country they have no reliance in themselves, no proper initiative. If somebody professes openly a way to be pursued they look at him, in the shade, and in case he is successful they gather round him, but they are not ready to be themselves the cause of the success.

So if my method is slow it is a sure one; if I am working silently the motive of my action is conviction. I shall be always pleased and charmed to read your interesting letters, and I beg you to believe me, &c.

SADIK A'LAM.

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PERSIA. [November 8.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 13.

[E 12251/6/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received November* 8.)

(No. 582. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, September* 21, 1922.

THE rout of the military detachment, destined by the Persian Government to act as a bodyguard for the Governor-General of Arabistan at the Shalil caravanserai while on its way down the Bakhtiari road, was attended by such peculiar circumstances and raises issues of so much wider a character than is immediately apparent, that I have the honour to supplement the various telegrams which it was necessary to address to your Lordship on the subject by the following narrative of events :—

In the month of April a report reached me that the Minister for War, in pursuance of the plan for gradually bringing the outlying provincial centres under the direct military control of Tehran, which, through various vicissitudes in his personal fortunes, he has steadfastly kept in view, contemplated the despatch of a force to Arabistan. News of this step had likewise reached the Sheikh of Mohammerah, and not unnaturally inspired him with considerable apprehension. His Excellency, as was to be expected, made an urgent appeal to the British authorities in Persia to intervene and protect him from what he judged to be a direct menace to his personal position, his considerable local interests and the security of his territories. The sheikh's point of view was certainly important, especially having regard to the obligations which we have accepted to protect his interests, and his apprehensions were clearly not without some justification. Other considerations, however, besides the sheikh's position and interests, had to be borne in mind when deciding on a course of action : firstly, the effect of the proposed step on the operations of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company ; secondly, the effect of any action taken here on our relations with the Persian Government generally, and with Sardar Sepah particularly, the latter having hitherto shown on the whole a friendly demeanour and a marked inclination to resist the spread of Bolshevik influence and ideas.

The Sheikh of Mohammerah was at the moment very unpopular in Tehran. The Government, as usual in a state of utter impecuniousness, was striving to collect a few tomans from any possible source, and had fixed on the vexed question of the sheikh's "maliyat," or land revenue, to build up a grievance against the latter, which was carefully fostered in the Medjliss and the press, and, of course, received every encouragement from the Bolsheviks, who had already successfully launched the idea of a federation of southern chieftains, formed under the ægis of His Majesty's Government, to resist the authority of the Central Government and ultimately to render a partition of Persia inevitable. It was freely stated that the sheikh owed huge sums for arrears of revenue, and that he was sheltering himself behind British power in order to avoid payment ; that if he maintained his refusal to pay, he must be coerced into doing so, and at that moment any steps taken against him to enforce payment would have been enthusiastically supported by the pack of demagogues who in present circumstances represent articulate public opinion in this country. The actual question of the sheikh's "maliyat" is a tiresome and complicate done, with the details of which I need not trouble your Lordship ; as is the case with all financial transactions in this country, it was obscured by a dense mist of claims and counter-claims, of pledges which one party regarded as binding and the other as invalid, and of settlements promised by one Government and unfulfilled by its successor. I must add that, so far as I could judge, there was some truth in the allegation that the sheikh was sheltering himself behind us in order to extract the most favourable terms possible from the Persian Government and to make the minimum payment consistent with dire necessity. On the other hand, the Persian Government was evidently bent on screwing the uttermost kran out of him. The matter was not a direct British concern, and the less we are involved in it the better ; but unfortunately the sheikh has in his possession a telegram from Sir P. Cox, which he frequently invokes, announcing the terms of an agreement, both as regards present and future payments, accepted by Vossugh-ed-Dowleh, but which was never ratified by that statesman during his tenure of office, and was denounced by his successor.



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As regards Sardar Sepah, the situation was rather delicate. His Excellency is more or less surrounded by people who din into his ears all kinds of extravagant stories about the wickedness and perversity of British policy in Persia. I had taken a good deal of trouble, when occasion offered, to endeavour to weed these suspicions out of his mind, but at that moment he had got a fresh obsession about the alleged southern federation which, from my experience of his character, I felt sure it would require a certain amount of time to eradicate. Any too emphatic intervention against the despatch of a force to Arabistan might well have defeated its own object, and have confirmed the suspicions which haunted the mind of the Minister for War. The matter was a delicate one to approach for several other reasons. In the first place we had no very definable *locus standi* in the matter; it was clear that no justification existed for our objecting to the despatch of Persian troops to any point within Persian territory, we were, however, under an obligation not to permit encroachment on the sheikh's territory; at the same time it was by no means certain that any occupation of the sheikh's territory was contemplated, and unless a case of necessity arose, it seemed undesirable to take our stand on our obligations to the sheikh in dealing with the Persian Government, which, so far as I am aware, is officially ignorant alike of their existence and their nature. Secondly, any frank discussion of the matter with the Persian Government was bound to involve a reference to our obligations to the Sheikh. Thirdly, I was pretty certain—and subsequent events have amply justified my belief—that whatever I said would be misinterpreted and bandied about in the press in an utterly distorted form. Fourthly, I had not perceived up till then—nor have I since—any inclination on the part of the Persian Government to accept friendly advice, however, sincerely meant and considerately tendered. Fifthly, I was conscious of the prickly hyper-sensitiveness of the Persian Government to any foreign observation on a matter touching the exercise of what it believes to be its indefeasible sovereign rights.

On the other hand, I was not averse from the idea of the sheikh having some moments of anxiety which I hoped would render him more inclined to settle up the question of his revenue, both past and future, and so remove a source of friction between himself and the Persian Government, deprive the latter of any plausible reason for threatening him by a local display of force, and diminish the risk of our being called upon to discharge our obligation to protect him against encroachment on his rights and territories. From another point of view it seemed to me highly desirable that the Sheikh should square his accounts and get a clean bill from the Persian Government before the arrival of the American advisers, and so obviate the necessity of any discussion with them of the special position created for the sheikh by our agreements with him.

Thus I felt that this weapon to bring pressure to bear on the sheikh to settle his revenue account might be turned to advantage, and that a strong representation to the Persian Government, even if it were opportune from other points of view, which I doubted, might encourage him to prolong a further resistance to a settlement.

All things considered, I decided to send Mr. Havard to see Sardar Sepah, and I instructed him to ascertain, if possible, what his Excellency's intentions were as regards the despatch of a force to Arabistan and to use any opportunity which occurred in the course of conversation to point out the desirability of such a step, which was calculated to jeopardise the peace of a district, then fortunately tranquil, in which British and Persian interests of real magnitude were involved, whereas there were many other regions in Persia where a restraining force could be employed far more usefully and much less dangerously. My own impression was, moreover, in view of the difficulty which Sardar Sepah was experiencing in the concentration of sufficient troops in Azerbaijan to crush the Simko rebellion, that his Excellency, for the time being at all events, would be hard put to find enough men to send to Arabistan.

Mr. Havard acquitted himself ably of his mission and spoke in the desired sense to Sardar Sepah on the 19th April. The latter said it was his intention to send troops to all parts of Persia, but that none were likely to start for Arabistan for another three or four months; it was apparent that the sheikh's failure to pay his revenue was uppermost in his mind. Meanwhile, I telegraphed to His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire requesting him to urge the sheikh as strongly as he could to settle the revenue question, for in that case I should be in a much stronger position for opposing the despatch of troops in more than a very general manner.

By my telegram No. 199 of the 25th April, I had the honour of acquainting your Lordship briefly with the situation and with my own views in regard thereto, and in your reply, telegram No. 147 of the 31st May, you directed me to refrain from divulging in any conversation with Sardar Separ the nature of the assurances which

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His Majesty's Government had given to the Sheikh of Mohammerah, and defined the limits of a general statement which I was authorised to make if questioned on the subject. This instruction fortified me in the opinion that a full discussion with the Minister for War had best be avoided, and in view of the latter's statement to Mr. Havard that no movement was imminent, and of the probability of my receiving information of any definite preparations to initiate one, it seemed best to leave matters where they were for the time being.

Shortly afterwards the Sheikh of Mohammerah, acting on my advice, appointed an agent in Tehran to endeavour to settle his accounts with the Persian Government, the individual in question being a former agent of the Ministry of Finance in Arabistan, and gave him *carte blanche* within the limits of a certain fixed sum to settle the matter. I have kept in frequent touch with this individual through Mr. Havard, but though he seems to have made an honest endeavour to reach an agreement with the Persian Government, owing no doubt to the insatiable greed of the latter and of the officials concerned, who expect some of the money transferred to stick to their own hands, I regret to say that no settlement has yet intervened.

On the 18th July, to my astonishment, I learnt late in the evening that a detachment with guns and machine guns had left Ispahan for Arabistan and had already passed a few stages along the road to Bakhtiari. From information subsequently received, it seems clear that special precautions had been taken to keep any news of the formation and despatch of this force from reaching the ears of any British official or any of the Bakhtiari khans; moreover, Sardar Ashjaa, the Bakhtiari Governor-General of Ispahan, incredible as it may seem, was in total ignorance of the movement.

I at once sent Mr. Havard on the morning of the 19th July to see Sardar Sepah and the Prime Minister, and directed him to represent to them in a vigorous manner that, in my opinion, the step they were taking was in the highest degree unwise and injudicious; to explain the situation in Arabistan, both as regards the various tribes and the paramount interests of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, whose operations, owing to their delicate and complicated nature, could be seriously prejudiced even by a threat of local disturbance; and to use all his best efforts to dissuade them from the step, and induce them to recall the detachment. Sardar Sepah's attitude was not unreasonable; he argued that it was awkward to suspend the movement, which had been initiated with the approval of the Cabinet, and that he could not take it on himself to do so without an order from the Government. Kawam-es-Sultaneh was much more obstinate, and said that it was difficult for the Government to cancel the movement without serious loss of prestige; a long discussion ensued, in which his Highness stubbornly defended his point of view, by assertion rather than argument, but in the end he authorised Mr. Havard to assure me that the movement would be suspended anyway for two months, and that the troops would be directed to remain where they were. Mr. Havard requested his Highness to repeat this assurance before taking leave of him, in order that the matter might be perfectly clear.

On the 21st July the Prime Minister called on me, and began by saying that the emphatic nature of the language used by Mr. Havard had taken him somewhat by surprise, as he was not aware that the matter of despatching a comparatively insignificant bodyguard for the Governor-General of Arabistan was one of such deep interest for us, and he was therefore anxious to hear my own views on the subject. I gladly availed myself of this invitation, and stated the objections which I felt in great detail. I pointed out all the dangers of introducing a new element of force into a situation like that in Arabistan, and said that the movement was both useless and dangerous. I could not understand the necessity of imperilling the peace of a tranquil region at a moment when the Persian Government had a large-scale rebellion on hand in Azerbaijan, when the Jangali trouble had broken out again in Gilan, when forces were needed to check the depredatians of the Lurs, and when there were half-a-dozen trade routes, now infested by brigands, the scene of frequent robberies of merchandise, which badly needed to be policed. Having given his Highness a dozen good reasons for not sending the force, I challenged him to give me a single good one in favour of its despatch. All his Highness could say was that the Governor-General had repeatedly asked for an army escort in order to sustain his authority; that the Persian Government desired to send the detachment in order to prove that it could do so, and to "show the flag": that the Cabinet had approved the step and that the prestige of the Government was seriously involved. I replied that the ground of prestige seemed to me a very weak one to oppose to the weighty arguments which I had used; if it was merely a question of that, it was easy enough to save the Government's face by saying that the summer heat of Arabistan was bad for the health of the troops and that it had

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therefore been decided to suspend the movement; that would give us plenty of breathing space to discuss the matter more fully in its various aspects and find the best solution. The Prime Minister thereupon said—and the statement is a noteworthy one in view of his subsequent attitude—that if he had known that I entertained such strong views on the subject he would never have authorised the despatch of the contingent. To my retort that he had taken no steps to ascertain my views, and that I had moreover made them known in a general manner to Sardar Sepah on a previous occasion and before his own resumption of office, his Highness was only able to say, rather fatuously, that he supposed I knew all about the preparations.

His Highness then enquired whether my preoccupation was principally in respect of the Sheikh of Mohammerah's interests. I replied that I was well aware of the sheikh's apprehensions and that in my opinion they were by no means unnatural, but my principal anxiety was concerned with the important British interests represented by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, a matter in which the Persian Government, moreover, itself had a considerable stake. I asked his Highness to understand clearly that I did not question the right of the Persian Government to send troops where it liked within Persian territory, but that did not preclude me from pointing out my decided view in regard to the inadvisability of the present step, and although I spoke in a friendly way and couched my observations in the form of friendly counsel, I did not wish him to suppose that I was not, on that account, speaking very seriously.

Kawam-es-Sultaneh said that as regards the Anglo-Persian Oil Company the presence of a Persian Government force in the neighbourhood could only contribute to the safety of its operations and that in any case the oilfields would be outside the purview of the Governor-General's bodyguard, and as regards the Sheikh of Mohammerah, both he himself and Sardar Sepah were willing to give every assnrance that his interests were not in any way threatened or endangered. He expressed the hope that I would telegraph to the sheikh and calm any apprehensions which he might entertain. I said that I was quite willing to acquaint the sheikh with the situation and with his Highness's remarks, and that if, in view thereof, the sheikh acquiesced that would no doubt alter to some extent one aspect of the case; but if there was a question of giving the sheikh assurances, I thought it would be much more suitable for these to be communicated direct to his Excellency by the Persian Ministers themselves

On the 23rd July Sardar Sepah took luncheon with me at the Legation, and while we were talking afterwards he let drop the remark that the Arabistan detachment was proceeding down the Bakhtiari road. I at once enquired, rather tartly, I fear, how this could be, in view of the definite assurance given me by Kawam-es-Sultaneh through Mr. Havard that pending further discussion the troops would remain where they were. Sardar Sepah replied that the Prime Minister, on returning to town after his visit to me two days previously, had written to him that he had conquered all my objections to the despatch of the force, and had, moreover, made a statement in a similar sense at a Cabinet meeting. I at once expressed my amazement and indignation at the travestied version of my interview with the Prime Minister, which completely destroyed any chance of maintaining any relations of confidence with his Highness. Sardar Sepah was very much taken aback and said that evidently there had been a misunderstanding, and that we must try to establish its origin. He suggested for the purpose that Kawam-es-Sultaneh, Mr. Havard, himself and I should meet on the following day. The meeting was arranged and took place in His Majesty's Legation on the following morning. It was of a most painful character. I recalled the observations which I had made to his Highness on the 1st July, and asked whether he could quote to me a single statement made by me which warranted the account which he had rendered to his colleagues of our interview. He was unable to do so, and merely reiterated that he had gone away with the impression that he had convinced me of the innocuous character of the measure. I pointed out that, apart from this, his Highness had gone behind a definite assurance given to me through Mr. Havard without giving me the slightest indication that he no longer considered it binding or seeking my consent to its lapse. His Highness endeavoured to make out that no such assurance had been given, an audacious falsehood which Mr. Havard promptly nailed to the counter. Hereupon Sardar Sepah, no doubt unwilling to witness the further humiliation of his chief, took leave and went. After this Kawam-es-Sultaneh's attitude became even more pitiful. I said I now wished to know where I was and what the Persian Government intended to do. Was I to understand that it proposed to ignore totally the advice and warning which I had given and to proceed with the unwise step which it had initiated? The Prime Minister would not answer this question; he grew pale and gulped, and finally replied affirmatively by nodding his head. I said I should report the circumstances to

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your Lordship, and that I felt very keenly the deplorable lack of frankness with which his Highness had treated me throughout the whole matter. After several minutes of uncomfortable silence his Highness rose and took his leave.

On the 3rd August I received a report through His Majesty's consul-general at Ispahan, emanating from the leading Bakhtiari khans, that the Arabistan detachment had been attacked, it was supposed by Kuhgelus, near the Laghamgir Pass on the Bakhtiari road, had had some 100 casualties, had lost its guns and equipment and had been put to flight. Further telegrams arrived from Ispahan on the 8th August confirming the main features of this report, in regard to which I was at first inclined to be incredulous. The later reports said that the Shalil caravanserai had been the scene of the engagement, and that the survivors of the Persian detachment were nearing Ispahan after having been entertained and tended at Chigakhor by the Bakhtiari khans, who had also supplied them with clothing and transport. It also transpired that a certain number of Bakhtiari road-guards had been killed by the raiding party, and that the latter had been pursued and engaged by a hastily gathered force of Bakhtiari tribesmen. A full account of this incident has been written by Dr. Young, a representative of the Anglo-Persian Oil Compnny, who was travelling along the Bakhtiari road towards Ispahan at the time and reached the Shalil caravanserai shortly after the attack on the Persian troops, and I beg leave to enclose a copy herein. I likewise enclose extracts from a private letter sent to me by His Majesty's consul at Ahwaz, who was in Ispahan at the time, recording the views of the local Bakhtiari khans, the attitude of the Ispahan population and the efforts of the Bolsheviks to exploit the incident in an anti-British sense.

As will be seen, the defeated remnants of the force, on their return to Ispahan, stated that the Bakhtiari themselves were the authors of the attack and that certain Bakhtiari khans had been recognised among the assailants. The latter statement proved to be a false one. As regards the former one, I was myself inclined to suspect that the Bakhtiari khans might have had a hand in instigating the attack, having in mind the allusion made to the possible use of force by Samsam-es-Sultaneh in their interview with me, the gist of which was reported in my telegram No. 280 of the 22nd July. Your Lordship will remember that I promptly deprecated the suggestion, and that, as you were informed by my telegram No. 296 of the 9th August, I took special steps to assure myself that my meaning had not by chance been in any way misconstrued by the khans, a matter on which they set my mind immediately at ease. At the same time I made it perfectly plain to them that we could accept no responsibility in the matter, and in this they fully concurred. I think, however, there is no doubt, in view of Dr. Young's statement that the attack was in fact carried out by the Kuhgelu, and I have as yet heard no evidence whatever to support the theory that the Kuhgelu were egged on by the Bakhtiari.

There are two very peculiar features in the circumstances which surrounded the rout of the Arabistan force to which I beg leave to draw your Lordship's attention: firstly, the fact that the Persian Government gave no notice whatever to the Bakhtiari of the passage of national troops through the latter's territory, and it is certainly the first time that an attempt has been made to send Government troops there for many generations; secondly, the fact that the assistance and very sound advice offered by the chief of the Bakhtiari karasuran, or road-guards, to the commander of the detachment was rejected with scorn and contumely. It may also be noted in regard to the first point that as the movement of troops was not a military one in the sense of an expedition to an area known to be hostile or insurgent, but an essentially civil one for the purpose of strengthening the hands of the Governor-General of Arabistan, it was clearly the duty of the civil authority to make arrangements for the passage of the troops in order and security. It is therefore very significant that no steps whatever were taken for that purpose.

These two phenomena might be accounted for by the spirit of fatuous vanity which at present inhabits Persian Ministers and officials and leads them to believe that they are free to take whatever measures they like, whether arbitrary or not, without question, argument or explanation of any kind, and that any sort of remonstrance or complaint constitutes unwarranted interference if from a foreign source, and punishable insubordination on the part of a Persian subject. I fear, however, there is a further and more sinister explanation.

I have been aware for a long time that at the back of his head Kawam-es-Sultaneh nourishes a feeling of hatred for Sardar Sepah and a keen desire to compass his downfall should a favourable opportunity occur. So far the position of Reza Khan has been altogether too strong; Kawam-es-Sultaneh has had to bow to the powers



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that be, and he certainly had to mask his real feelings and cultivate workable relations with Reza Khan in order to resume office in June last. The opinion which I have formed of Kawam-es-Sultaneh is that his duplicity and his resourcefulness are unusual, even for a Persian, that in all his doublings, turnings and intrigues there is a remarkable streak of tenacity, and that it is this last quality which has raised him to his high position. After the exposure of his bad faith towards myself as regards the Arabistan affair, an exposure which was accompanied by his humiliation in the presence of Reza Khan, and was therefore doubly bitter, he must, I think, have sat down to think whether there were any means of escaping, without loss of prestige, from the awkward position in which the unmasking of his own duplicity had placed him. My conjecture is that he decided then not to warn the Bakhtiari, and to let matters take their course. He cannot have been unaware that the Bakhtiari tribesmen would keenly resent this intrusion into their own country of what they practically regard as a foreign force, and that there was a chance of their indignation being manifested in an injudicious manner. In the circumstances there were two alternatives possible : either the detachment would go through safely, in which case all would be well, or it would be attacked, and the blame could be thrown on to other shoulders. If my surmise is correct, his calculation was as follows : " If the force is attacked, the Bakhtiaris will be responsible and the blame can be fixed on them ; this will create trouble and perhaps open conflict between Reza Khan and the Bakhtiari, which I (Kawam) can view with complacency, for Reza Khan will have his hands full ; furthermore, the Bakhtiari are friends of the British, and the slightest hint that their wicked action was taken at British instigation will at once be taken up and create such a stir that my rôle in the matter will pass unnoticed ; again, if Reza Khan can be brought to believe that the British were behind it, I shall be able to set him and the British Minister by the ears, with obvious advantage to myself. So I stand to win, whatever happens." If my conjecture be at all true, his Highness's cynical calculations, as your Lordship will have already learnt from my telegraphic reports, were not very wide of the mark. One Persian acquaintance of mine told me that Kawam-es-Sultaneh had himself prompted some of the anti-British press articles in connection with the attack on the Arabistan force, the violent and disgraceful character of which led to the very strong representations on my part to the Persian Government, with which your Lordship is already acquainted. Although, however, I consider his Highness to be fully capable of such action, I prefer not to believe this allegation without more positive evidence of its truth. I do not for a moment imagine that your Lordship entertains any illusions concerning the character of the man to whom the destinies of Persia are entrusted at the present day, but I have gone into this matter with some detail as it is an illustration of the base depths to which political morality has sunk in this country.

Meanwhile it became necessary to ascertain, if possible, what were the intentions of the Persian Government, and especially of Reza Khan. It was evident that they suspected the Bakhtiari and also the Sheikh of Mohammerah ; it was more than possible that in a fit of childish rage and to salve their wounded pride they might undertake a regular campaign against the Bakhtiari and the sheikh and risk plunging the country into civil war ; it was certain that any such tendency would be encouraged by the Bolsheviks by every means at their disposal. If anyone could supply an answer to the question it was Reza Khan, and I therefore took an opportunity, when things had calmed down somewhat and the Persian Government had had time to digest the situation, to have a long private conversation with him. I went patiently again over the old ground, laying especial stress on the operations of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and their susceptibility to any disturbances, even in the approximate vicinity of the oil-fields. I was unable to extract any definite statement of the Minister's intentions ; he did, however, give me two positive assurances; (1) that he recognised the position of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and that he would never take any action liable to endanger its operations ; (2) that he did not contemplate any violent measures in the immediate future. He did allude, however, rather darkly to a plan which he was maturing in his head and intended to execute when all the preparations were completed to ensure its success, but I failed to elicit its nature. It would be useless to question Kawam-es-Sultaneh on the subject, as he would not tell me the truth.

Besides this action, I directed His Majesty's consul-general at Ispahan to keep a vigilant watch over any preparations for the formation of an expeditionary or punitive force in his district, and to report to me regularly any information on that subject. I furthermore acquainted the Bakhtiari khans and the Sheikh of Mohammerah with the assurances given to me by Sardar Sepah, and urged them very strongly to do their utmost to dispel any suspicions which might be entertained in their regard, to refrain

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from anything like a defiant attitude towards the Central Government, and to cultivate good relations with the Minister for War, which I believed to be perfectly possible if they set about it the right way, and to deprive him of any pretext for hostile action. In either case my advice was gratefully received and its wisdom acknowledged. In the case of the sheikh the situation has been much improved by the withdrawal of the Governor-General of Arabistan, Moayyed-ed-Dowleh, and his impending replacement by Mushir-ed-Dowleh, whose record as Governor-General of the Gulf Ports, whence he is now being transferred, has been satisfactory. I am reporting in a separate despatch on the subject of Moayyed-ed-Dowleh, who, I am convinced, was at the bottom of the major part of the mischief.

As regards the Bakhtiari, the case is less easy. The local khans and the tribesmen are thoroughly alarmed ; ever since I came here they have been convinced that, sooner or later, Reza Khan would force an issue with them, and that he meant to break their power, as it was one of the principal obstacles to the completion of his dictatorial domination. The disaster of the Arabistan force—quite apart from the question whether the Bakhtiari were responsible for it—obviously gave Reza Khan a pretext for putting his scheme into execution and, what is more, assured to him the support in so doing of what passes for public opinion in this country. Furthermore, when later on the campaign against Simko had been brought to a victorious issue, Reza Khan was free to turn his army against the Bakhtiari should he wish to do so. It has become axiomatic that when the Bakhtiari feel themselves or their interests seriously threatened they turn to His Majesty's Legation for advice and assistance, and this case is no exception to the rule. I have consistently told them that they can do more to help themselves than anyone else, and that so long as their attitude is moderate and sensible they can count on my moral support as heretofore ; but that it would serve neither their interests nor ours for the Legation to thrust itself into the forefront of what is a domestic Persian question, and that my intervention will only gain in strength by being kept in reserve for a much more serious occasion than any that has yet arisen. The Tehran khans have recognised the soundness of this attitude, and Sardar Jang, whom I regarded as by far the ablest of the khans, has proceeded on the lines of my suggestion both with the Prime Minister and with Sardar Sepah ; he has shown great ability and tact in conducting these conversations, with the result that he is being delegated by the Persian Government to proceed himself to Bakhtiari and there, in company with a commissioner appointed by the Tehran Government, to investigate the whole incident, to arrest and bring the leading culprits to Tehran, and generally to clear up the situation. Sardar Jang would not start, however, without my final advice ; I gave it unhesitatingly in the sense of accepting the mission, but I recommended him not to stay away too long, as his presence is much needed in Tehran so long as there is any doubt in regard to the Government's intentions. I have also asked him to represent very seriously to the leading local khans my views on the whole subject and to urge them to abstain steadfastly from any provocative action ; furthermore, I suggested that he should bring back with him two of the local khans, with authority to speak on behalf of the tribes, and try to conclude some arrangement with the Persian Government so as to determine the limits within which the national authorities and the Bakhtiari khans are respectively responsible for the maintenance of peace and order, in order to minimise the risk of skirmishing between the two parties which has of late been unpleasantly frequent in the Burburud and Feredan districts.

I shall, of course, continue to use any opportunity to urge counsels of moderation on the Persian Government and on Sardar Sepah ; my calculation is that the longer a collision is postponed the less likely it is to occur, and the greater chance there is of an adjustment of the differences in the time-honoured Persian manner. This part of the task, however, is considerably less easy, for Reza Khan is a man with a will, and if he seriously means to deal the Bakhtiari a blow, and his hands are free in other directions, he will take a great deal of stopping. Furthermore, nothing is less palatable to the Persian Government in present conditions than advice from a British source. The Persian Government have a guilty conscience in regard to us, if, indeed, the possession of a conscience at all can correctly be attributed to them ; they are secretive in regard to their plans because they know, whatever they may prefer to believe, that our influence in this country is not broken and that we still possess plenty of means for thwarting their plans if we regard them as unwise or prejudicial ; lastly, they are in terror of being accused by the Medjliss and the press of being subservient to foreign influence and obedient to foreign instructions.

I cannot pretend that the situation as reviewed in this despatch is a satisfactory one. I trust, however, that your Lordship will be satisfied that, having regard to the



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difficult and tangled circumstances, to the utter unreliability of the Persian Government with which I have to deal, and to the limited means at my disposal, I have done what was possible to uphold essential British interests and to exercise a moderating influence on the trend of events.

Since beginning to draft this report I have received your Lordship's despatch No. 254 of the 11th July, requesting me to state what steps have been taken in connection with the Persian Government's proposal to despatch troops to Arabistan. I beg your Lordship to regard the foregoing as a reply to that enquiry.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Dr. Young to Consul Fitzpatrick (Ahwaz).*

(Confidential.)

Dear Mr. Fitzpatrick, *Naghun, August* 8, 1922.

YOU will probably have heard that I left the oil-fields on the 30th July, on my way to the north. I reached Naghun to-day and hope to be in Chigakhor this evening, but as I shall be late I do not anticipate seeing the khans before to-morrow morning. I am sending a messenger to Ispahan this evening, and having been, so to speak, on the heels of the Persian troops who were attacked by the Kuhgilus at Shelil, I thought that you would appreciate a report from me of what occurred for your own information, for His Majesty's Minister, and for Mr. Crow at Ispahan.

I left Malamir on the 2nd August, and, to my surprise, already heard there that a party of 400 troops, on the way to Shuster, under Commanding Officer Hussein Agha Khan, was looted at Shelil three days before. I discredited this story, because my information at the oil-fields was that no troops were coming down. When I reached Pul-i-Shalu (1st bridge), I was met by Shauket-ul-Mumalik and Agha Baba Khan, who came down specially from Dehdiz for "Istigbal. These men are in charge of the caravanserais on the Bakhtiari road, and it was from them that I had the first account of the attack. Although in the main true, their version seemed to me coloured, and I decided to make independent enquiries on the spot when I reached Shelil on the 5th August.

The troops arrived at Shelil at about noon on the 30th July and pitched camp. The commanding officer stopped in the caravanserai. He had his wife with him and a few of the officers also had their wives with them there. As was his custom all along the route, Hussein Agha Khan sent out patrols in the afternoon and evening, these men taking up positions on the hill-tops around the caravanserai for sentry duty. He also despatched about sixty men to the top of the Muwori hill with instructions that they were to remain at the borj there and await the main party arriving on the following morning. These men got to nearly the first peak of the Muwori shortly after sunset, when they were attacked by a band of Kuhgilus and scattered in all directions. Some were killed, some wounded and some fled. About half a dozen of these were seen at Pul-i-Shalu making their way to the oil-fields for work. Only three men out of this lot succeeded in finding their way back to Shelil to report, and the commanding officer then made ready for a fight.

Meantime, the Kuhgilus, of whom there seem to have been several hundred, made their way down the Muwori. Some crossed the bridge, and others the river lower down, and surrounded the caravanserai on the hill-tops, firing as they approached. You know Shelil, the hollow in which it lies and its difficult situation for defence. F ring went on by both sides all night, and, as far as I can make out, with no definite result except that some of the sentries on the hills and around the caravanserai were shot down by the Kuhgilus. One of these sentries, who was wounded and whom I am attending, told me that when sent out they had orders not to fire. In the morning—the 31st July—two machine guns (of which the troops had three) were brought into action, but after an hour's firing both gunners were killed. At about 9 or 10 A.M. the commanding officer surrendered by hoisting the Bakhtiari head-gear. The Kuhgilus then stopped fire, and rushed into the caravanserai and around. They looted the men of all they possessed, including all rifles and ammunition, transport animals and all general equipment, removing even the clothes from off the men's backs. The commanding officer was stripped of everything except his shirt. At Gulishun the Bakhtiaris gave him some old clothes, a hat and a pair of givehs. The women were also stripped of all their belongings, and I have been told at Gulishun (a stage north of

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Shelil) that Hussein Agha Khan's wife, who comes of a better-class family, arrived with him bare-footed. The caravanserai keeper was also robbed, as was a shop there, and some kit not belonging to the troops.

It was very difficult to get at the correct number of killed and wounded. Quite a number are missing. For instance, three dead bodies were found on a hillside when I was at Shelil four days after the attack. After full enquiry, I should put the number of killed between thirty-five and forty, and the number of wounded at about twenty. I myself have found five wounded—three serious—at Shelil and picked up another on the way. I have been told of five others—I sent dressings for some—somewhere in tribal camps, a long way off from Shelil, whilst ten or twelve, with superficial wounds only, walked off with the retreating party to Denkurd. I was informed—with what truth I cannot say—that most of the Aurak tribe of the Bakhtiaris came out to the assistance of the troops and chased the Kuhgilus. I believed that quite a number did come, and four of these have been killed and two wounded, but there could not have been enough of them to overpower the raiders. However, they apparently succeeded in recovering some twenty-five mules and a little equipment.

The five wounded men left at Shelil were in an awful state, without clothes, proper food or any attention. The people around were kind to them, but, beyond a piece of bread or a little tea, had nothing themselves to give them. Their wounds were in a septic condition, some covered with rags and others uncovered and full of vermin. I dressed all their wounds with the dressings I had, and took the men under my care. They were all helpless cases of wounds in the legs, chest or pelvis, and could not be left where they were. Fortunately I picked up the kajawas, abandoned by the officers' wives, for whose use these were brought, and arranged to take the wounded with me on my mules. It meant unloading some kit and walk for some of my men, which will do them no harm, but we managed it. Out of the six I am doubtful of the recovery of two of the cases, and, to my regret, actually had to leave one man behind at Gandum-Kul. In addition to a bad wound in the elbow, he had a lacerated wound in the chest and developed pneumonia. I gave in to his entreaties by taking him away from Shelil, but at the end of the next stage it was obviously out of the question carrying him further. It was kinder to leave him. I left dressings, drugs and money with the Kat-Khuda of the place, whom I know, to look after him, and I feel sure he will, as the tribes seem to sympathise with the men, though not with the commanding officer. I fear, however, that he will not live, as it would be wonderful if he recovered under the most favourable conditions. I am trying to save the others, and wish I had them at the fields hospital under an anæsthetic for a general sweep of dead bone and sloughs. The worst of it is that I shall be out of dressings in a day or two. I will endeavour to make some arrangements about these men with the khans when I reach Chigakhor to-night, as meantime they are comfortable and are provided with everything by me.

The animals taken away are said to be about eighty hired mules and fourteen mules and about twelve to fifteen horses belonging to the officers themselves. The machine guns have been abandoned at Shelil, and I understand that they are locked up in an ambar at the caravanserai. The Kuhgilus moved off with all their booty in broad daylight, and shortly after the commanding officer with all the remaining troops left for the north on foot. I am told he was provided with a mule somewhere on the way, however. Hussein Agha Khan has not gone near the khans, and should have reached Ispahan by now.

As a separate matter which may interest you, I hear that Hussein Agha Khan has been very indiscreet in his speech all along the Bakhtiari road, and the various Kat-Khudas I have met spoke ill of him. He talked high, assumed great airs and abused the khans freely in front of the tribesmen wherever he stopped. The head villagers said that his language was unbecoming and his behaviour bad for an officer in his position. He announced that he would send a party to hold the bridge and collect tolls for the supply of funds for his troops, and he also spoke of sending a party to the oil-fields. He endeavoured to enlist tribesmen, telling them that this country belonged to the Persian Government and they were free to act without the authority of their chiefs. When met by Ghulam Hussein Khan—the head of the Bakhtiari guard at Shelil and quite an intelligent man—offering to be of service, the commanding officer rudely told him that his services were not wanted, that the troops could look after themselves, and that neither he nor his twenty men must come near the camp. There was no Bakhtiari guide with the party, but amongst the troops there was one Bakhtiari —Debir Humayun, formerly clerk to Sardar Jang, who knew the road.

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Beyond giving you an account of the incident it was not my intention to offer any other remarks. But I have been very impressed with the following facts :--

1. The organisation, and especially the daring, of the attack on the troops by the Kuhgilus in broad daylight.
2. The thoroughness with which the Kuhgilus did their raid, in robbing the lot, not only of munition and arms, of animals and equipment, but even of food and personal clothing, leaving them all, from commanding officer downwards, practically naked.
3. The complete safety of the road for all caravans for the past two months prior to this incident, and its safety immediately after it. The guarding arrangements appear to me this year better than I have ever seen or heard of them before.

I am told, on the other hand, that the Kuhgilus were out to avenge the disgrace brought on them by Bakhtiaris, who early in June or in the latter part of May killed six of their number in a raid, and, cutting off the heads of three of them, brought them to the khans for a show at Chigakhor.

Yours faithfully,
M. Y. YOUNG.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

*Extracts from a Private Letter from His Majesty's Consul at Ahwaz to His Majesty's Minister.*

*Ispahan, August* 19, 1922.

THE Bakhtiari situation, as viewed by the khans themselves in the light of the recent Shalil affair, seems to be as follows :—

The Persian Government suspects that the attack on the troops by Kuhgilu tribesmen was engineered by the Bakhtiaris, probably under an arrangement made last spring with the Sheikh of Mohammerah ; it will probably, however, not find itself strong enough to put its suspicions into action, but will take the line of least resistance by leaving the task of punishing the Kuhgilus to the Bakhtiaris, at the same time giving them assistance and reinstating them in the governorship of Behbehan. The khans, however, believe that the Persian Government means to tackle them at the earliest opportunity, and describe the recent negotiations with Soulat-ed-Dowleh and affairs in Arak as part of deliberate scheme by Reza Khan to surround and eventually subdue them.

Sardar Ashjaa is a very sick man, probably a dying one, and his immediate resignation of the Ispahan governorship is inevitable on medical grounds. The question of his successor is a difficult one, and its solution should, in my opinion, give a pointer to the course affairs are likely to take. Should he be succeeded by another Bakhtiari it would indicate that Reza Khan's plans are not yet ready, and it would mean their postponement, if not their abandonment ; but should a Governor from outside be appointed (which is presumably the object of sending a large military force to Ispahan) it will be a sign that Bakhtiaris are to be ousted from all governorships, in which event all the khans, with the possible exception of Samsam-es-Sultaneh, who is privileged owing to his age and dignity, would retire to Chahar Mahal and there await developments. The Ispahan district would become unsafe from Bakhtiari robber gangs, and it would be long before the Persian Government would dare to attack the khans in their own country, while in their alliance with the Sheikh of Mohammerah they have a powerful ally in the south.

Public feeling in Ispahan among the bulk of the merchants and the poorer classes is, as far as I hear, setting against us. The wounded warriors from Shalil are visited in the military hospital daily and given presents of money and flowers, and violent speeches have been made by visitors (merchants and seyyids of Ispahan) accusing the British of having instigated the Kuhgilu attack and of being the enemies of Persia. These visits are inspired by the Russian consul, and this change of feeling is largely due to Bolshevik propaganda. One of the Ispahan newspapers is subsidised by the Russian consulate, and Bolshevik emissaries (men and women) constantly visit in the city and women's quarters and preach their doctrines. For the better-class audiences this preaching is largely anti-British, but for the labourers and such-like it is pure communism on lines so successfully employed in the Bokhara revolution.

So far progress has been slow, but money is being spent, and the elements of danger are there and need watching.

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[E 2784/478/34] No. 1.

*Papers communicated by India Office.—(Received at Foreign Office, March 15.)*

I.

*Accord conclu entre l'Inde britannique et l'Irak, d'une part, et la Perse, d'autre part, pour la Suppression des Bureaux de Poste étrangers existant sur Territoire persan.*

EN vue de conformer la position réciproque de l'Inde britannique, de l'Irak et de la Perse aux dispositions de la Convention principale de Madrid (1920) et de son règlement d'exécution, dans les relations postales entre la Perse et les deux pays premiers mentionnés, les soussignés, agissant en vertu des pouvoirs dont ils sont munis et qu'ils se sont communiqués,

Après confirmation, par le représentant du Gouvernement Impérial persan, des assurances données par ce Gouvernement au sujet du maintien et du développement de services postaux suffisants au golfe Persique et en Arabistan,

Ont conclu l'accord suivant :

ARTICLE 1er.

Les bureaux entretenus dans les ports du golfe Persique par l'Administration des Postes de l'Inde britannique, et en Arabistan par l'Administration des Postes de l'Irak, seront supprimés à la date du 31 mars 1923 et auront, par conséquent, cessé toutes opérations de service postal public ou privé à la date du 1er avril suivant.

ARTICLE 2.

A partir du 1er avril 1923, l'Administration des Postes de Perse prendra à sa charge exclusive le soin et la responsabilité du maintien et du développement de services postaux réguliers dans les ports persans du golfe Persique et en Arabistan, aussi bien en ce qui concerne les relations de la Perse avec les pays étrangers qu'en ce qui concerne le trafic postal interne.

ARTICLE 3.

Aux fins d'exécution des dispositions de l'article 2 ci-dessus, l'Administration des Postes de Perse organisera et maintiendra, à partir du 1er avril 1923, les services d'échanges postaux spéciaux dont

*Agreement concluded between British India and Irak, of the one part, and Persia, of the other part, for the Closing of Foreign Post Offices existing on Persian Territory.*

WITH a view to making the reciprocal position of British India, Irak and Persia conform to the provisions of the principal Convention of Madrid (1920) and to the regulations thereunder, in the matter of postal relations between Persia and the first-mentioned countries, the undersigned, acting in virtue of the powers with which they are furnished and which they have communicated to each other,

After confirmation by the representative of the Imperial Persian Government of the assurances given by this Government on the subject of the maintenance and development of adequate postal services in the Persian Gulf and in Arabistan,

Have concluded the following agreement:—

ARTICLE 1.

The offices maintained in the ports of the Persian Gulf by the Postal Administration of British India, and in Arabistan by the Postal Administration of Irak, will be closed from the 31st March, 1923, and will, in consequence, have ceased all public or private postal operations from the 1st April following.

ARTICLE 2.

From the 1st April, 1923, the Persian Postal Administration will charge itself exclusively with the care of and responsibility for the maintenance and development of regular postal services in the Persian ports of the Persian Gulf and in Arabistan, both those concerning the relations of Persia with foreign countries and those which concern internal postal communications.

ARTICLE 3.

In order to give effect to the provisions of article 2 above, the Persian Postal Administration will organise and maintain from the 1st April next the special postal exchange services agreed upon with



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elle a convenu avec l'Inde britannique et avec l'Irak par les arrangements suivants, conclus par les soussignés à la date du présent accord :

1. Arrangements concernant l'échange des mandats de poste avec ces deux pays.

2. Arrangements concernant l'échange d'envois postaux de toutes espèces grevés de remboursement avec l'Inde britannique, et de colis postaux non assurés grevés de remboursement avec l'Irak.

3. Arrangement concernant l'échange de colis postaux avec l'Irak.

Indépendamment des services prémentionnés, l'échange des colis postaux entre la Perse et l'Inde britannique, fonctionnant actuellement conformément à la Convention postale de Madrid (1920), sera maintenu, et à partir du 1er avril 1923, la Perse et l'Inde britannique participeront, en outre, dans leurs relations postales spéciales, à l'exécution de l'Arrangement de Madrid concernant l'échange des lettres et boîtes avec valeur déclarée.

ARTICLE 4.

Les dispositions des arrangements mentionnés à l'article 3 relatives aux bureaux persans participant aux services spéciaux ne restreignent pas la faculté qu'aura la Perse d'étendre ces services à d'autres bureaux persans d'accord avec les autres parties contractantes.

ARTICLE 5.

L'Administration des Postes de l'Inde britannique et de l'Irak notifieront en temps opportun, par voie légale, aux Administrations de l'Union postale universelle la suppression des bureaux de poste étrangers mentionnés à l'article 1er ci-dessus.

ARTICLE 6.

En vue de la sauvegarde des intérêts généraux du public et du commerce dans les relations des portes du golfe Persique avec l'Inde britannique et l'Irak, et vu la distance considérable existant entre ces régions et capitales des trois pays intéressés, les administrations postales de ces pays s'entendront pour munir les fonctionnaires supérieurs des postes de Bouchir, de Bombay et de Basrah de pouvoirs suffisamment étendus pour le règlement direct des affaires concernant les échanges spéciaux mentionnés à l'article 3 ci-dessus, les questions d'ordre général ou de principe restant réservées aux autorités des centres.

British India and Irak in the following arrangements concluded by the undersigned on the date of the present agreement :

1. Arrangements concerning the exchange of money orders between the two countries.

2. Arrangements concerning the exchange of value-payable articles of all kinds with British India, and of non-insured value-payable parcels with Irak.

3. Arrangement concerning the exchange of parcels with Irak.

Independently of the above services, the exchange of parcels between Persia and British India, actually in operation conformably to the Postal Convention of Madrid (1920), will be maintained, and from the 1st April, 1923, Persia and British India will further participate in their special postal relations in the execution of the Arrangement of Madrid concerning the exchange of insured articles.

ARTICLE 4.

The provisions of the arrangements mentioned in article 3 relative to Persian post offices participating in special services will not restrict the right of Persia to extend those services to other Persian offices in agreement with the other contracting parties.

ARTICLE 5.

The Postal Administrations of British India and Irak will notify the closing of the foreign post offices mentioned in article 1 above to the Administrations of the Universal Postal Union in due course through the proper channel.

ARTICLE 6.

With a view to safeguard the general interests of the public and of commerce in the relations of the posts of the Persian Gulf with British India and with Irak, and in view of the considerable distance between these regions and the capitals of the respective countries, the postal administrations of these countries will agree to furnish the superior postal officials at Bushire, Bombay and Basrah with sufficiently extended powers for the direct settlement of matters concerning the special exchanges mentioned in article 3 above, questions of general order or of principle remaining reserved to the central authorities.

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ARTICLE 7.

Les Administrations postales de la Perse, de l'Inde britannique et de l'Irak régleront, séparément ou par entente mutuelle selon les cas, les dispositions d'exécution du présent accord, en s'inspirant des délibérations qui l'ont précédé et qui sont reproduites aux procès-verbaux des séances de la Conférence postale de Bouchir.

ARTICLE 8.

Le présent accord sortira ses effets à partir du 1er avril 1923. Il sera ratifié aussitôt que possible par les autorités compétentes des parties contractantes, et les actes de ratification seront échangés à Téhéran.

En foi de quoi les représentants respectifs de l'Inde britannique, de la Perse et de l'Irak ont signé le présent accord, qui a été établi en trois exemplaires à Bouchir, le neuf décembre mille neuf cent vingt-deux.

Le Délégué de l'Inde britannique,
A. ANGELO.
*9th December*, 1922.

Le Délégué de l'Irak,
A. R. AUGIER.
*9th December*, 1922.

L'accord ci-dessus a été signé aujourd'hui, le 9 décembre 1922, devant moi, Kargouzar général et faisant fonctions de Gouverneur.
YAMIN-UL-MAMALIK.

ARTICLE 7.

The Persian, Indian and Irak Postal Administrations will regulate separately or by mutual agreement as necessary the steps necessary to give effect to the present agreement, in the spirit of the deliberations which have preceded it, and which are reproduced in the proceedings of the sittings of the Bushire Postal Conference.

ARTICLE 8.

The present agreement will have effect from the 1st April 1923. It will be ratified as soon as possible by the competent authorities of the contracting parties and the acts of ratification will be exchanged at Tehran.

In faith of which the respective representatives of British India, Persia and Irak have signed the present agreement in triplicate at Bushire this ninth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

Les Délégués de la Perse,
C. MOLITOR.
G. CHAUVIAUX.
M. H. A. SHAIRUZI.
M. K. ARJUMAND.

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II.

*Agreement for the Exchange of Money Orders between Persia and British India.*

In order to establish an exchange of money orders between the Persian post offices, entered in Schedule I, and the Post Office of India, the undersigned, duly authorised for that purpose, have agreed upon the following articles :—

**ARTICLE 1.**

There shall be a regular exchange of money orders between the Persian post offices, entered in Schedule I, and India by means of the usual mail services by which correspondence is exchanged.

**ARTICLE 2.**

The money order business shall be performed exclusively through offices of exchange communicating with each other by means of lists, as explained more particularly below, the money orders being made out and forwarded to the payee by the office of exchange of the country in which the orders are payable. The offices of exchange shall be, on the side of Persia, Charbar, Jashk, Bandar Abbas, Bushire, Mohammerah, and, on the side of India, Bombay.

**ARTICLE 3.**

The amount of orders exchanged in both directions shall be expressed in Indian currency.

**ARTICLE 4.**

The maximum amount for which a money order may be drawn in either country upon the other shall be 600 rupees.



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ARTICLE 5.

No money order shall contain a fractional part of an anna.

ARTICLE 6.

The manner and conditions of issuing money orders in either country shall be governed by the regulations in force for the time being in the country of issue.

ARTICLE 7.

The cost of the money orders, *i.e.*, the amounts to be paid for them by the remitters in the currency of the country of issue, shall be governed by the regulations in force for the time being in the country of issue.

Each country shall communicate to the other the regulations relating to the charges for money orders issued in force for the time being.

ARTICLE 8.

Applications by remitters for the alteration or correction of the name of the payee shall be received under the regulations of the country of issue, and forwarded to the country of payment for disposal under its regulations, accompanied by such information as may be necessary for the identification of the particular orders referred to.

Applications by remitters for repayment of orders shall be received and forwarded in like manner, the repayment being made only under the authority of the country of payment and according to the regulations of the country of issue.

ARTICLE 9.

The conversion of money orders issued in India into the country of Persia shall be governed by the regulations in force for the time being in the country of payment.

The head of the Post Office of Persia shall communicate to the Indian Post Office the regulations for the time being in force relating to the conversion of money orders into the currency of Persia for the purpose of payment.

ARTICLE 10.

The manner and conditions of paying orders, including stoppage of payment, renewal of orders, issue of duplicate orders, advices of payment and other services affecting payment, shall be governed by the regulations in force for the time being in the country of payment.

ARTICLE 11.

The amount of money orders not ultimately paid, *i.e.*, of orders which become void under the regulations of the country of payment, shall belong to the country of issue.

ARTICLE 12.

The country of issue which collects the money from remitters shall account to the country of payment for the total amount of the orders issued, together with ½ per cent. additional on the total by way of commission.

ARTICLE 13.

The offices of exchange shall communicate to one another by each mail the particulars of money orders issued by means of lists in the annexed forms marked (A) and (AA),* giving all particulars for which provision is made in the forms.

The particulars as to the names shall include the name, father's name, or husband's name as the case may be (or, in the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the surname and at least the initial of one Christian name), or the name of the firm or company who are the remitters or payees The address of the payee must be given fully and precisely, as on it depends the determination by the receiving office of exchange of the office where the order shall be made payable.

ARTICLE 14.

Besides the particulars of money orders issued, the lists mentioned in article 13 shall contain particulars of orders authorised to be repaid to the remitters.

* Not printed.

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ARTICLE 15.

Blank lists shall be forwarded in case there shall be no money orders to communicate.

ARTICLE 16.

Should any list fail to be received in due course, the despatching office shall, on receiving information to that effect, transmit without delay a duplicate thereof.

ARTICLE 17.

The lists despatched from each office of exchange shall be numbered consecutively, commencing with No. 1 for the first list of each calendar year commencing the 1st January, and these numbers shall be termed the "List Numbers."

ARTICLE 18.

The entries in the lists respecting orders issued shall also bear consecutive numbers, commencing with No. 1 for each list, and these numbers shall be termed the "Entry Numbers."

ARTICLE 19.

Each list shall be carefully verified by the receiving office of exchange, and corrected when it contains simple errors, such corrections being communicated to the despatching office of exchange.

ARTICLE 20.

When a list shall contain errors or irregularities which cannot be rectified without previous communication with the despatching office, the receiving office shall request an explanation from the despatching office. This explanation shall be given with as little delay as possible, and in the meantime the payment of orders dependent on the irregular entries shall be suspended.

ARTICLE 21.

As soon as the Indian office of exchange shall have received from Persia all the lists bearing dates in any month, these lists, as well as the Indian lists bearing dates in the same month, shall be made the subject of a monthly account in the annexed form (B).*

ARTICLE 22.

The account mentioned in article 21 shall be based on the lists as corrected by the receiving office, any entries at the time under suspension pending explanation being excluded.

ARTICLE 23.

The account shall also include under the head of "Special Items" any necessary adjustments of previous accounts (such as adjustments on account of suspended entries) as well as any other items of account not otherwise provided for, a detailed statement of such special items being annexed to the account, and the correspondence or other documents forming the authority for each special item being quoted opposite to it in the statement.

ARTICLE 24.

A copy of the account mentioned in article 21 shall be forwarded to the Provincial Director of Post Offices, Bushire, by the Presidency Postmaster, Foreign Money Order Branch, Bombay, for payment by bill of exchange or draft on Bombay if the balance be in favour of India, and accompanied by a bill of exchange or draft on Bushire if the balance be in favour of Persia.

ARTICLE 25.

Each Administration shall have authority to suspend temporarily the exchange of money orders in case the course of exchange or any other circumstance shall give rise to abuses or cause detriment to the revenue.

ARTICLE 26.

For ordinary correspondence affecting the preparation, transmission or correction of lists, accounts, &c., the offices of exchange shall be the medium; but in matters involving questions other than detail, the offices of correspondence shall be the office of

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the Director-General of Posts, Persia, on the one hand, and the Director-General Posts and Telegraphs, India, on the other hand.

ARTICLE 27.

The department charged with the control of money orders in either country shall have authority to adopt any additional rules (if not repugnant to the foregoing) for the greater security against fraud or for the better working of the system generally. All such additional rules, however, shall be communicated by the one department to the other.

ARTICLE 28.

The Postal Administrations of Persia and India should also each be entitled to transmit money orders through the medium of the other Administration, to any country with which the latter exchanges money orders, on terms to be settled beforehand by common consent between the two Postal Administrations.

ARTICLE 29.

The present arrangement shall take effect on the 1st April, 1923. It shall then continue in force until it shall be modified or determined by mutual consent of the contracting parties. The ratifications of the above arrangements shall be exchanged as soon as possible, in faith of which the respective delegates have signed the present arrangements.

Executed in duplicate and signed.
At Bushire on the 9th December, 1922.

A. ANGELO,
*Indian Delegate.*

C. MOLITOR,
*Délégué de la Perse.*

*December* 9, 1922.

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PERSIA. [January 29.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 1110/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received January* 29, 1923.)

(No. 719.)

My Lord, *Tehran, December* 11, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of the despatch No. 465 of the 3rd November, by which your Lordship was so good as to invite an expression of my views on the extent to which, in the event of a renewed anti-British outburst in this country, the withdrawal of His Majesty's representative, or some such action, would bring the Persian Government to a proper discharge of its duties of amity towards His Majesty's Government, and also in what way it would react on important vested British interests in this country.

In accordance with your Lordship's desire, I have already furnished a brief summary of my views in my telegram No. 436 of to-day's date.

In my despatches No. 603 of the 27th September and No. 633 of the 16th October, I have explained fully the nature and extent of the anti-British manifestations in the press, and the circumstances in which I felt it necessary to warn Kawam-es-Saltaneh, privately and orally, that unless satisfactory steps were taken to put a check on these manifestations His Majesty's Government might not allow me to remain here. I cannot say that the result of this and my other representations was as satisfactory as I could wish, but at all events the press calmed down, the representations certainly produced an impression on the Persian Government, and I do not think there has been the slightest suggestion, even among the Persians, that the dignity of His Majesty's Legation was not upheld during these incidents; if, however, the incidents had gone very much further, I think that some public vindication of our dignity would have become indispensably necessary. I shaped my action and language, however, in such manner as to avoid any public crisis in Anglo-Persian relations except in the very last resort, being persuaded that any crisis of the sort would have been a considerable source of embarrassment to His Majesty's Government having regard to events at that time in the Near East, and that the provocation offered by the Russian-inspired press was actually designed to bring about a rupture between this Legation and the Persian Government.

In my opinion, and I trust that your Lordship will share it, the upshot of these incidents is that a rupture has been avoided and that our dignity, though perilously near to being compromised, has been maintained. If any proof be needed that the course taken has not enured to our disadvantage it may be found in the fact that, within a comparatively few weeks, the boot has shifted to the other leg, and relations between the Soviet Legation and the Persian Government are at this moment suspended, while several organs of the Tehran press are taking the Soviet authorities to task with considerable vehemence for acting in an unfriendly manner towards Persia. The situation has changed in other respects also, as was stated in my telegram No. 436. Not long after the anti-British outburst, Kawam-es-Saltaneh's internal position became precarious for several reasons: The Minister for War became dissatisfied with his Highness's treatment of affairs and was already looking about for a new Prime Minister when the news of the Shah's impending return to Persia became known, but it then appeared undesirable to make any change until His Imperial Majesty's arrival; the fact that Kawam-es-Saltaneh's Administration had brought about no improvement in the financial situation, that payments due were either not met or made in a capricious and irregular manner characterised by the most barefaced favouritism also created profound dissatisfaction and resentment in many sections of Persian society; again, the promises of office and advancement made by Kawam-es-Saltaneh, during his candidature last spring for reappointment as Prime Minister, with a reckless lavishness, had, of course, been incapable of fulfilment in probably 95 per cent. of the cases, and the disappointed office-seekers swelled the ranks of the malcontents; lastly, a coalition of parliamentary groups was formed with the sole object of turning Kawam-es-Saltaneh out of office; it is still held together by that common bond of interest and is undermining the Prime Minister's position by every means in its power.



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The Russians, having witnessed the failure of several of their manœuvres, which have been described in other reports, having reached the conclusion, which is on the whole a correct one, that Kawam-es-Saltaneh is averse from the spread of Bolshevik influence and ideas in this country, and is therefore not a suitable instrument for assisting their policy, not unnaturally took advantage of the combination of circumstances described above to foster the prevailing uneasiness, to league themselves so far as possible with the malcontent factions, and to work for Kawam-es-Saltaneh's downfall by violent attacks in their tame press and any other methods which occurred to them. Their action in this respect was based on the belief, which has become an axiom with the Russians, that anything which is not pro-Bolshevik is necessarily pro-British and must therefore be hounded down. Much to their surprise and annoyance, however, Kawam-es-Saltaneh withstood the assault and did not bow before a storm of vituperation in the press which would have driven a Mushir-ed-Dowleh very quickly back into private existence; moreover, Kawam-es-Saltaneh not only suppressed all the prominent pro-Russian newspapers, but also spent considerable sums of money in purchasing the support of other papers; furthermore, and not without overcoming considerable parliamentary opposition, he steered successfully through the Medjliss the Bill for the constitution of a jury to try press offences, which formed the subject of my despatch No. 714 of the 10th instant. These proceedings, of course, incensed the Russians and were in a large degree responsible for the present Russian action in demanding his Highness's dismissal.

It will thus been seen that the situation has changed in several important respects since the date of your Lordship's despatch under reply, and that, although disobliging references to British policy, &c., will no doubt continue to appear sporadically in the Persian press, a renewed outburst similar to the one under discussion does not seem likely in the immediate future.

Your Lordship, however, suggests that a similar situation may again arise of a gravity which no longer can be ignored and that His Majesty's Government may find it necessary to take some steps to indicate that until the Persian Government are prepared to treat them with due consideration and respect, intimate relations of any sort must be declined. Although I believe that we have weathered the worst phases of anti-British animosity and that Persian opinion is gradually realising the folly of such an attitude and the advantage of establishing more cordial relations with His Majesty's Government, I cannot deny the possibility of such a contingency, in view of the morbid suspicions still harboured by many Persians in regard to our intentions, and carefully kept alive by such gentry as Nosret-ed-Dowleh, the chauvinistic form of Nationalism which is supposed to be nowadays the mark of a Persian patriot, the fatuous blindness of Persian statesmen to the true international position of their country, and the assiduous efforts of the Russians to blacken our names and to impute to our every action the sinister design of dominating and subjecting the peoples of the East.

Should such a situation unfortunately arise, and His Majesty's Government feel it necessary to mark in a public and unmistakable manner their sense of the Persian Government's failure to treat themselves and their representative with proper respect and attention, I am of opinion that the best course would be to recall His Majesty's Minister to London for consultation and to give the necessary publicity to the reasons which have necessitated so unusual a step. His Majesty's Government would then be able to decide whether they would require some formal expression of regret, the settlement of some one or more of the important questions outstanding between the two Governments, *e.g.*, Persia's indebtedness to the British and Indian Exchequers, or some other tangible reparation, before permitting His Majesty's Minister to return to Tehran and renew his relations with the Persian Government.

I think that a threat to take action in the sense indicated above would in any but quite exceptional circumstances suffice to bring the Persian Government to its senses; should the threat, however, not suffice, that would be a convincing proof that its execution was immediately necessary.

I suggest this middle course because, on the one hand, it would leave His Majesty's Government considerable latitude in respect of their future decisions and attitude, while, on the other hand, it would not involve a breach of relations with the Persian Government or a cessation of the steadying influence which the presence of His Majesty's Legation in Tehran is always able to exert, though, of course, in a somewhat varying degree. Furthermore, the important vested British interests in this country which your Lordship mentions are accustomed to the Legation being left from time to time in the hands of a Chargé d'Affaires and would therefore feel

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no uneasiness at the step, which they might well and justifiably do if His Majesty's Government withdrew their representation from Tehran; indeed, I think that the more important ones—though I am far from suggesting that the consideration ought in any way to influence your Lordship's eventual decision—would welcome an overt assertion of the determination of His Majesty's Government to secure proper respect from the Persian Government. The protection of these interests, as your Lordship is well aware, is a constant source of anxiety to this Legation and a considerable absorbent of its working-hours; should the need arise to close the Legation for any reason, those interests would most undoubtedly suffer, and I have no hesitation in saying that the British business community would view such a contingency with dismay. On the other hand, I am glad to be able to say that the Tehran representatives of two such important concerns as the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Imperial Bank of Persia, though they may occasionally differ on a point of detail, are in complete general accord with the policy which is being pursued in regard to the Persian Government.

Your Lordship further alludes to such considerations as the arrival of the American advisers and the position of Reza Khan. In both these respects I consider it advisable that the Minister should remain here so long as that is reasonably compatible with maintaining the dignity of His Majesty's Government. The success of the American advisers must depend in the ultimate resort on the degree of support afforded to them by the Persian Government. Should their authority become firmly established, should the liquidation of Persia's financial obligations and the reconstruction of the financial system be placed in Dr. Millspaugh's hands or carried out unquestioningly under his advice and guidance, there is really a hope for the regeneration of this country and for the recovery of the money owing to His Majesty's Government. In that case the results would not only be advantageous to British interests generally, but would also include the removal of the question which most hinders the re-establishment of Anglo-Persian relations on their former footing. These results, however, would obviously be jeopardised by any crisis in the relations between His Majesty's Government and the Persian Government taking place during the probationary period of the American advisers; moreover, a British representative enjoying comparatively harmonious relations with the Persian Government can do far more in a number of indirect ways to facilitate the task of the advisers than one in conflict with it.

As regards Reza Khan, the position is peculiar; we do not want to estrange him, because of his usefulness in certain possible eventualities; on the other hand, we do not want to be too closely associated with him, because he, too, is tinged with the chauvinistic Nationalism to which I referred in the earlier portion of this despatch. At the same time he is appreciably less unamenable to reason and less blind to practical issues than the majority of his prominent compatriots, besides being a far more permanent element than they in the Persian Administration. It is therefore both necessary and useful to see him fairly frequently, and an interruption of the relations with him now established would best be avoided.

There is, however, another aspect of a possible withdrawal which, though not directly connected with Anglo-Persian relations, is perhaps even more important. I refer now to the position which this Legation holds as a British outpost against the Bolshevik tide in Asia. So long as the Legation remains in Tehran it is hardly conceivable that Russian influence should become predominant in the capital except by force or revolution; indeed, the Russians themselves seem to consider that its presence hampers the development of their schemes to a far greater extent than might be apparent at first sight. An abandonment of the position, besides the disadvantages to which I have already alluded, would leave practically an open field for the Russians, and, though other influences antagonistic to Bolshevism might arise, I affirm unhesitatingly that the principal obstacle would be removed from the Bolshevik path and that both the Russians and the Persians would view the matter in that light. The fact that the Russians are making war on us in Persia, and that we do not retaliate, would not make any difference; the Persian would regard a British withdrawal as a British defeat, and a probably final blow would have been struck at our influence and our prestige in this country.

Even if this were the only consideration to be borne in mind, I should consider it in itself strong enough to forbid an abandonment of the Tehran position except in circumstances of compelling necessity. The withdrawal of British troops firstly from the Caucasus and thereafter from Persian soil transmuted the duel with Bolshevik Russia from military into political terms; in my opinion, the abandonment

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of Tehran as a political position would without fail lead sooner or later to a re-transmutation of the problem into military terms; a result on which it is not necessary for me to enlarge.

In conclusion I beg leave to confirm the opinion which was expressed in my telegram of to-day's date to the effect that, taken all round, the anti-British feeling is dying down, although the Russians fan the embers to the best of their ability, and that our own position is stronger than it was a year ago. In the provinces there is no doubt about the improvement, and several officers in important consular posts have drawn my attention to it. The worst centre is Tehran, and it is therefore precisely in Tehran that we must be most tenacious of our purpose and most consistent in our attitude.

Broadly speaking, there appear to me to be three alternative issues out of the Persian situation:—

Firstly, that Persia will come to her senses, endeavour to restore her former relations with Great Britain and welcome such assistance as we may be willing to give her. This does not seem probable at the present time, but I do not altogether exclude it.

Secondly, that the Persian Government continues on its present career of political dementia; in which case the country will founder, and its future become a serious international problem.

Thirdly, that a combination of Reza Khan's centralising policy with the reforms and financial liquidation to be effected by the American advisers will succeed in putting the country more or less on its legs and make it a less uncomfortable neighbour than it is at present.

In all of these three eventualities, it appears to me essential that His Majesty's Government should be adequately represented in Tehran in order to watch events and take such part in their development as they may from time to time consider desirable and expedient.

In respect of the main political questions, the real issue is, however, being fought out at this moment by your Lordship at Lausanne. Should one of the results of the conference be to wean the Turks from their present alliance with Moscow, Bolshevik prestige and influence will suffer a blow in the East from which, so far as I am able to judge, it is unlikely to recover, and the effects will not be long in making themselves apparent here. Should Turkish foreign policy take a Western orientation, and especially one towards Great Britain, the effect will be even more marked.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [January 29.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 1124/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received January 29, 1923.)*

(No. 755.)

My Lord, *Tehran, December* 31, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Shah expressed a desire to receive me in private audience on Wednesday, the 27th December.

I began the interview, at which no one else was present, by congratulating His Imperial Majesty on his safe return to Tehran, and some desultory conversation thereupon ensued in regard to his visit to Europe and the difficulties experienced on the road from Bushire to Tehran. The Shah, in the course of the brief formal audience which he had given to the diplomatic representatives at Bagh-i-Shah on the 17th December, the day of his arrival, had already expressed his high appreciation of the courtesy and consideration which had been shown to him by all the British authorities on the line of his route, and His Majesty was so good as to renew his remarks on this subject.

His Imperial Majesty then told me that he had wished to enter into personal communication with responsible British quarters in Europe, and in particular with His Majesty's Ambassador in Paris. His Majesty had attended two gatherings in Paris, at which it was expected that Lord Hardinge of Penshurst would be present, and had counted on being then able to make his acquaintance. Unfortunately, his Lordship had been prevented from attending on both occasions, and His Majesty had thus much to his regret been unable to have any exchange of views.

The Shah appeared to me to have a feeling of disappointment in this connection. I therefore hastened to express the view that it was for the best that things had turned out in the manner described. There had been constant reports put about during His Majesty's absence to the effect that he had been in secret communication with His Majesty's Government and had elaborated with them a fresh plan for handing over his country, bound hand and foot, to the British. In the circumstances, it appeared to me that no more convincing proof could be given of His Majesty's innocence of the extraordinary manœuvres attributed to him than the fact that he had not even so much as spoken with a British official during his stay in Europe. This reply seemed to satisfy the Shah, and to smooth what I imagined to be His Majesty's somewhat ruffled susceptibilities.

His Imperial Majesty then thanked me very cordially for the message which I had sent him privately at Bushire through His Majesty's consul-general to the effect that it would be inadvisable, notwithstanding the Russian pressure of which the President of the Council would doubtless have kept him informed, to authorise any change in the Government here until His Majesty himself reached the capital and was able to form his own opinion. The Shah said he had followed the advice and greatly appreciated the friendly spirit in which it had been offered; since his arrival in Tehran he had, moreover, realised that it was both sound and disinterested. After so long an absence he was, however, rather out of touch with the situation, and would be glad if I would tell him my own views in regard to it with perfect frankness.

Without going into too much detail, I thereupon explained to His Majesty the sincerity with which I had worked to try to restore the former friendly relations between the two Governments: I had been consistently conciliatory, I had abstained from any form of interference in Persian internal affairs, and I felt sure that even His Imperial Majesty's Ministers would admit that my patience had been exemplary. It was, however, a source of great regret to me, after more than a year's residence, to be compelled to admit that the results of my labours were extremely meagre. I did not feel that my loyal and straightforward attitude had been met in a spirit of reciprocity by the Persian Government, which persistently evaded any settlement of the questions to which my Government attached importance, and allowed the anti-British campaign to go on practically unchecked. The only result which I could perceive of the policy pursued by the present Persian Government



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and its immediate predecessors was its success in estranging those who had been and might still be Persia's friends, and its failure to win any new friends. Unless this policy were radically changed, disaster was being invited; even the strongest States were obliged to take their neighbours into account, and this was doubly true of Persia. In the latter part of the summer the anti-British press campaign had attained intolerable proportions, and I had been obliged to warn the Prime Minister privately that its continuance might cause His Majesty's Government to withdraw their representative.

These remarks were clearly not much to His Majesty's taste, but I did not think it would be rendering him any service to soften them down. He expressed his profound regret at what had occurred and his conviction that there had since been a marked improvement. He also begged me to distinguish between true Persian opinion and that which was under Russian influence. I replied that I had kept this distinction constantly in mind, and, except for that, I should have had to take a yet stronger line with the Prime Minister. I could not, however, acquit Persian opinion altogether so long as persons so highly placed as Nosret-ed-Dowleh maintained their implacable hostility and used the whole weight of their influence in an anti-British sense. His Majesty enquired rather incredulously whether I was convinced that such was Nosret-ed-Dowleh's attitude. I replied that unfortunately there was no room for any doubt on the subject, and I hoped that His Majesty would use his personal influence to stop this campaign of calumny and ill-will.

The Shah answered, a little uneasily, that he would do what he could, and that I could always rely on his personal friendship and goodwill.

His Majesty then turned the conversation into another channel by asking my personal advice as regards the best course to pursue in regard to the Russian pressure. He had himself already received the Russian representative, who had shown no disposition to come half or even quarter-way to a settlement of the points of difference, and had maintained that he had no quarrel with the Persian Sovereign or people, but only with Kawam-es-Saltaneh's Government, with which he felt unable to continue relations. His Majesty pointed out that the situation was extremely awkward: he frankly realised on the one hand that a most dangerous precedent would be created if a Government were dismissed at the behest of a foreign Power; on the other hand, any prolongation of the present situation was most embarrassing, and he was apprehensive of its possible consequences and of eventual Russian action to enforce their demands.

I told His Majesty that the question was for me an extremely embarrassing one, for I did not wish by anything I said to lay myself open to the charge of seeking to envenom the relations between Persia and Russia, and nothing was further from my wishes or intentions than to do so. On the other hand, I could not counsel His Imperial Majesty or the Persian Government to yield demands which appeared to be unreasonable, or, by doing so, to sacrifice anything which the Persian Government might regard as one of the vital interests entrusted to its charge.

The Shah pressed me with insistence to give him, nevertheless, the benefit of my opinion and tell him how I thought he ought to act. He believed that whatever line he indicated to the Government and the Medjliss would be followed and, if it was best to throw Kawam-es-Saltaneh overboard, means could be found to make that event appear to be the result of some internal or parliamentary difficulty. His Majesty promised that whatever I said would remain strictly between him and myself.

I therefore said that though, as I had previously explained to His Majesty, I had scant if any cause for satisfaction with Kawam-es-Saltaneh's Government, it appeared to me ungrateful as well as unwise and dangerous to throw it to the wolves merely because its dismissal was demanded by a foreign Government: moreover, it seemed to me dangerous for His Majesty himself to assume the responsibility of taking an initiative in the matter, his duty as constitutional Sovereign being to be guided by the advice of his responsible Ministers. On the other hand, I realised that the present situation was not without possibilities of danger, and though I did not think myself that the Russians would be short-sighted enough to take openly aggressive action, I saw that the Persian Government could not entirely exclude that eventuality from their calculations.

The plain course which suggested itself to my mind was that His Imperial Majesty should summon the President of the Medjliss and ascertain from him whether that body was prepared to support the present Government. If the answer

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were in the negative, the responsibility for overthrowing Kawam-es-Saltaneh would then rest with Parliament; if in the affirmative, His Majesty should, in my view, direct the Prime Minister to use every endeavour, in a conciliatory and reasonable manner, to reach a settlement of the points at issue and to report the result of his efforts in a certain space of time; if the efforts were unsuccessful, His Majesty should then himself preside over a Council of Ministers in order to decide what steps should next be taken.

This suggestion did not seem to appeal to the Shah, who gave me to understand that the question which confronted him and required immediate decision was whether to dismiss Kawam-es-Saltaneh or to retain him.

In these circumstances, I counselled His Majesty to make no change for another two or three weeks and see how the situation developed, but at the same time to instruct the Prime Minister to do his best to reach an amicable settlement. In the first place, the results of the Lausanne Conference might meanwhile become apparent, and if a settlement between the Allies and Turkey intervened, the situation ought to become easier all round; in the second place, I had heard, though I could not assert it as a fact, that M. Shumyatsky had fallen into some disfavour at Moscow and that there was a chance of his being recalled. It therefore seemed to me possible that any change in the situation might be to Persia's advantage and there was thus nothing to lose by delaying a decision and perhaps something to be gained.

His Imperial Majesty thanked me for the advice which I had offered, and said that on the whole he thought it was correct and that he would probably follow it. Up till to-day, at all events, there has been no Cabinet crisis, though I hear that Kawam-es-Saltaneh contemplates some changes among his collaborators and the introduction of some new elements calculated to strengthen the Government's position in the Medjliss.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [February 15.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 1864/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received February* 15.)

(No. 31. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, January* 10, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a despatch to His Majesty's consular officers at Bushire, Shiraz and Ahwaz, dated the 10th January, 1923, on the subject of the Persian War Minister and British policy in Southern Persia.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to His Majesty's Consular Officers at Bushire, Shiraz and Ahwaz.*

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Tehran, January* 10, 1923.

THE recent visit to the south of the Minister for War appears to have created an impression in the minds of His Majesty's consular officers in that region that his Excellency is anti-British. Colour has been lent to that belief by the arrest at Bushire, on the ground of personal discourtesy towards Sardar Sepah, of Allah Karam, son of Haidar Khan of Hayat Daoud, a chieftain who for many years has had close and friendly relations with the British authorities, and rendered notable assistance to the Allied cause during the war. The enclosed despatch from His Majesty's consul-general at Ispahan is another illustration of the impression to which I refer.*

As regards the Allah Karam incident, Sardar Sepah has given me explanations of his action which are satisfactory if, as I believe, they are genuine. He has, however, undertaken to release Allah Karam, to give him rank in the Persian army and to present him with a robe of honour, thus putting a definite end to the incident which had arisen. My judgment of his Excellency will, of course, be guided by his performance and not by his promises; the slowness with which, in all Oriental countries, oral undertakings are habitually translated into official acts must, however, be borne in mind.

The lamentations of Sardar Zaffer, recorded in Mr. Crow's despatch, must evidently be taken with a pinch of salt; he paints the usual picture of disaster to British interests if Bakhtiari interests, as conceived by Bakhtiari, are not supported by the whole weight of British influence. It must be remarked in this connection that it is not our business to fight the Bakhtiari battles, but to look after British interests, and that the judgment of His Majesty's Legation, acting under the supervision of and in close communication with the Secretary of State in regard to the true nature and requirements of those interests, has probably been more accurate in the past than that of any Persian politician or tribal leader, and will, I trust, continue to be so.

The real point, however, is to ascertain what are actually the motives and intentions of Sardar Sepah and to judge whether their realisation is likely to be beneficial to British interests as a whole or otherwise. In this connection I commend to your attention the following passage of a despatch which I addressed to the Marquess Curzon on the 4th September last, and I may add that his Lordship has since replied pledging his entire support to the policy outlined therein :—

> "Although British representatives in the south of Persia and important British economic interests are very naturally anxious if anything appears to

* Not printed.



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threaten the serenity of the local factors on which the latter's activities are dependent, it must, I think, be perpetually borne in mind that Tehran is the ultimate criterion of our relations with Persia, and that the cohesion of the Persian Empire as a whole is far more vitally important to British interests generally and in the long run than the local supremacy of any one of our particular protégés.

"There is, however, another aspect of this question to which I beg leave to draw your Lordship's earnest consideration. Since the crushing of the Simko rebellion, it does appear that Sardar Sepah's plan of gradually bringing the whole country under the direct control of the Persian national army has a distinct chance of success; indeed, I regard it as not impossible that the task will be completed within the next twelve or eighteen months. Sardar Sepah, in spite of several set-backs, in spite of a depleted treasury, in spite of a weak and corrupt civil administration, in spite of political intrigues, is actually succeeding in the task which the British military advisers would in other circumstances have assumed. With the exception of the South Persia Rifles the Persian army of to-day is a better and more efficient force than any that Persia has possessed for many years, and probably since the days of Nadir Shah. Discipline and training have improved enormously, and, though equipment and armament are still poor and somewhat primitive, the spirit of the troops seems good, and the prestige of the army, and Sardar Sepah's own reputation as a chief and organiser, have been enormously enhanced by the successful campaigns which have been waged in Khorassan, Gilan, Azerbaijan and Luristan. One could hardly imagine a country less disposed than Persia to the growth of a military spirit, but we are already in the presence of the apparition of that spirit, fortified by the fact that the army is a purely Persian force, unaided by foreign advisers or instructors. The whole fabric, of course, centres round Reza Khan, and if his personality were suddenly removed it would probably collapse. There are still many rocks in the path towards military hegemony to which he aspires, but to judge from his performances and from the historical subservience of the Persian character to any dominating personality, there is no particular reason why these rocks should not be evaded or removed, and the military hegemony become an accomplished fact. It may be that Reza Khan will be unable to complete his task without a stand-up struggle with some of the more important tribes, and especially the Bakhtiari, but I am inclined to think that, barring unforeseen circumstances, the Persian army would emerge victorious from the struggle. I have discussed the tribal question in a friendly manner with Reza Khan, and he quite realises that the best policy is, rather than antagonise those mediæval organisations, gradually to bring them into the army and so into line with his own policy; whether he has the patience and skill to accomplish this result remains to be seen.

"At all events I see no inherent reason why the bold and adventurous plan of Reza Khan should not succeed, and the possibility of its doing so is one which we must take seriously into account, for in many respects it would radically alter the position which we have known in Persia for a great many years past and to suit which our policy has necessarily been framed.

"I think it is axiomatic that it would be much more convenient to us from every point of view to have to deal with a strong central authority, provided we were reasonably satisfied as regards its chances of stability. Such a state of affairs would necessarily involve a loosening of our relations with local chieftains, &c., and we should lay ourselves open to the accusation, when these were brought under the thumb of Tehran, of having sacrificed our old friends. Such a situation would soon readjust itself if the central régime remained solid and vigorous, but that is precisely the contingency with which it is impossible to reckon in a country like Persia; and suppose the central régime collapsed, as has happened so often in the previous history of the country, we should not find it so easy to resume our local friendships and relations. It is, of course, never very satisfactory to discuss hypothetical situations, but I crave your Lordship's indulgence for explaining certain eventualities which I foresee as possible. In my opinion, we must go very carefully for the present and be as strictly non-partisan as possible; we must not abandon our existing friendships, but must attempt the delicate task of preparing the ground so as not to fall between two stools should any such radical change as I have suggested come about in the Persian situation; and we must gradually shape our course of action more definitely as circumstances develop."

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There can be little doubt that the aim of Sardar Sepah is gradually to bring all tribal organisations in Persia under the complete control—military, financial and administrative—of the Central Government. It is evident that the Bakhtiari and the great southern tribes are the most formidable obstacle and the most likely source of resistance to this policy, and it will be recognised as inevitable by any student of Persian traditions and affairs that playing off inter-tribal rivalries and jealousies one against the other should characterise the execution of the policy. It is equally clear that the tribal leaders feel themselves threatened by this policy both in their quasi-independent position and authority—maybe also in their pockets—and they will naturally turn to the British representatives in their locality for support. These representatives, owing to past events and traditions, to the support which in many cases they have received from the tribal leaders in the protection of British interests and to the sympathy which is the outcome of propinquity, of mutual understanding and of a certain community of interests, are naturally disposed to give their support, which, from a local point of view is quite justifiable. Purely local considerations, however, often obscure the larger issue, and thence, no doubt, arises the impression that Sardar Sepah's motives are anti-British.

I do not share this view. Sardar Sepah is against petty potentates, and his object is to consolidate Persia into one unified whole under the direct control of the Tehran Government. The evolution is one through which all countries pass in proportion as the State develops and the Central Government increases in strength and organisation; it is a process, moreover, which will be automatically facilitated by material advance, such as the construction of railways, improvement of communications and the reorganisation which is being undertaken by the American advisers. In fact, the task which Sardar Sepah is seeking to carry out, though with conspicuously inferior resources, is practically the same as that which would have devolved on the British advisers had the Anglo-Persian Convention of 1919 been ratified and applied.

If it be our policy to support tribal leaders in resistance to the Central Government, Sardar Sepah will certainly become anti-British. I do not think he is so at present; indeed, during the past year his attitude towards myself and other officers of the Legation who have occasion to see him has been consistently and increasingly friendly. I do not maintain that he is pro-British in the sense in which that expression has been commonly used and understood in the past. He is a Nationalist, though of a more level-headed and less chauvinistic type than the Tehran politicians, and is essentially pro-Persian. Some allowance must be made for the necessity in which all prominent Persians find themselves in present circumstances of maintaining an outwardly even balance as between British and Russians, though I admit that this affected impartiality has been used by some as a cloak for both anglophobia and xenophobia. I have warned Sardar Sepah quite frankly that, although I do not interfere in domestic Persian affairs, although I leave the Persian Government the entire responsibility for their management, I am nevertheless able to give him better information and more disinterested advice than he can get elsewhere about local conditions and personalities, especially in the south, that I cannot remain altogether indifferent if things are being seriously mismanaged, and shall certainly fall foul of him if anglophil Persians are persecuted merely because they are anglophil.

One other point I desire to impress on you, and that is the fact that Sardar Sepah is the one comparatively stable element in the general situation here and that his disappearance would almost certainly be the prelude to the spread of certain influences which are hostile to the British Empire and to encroachments of an undesirable nature capable of raising the whole Persian question afresh in an acute form.

Copies of this despatch without enclosure are being sent to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and to His Majesty's consul-general at Ispahan.

I am, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [May 9.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 4716/207/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received May 9.)*

(No. 144.)

My Lord, *Tehran, April 2, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour, with reference to my telegram No. 63 of the 3rd March last, to address your Lordship on the subject of the prospects of railway construction in Persia.

The situation which has obtained for several years past is that the Persian Railway Syndicate possess an option for the construction of two lines in West Persia, granted at a moment when the Medjliss was in abeyance, but as yet unratified by that Assembly, which is extremely jealous of the clause of the Constitution which makes the legal validity of any concession, &c., dependent on its formal approval. The syndicate has performed its obligations under the terms of the option and has spent a considerable sum of money on survey work, which it would recoup in the event of a concession being granted to it, and would claim the repayment of if no concession were granted. It has submitted its proposals to the Persian Government and awaits their reply, which ought to have been given in July 1922. The syndicate is, I understand, prepared to undertake construction if called on to do so by the Persian Government and subject to reasonable guarantees against financial loss.

Opinion in Persia in favour of railway construction is gathering strength, and the present Prime Minister is especially sensible of the need for it. It may seem surprising that in these circumstances the Persian Government should not have closed with the syndicate's offer. The reason for that omission is to be found in the still widespread fear and suspicion of British political designs in this country and in the belief, sedulously fostered by hostile or interested persons, that a British-constructed railway would be a powerful instrument of political penetration. It is obviously difficult at any particular moment to gauge the strength or sincerity of these apprehensions, though I feel able to express the view that they are gradually diminishing. What is certain, however, is that successive Persian Governments during the last eighteen months have not proposed to the Medjliss to confirm the option or to grant a concession to the syndicate, and have each alleged that to do so in the present state of opinion would be to court a refusal and jeopardise the prospects of construction. Two other considerations have influenced these Governments: firstly, the fear of being accused of Anglophilism; secondly, the fear of Russian displeasure and counter-demands. To the Western mind these difficulties seem more apparent than real; to the Persian mind they are formidable obstacles and practically unsurmountable until there comes about a complete change of opinion here, which no Persian has the courage to advocate openly, but of which most realise the desirability. The matter is thus allowed to drag on in the fatalistic hope that some fortunate hazard will provide a solution. The well-disposed have actually no objection to a British railway, but in order to save their patriotic face would prefer that it should be camouflaged in the guise of an international company. The ill-disposed still hope either that their opposition will be brought off, or that a non-British competitor can be brought into the field and a situation created similar to that of the northern oil concession. Practically everyone hopes, in the characteristic Persian fashion, that Persians will be paid for granting to foreigners the inestimable privilege of constructing a railway system in this country, rather than that Persia should pay for the railway communications which are essential to her development and progress. This judgment may appear severe, but it is substantially correct. In the circumstances, therefore, my attitude, in discussing the railway question with Persian officials or private individuals has been broadly this: That, as a well-wisher of Persia, Great Britain would be glad to see her adopt a serious programme of railway construction; for herself, Great Britain is in no hurry to undertake the task, but, if convinced that Persia really wants railways and is prepared to provide for them out of her own resources, she is ready to give assistance. That the Persians must make up their own minds on the subject; if they decide on construction, there is a first-class British syndicate able and ready to construct and



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already possessing an option for that purpose; if they fear political penetration through the railway, we are prepared, however unfounded such apprehensions may appear to us, to discuss any reasonable means to allay them, *e.g.*, American participation. That to me the benefits of railway construction in Persia are so obvious that I am unable to appreciate Persian hesitation to close with so advantageous an offer as that of the Persian Railway Syndicate. That financial stringency might be a ground for their hesitation, but now that there are competent American advisers here, they should be instructed to report on the capacity of the country to pay for a railway system.

So much for the ground-work of the situation. A new element has arisen, however, which, from a mechanical and technical point of view, might not impossibly provide a solution of Persia's railway problem so far as the mere question of transport and communciations is concerned. I refer to the "roadrails" system of traction. It is extremely difficult for a layman to say whether roadrails, also known as the Stronach Dutton system, are suitable for use in Persia or would provide with regularity and efficiency the mechanical haulage which this country requires. At first sight the system would seem well suited for the purpose; if this view were confirmed by competent engineers, its remarkable cheapness in comparison with a standard railway would, in Persian eyes, be an irresistible argument in favour of its employment. There is therefore some possibility of the Persians wishing, on very justifiable grounds of economy, to have a roadrails line laid between the Irak frontier and Tehran in preference to the standard railway contemplated by the Persian Railway Syndicate. If that situation arose, it would clearly be unwise and ungracious on the part of His Majesty's Government to insist consistently with the support which they have hitherto afforded to the option acquired by the Persian Railway Syndicate on the construction of a standard line if a railroads line, at one-tenth or one-eighth of the cost, could serve Persia's immediate purposes equally well. The eventuality would be avoided if there was a fusion of interests between the Persian Railway Syndicate and the Railroads Company in regard to construction work in Persia and if the Persian Railway Syndicate were willing to lay railroads instead of a railway on the lines mentioned in the option, if called on to do so by the Persian Government. In this way it seems to me possible to forestall a most undesirable conflict of interest between two British enterprises, to avoid the question arising whether the laying of railroads is an infraction of a railway option or concession, and to strengthen considerably the chances of any sort of railroad construction being undertaken by British firms. These were the considerations which I had in mind when expressing the hope in my telegram that your Lordship would urge on the two firms in question the desirability of combining their interests.

The question of railway construction in Persia is one which has interested me for a long time, and although I am aware that it has been considered by His Majesty's Government and discussed by bodies and individuals far more competent than myself, your Lordship will, I trust, permit me to express the personal views which I have formed on the subject in the hope that they may be of interest and service.

During my earlier residence in Tehran, when I acted as secretary in charge of commercial affairs, I formed the opinion, and expressed it in a confidential trade report in 1908, that the policy of road-making in Persia had not given the results expected of it, either from the point of view of opening up Persia or from that of British trade, and that His Majesty's Government would be well advised to concentrate their principal energies in the future on a policy of railway construction. I am still of that opinion, and think that the course of events since that date tends to show that it was a correct one. We wish to sell British goods to Persia. The purchasing power of this country is diminishing, and it seems unlikely that it will increase unless means can be found to increase Persian exports. The principal obstacle to the development of an export trade is that many exportable articles either cannot reach the sea at all or can do so only at a cost in respect of transport charges which renders them unsaleable at world prices. Take agriculture as one example. Persia in any year produces with an ordinarily good harvest an exportable surplus of foodstuffs, notwithstanding the very primitive methods of cultivation which are still employed and notwithstanding the fact that only a proportion of cultivable land is actually under cultivation. If local shortage or famines occur, it is not because of a general shortage in the country, but because of the lamentably deficient means of distribution and because such means as do exist are prohibitively costly. If, therefore, distribution were assured by a system of cheaper and more rapid transport,

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capable of movements in bulk, if modern methods of agriculture were introduced, a larger area would be brought under cultivation and an exportable surplus of foodstuffs ought to be available annually for sale in the world market, and especially in India.

Many other examples could easily be found, and it is unnecessary to dwell on the stimulus, both material and moral, which would be given to the life of the country by the introduction of railways. It may safely be assumed that they would be a powerful factor in increasing the purchasing power of the country and its value as a market for British goods. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the four years since the few miles of railway in Persian territory between Mirjawa and Duzdab have been opened to traffic the imports passing annually through Duzdab have doubled, whereas the exports have actually quintupled. Railways, while stabilising the economic situation, could also tend automatically to stabilise the political situation, so long as the railway system was wisely planned and executed.

This condition is an important one, however, and necessitates an examination of the question of alignment. To take the problem as a fresh one, and detached from the questions involved in existing options or concessions, it seems to me evident that the general axis of the future Persian railway system ought to be west-east, and not north-south, and that both for economic and strategic reasons. Broadly speaking, the Persian trunk line ought to be regarded as a sector of a future trans-continental South Asiatic railway linking up India with the Eastern Mediterranean, perhaps at Haifa, and maybe with an alternative route diverging from Bagdad through Constantinople to Western Europe. So far as I am able to perceive, this conception is the most advantageous one in the interest of Great Britain and Persia alike. Assuming that the line starts from and connects with the Irak railway system on the Irak–Persian frontier, its proper alignment should be Khanikin–Kermanshah–Hamadan–Sultanabad–Ispahan–Yezd–Kerman–Duzdab, where it would connect with the existing Indian system. The Persians would doubtless want the line prolonged from Hamadan through Noberan to Tehran, and there would be no objection to this as long as it did not divert the main axis of the future trunk line, to which it would stand in the position of a branch line to the capital. It would be useful also to connect the main line with the Persian Gulf by lines within Persian territory, *e.g.*, viâ the Diz Valley with Mohammerah, from Ispahan viâ Shiraz with Bushire, and from Kerman to Bunder Abbas.

The north-south axis is objectionable because at one end it leads to nowhere except Russia. It has the fallacious appearance of being a sea-to-sea line; fallacious because the Caspian is a Russian lake and is both physically and politically inaccessible to the commerce of all nations. The danger to Persia threatens from the north. A north-south alignment would therefore be a line of dangerous penetration from the Persian point of view, and a line of dangerous approach, necessitating counter-measures, or some sort of political control over the southern sector, from the Indian point of view. It is hardly too much to say that the construction of a north-south line would make the loss of Persia's independence a mathematical certainty. The eventuality is therefore one to be avoided to the utmost of our ability.

On the other hand, an east-west trunk line not only provides a barrier to an advance from the north, but also offers a system of lateral communications which would render any such advance appreciably more hazardous to undertake and infinitely more easy to repel. The considerable distance which separates it from Persia's northern frontier would constitute another factor of security.

I am myself strongly in favour of the trunk line being a standard railway; if the suitability of roadrails for this country be demonstrated, this system could conveniently be used for the purpose of branch and feeder lines—for the time being, at all events. If, however, the Persians find that they cannot support the financial burden of a standard railway for the moment, and desire to have a roadrails track built from the western frontier to begin with, I do not think we should oppose this scheme, provided the interests of the Persian Railway Syndicate were guaranteed. This could best be done by their acting as the Persian Government's agents for building the roadrails track as a forerunner of the standard railway, which would obviously require an altogteher different *tracé* from the road followed by the roadrails. I am inclined to think, however, that it would be wisest to use the roadrails system experimentally in the first place away from the main western line—for example, from Bushire to Shiraz, with an extension to Ispahan if the experiment proved successful—and meanwhile to encourage the Persians to proceed with the construction of the standard line from the Irak frontier to Kermanshah at least, and if possible to Hamadan.

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My reasons for insisting for the construction in the first place of the western line, in preference to any other, are based on the belief, in accordance with available information, that of all routes this is the least unlikely to yield a return on the capital outlay; they may be summarised as follows :—

1. The line terminates at a port already possessing adequate equipment for handling an extensive overseas trade, viz., Basra. The cost of constructing a port in addition to a railway will therefore not be a charge on Persian finances.
2. The region through which the railway passes is, for Persia, a comparatively fertile one, and is certainly capable of agricultural development.
3. The route is the one along which the greatest volume of Persian trade already passes. It may therefore be anticipated that the existing trade will be at once transferred to the railway and that the more rapid and cheaper transport provided by the railway will stimulate a development of that trade.
4. The route is that taken by pilgrims to the Holy Places of the Shia Faith, and by corpses sent there for burial; also by travellers to and from the west. Travellers along the road average in the present unfavourable conditions about 100 a day; corpses, 10. A considerable passenger traffic is therefore assured at the outset, and it is likely to increase considerably.
5. A tourist traffic might be developed. The money spent by tourists in Persia would be a gain to this country. Places like the Hamadan and the Tehran neighbourhoods might well become summer residential resorts for dwellers in the lowlands of Irak, the Gulf and Arabistan.

It is, I think, clear that no other alignment possesses this aggregate of advantages.

The principles which I should like to lay down in dealing with this problem are :—

(*a.*) That the axis of the main trunk line should be west-east.
(*b.*) That the western line should be built first.
(*c.*) That the roadrails question should be thoroughly gone into and that it should be used experimentally away from the trunk line, if competent opinion thinks the experiment worth making at all.
(*d.*) That if the Persians want roadrails, even on the alignment of the trunk line, to begin with, we should not finally oppose their wishes.

Copies of this despatch are being forwarded to the Government of India, His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Bagdad and to His Majesty's consular officers at Bushire, Shiraz and Seistan.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [June 5.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 6.

[E 5823/71/34 No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received June* 5.)

(No. 185. Secret.)

My Lord, *Tehran, April* 28, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a despatch from the military attaché respecting the submission to the Persian Medjliss of a Bill for Conscription.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Saunders to Sir P. Loraine.*

Sir, *Tehran, April* 26, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to forward a translation of the Bill for Conscription presented a few days ago to the Medjliss by the Persian Minister of War.

The Bill is at present being examined by a parliamentary committee before being read to the Medjliss.

The War Minister is anxious for the Bill to be passed as soon as possible.

I have, &c.
M. SAUNDERS, *Military Attaché.*

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

(Translation.)

BILL FOR CONSCRIPTION.

*Presented to the Medjliss by the Minister of War.*

Preamble.—*Benefits of General Conscription.*

GENERAL conscription will nationalise the Persian army, all families in the country shall then have an interest in defending their nation and their independence.

2. The strength of effectives after a period of six years of training will amount to 80,000 men, and the strength of the whole army, when all classes are taken into consideration, will total almost 1 million men. When the Government in time succeeds in furnishing them with necessary equipment, the country will be protected from all probable attacks, although during peace not more than 40,000 or 50,000 men will be retained under arms.

3. Economy will be effected by the discontinuance of the poll tax and tax on local six months' salary.

4. A more even system of recruiting throughout the country, which will ensure sufficient persons being left to cultivate the lands. Such has not hitherto been the case.

5. Improving the physique of the nation through sports and athletics.

6. Economy in the pay of the army, which amounts yearly to an excessive sum.

7. Increase of patriotic sentiments amongst the Persian people, mutual good feeling between various classes, and creation of feelings of equality.

8. Avoidance of discrimination, the equality of all before the law, execution of complete justice, and the patriotic duty of defending the country will be in accordance with the religious law.

9. It is requested that this project, which introduces universal training, may be ratified as soon as possible.

HASSAN MOSTOFIOL MAMALEK,
*Prime Minister.*

REZA, *Minister of War.*



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## Defects of the Bonitcheh System.

1. Damage has occurred to the Treasury through loss of a quantity of taxes in kind and cash because of reductions to the poll tax (kanevary, &c.).

2. More damage has occurred to the cultivation of the country as the recruitment of soldiers is limited to the peasants of the villages, and the value of the Crown lands has thus been diminished.

3. Perpetual cause of debts to the farmers and landowners on account of Padaraneh (*i.e.*, a sum applied by the landowners of a village to the dependents of men called up for service under the Bonitcheh system), and the exchange by others of people absent from service under the Bonitcheh Law.

4. Creation of trouble for the Ministry of War and recruiting parties by the fact that some villages being now ruined cannot provide their quota of men, or by reason of any other cause for remission of service which the inhabitants may show.

5. The necessity of revising the Bonitcheh Law at least every ten years. During the last eighty years, no steps have been taken to readjust the Bonitcheh Law, thus the Government and the farmers have met many difficulties, and the condition of affairs has changed entirely; for instance, the inhabitants of a place which is liable to supply soldiers have shifted to another place from which no men are demanded.

6. The damage incurred by a locality on account of the payment of six months' expenses for each soldier by the residents of the place, as recruits are enrolled in different branches of the service which differ in rate, so inequality results. As the obligation of supporting local officers exists, whose services are not useful to the Government in any respect, money is expended which might go to the finances of the Government, as tithes. This sum from the various localities amounts to 1 million tomans per annum. In addition, the Government ought to destroy the dangerous influence of these local officers.

7. The scarcity of places which furnish recruits and the necessity of calling up an individual several times after he has once performed his proper period of service, result in the diminution of the inhabitants of certain districts and villages of the country, lack of prosperity, and a scarcity of trained men.

8. Taking the inhabitants of a good part of the country from their land to attend to the sacred duty of defending the fatherland, overcrowding of the remaining parts, and finally extinguishing the sentiments of patriotism among the residents of cities and districts which are exempted from military service.

9. The scarcity in the army of educated and bright young men who usually settle in large cities and can rarely be found in country districts. These are at present recruited from the cities at heavy expense.

10. The fundamental defect of the Bonitcheh system, which limits recruitment to a certain class, whereas, according to the Mahommedan religion, all laws should be based on equality.

## Persian Army Conscription Bill.

### Chapter 1.—*Preliminary Rules.*

1. All Persian subjects, inhabitants of towns, villages and tribes, are liable to military service.

2. Period of service is between 20 and 45 years of age; this is divided into three parts:—

First part: Six years; first three years with the colours and second three years on leave, this latter period is termed "Ihtiatieh."

Second part: Thirteen years "Zakhireh" (Reserve); first six years "Zakhireh mokadam" (First Reserve), and second period of seven years "Zakhireh Taali" (see article 42).

Third part: Six years "Pasban" (guards). This class has no duty during peace time.

3. Arrangements for each of these three classes will be in accordance with the public mobilisation orders of the War Ministry. In times of national emergency these classes will be called up, beginning with the first "Ihtiatieh" and ending with the "Pasban."

4. For the purposes of this the Persian Empire will be divided into six parts · Azerbaijan and Khamseh; Mazanderan and Gilan; Khorasan; Arak; Fars; Tehran (including Kazvin).

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## Defects of the Bonitcheh System.

1. Damage has occurred to the Treasury through loss of a quantity of taxes in kind and cash because of reductions to the poll tax (kanevary, &c.).

2. More damage has occurred to the cultivation of the country as the recruitment of soldiers is limited to the peasants of the villages, and the value of the Crown lands has thus been diminished.

3. Perpetual cause of debts to the farmers and landowners on account of Padaraneh (*i.e.*, a sum applied by the landowners of a village to the dependents of men called up for service under the Bonitcheh system), and the exchange by others of people absent from service under the Bonitcheh Law.

4. Creation of trouble for the Ministry of War and recruiting parties by the fact that some villages being now ruined cannot provide their quota of men, or by reason of any other cause for remission of service which the inhabitants may show.

5. The necessity of revising the Bonitcheh Law at least every ten years. During the last eighty years, no steps have been taken to readjust the Bonitcheh Law, thus the Government and the farmers have met many difficulties, and the condition of affairs has changed entirely; for instance, the inhabitants of a place which is liable to supply soldiers have shifted to another place from which no men are demanded.

6. The damage incurred by a locality on account of the payment of six months' expenses for each soldier by the residents of the place, as recruits are enrolled in different branches of the service which differ in rate, so inequality results. As the obligation of supporting local officers exists, whose services are not useful to the Government in any respect, money is expended which might go to the finances of the Government, as tithes. This sum from the various localities amounts to 1 million tomans per annum. In addition, the Government ought to destroy the dangerous influence of these local officers.

7. The scarcity of places which furnish recruits and the necessity of calling up an individual several times after he has once performed his proper period of service, result in the diminution of the inhabitants of certain districts and villages of the country, lack of prosperity, and a scarcity of trained men.

8. Taking the inhabitants of a good part of the country from their land to attend to the sacred duty of defending the fatherland, overcrowding of the remaining parts, and finally extinguishing the sentiments of patriotism among the residents of cities and districts which are exempted from military service.

9. The scarcity in the army of educated and bright young men who usually settle in large cities and can rarely be found in country districts. These are at present recruited from the cities at heavy expense.

10. The fundamental defect of the Bonitcheh system, which limits recruitment to a certain class, whereas, according to the Mahommedan religion, all laws should be based on equality.

## Persian Army Conscription Bill.

### Chapter 1.—*Preliminary Rules.*

1. All Persian subjects, inhabitants of towns, villages and tribes, are liable to military service.

2. Period of service is between 20 and 45 years of age; this is divided into three parts:—

First part: Six years; first three years with the colours and second three years on leave, this latter period is termed "Ihtiatieh."

Second part: Thirteen years "Zakhireh" (Reserve); first six years "Zakhireh mokadam" (First Reserve), and second period of seven years "Zakhireh Taali" (see article 42).

Third part: Six years "Pasban" (guards). This class has no duty during peace time.

3. Arrangements for each of these three classes will be in accordance with the public mobilisation orders of the War Ministry. In times of national emergency these classes will be called up, beginning with the first "Ihtiatieh" and ending with the "Pasban."

4. For the purposes of this the Persian Empire will be divided into six parts · Azerbaijan and Khamseh; Mazanderan and Gilan; Khorasan; Arak; Fars; Tehran (including Kazvin).

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5. Men will be called up in their own districts.

6. As there are at present no accurate statistics to show the ages of people, men who are now been 20 and 26 years of age will be called up. In future, when the necessary statistics are ready, only persons of 20 years of age will be called up.

7. In each mobilisation district the District Mobilisation Committee will make out a list of all persons liable for military service, names of persons exempted (see chapter 2) will then be erased. As the Government may not require for service the full number of persons who are liable to serve, the committee will draw the surplus by lot, this surplus so drawn will be considered as " Ihtiati."

The time for calling up fresh classes is between 15th Mizan (8th October) and the end of Kaus (22nd December).

8. The Mobilisation Committee for Central Persia will consist of: one major, one captain, and one or two local lieutenants. The Governor of the place will have the right of presidency of this committee, and it is the duty of the superior officer of the locality to supervise the work of the committee. Inhabitants of a place may attend this committee, but the number of members must not exceed twenty.

9. A list of all those liable for service will be prepared at the beginning of Hamal (23rd March); in each locality where this Act is in force 2 per cent. will be added to replace unfit, absentees and those without families. A copy of this list will be forwarded to the War Ministry.

10. Students of religion must obtain a certificate from the Director of Education of their place of residence in order that they may be granted the remission of service laid down (see article 18).

11. Persons liable for service, according to article 7, will be recruited with the approval of the Council of Ministers and by the decree of His Majesty the Shah.

12. On orders of mobilisation being issued from the War Ministry, those liable to serve, whose names appear on the list, shall be summoned by the committee to attend. Should anyone be absent or travelling his parents or brother must attend in his place. Even if a person is ill or has no one to support his family he must attend.

13. On the day on which men are called up, the military doctor must attend, with the local Governor and his assistant, the mullahs and all the civil officials. The Government's mobilisation order will be read publicly, a prayer will be made, roll will be called to discover absentees. Medical inspection will be held, and those who are unfit will be rejected; their names and those of persons exempted according to chapter 2 and the testimony of the Mayor of their village will be marked on the list with full explanation of the cause.

## Chapter 2.—*Relating to Exemption from Military Service.*

14. Clerics and religious teachers are exempted.

15. Those who have special appointments at the Royal Court are exempted, but if of military age they are liable to be called to the colours on leaving their appointment.

16. Preachers and mullahs of mosques are exempted provided that they have held their appointment in the mosque for more than a year before the passing of this law, and provided that they are accepted by the congregation.

17. Servants of the Holy Tombs are exempted, provided their period of military service coincides with their appointment at the tomb.

18. Religious students must terminate their studies at the age of 25, and on passing a medical examination will have to serve for six months instead of for three years.

High school students who desire to continue their studies at a university will be treated according to article 21.

19. If for any reason the date of examination of a student is postponed and he is subsequently examined, this date will be considered to be the date of his class, and the postponement of his examination does not excuse him military service.

20. Students of high schools, or arts and science, medical, engineering, &c., who have graduated in Persia or in a foreign country will only have to serve for one instead of three years.

21. Students of Government schools, or of schools which are officially recognised as Government schools, will be temporarily exempted while studying. They must serve for two years after the age of 25 when they have finished their course.



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22. The following are not required for military service: Persons who are blind in the right eye, deaf and dumb, lame or hump-backed. Although these persons are unable to serve they must be registered, and require to hold a doctor's certificate. Those who are weak and require medical treatment must be sent at Government expense wherever the doctors may recommend for their treatment.

23. If a man is over 70 years of age, or though younger than this he cannot support his family, and has only one son, this son will be exempted on reaching military age.

24. If a man or a widow has a son who is a soldier, and has a second son, or in addition has a third son of less than 15 years of age, as long as one son is in the army the second son will be exempted for one year, but his name will be registered as liable for service.

25. If a widow has a son in the army and has no other son over 15 years of age, and more than one son has died in military service, should she have any near relations, the calling up of this relation's sons will be postponed for one year.

26. If a widow has a son of military age and other sons between the ages of 15 and 70 who are blind or incapable, the son of military age will be exempted for one year.

27. If a man is the head of a family and has to feed more than two people, he will be exempted from military service until someone in the family attains the age of 25. If a man has to support orphans, he will not be called up in that year.

28. In case a man has to feed his mother or grandmother, and there is no one else to look after them, he will be exempted for one year.

29. If a man has only two sons who are both liable for service at the same time, he may send one and retain the other, but if only one at a time should be liable for service, and the younger is willing to take military service, the elder may be exempted. This fact will be entered in all necessary documents.

30. In case a man has more than two sons in another house or village who are all fit, and one or two of his sons are liable for service, this number will be called up; but should more than two be liable for service only two will be called up and the others will be put off until the following year. If a man has a son already serving and two more are liable for service, one will be enrolled, and the father may, if he desires, exchange the second son of military age for the one already serving.

31. Wherever two persons in partnership are responsible for the expenses of two families, and both of them are drawn for service, the one whose name was drawn first will be called up, and the other will be held over till the following year. Whenever in subsequent years they may have the same family duties, a similar arrangement will be made.

32. Persons, who after the death of their father, in accordance with the custom of the country, hold the position of trustee of an heir or head of a family, will be exempt from service for that year. If anyone else should take over their charge, they will not be exempt, but will be included in the Reserve.

33. Guardians of bequeathed property, as long as they are of military age, will be summoned, and if chosen for service and they are unable to provide a substitute, the guardianship of the property during their period of service will be temporarily under the Office of Bequests.

34. The service of princes, who are the direct children of the Sovereign, will depend on the wishes of the Sovereign.

35. Persons who are of military age and who wish to enter public or municipal services or any other service which requires the special permission of the Government, must be in possession of a certificate of service under arms (*i.e.*, that they have completed their military training).

36. All persons who wish to enter the amnieh or police must first complete their three years military service and must be in possession of a good conduct certificate.

37. With regard to criminals or persons who for improper acts have been sentenced to more than two years' imprisonment or have been deprived of their salary for a misdemeanour; as the association of this type of person with innocent youths on entering military service is undesirable, if they should be chosen for service, they will not be given the privilege of bearing arms, but will be put under the observation of special officials and will be recruited for the Labour Corps.

Chapter 3.—*Relating to Absentees and Persons who Assist Absentees.*

38. All persons who absent themselves from the drawing of lots, or who wound themselves with a view to avoiding military service, will be made to serve for the full

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22. The following are not required for military service: Persons who are blind in the right eye, deaf and dumb, lame or hump-backed. Although these persons are unable to serve they must be registered, and require to hold a doctor's certificate. Those who are weak and require medical treatment must be sent at Government expense wherever the doctors may recommend for their treatment.

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period without being drawn for. Any person who aids or is a partner in any of the above acts, is liable to imprisonment for one to three months and a fine or banishment. If any Government servant is a partner to such acts, he will be dismissed and is liable to a similar punishment. Any person giving information leading to the discovery of such acts will receive a reward.

39. In the event of a father whose son has been chosen for military service desiring by fraud to send another son to serve, or sending another person under an assumed name in place of his son, whether this act is committed before or after the lots are drawn, persons committing this fraud, and those who have accepted or assisted this fraud will be liable to be punished according to the Legal Code.

Chapter 4.—*Relating to the Drawing of Lots and the Conduct of Affairs afterwards.*

40. The method of summoning, and the members of the Mobilisation Committee is laid down in chapter 1, and the conduct of the lot drawing and of affairs after will be in accordance with the current mobilisation instructions.

41. After lots have been once drawn before the committee, on no account is any lot to be drawn again. (Particular attention is to be paid to the scrupulous observance of this order.) Those persons who are chosen for service will take an oath on the Koran (or their own holy book) before the Mobilisation Committee, that "During the whole period of my service I will serve my country, Monarch and the Constitutional Government faithfully, and that I will not be guilty of treachery or desertion." One of the Ulema present on the committee must explain carefully the terms of this oath to all who take it.

42. All persons, who while of military age were not chosen for service, on passing military age must be given a certificate to this effect by the recruiting authorities. From this date they will be considered to be part of the Reserve, and for one month (or such period as the Ministry of War may fix) in every two years will attend for training with the rest of the Reserve. In a similar way all persons who have satisfied the authorities and are over military age will be given a certificate by the recruiting authorities.

43. The Ministry of War is empowered to call up as a special case in an emergency volunteers of the age of 18 years, persons of military age who are exempt, and persons who have done good service who may wish to renew their contract. Other recruiting instructions will be in accordance with the general recruiting orders issued separately from the Ministry of War.

REZA, *Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief.*

*Dated* 19*th Hamal* (11*th April*).

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PERSIA. [June 5.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 5826/1713/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received June* 5.)

(No. 188.)

My Lord, *Tehran, April* 29, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of despatch No. 21 of the 12th April, addressed to me by His Majesty's vice-consul at Resht, describing the deplorable condition of affairs in the Province of Gilan during the Governorship of Nayer-es-Sultan.

The despatch throws an interesting light on the unscrupulous and aggressive methods of Russian Soviet representatives in this country. The criminal negligence, if not the actual co-operation of Nayer-es-Sultan in the activities of M. Apresof, make of this an extreme case, but the methods employed in Gilan, such as the subsidising of local newspapers, the publication of revolutionary pamphlets inciting the populace to revolt against the Government, and the formation of workmen's unions, are typical, as your Lordship is well aware, of Bolshevik methods in Persia and are pursued in varying degrees wherever their representatives are stationed.

The attitude of the Persian Government in tolerating such illegal and extreme interference in the domestic affairs of this country reflects the respect for the power of Russia which was instilled into the Persian mind during the Tsarist régime, and is being revived by the protection extended by the Russian Legation to its creatures, such as Nayer-es-Sultan, and the increasing interest shown by that Legation in the appointment to governorships of its nominees—a policy which savours of a return to methods practised under the Tsarist régime.

The departure of the new Governor of Gilan to his post has been delayed by the opposition of the Russian Legation who do not consider him to be sufficiently amenable to their influence. Meanwhile the recall of Nayer-es-Sultan and the appointment of an energetic officer, Sartip Mohamed Hussein Khan, to the command of the Northern Division has resulted in a considerable improvement in the situation in Gilan.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Acting Vice-Consul Brenan to Sir P. Loraine.*

(No. 21.)

Sir, *Resht, April* 12, 1923.

FOR purposes of record I have the honour to inform you that on the 7th instant I was officially informed by Shehzedeh Mubashir-es-Sultan, chief of the Persian Telegraph Department in Resht, that by order of the Prime Minister, Asaf-ed-Dowleh had been appointed Governor of Gilan in place of Nayer-es-Sultan, and that pending the former's arrival, he was entrusted with the government of the district.

Ever since the appointment of Nayer-es-Sultan to the governorship of this district, the political situation in Gilan rapidly deteriorated. His governorship during a very critical period, when there was apparently grave danger of war between the Allied Governments and the Government of Angora with the probable support of the Russian Soviet, was characterised by his complete subservience to the Russian consular authorities of Resht and Enzeli, who did not fail to make every use of his criminal weakness, if not of his deliberate co-operation.

Bolshevik agents, both foreign and local, were enabled to work in complete freedom, without fear of any molestation from the Persian authorities.

Violent and scurrilous anti-British propaganda was carried on with absolute impunity in the local newspaper, "Nedai Gilan," flagrantly subsidised by Apresof, the Russian Soviet consul, and by other means.

Illegal notices were continually placarded in the town and countryside, inciting the populace to revolt against authority and peasants against their landlords.



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To letters of protest from myself, Nayer-es-Sultan did not even vouchsafe the courtesy of an acknowledgment.

His attitude towards foreign (non-Russian) nationals was regrettably unfriendly.

About the middle of February a most unusual incident occurred when a number of Persians openly assaulted and nearly murdered a prominent Greek merchant. The Persians concerned took refuge at the Governor's house, and it was only after repeated representations on my part that the assailants were finally sent to the police station. Nevertheless at the instigation of the Governor, the criminals were immediately released, no evidence of any value was collected, although the assault took place in a crowded public thoroughfare, and eventually the assailants were allowed to leave the town to go to Tehran.

On another occasion after a breach of relations between the local newspaper and the Bolshevik consul, the printing press which issued the newspaper was robbed, and a number of copies of the day's issue were stolen.

On the following day Apresof himself showed the stolen sheets to Nayer-es-Sultan, and himself admitted that he had engineered the theft, because the "Nedai Gilan," had "changed its views," and was publishing anti-Russian articles.

No action was taken by the Governor.

On another occasion, Apresof with the connivance of Nayer-es-Sultan, deliberately attempted to coerce a *vakil*, in charge of a case concerning the inheritance of some property, to abstain from fighting the case which was against a Russian citizen. The *vakil* was even beaten by the Russian consular servants in the consulate. It was afterwards clearly shown that Nayer-es-Sultan was a party to this act of Apresof.

The situation in Resht was indeed becoming impossible until the arrival of Sartip Muhammad Hussein Khan, sent by the Minister of War to establish at Resht his headquarters as commander of the Northern Division. This officer immediately set about counteracting the malign influence of the Governor and has since succeeded to a certain extent in re-establishing a better atmosphere.

It is to be hoped that with the arrival of Asaf-ed-Dowleh and the co-operation of the military authorities, the situation will continue to improve.

I have, &c.

T. V. BRENAN.

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PERSIA. [June 19.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 5.

[E 6343/1416/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received June* 19.)

(No. 200. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May* 10, 1923.

THE telegrams which I have had the honour to address to your Lordship during the last six weeks in regard to the question at issue between the Bakhtiari Khans and the Minister for War will have kept your Lordship informed in regard to the difficult and disquieting situation which has arisen in this connection. It may, however, be useful for purposes of record to take up the thread of the story since the date of my despatch No. 582, Confidential, of the 21st September last; but before proceeding further, I beg leave to recall to your Lordship's notice the following passage in that despatch which, in the light of subsequent events and knowledge is especially significant:—

> " . . . . I was myself inclined to suspect that the Bakhtiari Khans might have had a hand in instigating the attack, having in mind the allusion made to the possible use of force by Samsam-es-Sultaneh in their interview with me, the gist of which was reported in my telegram No. 280 of the 22nd July. Your Lordship will remember that I promptly deprecated the suggestion, and that, as you were informed by my telegram No. 296 of the 9th August, I took special steps to assure myself that my meaning had not by chance been in any way misconstrued by the khans, a matter on which they set my mind immediately at ease. At the same time I made it perfectly plain to them that we could accept no responsibility in the matter, and in this they fully concurred."

In the early part of September the khans were still uneasy in regard to the attitude of Sardar Sepah towards themselves, and especially so because some Persian troops had proceeded to the Burburud district, and, according to their reports, there was a risk of collision with the tribesmen on account of the high-handed action of the troops; moreover, the intentions of Sardar Sepah were not clear, and he evidently did not regard the Shalil incident as liquidated. Sardar Jang, on behalf of the khans, undertook negotiations with the Persian Government and with Sardar Sepah on these two points, with the result that he was entrusted with a mission to investigate the Shalil incident in company with a representative of the Ministry for War, and was informed that suitable instructions would be issued in regard to the military action at Burburud. A copy of the communication addressed by the Prime Minister, Kawam-es-Sultaneh, to Sardar Jang on these points is enclosed herein.* Sardar Jang had consulted me in regard to his acceptance of the mission of enquiry, and I had expressed my entire approval. This method seemed to me to offer the best prospect of reaching a settlement and a reconciliation. I advised Sardar Jang, in response to his enquiry, not to reject the co-operation of a military officer, but, on the other hand, to work cordially with him in order to secure a joint report which would exonerate the khans and lead to a termination of the incident. It is necessary to add that the action of the military authorities at Burburud was not without its counterpart on the side of the Bakhtiari. On the 19th September His Majesty's consul-general at Ispahan informed me that two minor khans with a force of Bakhtiari had attacked Choghurt, a village in the Fereidan district, and destroyed it, this village being in Ispahan territory and containing Government stores. Mr. Crow feared that the Bakhtiari were thus inviting trouble and had urged the khans, through Sardar Ashjaa, then Governor-General of Ispahan, to withdraw their forces. I approved Mr. Crow's action, and warned Sardar Jang here of the unwisdom of these conflicts. On the following day I heard that Sardar Ashjaa had received a telegram from Samsam-es-Sultaneh and Sardar Jang telling him that the Persian Government wished him to resign and urging him to do so, and from confidential sources I was aware that Sardar Sepah and previously warned Sardar

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Ashjaa that he was believed to be working against the Government. Sardar Ashjaa's health at this time was so bad that he would have been compelled to abandon his Governorship in any case, and in the circumstances he offered his resignation, which was accepted. He was replaced later on by Amir Ightidar, one of Sardar Sepah's henchmen, who had been Military Governor of Tehran during the preceding year.

Sardar Jang left for Ispahan on the 26th September. The Ilkhani and Ilbeggi, on the 18th September, had sent me, through Mr. Fitzpatrick, who was then in Bakhtiari, a message assuring me of their loyalty to the Persian Government and of their willingness to be on friendly terms with the Minister for War, in accordance with the counsel which I had given them. They reiterated their apprehensions in regard to the intentions of Sardar Sepah, and suggested that I should obtain a definite written promise from the Persian Government that no hostile action against them was contemplated. I did not consider this a suitable way of proceeding; to begin with, I do not think that Sardar Sepah would have given any written assurance to me which he would not have given to the khans themselves; also I preferred to keep my attitude of neutrality, which a request for such an assurance would have prejudiced; thirdly, the refusal of a request to that effect would have created an awkward situation; fourthly, I was already engaged in encouraging a solution of the question by a commission of enquiry. I therefore replied on the 25th September, through Mr. Fitzpatrick, thanking the khans for their friendly message, and adding that I was ever mindful of their interests; I informed them of the departure on the following day of Sardar Jang's mission and of its purpose, and said that he would explain to them my views, which he entirely shared. I reminded the khans of the importance of not giving Reza Khan any pretext for picking a quarrel with them, and thought that if Sardar Jang's mission were successful all apprehensions on that score should be removed. I further expressed the opinion that, subject to the result of the discussions which would take place between Sardar Jang and the local khans, it would be advisable, when Sardar Jang returned to Tehran, for the Bakhtiari to seek a definite agreement with the Persian Government defining the areas within which they and the Central Government were respectively responsible for the maintenance of order, so that all possible sources of misunderstanding or friction might be removed.

Sardar Jang, on his arrival at Ispahan, sent me a message to say that he was awaiting the definite instructions of the Minister for War and the appointment of his Excellency's representative, that if a settlement of the Shalil incident on its merits was all that was required, he thought that could be managed, but that if Sardar Sepah intended to use the incident as a pretext for invasion and for stirring up the south with the help of Soulet-ed-Dowleh, the Kashqai chieftain, his mission was unlikely to succeed. These apprehensions were evidently based on a comparatively slight flow of troops southwards from Tehran, but neither Mr. Crow nor I had any confirmation of aggressive intentions at that moment on the part of the Minister for War. I therefore replied to Sardar Jang on the 4th October that as it was then settled that the Shah was returning to Persia and would travel by Bushire, Shiraz and Ispahan, it seemed to me very unlikely that the Bakhtiari could be attacked at such a juncture; that the increase of troops was no doubt due to the intention of the Minister for War to guard the road with troops throughout for His Majesty's passage, and that Sardar Sepah intended to visit Ispahan and Shiraz himself, which would, in my opinion, offer the best opportunity for the Bakhtiari to come to terms with him. At the same time I made representations to Sardar Sepah on the 9th October by Mr. Harvard, to whom his Excellency stated that he was quite content to leave the investigations in Sardar Jang's hands, that he had appointed the representative to accompany him, and had no intention of attacking the Baktiari.

On the 13th October I visited Sardar Sepah myself and urged him to do everything possible to allay the suspicions and restiveness which were apparent among the Bakhtiari. His Excellency said that he had great hopes that the mission of Sardar Jang would be completely successful, in which case he had no intention of taking any direct action; he had no thought of attacking the Bakhtiari, and was even sending the khans a comforting message. On his way down to the south to meet His Imperial Majesty, he would invite the khans to come and see him, and they would then see that his feelings towards them were quite friendly. As I knew the fact of losing their "outside" governorships was a sore point with the khans I went on to suggest to Sardah Sepah that the appointment of another Bakhtiari Governor to Ispahan would be the best sign he could give of his friendly attitude towards the Bakhtiari. He

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thought that was rather difficult at the moment, but that it would be possible to keep the post vacant until the Shah passed through, and that he would consider recommending one of the khans to His Majesty then for appointment as Governor. The sense of these two interviews was communicated to Sardar Jang through the consulate-general at Ispahan.

The attitude of Sardar Sepah thus seemed quite reassuring, and I felt there was a genuine prospect of matters being cleared up by the mission of enquiry. This impression was agreeably strengthened by the receipt of a telegram from Mr. Crow on the 25th October, informing me that Major Javad Khan, who had accompanied Sardar Jang as the representative of the Minister for War, had returned to Ispahan and appeared satisfied with the result of his mission. Major Javad Khan regarded the matter as settled, and said that the assailants had been Kuhgelu, accompanied by a few Bakhtiari from the same district; that the property which had been seized was either being restored or its value paid.

In the second week in November I received through His Majesty's consul at Ahwaz a suggestion from Dr. Young, who for many years has acted as the intermediary of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in their relations with the Bakhtiari Khans, and is thoroughly acquainted with the latter's affairs, that the khans would do well to meet Sardar Sepah on his way down the road with the prospect of reaching a better understanding with his Excellency. I requested Captain Wallis to inform Dr. Young in reply that a hint from him to the khans in the sense suggested would be advantageous, and that the course he proposed was one which I had myself consistently urged on Sardar Sepah and on the khans in Tehran. I had myself spoken to the Prime Minister on the 14th November, who confirmed my view that the Bakhtiari question was practically settled; moreover, His Highness concurred in the suggestion which I put before him that, in order to silence mischief-makers, full publicity should be given to the final reconciliation. In these circumstances it appeared to me highly improbable that the Bakhtiari would be attacked pending the Shah's arrival in Ispahan, which would offer a suitable occasion for the desired reconciliation.

I furthermore telegraphed through Ispahan another recommendation to the khans to meet Sardar Sepah, and it was fortunate that I did so, because they would otherwise have omitted the opportunity, in spite of all my previous advice.

I beg leave to enclose herein copy of a despatch from Mr. Crow, reporting what passed at this meeting, which led me to think that the khans had by no means done their best to follow out my advice. I was also disagreeably impressed with Sardar Jang's lack of recognition of all that I had done to facilitate a settlement of the matter and of all the representations which I had made to the Persian Government and to the Minister for War. I therefore sent a further message to Sardar Jang through Mr. Crow, expressing my astonishment that, at a time when he ought to be endeavouring to prove to the Persian Government the loyalty and fidelity of the Bakhtiari, he should allow matters like the governments of Kuhgelu and Ispahan to rankle in his mind. I also expressed my gratification at learning that the Shalil incident had, according to his account, been settled to the satisfaction of the Minister for War, and I trusted that when the latter and His Majesty arrived in Ispahan he would succeed in convincing them both that the Government had no more loyal servants than the Bakhtiari. That moment was, I was convinced, the proper one for a reconciliation, and, if it were not seized, so good an one would not recur. It would doubtless depend on the attitude of the khans whether His Majesty was prepared to restore to them the Governorship of Ispahan. For my part, I was willing to help them in the future as I had in the past, but, if a favourable result were to be reached, it was necessary for the khans to co-operate themselves. This message was forwarded on to Kumisheh, whither Sardar Jang had gone with the other leading khans to meet His Imperial Majesty.

On the 12th December I received the following reply from Sardar Jang :—

> " Apart from the fact that khans and Bakhtiari chiefs have always rendered good service to Persian Government, Ilkhani and Ilbeggi have been exceedingly zealous and loyal in their efforts to help me in my mission. They showed great kindness to military representatives, and through them gave their word of honour to Minister for War, sending me with Mujahid and Shehab to greet latter, to whom it has been clearly explained Ilkhani and Ilbeggi are ready to carry out explicitly any orders he gave. In fact, they are prepared to render loyal service as regards taxes, &c., because we recognise that our existence and prosperity depend on our service to Persian Government.



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"Much obliged for your kind advice. I carried out my mission as you personally directed; it has proved to military authorities that Bakhtiari tribesmen knew nothing of matter, and they reported accordingly to Minister for War. In these circumstances, Ilkhani and Ilbeggi telegraphed to Minister for War undertaking to recover military losses from Kuhgelu and restore them to Persian Government, and to give compensation themselves for that which they failed to recover.

"It rests with kindness of Persian Government; we have done, and will do, our loyal duty."

On the 3rd January Mr. Crow reported a conversation with Sardar Jang, in which the latter had informed him that the khans proposed to borrow 10,000 tomans from the Imperial Bank of Persia and pay them to the General Officer Commanding at Ispahan for distribution to the sufferers from the Shalil incident and their families, that the Minister for War had agreed to publish a vindication of the innocence of the Bakhtiari in the affair, and that the latter would give the above-mentioned compensation in view of the fact that the incident occurred on their territory. Furthermore, Sardar Jang, on his return to Tehran, would arrange to place some further sum of money at the disposal of Sardar Sepah when the latter had, by personal confirmation, absolved the Bakhtiari.

About a week later I heard that the family quarrels of the Bakhtiari were again breaking out, and I therefore directed His Majesty's consul-general at Ispahan on the 11th January to convey to the tribal Governors the following message :—

"Sardar Mohtashem, Amir Mujahid and other khans have complained to Sardar Ashjaa and Sardar Assad against you to the effect that you have threatened to bring Government troops against them if they do not obey your orders. This is a stupid threat, and you should do your utmost to content the khans and cease quarrelling amongst yourselves. The Persian Government is aware of this complaint, and I must warn you that this family bickering will do more to weaken the position of Bakhtiari than anything else. British friendship is single, and cannot be divided up among the khans if they are disunited."

Hearing that matters among the khans themselves were getting worse instead of better, and that a regular campaign was being conducted among the khans themselves to bring about the fall of the tribal Governors, the principal malcontents being Sardar Muhtashem and Amir Mujahid, I requested Mr. Crow, on the 2nd February, to send in writing to the two last-named khans and to the Ilkhani (Amir Mufakham) and Ilbeggi (Sardar Zafar) the following message :—

"I regret very much to hear that you are not united in present circumstances and I cannot conceive anything more detrimental to your tribal interests than that you should be continually quarrelling with one another. I hope you will put aside your differences and work in harmony for your common interests and for those of Persia. My good wishes are with you all, but not with any faction. Union averts evil consequences : disunion invites them : the choice lies in your hands."

I fear this advice arrived too late, as I learned on the evening of the on which my telegram was despatched that the Ilkhani and Ilbeggi had resigned and were proceeding to Tehran.

Meanwhile, Sardar Jang had returned to Tehran in about the second week of January. He lost no time in calling on me and giving me a full account of his mission which, it seemed to me, he had carried out in accordance with the spirit of my recommendations and with considerable ability. As regards the final settlement, he had been directed by the Minister for War to arrange matters with the chief of the General Staff, who had received the necessary instructions, and he believed that the whole matter would be settled by a payment of about 20,000 tomans. These negotiations, however, appeared to drag on, and the General Staff did not come to a definite settlement. Sardar Sepah saw Sardar Jang several times and appeared to be quite friendly, but, nevertheless, progress was not being made towards a liquidation of the affair. It seemed to me very significant that this procrastination should coincide with the outbreak of the Bakhtiaris' family quarrels, and the conviction gradually implanted itself in my mind that the Bakhtiari disunion was affording to Sardar Sepah an opportunity of humiliating the Bakhtiari and

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weakening their power, of which he was determined to take advantage. Subsequent events have shown that my judgment in this matter was correct. In the circumstances I decided to put all the pressure I could on the khans to sink their private differences and present a solid front. In the latter half of January I spoke to an assembly of all the khans then in Tehran in Sardar Jang's house. They complained that they were threatened by the Minister for War. I replied that however that might be they could protect their own interests if united, but would betray them and their own tribes if divided. I insisted on the necessity of the Bakhtiari and Persian Government being on good terms, as it was obvious that if they were in conflict it was impossible for me to take sides for or against the one or the other. As regards the Sardar Sepah, I expressed the opinion that he was a good friend to those who worked with him and supported him, and that the work of consolidation which he was carrying out was necessary and useful and that the Bakhtiari, if they were true to their traditions of service to the State, would help him in it. If they did not share my views about Sardar Sepah, I could only remind them of the Indian proverb, " If you have to live in the river, it is best to be friends with the crocodile." The khans thanked me very profusely for my advice, of which they recognised the soundness, and two of them, as I took leave, said that what they were especially grateful for was that never, since I had arrived in Tehran, had I given them a single piece of advice to act against their own Government, but always in the contrary sense. As regards their own quarrels, however, they said nothing definite could be decided until the other khans came to Tehran so that they could all discuss the matters at issue together. I impressed on them as forcibly as I could the urgent necessity of doing this as soon as possible.

Unfortunately, the dissensions between the khans merely widened, and I therefore summoned another meeting of the khans at Samsam-es-Sultaneh's house, in the middle of February. By this time Sardar Mohtashem had reached Tehran. I used much the same language to them as on the previous occasion; I added, however, that the absence of any duly appointed Governors in Bakhtiari threatened British interests also, as there was nobody officially responsible for the guarding of the oilfields or for the security of the roads. I told the khans that unless prompt measures were taken to amend this state of affairs, I should be obliged to make official representation to the Persian Government. I trusted they would avert this necessity, as it would be disagreeable for me, in view of the old relationship with the Bakhtiari, to make official complaint against them to the Persian Government. They admitted the force of my observations, told me that they were telegraphing to the other important khans to proceed to Tehran as soon as possible, and that they confidently expected to settle their differences and have the tribal Governors appointed in another fortnight.

From that time up to the date of my telegram No. 94 of the 1st April, the first of the series by which I have had the honour to acquaint your Lordship with the present situation, there is nothing satisfactory to record. Some of the khans came to Tehran, others delayed their departure; no settlement was reached amongst themselves; the prospect of a settlement with the Minister for War became every day more remote, and his Excellency's attitude towards the khans and his claims on them quickly stiffened; in the place of a payment of 20,000 tomans, it was now a question of over 400,000 tomans. It seemed that no language which I could use was able to convince the khans of the obvious connection between these two sets of circumstances or of the fatal results of their disunion. I need not add that I neglecting no opportunity of impressing this on them both individually and collectively; on each occasion they agreed with what I said, but did nothing.

It is necessary to point out that all my action up to this time was based on the genuine belief that the Bakhtiari khans themselves had been innocent of any complicity in the Shalil incident. This belief was rudely shaken by the statements of Sardar Sepah, recorded in my telegram No. 94 of the 1st April, and completely destroyed by the confession of Sardar Jang, reported in my telegram No. 121 of the 24th April. In dealing with Sardar Sepah, the Bakhtiari khans had reckoned without their host. They no doubt expected either to outwit him or to purchase his silence and acquiescence in a settlement. With most Persian statesmen their calculation would probably have not been wide of the mark. Sardar Sepah is not the kind of man to lend himself to such compromises. By concealing from me the true facts of the case, the khans have, in fact, obtained the support and sympathy of His Majesty's Legation under false pretences. Their mendacity has placed me

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in a false position which, for political reasons, I have been compelled to try to maintain.

Since the 1st April, your Lordship has been kept informed of essential events and of the steps which have been taken by me in the hope of settling this question. I do not think it necessary to trouble your Lordship with a more detailed account of the numerous interviews with the khans, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Imperial Majesty, the Minister for War, Prince Nosret-es-Sultaneh, who has been a most useful intermediary with His Majesty, &c., which I have had for this purpose; but I beg leave to enclose herein copies of correspondence exchanged privately with the Minister for War, to which I invite your Lordship's special attention,* and also of the note which I addressed to the Prime Minister as finally authorised by your Lordship's telegram No. 91 of the 2nd May.

I likewise enclose herein copy of a letter which I addressed to Samsam-es-Sultaneh and Sardar Jang on the 5th instant, in order to place on record the observations which I made to them in the course of an interview on the preceding day.*

During that interview I reproached the two khans severely with their lack of candour, for which they were unable to offer any explanation. They merely said that the thing had happened, and they hoped I would do my best to get them out of the scrape. They did not deny that I had impressed on them, both myself and through Mr. Havard, the necessity of avoiding a collision with the troops, and tried to screen themselves behind the flimsy argument that as we disliked the idea of troops going down to Arabistan, they had been rendering us a service by employing every means to prevent it. To this I replied that the responsibility for acts taken in flat contradiction of my advice must rest with them. This is a good, if extreme, example of the baffling aspect of dealings with any Persians, who always seek to discover behind even the most unequivocal statement a hidden meaning which can be construed to suit their own ideas. Your Lordship will recall that, in precisely the same manner, though in an inverse direction, Kawam-es-Sultaneh had last summer entirely misrepresented to Sardar Sepah and to the Council of Ministers the objections which I had raised to the despatch of Government troops to Arabistan.

Since by interview with Sardar Sepah on the 19th April, the gist of which was reported in my telegram No. 116 of the 20th April, I have not sought a further meeting with his Excellency, but have adopted the alternative method of correspondence for acquainting him with my views and exerting what pressure I could in a pacific sense. I have done this in order to mark my disapproval of this prolonged dispute, and my sense of his Excellency's failure to heed friendly representations: it also seemed to me a more suitable attitude to adopt pending the result of the Shah's personal intervention with the matter, and the one least likely to weaken my position for an eventual general discussion of the relation of his Excellency's policy of centralisation to British interests.

Your Lordship will no doubt realise the extreme difficulty of navigating in this sea of duplicity, treachery, mendacity, and concealed purposes.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the Government of India, His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad, His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire, and to His Majesty's consul at Ahwaz.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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* Not printed.

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PERSIA. [June 19.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 6353/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received June* 19.)

(No. 221. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May* 21, 1923.

I HAVE the honour, in amplification of my telegram No. 150 of the 17th instant, to offer the following observations of the general situation here, in explanation of the reasons which prompted the despatch of my telegram No. 136 of the 5th May :—

When I reached Tehran at the end of 1921 internal conditions in this country were neither tranquil nor stable. The rebellion of Mohammed Tagi in Khorassan had been crushed with difficulty; the rebellion of Kuchik Khan was smouldering in the Gilan jungle; Simko was in open rebellion in Azerbaijan; the Shahsevan tribes looted or raided at their pleasure; unrest and lawlessness prevailed among the Turkoman tribes; Talish and Maku looked like falling under the influence of the Soviet republics; in the west the Kurdish tribes were under no control, and any success by Simko might have led them to throw in their lot with that chieftain, with the likely result of a general revolt and separatist movement in Persian Kurdistan. In the south-west and south the preoccupations of the Central Government left the Lurs, Bakhtiari, the Kashkai under Soulet-ed-Dowleh, the Khamseh Arabs under Kawam-ul-Mulk, the Sheikh of Mohammerah and all the petty tribal organisations in the hinterland of the Gulf ports in a state, if not indeed of actual insubordination, but at all events of practical independence. In the early months of 1922 the gendarmerie revolt at Tabriz under Lahuti Khan showed that there was plenty more inflammable material likely to blaze up owing to the general lack of control. This state of affairs was seriously aggravated by an intense Bolshevik propaganda, the dangerous and insidious nature of which was not then understood by the Persian Government, aiming at the destruction of British influence in Persia, and the acquisition of a dominant position for Russia through a process of disintegration.

It is necessary to contrast the state of affairs described above with that which prevails to-day.

Kuchik Khan is dead, and the jungle rebellion has been crushed; Gilan is under strict Persian military control; the Simko rebellion has been stamped out and the Persian success has been as complete as I led your Lordship to anticipate at the time; Lahuti Khan and his followers were dealt with swiftly and sternly, and since his disappearance complete tranquillity has reigned at Tabriz, which is a notorious focus of agitations and disorders. The Shahsevan have been cowed and disarmed without serious fighting, and they have surrendered 34,000 rifles to the Government. The Kurdish tribes north of Kermanshah road are being rapidly subjugated, and the danger of any general movement in Persian Kurdistan is ended. The Turkomans are being gradually reduced to order. Throughout North, North-West and North-East Persia the Persian army organisation has consolidated its position and prestige; all Russian influences there have suffered a severe set-back and are being steadily combated. The change in the north is so complete that Persia is actually in a position to offer armed resistance with her own resources to a Russian incursion, and with possibilities of success, unless confronted with overwhelming numerical superiority.

In the south and south-west less has been done, but there has been no threat against the authority of the Central Government from that quarter, unless the attack at Shalil on a party of Government troops proceeding down the Bakhtiari road last summer to Arabistan be regarded as such. Nevertheless, appreciable progress has been made in rendering the principal roads safe for travellers and merchandise. Bands of robbers still exist, but to-day a determined attempt is made to pursue and punish them for any depredations. Indeed, the Persian army has had a considerable number of casualties during the past year in endeavouring to round up these brigands.

It is in my opinion incontestable that the result of these changes has been so far uniformly beneficial to British interests. The Persian Government, as such, deserve no credit for what has been achieved; it has been entirely the work of one



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man, Reza Khan, the Minister for War. Moreover, the work has been accomplished with every kind of handicap; with a chronically empty Treasury, with an impotent civil Government, in the teeth of Russian displeasure.

I will now examine the internal political situation. The period under review has been chiefly notable for the steady growth of the power of Reza Khan. With the Shah, with the Government, with the Medjliss, with the Mullahs, he has steadily clung to his own point of view and has steadfastly had his own way. He has been pulling the country together in spite of them. There is certainly an ingredient of personal ambition in Reza Khan's acts and policy, and it may be doubted whether that ingredient is ever entirely absent in the case of men who have stamped the course of events in their country with the mark of their own personality. It would, however, in my view, be doing Reza Khan a serious injustice to attribute this to him as his sole motive. There is a very genuine element of patriotism underlying all that Reza Khan does, and there is no doubt, in my mind, in regard to the sincerity of his desire to raise up Persia out of her present state of degradation, to establish law and order throughout her borders, and to earn for her the respect of her neighbours. It is in the power of Reza Khan to become Prime Minister, to close the Medjliss, and rule as a dictator, even to overthrow the Kajar dynasty; any of these courses would diminish the difficulties which beset his path, but the fact that he has abstained from all of them pretty well disposes of any idea that he is solely actuated by personal ambition.

On the other hand, the degree of inefficiency, irresolution and inertia displayed by the Persian Government, whether under Kawam-es-Sultaneh, Mushir-ed-Dowleh of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek has passed belief. Of the three, Kawam-es-Sultaneh least deserves the reproach, but his activities are so perverse and so tortuous that he cannot be relied on to pursue a clear line of policy unless it be demonstrably in his personal interest to do so. The business of Government is not transacted; the time is wasted in arranging artificial parliamentary majorities, in staving off divisions in the Chamber, in compromising with the essential, in reconciling the incompatible, in intriguing over place and office, &c., briefly, in anything except the conduct of the country's affairs. There is no policy except a policy of drift or of opportunist escape from a present dilemma; there is no legislative programme; there is no attempt to guide the Medjliss or public opinion; the representations of foreign Ministers, if inconvenient, are ignored as long as possible, and practically the only means of galvanising the Persian Government into the abnormal activity of replying is a threat of visible and immediate consequences.

In their inmost minds the successive Persian Governments have held or reached the conclusion that necessity, if no other reason, demands an improvement in Anglo-Persian relations, but they prefer to await a hypothetical situation when they will be able to express their desire for a rapprochement, rather than take steps themselves to bring it about, with the accompanying risk of being criticised by the gutter press, abused by Anglophobe politicians, or taken to task by the Bolshevik representative. From differing motives they are sinning against the light; they know what their country needs; they have not even the common daring to seek and ensue it.

I beg your Lordship to contrast their acts and their attitude with those of Reza Khan. Reza Khan has gone on steadfastly with the work of consolidation described above; according to his lights he has endeavoured to serve what he believes to be his country's true interests. He has never shown indifference to established British interests; if he has not always taken us completely into his confidence, he has at all events never lied to us. It is owing to his initiative that the Persian Government are committed by a Cabinet decision to resist by force any armed aggression by Russian or Turk; it is he who opposed the passage of Turkish troops through Persia, at our request; it is he, again at our request, who disarmed Euz Demir and his forces when they were driven over the Persian border by our columns operating against Rowanduz. It may be argued that these acts only mean the discharge of the ordinary duties of the Persian Government. The answer is, that without Reza Khan those duties would not have been discharged, and that their discharge has been of real assistance to us.

Thus, whereas Reza Khan's policy and action have so far suited our interests, the attitude of the Persian Government has been uniformly unsatisfactory, if not positively unfriendly. Several questions at issue with the Persian Government, *e.g.*, their indebtedness to His Majesty's Government, the differential tariff in the north and south respectively, the navigation rights on Lake Urmia, the attitude of the press, the export of rupees, the levy of improper exactions on the roads, &c., have reached

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a point where His Majesty's Government would, in my opinion, be amply justified in cataloguing the various delinquencies, and in informing the Persian Government that failing satisfaction within a reasonable period, certain consequences would follow, and means would be found to mark visibly the displeasure of His Majesty's Government. Such action would amount to bringing the whole question of Anglo-Persian relations to a head, a course for which, so far as I understand, your Lordship is not at the moment prepared.

The question which does arise, however, is the possible effect on British interests of the extension of Reza Khan's policy of centralisation to the south and south-west. Reza Khan's point of view may, I think, be summed up as follows :—

> Persia will never be really independent and orderly until the whole country is brought under a single and unquestioned authority, which must necessarily be that of the National Government, and until the civilian population has been disarmed, so that all physical power rests in the hands of the State.
>
> The State, and not local chieftains, &c., must assume the responsibility for protecting foreigners and their enterprises.
>
> Foreign interests, when they are obviously not dangerous but actually beneficial to Persia, must be respected.
>
> Foreign influences, to the extent that they make Persian subjects dependent on a foreign Government rather than on the Persian Government, must be eradicated.
>
> The British Government, having regard to their declared policy of supporting the independence and integrity of Persia and the material interest which they possess in seeing a stable self-supporting and self-respecting Persia, surely cannot view with alarm or displeasure the execution of a policy designed to produce the very results which they desire; on the contrary, such a policy ought to command their sympathy and even their support, especially as its success practically eliminates the Russian danger which increases in direct ratio to the weakness of Persia.
>
> Ordinary questions at issue between Persia and Great Britain must be dealt with by the Persian Government through the usual channels, and should not obscure the main issue. In the end Great Britain will find it much more easy and satisfactory to deal with an organised Central Government having effective control of the country, than with a number of petty local potentates.
>
> In view of the present power of the national army, these petty potentates cannot resist the centralising policy unless they are backed up by a foreign Power.
>
> The policy has been carried out successfully in the north, and Great Britain has benefited by the reduction of Russian influence and the general increase of security. It would be a calamity if Great Britain opposed the logical extension of the policy in the south, and such opposition would seem totally unnecessary as the Imperial Government does not desire to interfere with existing British interests.
>
> The task which is being undertaken is practically the same as that contemplated in the Anglo-Persian Agreement, with the difference that as regards the army it is being carried out without foreign assistance.

Your Lordship will recognise that there is a great deal of force in these arguments, and that if the situation contemplated by Reza Khan could be brought into existence without injury to direct British interests, the state of affairs in this part of the world would have improved almost beyond recognition.

It may be possible, in accordance with the desire expressed in your Lordship's telegram No. 97 of the 10th May, to come to some sort of understanding with Reza Khan; I doubt it being possible to reach any effective one with the Persian Government owing to their timidity and incompetence.

I still incline, however, to the opinion that sooner or later we shall have to decide whether to oppose the policy of centralisation, implying the necessity of resisting it by force in the last resort; or to support it and endeavour to guide it into safe channels by the judicious use of our support. I am myself strongly in favour of the latter course.

It is clear that the crux of the whole situation lies in Arabistan, and that the test case is the position of the Sheikh of Mohammerah, and I beg leave to take an extreme example of what might happen, in order to illustrate my meaning. I will suppose that Reza Khan, notwithstanding our injunctions or remonstrances, sends

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troops down into Arabistan for the purpose of asserting the authority of the Central Government of securing arrears of land-taxes, and of ensuring their punctual and integral payment in the future. With these purposes, so far as they go, we have no ground for quarrel; but if that took place we know that a very dangerous situation would be created in Arabistan, owing to the introduction of a new element of force in a region, fortunately tranquil now, but full of inflammable passions and animosities, which once aroused, and if unchecked, would seriously endanger and perhaps even wreck, the operations and property of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. If we found it necessary to pass from remonstrance to action two courses are open; to stir up the local tribes to oppose the passage of the imperial troops, an unthinkable proceeding, or to guard ourselves the oilfields and the territory of the Sheikh of Mohammerah, and thus put a veto on the further progress of the Government troops, a very unpleasant alternative. Moreover, once we were pledged to this course, we should have to see it through to the end, and the consequences are not easy to foresee.

If, on the other hand, we ask Reza Khan to give up the idea of sending troops to Arabistan, he will almost certainly ask whether, in return for respecting our wishes in this regard, we are willing to help him in other directions. If I could say definitely, in reply to such an enquiry, that we would remove our troops from the Gulf, vest the ownership of the Duzdab Railway in the Persian Government, and hand over the administration of the Sarhad, an understanding on that basis might be reached. I am not, however, in a position to state the final decision of His Majesty's Government in these matters, which have been for some time under their consideration, though I trust that it may very shortly be communicated to me.

My general conclusions are these :—

Reza Khan's policy, if carried out without unnecessary friction or disturbance, would relieve us of many responsibilities which we have hitherto borne, and would make Persia an altogether more comfortable neighbour; the only things we need be really anxious about are the safety of the oil-fields and the special position of the Sheikh of Mohammerah. It rests with us to render possible the success of the policy, or to wreck it. If we support it and it succeeds compatibly with the two capital British interests above mentioned, we shall gain political influence at Tehran, besides the advantages to which I have already alluded. If we wreck it, we shall destroy a fair chance of seeing a comparatively stable and orderly Persia, and we may have to assume again responsibilities which we would gladly shed.

If we stand aloof and merely tell Reza Khan that if a collision with our interests occur, so much the worse for him and for Persia, I do not see how anything can be gained, and do apprehend that we may lose a good deal, and, if Reza Khan is not deterred by a threat of general consequences, very likely be forced into an undesirable and embarrassing position.

I am about to enter upon the discussions with the Prime Minister and the Minister for War desired by your Lordship. Unless, however, I am very much mistaken, we shall find it necessary to define our position, and to say that if our cardinal interests are preserved, we are willing to help, or at least to regard the centralising process with a benevolent eye, and endeavour in return therefore to get the best guarantees we can that our interests will be fully safeguarded and the Sheikh of Mohammerah not interfered with.

I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the Government of India, His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad, His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire, and His Majesty's consul at Ahwaz.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE

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PERSIA. [July 4.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 6923/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received July 4.)*

(No. 235. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May 24, 1923.*

IN my despatch No. 221 of the 21st May I had the honour to describe the situation here, as it appears to me, in particular connection with the centralising policy of Reza Khan, the Persian Minister for War, and its compatibility or otherwise with British interests in Persia.

In other respects it is extraordinarily difficult to present a reliable picture of the situation, which is filled with contradictions, and is as unstable and as unanalysable as a quicksand. I beg leave, however, to make some attempt to describe it.

When reporting to your Lordship the formation of the present Government of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek in January, I expressed the view that, even though it might not be a satisfactory one, it would prove to be a step towards a rapprochement with Great Britain. I still think that forecast will prove correct. The circumstances which surrounded Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek's return to power were peculiar. The Russians had waged war against Kawam-es-Sultaneh, who had capitulated in the end, but owing far more to internal than to external pressure. Nevertheless, his fall was the occasion for undisguised jubilation in the Soviet camp, where it was regarded as a complete victory as against British policy, which, quite erroneously, was supposed to be supporting Kawam-es-Sultaneh. The Russians openly proclaimed their partiality for Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek as Prime Minister, and made it appear as though he was taking office as their candidate. On the other hand, as reported in my despatch No. 88, Confidential, of the 24th February, I had myself been in fairly frequent communication with Mustaufi during 1922, and had satisfied myself that he genuinely desired better relations with Great Britain, which he regarded as indispensable to his country's welfare, and that, while wishing to remain on correct terms with Russia, he had no desire for intimate relations with Moscow, was strongly averse from the propagation of Bolshevik ideas in Persia, but wished if possible to reach a trade agreement with the Soviets in order to relieve the economic distress and stagnation which have overtaken the northern provinces of Persia. On the other hand, it was obviously convenient to his Highness not to have Russian opposition added to his other difficulties, and I for my part saw no objection to his apparently enjoying Russian support, provided he carried out his policy of rapprochement with ourselves. I must confess to disappointment at the failure of the Prime Minister hitherto to translate his excellent intentions into acts. I admit that the difficulties in his path have been very considerable, but it has become once more apparent that he lacks the strength of character required to grasp and remove these difficulties. I had hoped that he would go outside the ordinary gang of Persian office-holders and introduce into his Cabinet some new and energetic men to infuse fresh vitality and decision into his administration. This was, I believe, his own intention, but after successfully resisting a sustained campaign by the notorious Nosret-ed-Dowleh to force his way into the present Government and obtain a long-coveted office, he seems to have fallen a prey to other intriguing factions, and was compelled to choose his collaborators with an eye to a parliamentary majority which, in the event, has proved to be quite unreliable. The majority, which probably never exceeded twelve, has fluctuated almost from day to day. Its principal component is the extreme democrat gang, under Suleiman Mirza, an erratic and demagogic prince, which is supposed to be in close touch with the Bolshevik Legation; the latter apparently regards the Democrats as the nearest approach to a revolutionary party, as the most likely to be anti-British, and therefore perhaps the least unamenable to Russian policy. The rest of the majority consists mostly of Deputies seduced from the former majority party manipulated by Kawam-es-Sultaneh, Nosret-ed-Dowleh and Modarres. They are a gang of unscrupulous freebooters, who vastly prefer joining for some transient personal interest a combination to overthrow a Government, rather than one which will support a Government. Though the promises by which their changes of allegiance are secured are rarely fulfilled, hope



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springs eternal in their breasts, and their zest in the game seems undiminished. The usual stage-setter of these manœuvres is Nosret-et-Dowleh.

These actions and reactions, intrigues and counter-intrigues, often about matters of quite trivial importance, completely paralyse the action of the Government; they did so in the case of a comparatively energetic man like Kawam-es-Sultaneh, and they so much more with an easy-going man like Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek.

In an ordinary parliamentary country it would have been necessary to send your Lordship almost daily telegrams during the last six weeks about the precarious situation of the Government, the hopes and fears entertained in regard to its survival, and its own efforts to maintain its position. To have done so from Tehran would have been a sheer waste of money, because the events in question have no real importance.

It is true that Persia continues to eke out her existence as a State despite the gloomy forebodings of an imminent collapse which emanate periodically even from persons well qualified to form a judgment. It would certainly be a logical deduction from the present situation to say that if the steadying but rather wayward influence of Reza Khan were removed to-morrow, collapse would be inevitable.

With the exception of the Ministry for War, not one Department of State is really functioning in the occidental sense of the term; I do not except even the Ministry of Finance, for the efforts of the American advisers have so far done little but stop the leaks, and there is hardly as yet any attempt to navigate the ship. There is no real separation of powers between the executive and the legislature; the former shelters itself behind the latter, and acquiesces in its usurpation of or interference in executive matters. The relations between the two can best be likened to those between the committee and the members of a club who are constantly squabbling about its management. The terminology which we employ when speaking of parliamentary institutions has no real equivalent here. The parties are not parties because they have no tenets, no principles, no watchwords, no political programme; they are merely clubs of conspirators; the Government does not govern, but merely drifts from one expedient to another to prolong its own existence; legislation is rarely if ever initiated by the Government, but by groups of individual members for personal motives. The Government never takes its stand on an issue or a policy, it waits to see whether a majority is available for a particular measure, quite irrespective of the merits of the measure itself. Outside of Persia itself nothing matters to these people, except it be some alleged oppression by an European Power which can be turned to account by beating a demagogic or Islamic drum. The only interest presented for them by the foreign Legations is whether one or other supports or opposes this or that gang of Persian politicians, or whether it entertains designs on the independence of Persia. If a Persian becomes unpopular with his compatriots, all he need do to revive belief in the purity of his patriotism is to start some disgusting slander against a foreigner, and preferably the English. If he wishes to incriminate a neighbour, he has only to accuse him of being a servant of the aliens, usually the British, and the denunciation takes immediate effect.

In these circumstances it is natural to wonder how much longer such a state of affairs can continue, and even whether it is not advisable for the future of the country that some sort of crash should come and bring the Persian nation rudely to its senses, for it seems impossible that anything less would succeed in doing so. I think, however, there will be no crash, unless it be precipitated by external causes. The whole country is in the hands of an upper class numbering a few thousands of mostly ravenous Mulks, Sultanehs and Dowlehs; there is practically no middle class, and the mass of the population takes no interest in what happens, is totally lacking in ambition, sells its vote at the elections for 5 or 6 krans, and merely asks not to starve. Among the upper classes there are certainly a handful of decent and enlightened men, but they seem incapable of banding themselves together or of taking any action to remedy the state of affairs, though they recognise its gravity, and prefer an attitude of expectant resignation. The remainder are the noisy and avaricious self-seekers who will combine, kaleidoscopically, for every evil purpose, but never for a good one.

I have hitherto treated the question rather from the point of view of Persia herself. From that of a foreign representative the chaos seems well-nigh hopeless. The honest people are ineffective; the clever are corrupt and utterly unreliable; everything is on a basis of self-interest; there is no dependable element or group on which or with which to work; everything which one says or does is distorted or wilfully misrepresented; dealing with the Persian Government is like prodding a pat of butter, for their seems to be nothing to which it reacts.

Perhaps with infinite patience, and supposing no untoward event occurs, something may eventually be evolved out of this chaos, but the signs are not hopeful. One day Persia

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may come to realise that her best chance of salvation lies in seeking the loyal aid and ancient friendship of Great Britain in effecting it, but I do not think the day is near at hand. For the moment any chance of an improvement centres round Reza Khan and the American advisers. In regard to our attitude towards the former, I need not add anything here to my previous reports. About the success of the advisers I am not very sanguine; they are now beginning to feel the full weight of the forces of obstruction, and I fear that the net of Persian intrigue is slowly throttling their activity. If their mission fails, the conclusion will be inevitable that no reform of Persia is possible unless the reformers be invested with direct administrative responsibility.

I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [July 4.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 6924/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received July 4.)*

(No. 228. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, May 28, 1923.*

AS I had the honour to inform your Lordship in my despatch No. 200 of the 10th May last, I abstained from any personal intercourse with the Minister for War after the Bakhtiari difficulty had reached a certain point, because I did not think that any useful purpose would be served by seeing him. I thus did not meet his Excellency for about six weeks, and my first encounter with him was at the "ricevimento" given by the newly arrived Italian Minister. On this occasion Reza Khan looked somewhat embarrassed, and was evidently not quite sure how I should receive him, and he was evidently relieved when, after exchanging the usual formal phrases, I spoke to him in a friendly manner. I could afford to do so as the Bakhtiari question had meanwhile been settled on a more reasonable basis than I had thought at one time would be possible. Reza Khan went on to say that ever since he had known me he had felt complete confidence in my personal sincerity and friendly disposition, but he had sometimes wondered whether there were not political aims which it was my duty to pursue, but in regard to which I was obliged to be reticent. I told his Excellency he might rest quite assured that I had no political aims except the ones which I had explained to him myself, and that I was not the kind of diplomatist who said one thing and meant another, a reply at which his Excellency expressed great satisfaction.

I think the interpretation of Reza Khan's remarks in this connection was that, according to the evidence which had been in his possession for some time, there was more than a strong presumption that I had incited the Bakhtiari to attack the Government troops last summer; that he had been reluctant to believe this himself, and that the attitude which I had taken up in the later stages of the dispute between himself and the Bakhtiari Khawanin had proved the evidence on this point to be misleading.

On the following day his Excellency came to see me at the Legation by appointment. He began by saying that the Russians in Tehran were very much perturbed by the note which His Majesty's Government had recently sent to Moscow, and especially by the detailed references to Russian documents. The Bolshevik Legation had even asked him to take special measures to guard the Persian post in transit between Enzeli and Tehran, and was generally displaying considerable nervousness. Reza Khan complained of the timidity of the Persian Government, and of its reluctance to take any initiative whatever for fear of Russian displeasure. He had himself often pointed out to his colleagues the groundlessness of such apprehensions in present circumstances, and had told them that, as Persia was an independent country, it would be much better for them to act on that assumption. I told his Excellency that I had spoken often to various Persian Ministers in much the same sense, but they evidently thought that my statements and opinions were biassed. I had only recently told Mustauti-ul-Mamalek in the most categorical way that the Red army at the present moment was utterly unfit to undertake any operations abroad; and furthermore, that any major operations between the Russian frontiers would certainly collapse owing to the rotten state of the railways, which would be quite unequal to the strain thus put on them. I was glad to repeat this statement to his Excellency, and he would understand that it was not lightly made, because it was not my custom to make statements of the sort without being completely satisfied in regard to their accuracy. Probably, moreover, he had already reached the same conclusion from his own sources of information.

However that might be, the relations between Persia and Russia were for me of comparatively incidental interest, and what I was desirous of speaking to him about were the relations between Persia and Great Britain. It seemed to me that Persia was making a great mistake in maintaining her sulky attitude towards Great Britain, and in not using the time when Russia was weak and disorganised to build up her own position and set her house in order with the help of those who were genuinely friendly towards her. The conditions for doing so might not remain as favourable as they were now for an indefinite period, and it seemed to me quite senseless not to profit by them. I defined the attitude which His Majesty's Government had consistently maintained



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since the denunciation of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, and emphasised once more the fact that if Persia attached any importance to the friendly aid of Great Britain and was desirous of obtaining it, she would have to show the sincerity of that desire by adopting on her side a far more friendly attitude than had been conspicuous in the last two years. If she failed to do so His Majesty's Government would be compelled to stand aside and watch the development of events in Persia with sympathetic interest so long as they did not threaten established British interests. The whole question really was whether Persia could reconstruct herself administratively and economically from her own resources, or whether she would not be wise to come to some agreement with those who might be willing to help her if properly treated.

Beyond this Great Britain had no ulterior purpose, and I invited his Excellency, if he entertained any apprehensions on the subject, to state them frankly. Reza Khan said that he was convinced that the policy of His Majesty's Government in Persia was as I had described it. During his two years tenure of office he had watched events closely, and had seen no reason whatever to doubt my statement; moreover, it had been obvious that a strong and independent Persia was advantageous to the interests of Great Britain. To illustrate his meaning he would go so far as to say that if Persia were ever to seek an expansion of territory in the north, Great Britain would not view such a move with displeasure; for the farther the Russian border was removed from India the better for Great Britain, and the less foreign interferences there was in the internal affairs of Persia the better for everybody. Reza Khan realised, he said, that in the past, owing to Persia's weakness, foreign Powers had to interfere to a certain extent to protect their own interests, but now circumstances had changed. Conditions had altered completely in the last two years owing to the formation of the national army and the gradual assertion through its agency of the authority of the Central Government, and he hoped that I would do what I could to convince the British authorities in London, Delhi and Bagdad of the great difference between the present and the past state of the country.

His Excellency said that since he had assumed control of the army his continuous aim had been to strengthen the authority of the Central Government, to reduce all sections of the nation to submission to the Central Government and to maintain a neutral attitude towards foreigners in Persia; but to complete this process it would be necessary to disarm the entire civilian population and to keep all physical power in the hands of the State; he had already carried out this policy to a certain extent in the north, and wished to extend it all over the Empire. That was his internal policy; his external policy was to keep on friendly relations with Great Britain and, indeed, with any other neighbouring States whose institutions rested on firm foundations, but in this category he did not include Soviet Russia. That was how he understood the situation as it was to-day, and the policy which he had outlined corresponded, in his conviction, with the true interests of his country; he was, however, a practical man, and he would tell me frankly that, should there be a complete reversal of the present situation, he would probably have to revise his views.

I thanked his Excellency for his frank explanation, and said that, so far as I could see, there was no objection to be found in principle to the policy which he had outlined. The practical method of its achievement was, however, another matter, and if its pursuit were to result in a collision with important British interests the result would be most unfortunate. I thought he was well acquainted with the nature of British interests in the south. By far the most important one was the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and we should always be extremely sensitive of anything which might disturb the tranquillity of Arabistan or even threaten to endanger the operations and valuable property of the company. I gave his Excellency a detailed explanation of the situation in Arabistan and of the apprehensions which were entertained of its being undesirably disturbed by the introduction of any fresh element of force, and especially one enjoying the prestige of the Imperial Persian army. The British Government did not deny the right of the Persian Government to send its troops to any point of Persian territory, but they did ask the Persian Government to consider with the utmost care the possible results of sending them to Arabistan, and to refrain from doing so if there was any danger of unfortunate consequences.

After the oil company, our next most important interest was in the Sheikh of Mohammerah. Sheikh Khazal had been consistently friendly to us; he had rendered valuable services during the war, and, if for that reason alone, we owed him a great debt of gratitude. In 1908 the Persian Government had asked His Majesty's Minister what were the relations between the British Government and the Sheikh of Mohammerah. The reply given was that the Sheikh was not under British protection, but that His

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Majesty's Government did have special relations with him. That statement was true to-day, except that, owing to the events of the war, the special relations had become even closer and more cordial than they had been in the past. I must add however, I said, that the primary condition of these relations was that the Sheikh of Mohammerah should fulfil his proper obligations towards the Persian Government, and I begged his Excellency to remember this important point, especially in view of the ridiculous rumours constantly in circulation, which accused the British authorities of attempting to seduce the Sheikh of Mohammerah from his lawful allegiance to the Shah. I also reminded his Excellency that, in virtue of Imperial firmans, the Sheikh of Mohammerah enjoyed a special position and special jurisdiction in the eyes of the Persian Government. I added that I had explained this matter in some detail, because I wished his Excellency to understand clearly how matters stood. It was true that we had a long-standing friendship, for instance, with the Bakhtiari khans, and it was a friendship which had been essential for the protection of the interests of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Our relations with the Sheikh of Mohammerah were, however, of a closer nature than those with the Bakhtiari khans.

At present the sheikh's territory was quiet, but it had only been reduced to a state of tranquillity, firstly, by the efforts made many years ago by the Sheikh of Mohammerah to bring the turbulent Arab tribes under his singular control; and secondly, by the harmonious relations brought about between the sheikh and his tribes and the Bakhtiari khans and their tribes which had been achieved through our good offices and mediation. The third element was the Lur tribes in the region of Shuster and Dizful, but so long as peace prevailed between the Arabs and the Bakhtiari the Lurs could be kept fairly quiet.

After this frank explanation I wished to know whether Reza Khan saw any reason for the despatch of troops to Arabistan of such importance as to outweigh all the arguments which I had developed in favour of maintaining the *status quo.*

Reza Khan said that he would reiterate the assurance previously given that he desired to guarantee British interests, and especially those of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and he would go further and would promise to take no steps in Arabistan until both the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and His Majesty's Legation expressed themselves as satisfied with and reassured by the measures projected for the maintenance of order in Arabistan and the proper safeguarding of British interests there. He hoped, therefore, that His Majesty's Government would see no objection and would indeed find it in their interest to encourage internal security in Persia and to entrust the protection of British interests to the Imperial authorities. He felt bound to continue his policy of centralisation and disarmament, but in view of what I had said he realised that in the south it would be necessary to go slow and we might rest assured that he would take no precipitate steps likely to endanger the situation.

I thanked his Excellency for this statement and reiterated my conviction that any sort of collision between the execution of his policy and British interests would be more than unfortunate; I trusted, however, that he would consult with us freely and frankly in regard to any fresh measures which were contemplated. It might be possible to reconcile the development of his policy with the proper protection of our interests, but it would only be so if we knew what he was about and were given time to consider any steps proposed and express our views in their regard. Reza Khan thereupon repeated the assurance recorded in the last paragraph. He went on to remind me of my proposal to the Prime Minister to have a meeting *à trois* with Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek and himself, and expressed the hope that I would then define our position even more precisely, adding that the Prime Minister and himself would also have some proposals to make, which they would prepare meanwhile. I said I was willing for the meeting at any time and awaited the Prime Minister's proposal for a convenient place and moment. There was, however, one more point which I wished to mention. We were also interested in a certain number of petty khans in the Bushire neighbourhood who had been friendly to us during the war and had not joined the gangs of German adventurers or the gendarmerie which had rebelled against the authority of the Central Government. It looked as if, in obedience to the outcry of agitators who denounced every Persian who had been on friendly terms with the British, the troops in the south were taking sides against these former friends of ours. This we objected to; if any of them were wrongdoers we should not shield them, but as a matter of fact they were the most, if not the only, respectable people in the district, and it would make a very bad impression on us if they were molested and harried for the sole apparent reason that they had been friendly with us. Reza Khan said he had no knowledge of any such happenings

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and that he wished nothing of the sort. He would, however, make enquiries by telegraph and call for a report. If he found that his officers were acting in that way he would stop it.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the Government of India, His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad and to His Majesty's consular officers at Bushire and Shiraz.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [August 7.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 8049/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received August* 7.)

(No. 301.)

My Lord, *Tehran, June* 19, 1923.

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship in my telegram No. 147 of the 14th May that the Cabinet of his Highness Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek was very insecure; that his parliamentary majority, which was never very large, had been reduced to a narrow margin, and that Nosret-ed-Dowleh and Kawam-es-Sultaneh were intriguing to bring about his downfall. On the 12th June I reported in my telegram No. 185 that the Cabinet had fallen.

During the period between the two above-mentioned dates the parliamentary crisis continued in varying degrees of intensity; the energies of the Government were absorbed in endeavouring to avert defeat; the Opposition left no stone unturned to force a resignation; both sides showed remarkable tenacity of purpose and displayed a degree of energy and resourcefulness which, if directed into more profitable channels, might justify the hope that the salvation of the country may still come from within.

The crisis was undoubtedly precipitated by the approaching end of the 4th Majlis and the general election which had already begun. It is commonly believed in Persia, and probably with reason, that the Government in power has a disproportionate influence over the results of the election of Deputies to the Majlis, both in Tehran and the provinces; in the provinces its influence is exerted through the Governors whom it appoints. To this may be attributed the exceptional rivalry during the last month of the premiership of his Highness Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek.

In the absence of any political tenets, guiding principles or political co-operation of a serious and patriotic kind, the dominating factor in Persian parliamentary manœuvres is for the most part the personal ambition or cupidity of individual politicians. Political parties, in the Western conception of the term, have not scarcely begun to take shape in the Majlis, which is split up into numerous groups of Deputies, owning, with perhaps one or two exceptions, no definite political programme, and acknowledging only temporary allegiance to various leaders in the hope of personal reward.

In this atmosphere of individual rivalry the advent of a general election supplied the motive for a more definite orientation than is customary of disconnected groups into two distinct camps; the supporters of the Cabinet and the Opposition. The result was a division of the Majlis into two parties of almost equal numbers; a few individual Deputies, rather more unscrupulous than the rest, added zest to the game by transferring their fickle allegiance from one party to another with disconcerting frequency, and with the result that the Government and the Opposition alternately claimed a majority. The mainstay of the Government support was composed of the Nationalist group under the leadership of Suleiman Mirza and Mirza Muhammad Sadik Tabutabai, numbering some twenty Deputies; the Opposition was led by Nosret-ed-Dowleh and his group, of whom the outstanding figure is Sayyid Hassan Modarres, a conceited and narrow-minded bigot. Other important factors in the Opposition were Kawam-es-Sultaneh and his followers, of whom the principal member is Mirza Hashim Ashtiani; Kawam-ed-Dowleh with five or six adherents, and a small group of Sayyids who comprise the religious element in the Majlis.

The Opposition began to muster their forces in April, when strong criticism of the national budget, then being discussed in the Majlis, led to the resignation of the Minister for Finance, his Excellency Beha-ul-Mulk. Thenceforth the difficulties of the Government gradually increased in consequence of the relentless tactics of obstruction employed by the Opposition. Both parties courted the unreliable support of a half-dozen "independent" Deputies. For some time the majority of one or two was claimed alternately by the Government and the Opposition; on two occasions demonstrations were held outside the Parliament buildings by the mob on behalf of the Government, and the Deputies were able to leave the building only after the arrival of troops. Gradually, however, the Opposition succeeded in obtaining a definite majority, and finally presented a document signed by forty-four Deputies—out of a total of eighty-three—to Motamen-ul-Mulk, the President of the Majlis, demanding the



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resignation of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek. The latter refused to resign except on the direct command of the Shah, or unless an intepellation in the Majlis resulted in a vote of lack of confidence ; he refused to be coerced by unconstitutional means, and he regarded the document presented by his opponents as unconstitutional. The Opposition were unwilling to interpellate the Government owing to the fact that according to article 67 of the Fundamental Law, a reply to an interpellation may be deferred for a month. In this case a month would outlive the present Majlis, and the interpellation would serve no useful purpose. A deadlock ensued. The ordinary business of Government was neglected. The supporters of the Government, in their turn, adopted obstructive tactics and refused for some days to attend Parliament, with the result that in the absence of a quorum no sitting could be held.

An attempt was now made by the moderate elements of both parties to seek a solution of the crisis ; a commission of eight Deputies was appointed, including four from each party, to endeavour to reach a compromise and to effect a reform of the Cabinet. Kawam-es-Sultaneh was for a time persuaded to cease his opposition, and His Majesty lent his support to the movement. It was suggested that Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, Mushir-ed-Dowleh and Kawam-es-Sultaneh should combine to form a coalition Cabinet under Mustaufi. The movement for a coalition was, however, speedily wrecked by Nosret-ed-Dowleh, who realised immediately the danger of isolation in this combination and the consequent destruction of his power to dominate the situation by playing one party off against another.

Nosret-ed-Dowleh now played his trump card. The policy of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek had become identified, in the public mind, with one, if not of active sympathy, at least of benevolent neutrality towards the Russian Legation. The steady support given him by the Nationalist party strengthened this conviction ; and it was now necessary to sound the alarm of growing Bolshevik influence to attract to his side the Deputies of higher social standing. This he proceeded to do vigorously, with the result that the struggle was dressed up in the character of a class fight of Conservatism against Socialism. At the psychological moment he sent his brother Muhammad Vali Mirza to see His Majesty, who was already disturbed at the protracted crisis, and whom he had already himself scared to good purpose with the Bolshevik bogey. As a consequence of the visit, His Majesty sent, on the 10th June, for Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, who gathered from the interview that he no longer enjoyed the complete confidence of His Majesty. On the following day, the 11th June, the Opposition spokesman, Sayyid Hassan Modarres, interpellated the Government on the vague and flimsy pretext of i ts foreign policy, and Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, while denying the charges brought against his Cabinet, announced his intention of presenting his resignation to His Majesty forthwith.

He did so, and His Majesty accepted his resignation on the same day.

In my opinion, the overthrow of this Government was entirely unnecessary and actually prejudicial. As usual, the whole business was engineered and stage-managed by Nosret-ed-Dowleh. He was actuated principally by a dire apprehension of losing his own election, and if he fails to become a Deputy in the 5th Majlis, that will certainly be the end of his political career and influence for some time to come—a most desirable consummation. Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek and his democrat supporters were trying to make the elections as free as possible from unfair influences. They dislike and mistrust Nosret-ed-Dowleh, and nothing would please them better than his rejection at the polls. As the slow counting of the votes cast for the twelve Tehran Deputies proceeded, and it is not yet completed, it became apparent that there was a fair chance of Nosret-ed-Dowleh not being returned for Tehran. This galvanised the Prince into an almost superhuman activity, and he hoped by overturning the Government perchance to obtain a reversal of the decision in Tehran, but certainly to make his election sure in a provincial constituency, *e.g.*, Kerman, Kermanshah, Hamadan or Shiraz. This is indeed possible owing to the astonishing electoral arrangements in Persia, which make it possible for a candidate who has been rejected in one constituency to offer himself for election in another where the polling has not already taken place.

But Nosret-ed-Dowleh had another motive also. He had come to realise that the Government of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek was at heart friendly to Great Britain and intended to come to terms with His Majesty's Government. The Bolshevik scare was therefore a mere pretext ; the blow was aimed at the British. An interesting remark of Nosret-ed-Dowleh has been reported to me by a Persian acquaintance who overheard it : " En renversant le Gouvernement, j'ai tiré ma dernière cartouche contre les " Anglais." Among the Persians themselves there is no family more cordially detested than that of Farman Farma, and no individual more than Nosret-ed-Dowleh, but they

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are still feared, and the other Persians are still too timid to deal with them in the only sensible way, which is to turn them out of the country. Curiously enough, however, what the Persians are most frightened of is that Nosret-ed-Dowleh should reinstate himself in the graces of this Legation and return to power in a practically unassailable position with British backing. I am taking steps, which I think will shortly bear fruit, to disabuse them of this idea, and I have not hesitated to say that I would rather see Anglo-Persian relations continue in their present unsatisfactory state than have a rapprochement through the intermediary of Nosret-ed-Dowleh.

After having watched Persian internal politics closely for eighteen months, I have formed the opinion that in spite of their doctrinaire tendencies, their petulant insistence on rights of national sovereignty and their fractious suspiciousness, there is more worth and honesty to be found among the Nationalists and Democrats than in any other group of public men. If Persia is destined to find any degree of internal salvation, I think it will come from that quarter. There is some genuine patriotism among them, though its manifestations are rarely very happy, and there are men among them who are anxious to work for the good of their country without personal profit. This cannot be said of the reactionaries, who are thoroughly corrupt, thoroughly selfish, and completely unreliable. They have no god but mammon, and no incentive but greed for money and power.

The root of much of our recent difficulties in this country has, in my opinion, been due to the fact that owing to her policy during and immediately after the war, Great Britain became associated in the popular mind with the reactionaries, who are now profoundly mistrusted and cordially disliked. What success the Bolshevik Russians obtained, and they have only lost it through their own mismanagement and obvious reversion to type, was due to their identification with the popular and anti-reactionary movement; there has at no time been any sympathy for Communism among the popular parties, nor in my conviction will there ever be, but there was a not unnatural tendency to lean towards an outside influence which professed sympathy with the popular aspirations and proclaimed itself to be the champion of the down-trodden, and the exponent of the greatest degree of popular liberty which the world has yet seen. I think, however, that the scales have now fallen from the Persians' eyes, and that they are no longer the dupes of these high-sounding professions.

If the popular parties in Persia can now be brought to understand that England is unchanged, that she is still, in spite of the most grotesque misrepresentations, representative of the truest liberties, I think they will turn much more willingly to us than they ever did towards the Russians, and that a marked change will come about in the general atmosphere.

It was in order to start this idea that I recently established contact with two of the popular leaders, Suleiman Mirza and Tabutabai. I found with them strong evidence of an almost axiomatic belief that England had withdrawn her former sympathy with the movement for popular liberties and free institutions, and I think I have already gone far to shake that belief, and to show them the singleness and consistency of British policy and the mischief which is being done by those who seek to keep Persia and England apart.

I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [July 13.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 7268/5983/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received July* 13.)

(No. 275.)

My Lord, *Tehran, June* 20, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a note from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs concerning the robbery of the property of certain British Indians on the Yezd–Kerman road during the year 1922,* together with a copy of a note addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 17th February, 1922,* which gives the details of the case.

Your Lordship will notice from the Persian Government's note under reference that the latter disclaims responsibility for the losses incurred, although it has failed to restore the stolen property. I have not failed to maintain in this as in other similar cases that His Majesty's Government holds the Persian Government responsible for all losses incurred by British subjects on account of highway robberies in Persia, and I beg leave to enclose my last communication on this subject for your Lordship's information;* but, as this disclaimer, which has been repeated at intervals in other cases of a like nature, appears to cover all cases of highway robbery, I beg leave to enquire whether the point of view of the Persian Government is legally admissible.

Should this be the case the great majority of claims by British subjects during the past twenty years, which have remained unpaid and are now being assembled for presentation to the Persian Government, would be open to rejection. If, as is probable, the list should have to be presented to a commission for examination, it appears important that a clear definition of the views of His Majesty's Government on the point of legal responsibility, accompanied by a reasoned statement of the considerations on which that view is based, should be made and communicated to the Persian Government.

I beg leave to enclose a memorandum setting forth the general considerations which appear to me to establish in principle the responsibility of the Persian Government. I should be glad to know whether your Lordship desires me to address to the Persian Government a communication in the sense of the memorandum, or on such amended version thereof as may appear more suitable after a reference to the Legal Advisers to your Lordship's Department.

I have included paragraph 5 in the memorandum in order to be able to rule out a claim for compensation which the Persian Government has shown signs of wishing to advance on behalf of Persian subjects who sustained losses during the Arab rebellion in Irak.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Memorandum on the Responsibility of every State for Injury done within its Territory to the Interests of Foreign States or of their Subjects.*

A STATE is responsible for all acts or omissions taking place within its territory by which another State or the subjects of the latter are injuriously affected.

2. To escape responsibility for such acts (or omissions to act) the State must be able to prove—

(*a.*) In the case where the injury to foreign interests was not intentional, that its failure to prevent the acts which caused that injury, or its omission to do acts incumbent upon it, was due to a practical error which it could not reasonably have been expected to avoid; or

* Not printed.



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(*b.*) In the case where the injury to foreign interests was intentional, that the acts (or omissions to act) which caused that injury could not have been prevented either by that degree of precaution which the circumstances appeared to demand, or by such means as should be at the disposal of a State well ordered to an average extent; or

(*c.*) That the injury resulting from the act (or omissions to act) was accidental and was independent of any act done within its territory which could have been prevented as being injurious.

3. If, however, the State is unable to prove that any of the conditions set forth above existed when the acts (or omissions to act) took place, it must accept responsibility therefore and make full compensation to the foreign State or its subjects.

4. The above-mentioned considerations apply both to the acts (or omissions to act) of administrative and judicial officers of the State in question) and to those of private persons living within its territory.

5. When, however, a Government is temporarily unable to control the acts of private persons within its dominions owing to insurrection or civil commotion, it is not responsible for injury which may be received by foreign subjects in their person or property in the course of the struggle, either through the measures which it may be obliged to take for the recovery of its authority, or through acts done by the part of the population which has broken loose from control.

6. Foreigners must in the same way be prepared to take the consequences of international war.

Highway robberies, especially when, as in Persia, they are undisguisedly open and of common notoriety, are—

(*a.*) Intentional acts liable to affect injuriously the interests of the subjects of foreign States; and

(*b.*) Preventable by a reasonable degree of precaution on the part of the Government concerned, and by such means as a State well ordered to an average extent may be expected to have at its disposal.

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PERSIA. [August 7.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 8052/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received August 7.)*

(No. 304. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, July 7, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour, with reference to my telegram No. 211 of the 3rd July and to your telegram No. 138 of the 5th July, to give your Lordship the following account of what took place between the Shah and myself in connection with the Cabinet crisis which terminated in the resignation of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, and subsequently.

Your Lordship is already aware, from my despatch No. 301 of the 19th June, of the political circumstances at the moment, and it is not necessary for me to enlarge on the subject. On the 9th June the Shah requested me to go and see him. His Majesty dilated at considerable length on the pressure which was being brought to bear in the Majlis against the Government of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, its precarious position from the point of view of parliamentary support, the reports which had reached His Majesty in regard to the pro-Russian proclivities of the Prime Minister's democratic supporters who were the leaders of such parliamentary majority as existed, and the danger which His Majesty foresaw if such proclivities were to influence the result of the pending elections, and he expressed, in conclusion, the opinion that a change of Government would, in the circumstances, be desirable. His Majesty was so good as to add that he did not, however, wish to take any definite action without consulting me and hearing my views on the situation, as he placed considerable reliance on my judgment, and was well aware of my disinterested sympathy.

The gist of my reply was reported in my telegram to your Lordship No. 185 of the 12th June. The principal points which I made were :—

1. The inadvisability, without the gravest reason, of changing Governments in the middle of an election.
2. My disbelief in the existence of any pro-Russian proclivities on the part of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek and in the likelihood of his being driven into a pro-Russian attitude by his supporters.
3. My doubts in regard to the Democrats being really in league with the Russians, though it seemed to me, according to the information at my disposal, that they were using the Russians as a political lever, but, so far, the Russians had received little if any benefit as a return.
4. The fact that Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek's Government had committed itself to a serious attempt to regulate all questions outstanding between His Majesty's and the Persian Governments, and that if the Government were changed I should have to recommence the work which had been accomplished in order to secure this result—a prospect which I can hardly describe as an encouraging one.

I further informed His Majesty that I had hopes even of seeing the Democrats weaned from any Russian influences to which they might have yielded, and I thought that if that result could be brought about and the Democrat groups could be pledged to a policy of rapprochement with Great Britain, the last danger of the Bolsheviks securing any considerable political influence would disappear. To sum up, I expressed the opinion to His Majesty that I saw no good reason for a change of Government, but many disadvantages, and I thought it would be a mistake to let Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek go except as a result of a constitutional vote in the Majlis. I was aware, I added, that Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek was at that moment engaged in making an attempt to reconstruct his Government on a considerably wider parliamentary basis, and in my view the wisest course for His Majesty was to refrain from any personal initiative in the matter, to allow a reasonable period for the process of reconstruction, and, if it was successful, to give the reconstructed Government his support. On leaving His Majesty's presence I felt quite confident that he would follow the general lines of my advice.



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Your Lordship is already acquainted with the actual events which ensued. From what I have since ascertained, however, Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek himself somewhat mismanaged his interview with the Shah on the 10th June. As a matter of fact, the reconstruction of the Cabinet was completed at 2 A.M. on the 10th June, and in such a manner as to assure a Government majority in the Majlis. It appears, however, that Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, being somewhat flustered by the Shah's recital of the different complaints which had reached him about the Government, omitted to acquaint His Majesty with this important fact, and the Shah was consequently under the impression that the Government was bound to be outvoted and fall on the interpellation fixed for the following day. The impression left on the mind of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek was that he no longer enjoyed the complete confidence of his Sovereign, but when, later on, I cross-examined his Highness personally, he admitted that the Shah had used no specific language signifying the withdrawal of his confidence. In the light of the fuller information which I now possess, I cannot help thinking that if Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek had announced the reconstruction of his Cabinet, the Shah would have encouraged him to face a vote of confidence in the Majlis, and have continued his support in the event of its being favourable to the reconstructed Government.

At the time, however, the situation, so far as I was aware, was as described in my telegram No. 185. On the following day I visited the Shah's uncle and confidant, Prince Nosret-es-Sultaneh, and requested his Highness to convey a personal message from me to His Majesty expressing my belief that His Majesty had made a great mistake in getting rid of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, and that I had been painfully surprised at his doing so in view of the fact that he had himself sought my advice, but only, so far as I could see, to ignore it and act in an exactly contrary sense. I furthermore authorised Nosret-es-Sultaneh to remind His Majesty that I had never volunteered advice on these subjects, and to add that I should in future be very reluctant to give any advice even if he asked for it. His Majesty sent me a message in reply through his uncle, saying that there had evidently been some misunderstanding between Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek and himself, that he had been entirely won over by the arguments which I had used on the 9th June, but that events had moved too rapidly and the matter had got beyond his control.

On the 24th June the Shah again sent for me and went over the whole ground himself. He expressed the greatest regret at my having supposed that he had deliberately ignored my advice. He stated that at the audience on the 9th June my action in speaking favourably of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek and his Government had taken him completely by surprise. He had heard on all sides that I believed the Government to be entirely dominated by Russian influence, and that I should be extremely glad to see it disappear. Nevertheless, the arguments which I had used were so cogent that he had entirely changed his views and resolved to act on the advice which I had tendered. Immediately after I had left the Palace on the 9th June, His Majesty said he had received notice of the interpellation against the Government, and had felt sure that they would not survive it. His Majesty went on to give me his solemn assurance that, even so, he had done absolutely nothing to contribute to the downfall of Mustaufi's Government, but, once the Government had accepted the interpellation, to use his own words, "la flèche était partie, je ne pouvais pas la reprendre." His Majesty further assured me that, during his interview on the 10th June with Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, he had no intention whatever of expressing any lack of confidence in the Prime Minister and had used no language which, to his recollection, could reasonably be construed in that sense; it was possible, however, that Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek had derived a mistaken impression of something which he had said and gone away without endeavouring to test it.

Lord Lordship will, I trust, agree that, in view of the explanations thus given voluntarily by His Imperial Majesty, it would be difficult, and even undesirable, for me to reopen the question. Moreover, three circumstances have since come to my notice which were undoubtedly known to the Shah at the time and would, to some extent, justify any disapproval he may have felt of Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek's Government. These circumstances are that—

1. Mustaufi's Government had given way on certain points connected with the negotiations at Moscow for a Russo Persian Commercial Agreement, which the present Government has felt itself unable to endorse;
2. There was an enormous accumulation of important current business at the Presidency of the Council which had not been put through by the retiring Prime Minister.

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3. The Russian Government had succeeded in extracting orally from the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Mustaufi's Government an acquiescence in principle in the reception of a Soviet Ambassador at the Court of Persia. This also the present Government, as your Lordship is aware, has been fortunately unable to endorse.

In the circumstances perhaps nothing particular has been lost by the substitution of Mushir-ed-Dowleh for Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek, but, given the facts as I then knew them, I feel confident that your Lordship will concur in the advice which I gave to the Shah when asked for my opinion. At the audience of the 24th June I took the opportunity to urge strongly on His Majesty the desirability of directing Mushir-ed-Dowleh to carry on the question of Anglo-Persian relations from the point at which his predecessor had left them. This His Majesty willingly undertook to do, and I have since ascertained that Mushir-ed-Dowleh's own ideas are quite in line on this point. Since then, however, this unfortunate incident of the Shiah divines has intervened. I cannot as yet foresee the consequences if a solution is not found, but I greatly fear that it will once more set back the clock as regards the genuine improvement in Anglo-Persian relations of which the prospect seemed really promising.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [August 20.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 8429/69/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received August 20.)*

(No. 307. Secret.)

My Lord, *Tehran, July 7, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of Intelligence Summary No. 25, for the week ending the 24th June, compiled by the military attaché to this Legation.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Intelligence Summary No. 25 for Week ending June 24, 1923.*

(Secret.)

*Gilan.*

DR. MILLSPAUGH visited Resht and Enzeli during the past week to examine the financial administration of the province. M. Apresof, the Russian consul at Resht, showed considerable anxiety as to Dr. Millspaugh's activities, and suspected him of having motives other than financial for his visit.

2. M. Hakimof, late Russian consul at Meshed, arrived at Tehran on the 12th June *en route* to Resht, where he is to take over the consulate from M. Apresof.

*Azerbaijan.*

3. *Tabriz.*—150 men of the 2nd Tabriz Infantry Regiment arrived at Tabriz from Ardebil on the 31st May.

4. Considerable discontent has been caused locally by the dismissal of about 100 employees from service in the financial department of the province. This reduction of staff has been carried out by Mr. Jones, the American financial adviser in Azerbaijan, for purposes of economy. A malicious report has been spread in the city that these men have been dismissed because they are Mahommedans, so that the Christian clerks can get more pay.

5. Karakash, a Turkish Armenian from Erzeroum, has been appointed the secretary-in-charge of Transcaucasian affairs at the Russian consulate at Tabriz. He was Armenian Soviet consul at Tabriz in 1922 before the abolition of separate Armenian consulates in Persia.

6. *Urumia.*—A report states that the Turks are reorganising their line of posts along the Turco-Persian frontier. No details regarding the strengths and locations of these posts have yet been received.

*Kazvin.*

7. A Tartar named Valiof, who is a Persian subject working as a Russian agent, arrived at Kazvin on the 13th June and reported to the Russian consul. He received instructions to proceed to Sinneh (Kurdistan), and left Kazvin for Sinneh on the 15th June. One may presume that he has orders to get into touch with Serdar Reshid and Sheikh Mahmoud.

8. A Turkish vice-consulate was formally opened in Kazvin on the 17th June, a local well-to-do merchant named Baglarof, who is a Tartar Turkish subject, being appointed vice-consul. A reception was held for the ceremony of hoisting the Turkish flag over the consulate building, which was attended by local officials. No formal speeches were made.



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*Tehran.*

9. With reference to paragraph 6 of last week's summary, a new Cabinet was formed by Mushir-ed-Dowleh on the 16th June, its members being the following :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Prime Minister | ... ... | Mushir-ed-Dowleh. |
| Minister for Foreign Affairs | ... | Mussadik-es-Sultaneh. |
| *Minister for Interior ... | ... | Ittila'-es-Sultaneh. |
| Minister for Finance ... | ... | Zoka-ul-Mulk. |
| Minister for War ... | ... | Serdar Sepah (Reza Khan). |
| Minister for Justice ... | ... | Hakim-ul-Mulk. |
| Minister for Education | ... | Hakim-ed-Dowleh. |
| Minister for Posts and Telegraphs | | Fahim-ed-Dowleh. |
| Minister for Public Works | ... | (Vacant.) |

10. The fourth Majlis completed its term of office on the 21st June, and some months must now elapse before a new Majlis can assemble.

11. The Majlis gave its approval on the 14th June to Dr. Millspaugh's budget for the ensuing year.

12. A source usually reliable reports that the budget of the Russian Legation, including all Russian consulates in Persia, is to be 31,400 tomans monthly from the 1st July. This sum does not include expenditure for political purposes or for intelligence and secret service.

13. The Tehran newspaper "Sitara Iran" was suppressed on the 17th June by orders of the Government, and its editor, named Saba, has been arrested for publishing a scurrilous article directed against the Minister of War.

14. With reference to paragraph 9, Intelligence Summary No. 23, dated the 9th June, M. Shumyatski has addressed a note to the Persian Government protesting against the dismissal of Russian employees from service in the Ministry of Public Works, stating that, according to the terms of the Russo-Persian Treaty of 1921, Russian subjects should have the same rights as Persian subjects.

*Isfahan.*

15. Amir Mujahid Bakhtiari has left Isfahan for Arabistan to discuss political matters with the Sheikh of Mohammerah on behalf of the Bakhtiari khans. He has stated that he is also representing the Minister of War in these negotiations.

A small detachment of about forty Persian regular troops is to accompany him, which are to become personal escorts to the Persian Governors at Ahwaz and Shushter.

M. SAUNDERS, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
*Military Attaché.*

*Tehran, June* 24, 1923.

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* Acting Minister under Prime Minister.

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PERSIA. [August 20.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 8434/69/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received August* 20.)

(No. 327. Secret.)

My Lord, *Tehran, July* 16, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of Intelligence Summary No. 27 for the week ending the 8th July, compiled by the military attaché to this Legation.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Intelligence Summary No. 27 for Week ending July* 8, 1923.

(Secret.)

*Gilan.*

HIS Majesty's consul at Resht reports that when the news of the British note to Russia was made known in Gilan, Apresof, the Russian consul, announced that Russia would most certainly never accept the insulting conditions demanded by the British Government. The subsequent acceptance of the conditions by Russia made Apresof look extremely foolish. Persians at Resht expressed both their astonishment and satisfaction at the Russian acceptance of the terms.

2. Mirza Suleiman Khan has been appointed Governor of Gilan, and left Tehran for Resht on the 7th July to take up his duties. His last official post was that of Governor of Yezd in 1922.

*Azerbaijan.*

3. *Tabriz.*—The General Officer Commanding Tabriz Division returned from a tour in the Khoi and Maku districts on the 24th June. His Majesty's consul at Tabriz had an interview with him soon after his return, and learnt that the object of the visit by the General Officer Commanding to the frontier had been—

(*a.*) To make a general inspection of frontier posts.
(*b.*) To arrange that the frontier Kurds shall not help Simko and to have an interview with a certain senior Turkish officer to discuss the possibility of arresting Simko.
(*c.*) To collect revenue. (He managed to get 150,000 tomans from the Maku khans.)

4. *Maku.*—A report from Maku states that a senior Turkish officer came to Maku and had an interview with the General Officer Commanding Tabriz Division. The latter also interviewed the chiefs of the Maku Kurds and informed them of the Persian Government's frontier policy.

5. The General Officer Commanding Division has ordered the Serdar of Maku to construct a motor road between Maku and Khoi. It is hoped then to have a practicable motor road from Tabriz to Trebizond viâ Khoi–Maku–Bayazid–Erzerum.

*Tehran.*

6. The Persian Government received news on the 4th July that Sheikh Mehdi-al-Khalissi, an important Persian mujtahid, had been arrested and deported by the Irak authorities for conducting political agitation against the Irak Government, and that in consequence of this nine other leading Persian mujtahids and twenty-six lesser divines had left Irak for Persia as a protest against the action of the Irak Government.

The news of the arrival of these leaders of the Shiah religion in Persia spread immediately throughout the country, newspapers stating that the holy mullahs had been expelled from Irak by the British authorities. Intense indignation has been



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aroused against the British and Irak Governments amongst the religious communities in Tehran and in all provincial towns, causing the greatest alarm to His Imperial Majesty the Shah and to the members of the Persian Government. The latter consider themselves unable to control the priesthood in the country should an early settlement not be arrived at which will permit of the return of the mujtahids to their posts in Irak.

The leading clergy in Tehran held a conference on the 5th July in the Shah's mosque to discuss the situation and to decide what steps should be taken to deal with what they regard as a serious insult to the Shiah branch of the Islam Church.

Behbahani, one of the chief mullahs in Tehran, was elected as president of the conference.

The following resolutions were passed :—

(*a.*) Arrangements to be made for the cordial reception of the mujtahids from Irak, accompanied by suitable demonstrations in their honour.

(*b.*) To close the bazaars in Tehran and in the provinces as a protest on dates to be decided later.

(*c*) To boycott all British goods.

The Prime Minister interviewed the leading mullahs the same evening and endeavoured to calm their agitation, stating that the Persian Government is conducting negotiations with His Majesty's Minister to obtain an early satisfactory settlement.

On the 6th July the conference of clergy in Tehran met again, when it was decided to send representatives to Kermanshah to meet the Irak mujtahids in order to obtain exact details of the situation from them and to find out their wishes. A resolution was passed that a jehad should be declared against the British if a satisfactory settlement is not arrived at.

The mullahs are conducting propaganda amongst the troops to ensure that the latter will obey their orders in the event of a religious war being declared.

Considerable excitement prevails in the city, which is being fomented by anti-British elements.

Both His Imperial Majesty the Shah and the Persian Government are doing their utmost to induce the mullahs to take no action whilst the negotiations now in progress are taking place. Steps are being taken to keep the Irak mujtahids at Kermanshah until the result of the negotiations is known.

The Russian Legation is delighted at the change in the situation, which has caused a wave of anti-British feeling throughout the country. Needless to say, the Russians are taking full advantage of the opportunity to recover lost ground.

All newspapers are full of virulent anti-British propaganda. A few examples are given in the Appendix.

On the 6th July the Union of Clergy in Tehran telegraphed to all towns along the Kasr-i-Shirin–Kazvin–Tehran road to make demonstrations in favour of the Irak mujtahids.

7. With reference to paragraph 6 of Intelligence Summary No. 14, dated the 7th April, 1923, the Conscription Bill, with certain amendments, was finally approved of by a parliamentary committee in June, and will be one of the first questions dealt with by the new Majlis when it assembles.

8. The negotiations for a Russo-Persian commercial agreement still continue at Moscow, but little progress is being made owing to the fact that the conditions proposed by the Russians are entirely one-sided, no concessions of any value being conceded to the Persians.

9. A new newspaper was published in Tehran on the 3rd July called the "Umed" ("Hope"). Its editor is Sayyid Khan Nafizi, who was until recently an official in the Finance Department, and was dismissed by Dr. Millspaugh. The object of the newspaper is to publish propaganda against the American advisers. A few hours after publication of the first issue of the paper the editor's office was raided by the police, all copies of the newspaper confiscated and further publication prohibited.

10. A Russian official of "Gostorg" at Resht named Shobotof has been transferred to Tehran for employment as a clerk in the Russian Legation.

11. Four boxes of gold roubles, total weight 440 lb., reached the Russian Legation on the 1st July from Russia viâ Enzeli.

12. Telegraphic communication for public messages to Russia has been arranged by the Persian telegraph lines viâ Julfa or viâ Astara.

The cost per word is 33 shais from Tehran to any town in Russia. This compares

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favourably with the charges of the Indo-European Telegraph Company (Tehran–Tabriz–Tiflis), whose charges are 3 krans per word.

13. A reliable source states that the following individuals have recently accepted employment as secret service agents for giving information to the Russian Legation :—

Vartan Vartanian : An employee in the Indo-European Telegraph Department.
Abram Babajanian : An employee in the Imperial Bank of Persia.
M. Johannes : An official in the Opium Department (to report on the activities of the American advisers).

These individuals render their reports to Suran Arakelian, an Armenian secretary in the Russian Legation.

*Astarabad.*

14. Minsky, the Russian consul at Astarabad, interviewed the leader of the Turkoman Atar Beg tribe on the 22nd June, made him a gift of 500 tomans and advised him to take all possible steps to oppose the efforts of the Persian Government to disarm the Turkoman tribes.

*Isfahan.*

15. With reference to paragraph 14 of last week's summary, the Persian authorities have expelled Amin-i-Tujar, the leading agitator in the recent riots, to Shiraz. The city is now quiet, but still remains under martial law. The opium regulations have been modified.

16. Two Russians, named Smirnof and Nareshky, left Isfahan about the 28th June for Bushire, viâ Shiraz. They were mounted on mules, and disguised as Persian peasants. Smirnof is known to be a Bolshevik agent, and his companion is probably one also. Smirnof has only one arm ; while in Tehran in April he attempted to obtain employment in His Majesty's Legation, and before leaving Isfahan made an application of a similar nature to His Majesty's consul-general.

*Shiraz.*

17. Election riots took place in Shiraz on the 3rd July, when a prominent democrat led a party of followers into the ballot office of the municipality, poured petrol on the ballot-box and set light to it. A large number of voting papers were destroyed. The leader of the party then took bast in the Persian telegraph office.

Sarim-ed-Dowleh, the Governor-General, accuses the local military authorities of instigating the riot, owing to the candidature of the local Director of Education being unsupported by the Governor-General. The Director of Education is said to be the candidate whom the Minister of War wishes to be elected.

M. SAUNDERS, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
*Military Attaché.*

*Tehran, July* 8, 1923.

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## Appendix.

*Translation of an article from the "Sitareh Iran," dated June* 6, 1923.

### What does England want from the Mussulman World?

THE Islamic world is groaning under the tyrannical aggression of the greedy and imperialistic British Government, and cries out for aid to Mussulmans throughout the world. In accordance with the policy of Gladstone, England every day occupies a fresh part of the Islamic world upon any false pretext, and does not hesitate to carry out any crime and atrocity which will help her to destroy the solid foundation of Islam.

This tyrannical Government has learnt much from from its experiences in the past, and realises that in consequence of the tyranny and oppression from which they suffer, Mussulmans throughout the world will soon unite under one banner to fight for their rights ; but, nevertheless, it is not satisfied with the crimes which it has committed so far, and is unwilling to limit its greedy and self-seeking policy. Anti-British feeling is rapidly increasing throughout the world, particularly in Mussulman countries, and is

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showing itself even in India. Every day people cry out against British oppression. We do not understand what these tyrants want from the world, or what new device they have planned for the destruction of the human race.

We all know well the repressive measures which the British took in Irak against the clergy to further their evil designs. When the Persian press attacked the British for the exile of Aga Sheikh Mehdi Khalessi Sadeh, they contradicted the news and maintained that he had merely left Irak at his father's suggestion.

The British now see that the time is favourable for the execution of their evil designs ; they are not satisfied with what they have done, but have ventured to banish to an unknown place the greatest ulama of Islam, who is revered throughout the Islamic world. This is a severe blow to Islam, in the face of which we cannot maintain silence. We feel religiously bound to call upon the clergy of Tehran and of all other cities to proclaim openly before the world their detestation of the tyrannical policy of Britain.

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*Translation of an article from the "Shafagh Surkh," dated June 6, 1923.*

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### The Expulsion of the Ulama.

GREAT Britain has at last removed its mask and has openly declared war against Islam. The most important Shiah ulamas have been expelled from Kerbela, Nejef and Khazimain. The Arab clergy have been exiled to the Hedjaz and the Persian clergy to Persia. The following ulama have been expelled :—

*From Nejef.*—Aga Sayyid Abul Hassan Isfahani, Aga Mirza Hussein Haini, Aga Sayyid Mohomed Firuzi, Aga Mirza Mohomed, Hajji Mirza Ahmed Ayatullah Zadeh Khorasani and a number of Arab clergy.

*From Kerbela.*—Hajji Mirza Ali Shahrestani, Aga Sayyid Abdul Hussein, Aga Sayyid Hassan Hujjat, Aga Mirza Abdul Hussein Ayatullah Zadeh Shirazi. The total number is about twenty-five.

The names of the ulama expelled from Khazimain are not known yet, but the expulsion of Ayatullah Khalessi and his family is certain. This is the policy of Britain towards Islam. We will comment upon it in a future number.

Private information states that twenty-three divines of Mesopotamia, expelled by the Government of Mesopotamia at the command of the British authorities, have arrived at the Persian frontier. We do not know yet what attitude the Government will adopt towards this fresh act of aggression of the Mesopotamian Government against the honour of Shiah divines, and towards the atrocities which have been committed by the order of the authorities in London. We understand that the people of Kermanshah are preparing to accord them a cordial welcome.

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PERSIA. [August 20.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 8431/69/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received August* 20.)

(No. 316. Secret.)

My Lord, *Tehran, July* 16, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of Intelligence Summary No. 26 for the week ending the 1st July, compiled by the military attaché to this Legation.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Intelligence Summary No.* 26 *for Week ending July* 1, 1923.

(Secret.)

*Gilan.*

THE Russian consul, Apresof, announced on the 15th June that the Russo-Persian Trade Agreement had been signed, and congratulated the people of Gilan at a satisfactory settlement having been arrived at. The merchants, however, discovered later that the agreement had not been signed, and are less likely than before to believe communiqués issued by the Russian consulate.

2. Apresof left Resht on the 28th June and arrived at Tehran the following day. He is under orders to proceed to Meshed as Russian consul there, but has applied to be sent to Peking. Hakimof, late Russian consul at Meshed, has taken over his duties as consul at Resht.

*Azerbaijan.*

3. *Tabriz.*—Persians coming to Tabriz from the Caucasus report that the Soviet authorities are making them pay such heavy taxes that they are forced to leave the country.

4. *Khoi.*—A report from Khoi dated the 13th June states that Ali Ihsan Pasha recently visited Van, where the garrison had been increased by four battalions (no identifications given). Considerable unrest is reported amongst the Ottoman Kurds, which is causing the Turkish authorities anxiety.

5. Simko is reported to be near Kotur on the Turkish side of the frontier and to be working with the local Turkish Kurds, who are robbing travellers along the Van–Kotur road.

*Transcaucasia.*

6. *Baku.*—Three Persian merchants were sentenced to death in Baku on a charge of smuggling gold from Russia into Persia.

The Persian Government appealed on their behalf through the Russian Minister at Tehran, and a further report has been received that the merchants have been released. It was pointed out to the Soviet authorities that their action does not encourage Persian merchants to go to Russia for purposes of trade.

*Tehran.*

7. The financial situation of the Government is critical. Dr. Millspaugh is trying to raise an immediate loan in America of 5,000,000 dollars, in spite of the fact that the present rate of exchange is an unfavourable one.

8. Active propaganda against the American advisers is being carried out by—

(*a.*) Government officials and employees dismissed for reasons of economy or for inefficiency;
(*b.*) The Russian Legation;
(*c.*) Landed proprietors, who are being forced to pay arrears of taxes and in certain cases have had property confiscated in lieu.

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Now that the people see that the American advisers mean business, considerable opposition by certain classes of taxpayers is probable. Increased propaganda against the Americans may therefore be expected.

9. The Russian authorities have announced that fairs will be held in August this year at Nijni Novgorod and at Moscow and have asked Persian merchants to attend. The latter show no desire to do so, in view of the treatment received by those merchants who visited the fairs last year and who suffered severe financial losses.

A Russian official representative on behalf of the Nijni Novgorod Fair, named Malishef, arrived in Tehran from Russia on the 26th June. The object of his visit is to explain to Persian merchants the facilities for attending the fair and to encourage them to do so.

Persian merchants have presented a note to the Ministry of Public Works stating the conditions under which they are willing to send goods to the Nijni Novgorod Fair. The chief of these are :—

(*a.*) Customs tariff of 1903 for exports and imports shall be the rates charged for goods to and from the fair.

(*b.*) Any Persian goods not sold at Nijni Novgorod shall be given transit facilities through Russia to other countries.

(*c.*) If Persian goods are not sold and merchants wish to bring them back to Persia, then the Russian Government shall permit this.

(*d.*) The Soviet Government is to guarantee that they will not requisition or take in any form the money taken by the merchants to the fair.

(*e.*) That facilities for sending money drafts between Nijni Novgorod and Persia be arranged.

(*f.*) That goods purchased by Persian merchants at the fair shall be allowed transit to Persia without fear of being requisitioned by Soviet authorities *en route.*

(*g.*) That the Russian Legation will guarantee to refund immediately any illegal losses to merchants should such occur while *en route* to or at the fair.

(*h.*) That suitable accommodation shall be provided at the fair for the merchants and safe storage of their goods.

10. Shumyatsky received a packet of correspondence from India on the 23rd June, which was forwarded to him by the Russian consul at Kerman. A reliable informant states that the packet contained reports from Soviet agents in India.

11. Shumyatsky is holding fortnightly receptions in the Russian Legation, to which " Russian registered Soviet subjects and friends of the Soviet Government " are invited. The conversation at these receptions is mostly on politics.

12. With reference to paragraph 13, Intelligence Summary No. 19, dated the 12th May, Shumyatsky has had a violent dispute with the members of the Soviet Cotton Syndicate, resulting in the latter's immediate departure for Moscow.

13. Anti-British propaganda relating to Irak continues in the newspapers. An example is given in the Appendix.

*Isfahan.*

14. New regulations for the manufacture and sale of opium have caused great discontent in Isfahan, resulting in disturbances in the city. Troops had to be called out to disperse the crowds, and several casualties resulted. The city has been placed under martial law. Colonel McCormick, American financial adviser, left Tehran for Isfahan on the 26th June to arrange a settlement. The Russian consul-general at Isfahan, M. Tardof, has made the most of the opportunity to increase the hostility of the people towards the Central Government.

15. The General Officer Commanding Isfahan Division has opened a military school of instruction at Deh Kurd for teaching Bakhtiari recruits. He has appointed Sarhang Serdar Bahadur as commandant of the school, with Amir Hussein Khan as assistant instructor. Sixty-four infantry and twenty cavalry Bakhtiari recruits enlisted voluntarily between the 1st and 30th May.

*Yezd.*

16. Reports have been received of increasing friction between Persians and the Zoroastrian community in Yezd. Several of the latter have been insulted, attacked and maltreated in the streets of the city, and the community has appealed to the Central Government for protection. Troops have been sent to patrol the city, and later reports state that order is now being maintained.

M. SAUNDERS, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
*Military Attaché.*

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APPENDIX.

*Leading Article in the Tehran Newspaper "Sitara Iran" dated June 28, 1923.*

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THE MESOPOTAMIAN SITUATION.

The fertile land of Mesopotamia which covers the bodies of our sacred prophet and his holy decendants is trampled upon by the enemy of Islam, the opponent of humanity and independence of nations. Armies of pagans, Indians and Christians are engaged in dreadful atrocities and crimes in that holy land, and interfere with the independence, religion and integrity of its inhabitants.

What are the documents of the British Government by which it claims to be the master and protector of the Mussulmans? What historical documents can they have which place the mandate of Mesopotamia under the banner of the cruel British? By what right does England claim ownership of Mesopotamia, and thus attempt to separate one of the Islamic countries from the Islam world? Have there so far been any religious and national connections between the two countries? What are the geographical reasons for the colonisation of the centre of Asia?

Oh, you phlegmatic Mussulmans and inhabitants of Persia! Why do you not protest against the occupation of a land which covers the bodies and bones of your ancestors, and a land which holds the bodies of your Imams? All the gifts and donations made for the lighting of the tombs of your Imams, which are to-day occupied by the British, go directly into the pockets of the British.

Your Imams are abandoned to-day, and it requires great sacrifices to save them.

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PERSIA. [August 22.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 7268/5983/34] No. 1.

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Sir P. Loraine (Tehran).*

(No. 378.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August 22, 1923.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 275 of the 20th June relative to the responsibility of the Persian Government to pay compensation for losses incurred by British subjects on account of highway robbery in Persia.

2. In the memorandum, a draft of which formed the last enclosure in your despatch, you alleged a general liability on the part of the Persian Government to compensate British subjects for losses due to highway robbery in Persia, except in cases where the Persian Government are able to establish that they were not to blame. Thus you throw upon the Persian Government the onus of proving that they could not have prevented the crimes which have led to injury or loss to British subjects. The normal grounds, however, upon which a State is called upon to pay damages in the case of persons injured by robbery or violence is dealt with in paragraph 4 of Part II of Chapter XXII of the Consular Instructions. In such cases it devolves upon the claimant to establish the liability of the Government against which the claim is brought. It is doubtful whether His Majesty's Government could successfully maintain that the conditions in Persia are such as to justify the reversal to the normal position as to the onus of proof.

3. Moreover, if these British claims were ultimately to be referred to arbitration, and a statement of the nature which you proposed had been communicated to the Persian Government, the arbitration commission would almost inevitably be drawn into the consideration of the soundness of the propositions contained in the memorandum, and would thus be diverted from the task of adjudicating upon the particular cases. It might even happen that the contentions put forward in the memorandum would be held to be invalid, and consequently a large number of the British claims would be dismissed.

4. In preferring claims for losses incurred on account of highway robbery in Persia, His Majesty's Government have hitherto not proceeded upon the footing of regarding Persia as responsible only to the extent justified by the general rules of international law. On the contrary, they have in fact invariably held the Persian Government responsible for losses of this nature.

5. The safest ground on which it would be possible to maintain this attitude appears to be that, if Persia is to be regarded as a State and expects to be treated as such, she must fulfil the elementary duties of a State, one of the first of which is the maintenance of a reasonable measure of public order. It could then be contended that Persia is liable for these highway robberies, not for the reasons for which most States are held liable in cases of claims for damage done to persons in civil commotion, but upon the ground that Persia has consistently failed to fulfil the elementary duties of a State and to preserve a reasonable measure of order and good government in her territory.

6. It may, however, be doubted whether His Majesty's Government are in a position to establish before an arbitration commission the proposition laid down above, and in these circumstances I consider it undesirable that you should present any memorandum to the Persian Government on the general principles under which the British claims are advanced. You should rather continue to rely upon the exercise, as in the past, of such diplomatic pressure as it may be possible to bring to bear upon the Persian Government at favourable moments in order to obtain the recognition and ultimate payment of these claims.

7. An alternative solution of the difficulty of securing a definite settlement on the question of these claims might possibly be found in a reference to an impartial international claims commission. While such a body might reject many of the claims, it seems preferable to run this risk rather than to allow matters to continue to drag on as at present. I shall therefore be glad to receive your observations on the possibility and desirability of referring these claims to such a tribunal and on the attitude which the Persian Government might be expected to adopt towards such a proposal.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.



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PERSIA. [October 1.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 5.

[E 9720/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received October* 1.)

(No. 387. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, August* 30, 1923.

AS I had the honour to inform your Lordship by my telegram No. 229 of the 10th July last, Prince Nosret-ed-Dowleh recently sent me a message through Mohasib-ul-Mamalek to the effect that he wished to resume social relations with myself and His Majesty's Legation; his Highness, so I understood from Mohasib-ul-Mamalek, was prepared in that case to abandon his anti-British activities and would refrain from seeking any form of political support from the Legation.

I did not show any particular alacrity to reply to this communication as I was by no means convinced of its sincerity, and, in view of the prince's past record, saw no reason to make the path particularly easy for him. After thinking over the matter, I directed the acting Oriental secretary to hand to Mohasib-ul-Mamalek a written answer, copy of which is enclosed herein, for communication to Prince Firuz; I thought it best to make the answer in writing, in order to avoid any possibility of ambiguity or misinterpretation, and, as your Lordship will observe, the reply is based on that which I returned through Mr. Smart to his Highness early in 1922, a copy of which was enclosed in my despatch No. 52 of the 28th January, 1922.

In due course I received a reply from his Highness, through the same channel, that he was ready to call on me at this Legation, but expressing the hope that I would consent to meet him first in the house of Mohasib-ul-Mamalek, in which case he would make his call on the day following that meeting. As Prince Firuz had been worrying Mohasib-ul-Mamalek a good deal in regard to the matter and, as your Lordship is aware, Mohasib-ul-Mamalek is neither a personal nor a political friend of the prince's, I decided, after reflection, to acquiesce in his Highness's desire for a first meeting in Mohasib-ul-Mamalek's house, on the understanding that Mohasib-ul-Mamalek himself first explained precisely what had taken place to the Democrat leaders, who were very apprehensive of any resumption of political relations between the Legation and Prince Firuz.

This meeting took place on the 7th August, and was of a brief character; Prince Firuz evinced some desire to start a discussion on the matters which had so long separated him from any contact with this Legation, but I cut him short and said that I preferred to reserve any such discussion for a meeting between us two.

On the following morning Prince Firuz made his call at the Legation and I returned it the day after. On both these occasions the interview was a lengthy one; I need not trouble your Lordship with a full and individual account of all that was said, but will endeavour to summarise the gist of the two conversations.

I began by telling Prince Firuz that, in the course of what I was about to say, I had no intention of sparing him or his feelings, and that I should speak exactly what was in my mind; I felt that this was the only way to liquidate our accounts, and I recognised, of course, his right to speak with equal directness should he have any complaint to make in our regard. I went on to say that your Lordship, in the course of the interview which you had granted me before my departure for Tehran, had charged me with a special message for his Highness; I was to express your deep and painful astonishment at his Highness's conduct since the *coup d'État* of Sayyid Zia-ed-din and at his complete *volte-face*, the reasons for which you were entirely at a loss to comprehend. I was to remind his Highness that in London he had been received with every courtesy, that your Lordship had devoted a great portion of your valuable time to lengthy conversations with him, that he had at that time shown every sign of being a convinced advocate of the policy of close co-operation between the British and Persian Governments, but that, since the event in question, his whole activities had been entirely anti-British. I added that I myself was equally unable to understand his Highness's attitude and I should be very glad if he could give me any explanation of it. Ever since I had been here he seemed to me to have adopted an attitude of active hostility; he had opposed the growth of any British interests in this country, he had sought to whittle away



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existing British interests, he had opposed every idea emanating from British sources and every individual believed to be pro-British; indeed, I regarded him as the chief inspirer of the persecution of Anglophile Persians, which had been so rife ever since my arrival and still continued. Everyone, of course, had the right to his own views, but I felt it necessary to warn his Highness quite plainly that, if it was his intention to persist in the line of thought and conduct which I had indicated, any relations which might subsist between us would have to be restricted to those of merely formal courtesy.

Prince Firuz demurred to my accusing him of a *volte-face;* he said that it had appeared to him that the *volte-face* had been on the side of His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's representative in this country at the time; it was true that when he was Minister for Foreign Affairs, and even before then, and especially during his visit to London he was a confirmed partisan of the policy of Anglo-Persian co-operation and of that embodied in the Anglo-Persian Agreement, and he added that even since then, whatever view I might take of his attitude and activities, he had always held that Persia must remain on good terms with Great Britain; moreover, he had never concealed that opinion, even in speaking to Kawam-es-Sultaneh during the latter's first Government and at the time when Anglophobia was most vehement. His Highness went on to say that he did not believe that a man could be held down to a policy when the basis on which it rested had materially changed. That he felt to have been the case with the policy of the Anglo-Persian Agreement from the moment when the Government of Vossuk-ed-Dowleh was allowed to fall. That Government possessed the authority for applying the agreement, but its disappearance opened the way for the opponents of that policy and showed that there was a large body of opinion in Persia totally hostile to its pursuance. So much for the Persian side of the matter, but he went on to say that before leaving London, after the fall of the Government of which he had been a member, he had detected signs of considerable opposition to the agreement policy in England, and had realised that your Lordship was fighting an almost single-handed battle for its maintenance. In these circumstances he was very doubtful, on his return to Persia in 1921, whether, apart from its expediency, the fulfilment of the agreement policy was any longer possible. Till then nothing had occurred to change in any way his personal feelings or opinions, but, in the course of his journey from the Irak frontier to Tehran, and especially on his arrival here, he had felt strongly that some movement was in the air which he did not understand, and that his own position with the Legation was far from being what he had expected it to be. Then, after speaking with a number of his friends in Tehran, he had realised that some *coup* was brewing, but the idea that he might be a personal victim of it had never occurred to him owing to his complete confidence that the British friends whom he believed he had served so well, and from whose Sovereign he and his father held high decorations, would afford him every personal protection. He had been sufficiently astonished when his father and himself were arrested and imprisoned by Sayyid Zia-ed-din, but his astonishment had turned to mortification and indignation when he found that the British Legation was, or appeared to be, totally indifferent to his fate, and disinclined to take any effective measures to secure his release, even for the purpose of his immediate deportation, in which he would readily have acquiesced. The limit was reached when Mr. Smart called on him and his father in their place of confinement and informed them that, unless they were ready to pay some preposterous sum of money, running into millions of tomans, His Majesty's Legation could not answer for the consequences. He thus felt very strongly that, if there was an aggrieved party, it was he himself, and that, if there had been any *volte-face,* it had been on the part of His Majesty's Government. He was certain that the *coup d'État* had been organised by Colonel Smythe, and it was impossible for him to believe that the Minister and the Legation were not cognisant of what was taking place; he was, therefore, bound to conclude that the *coup d'État* and the arrests subsequently made were covered by the approval of His Majesty's Legation, even if not actually instigated thereby. Such being the case, he had decided, when released from his imprisonment, to cut off all contact with His Majesty's Legation and with British views and policy, to take his own line and form his own judgment on questions as they arose, in accordance with his convictions, and apart from any consultation with British authorities.

I told his Highness I was quite unable to concur in his version of events, or in the conclusions which he drew. I had studied very carefully the official documents relating to the period of which he spoke. I had found no vestige of any indication that the British authorities had regarded him with indifference and still less with ill-will. I was quite satisfied that His Majesty's Legation had had nothing whatever to do with the

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*coup d'État* of Sayyid Zia-ed-din and Reza Khan, and equally convinced that my predecessor had done his best to secure the release of his Highness and his father and his brothers without injury to their persons or their belongings. It may be that peremptory action by Mr. Norman would have secured a prompt release, but it was evidently the opinion of Mr. Norman and his advisers that slower and more patient methods were preferable and fraught with less danger to the prisoners themselves; the question of ways and means in such a matter must necessarily rest with the man on the spot at the time, and the fact that his Highness and his family had emerged from their incarceration without damage to person or property was to me ample proof that the methods employed by Mr. Norman were perfectly sound. I went on to say that if his Highness's grievances against the English were based on no firmer grounds than those I found them still more difficult to understand, and he must, I thought, realise what a grave injustice he had committed, supposing the two charges he had brought were fundamentally mistaken. Another thing which I was unable to understand was why he had taken the trouble, after his release, to send a message to Mr. Norman, which I could not quote from memory, but which was to the effect of letting bygones be bygones and taking up again the former friendly relations with this Legation, if, after receiving a reassuring reply from Mr. Norman, he was at once to assume, as he did, the leadership of the anti-British faction. I pressed his Highness to offer me an explanation of this point also.

Prince Firuz said that he had told me the manner in which he had viewed the situation; the remarks which I had made certainly threw a fresh light on it, and I had had the advantage, naturally denied to him, of access to British official documents of the period, whereas he could only judge from his own experience and deductions. He was willing to admit that the Legation might not have been privy to the *coup d'État*, although it was difficult for him to suppose that it was so ill-informed of important coming events; but, even so, the indifference shown by Mr. Norman personally, and the Legation generally, to whatever might befall himself and his family was, practically, as bad as the active hostility which he had suspected. He could not help remembering that, at the time of the *coup d'État* of Muhammad Ali Shah, Nasr-ul-Mulk had been released within a few hours by the action of His Majesty's representative, and he felt that the same could have been done in his case and in that of his father, whose title to the gratitude of His Majesty's Government he believed to be no less than that of Nasr-ul-Mulk. As regards his message to Mr. Norman, he had no recollection whatever of the incident, and certainly had had no intention of sending such a message; nor had he any recollection of receiving the answer from Mr. Norman to which I had alluded.

Prince Firuz then proceeded to justify his conduct since the *coup d'État*, and asked me to challenge him on any particular point in regard to which I had found his attitude unsatisfactory. He sought to show that, since the policy of the agreement had been abandoned as unrealisable, his actions had been consistent with the convictions he had always held previously. He pointed out that, in the same way as His Majesty's Government, in the stress of war, had followed out a policy which was dictated by the needs of the moment and would not have been pursued in more normal times, equally he had followed a war policy based on the conviction that the victory of the Allies was a vital necessity to Persia; but, once the victory had been achieved, he also fell back on earlier and more traditional lines of political thought. He reminded me, moreover, that since his release from prison he had held no office, and was therefore in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility than when he had been Minister for Foreign Affairs; he said that he had deliberately been a violent member of the Majlis in order to create and consolidate his position in that Assembly, and that no doubt, in the course of debate and in commission, he had expressed views which it would have been impossible for him to state as a responsible Minister. The convictions to which he referred may be summarised as follows: A British monopoly of economic or political influence in Persia was undesirable, although, as a powerful neighbour, Great Britain must be treated with consideration and not denied her proper share in the development of the country; there was danger of the Anglo-Persian Oil Syndicate becoming too powerful in Persia and a desirability on the Persian side of setting some limit to its activities, especially in view of its quasi-governmental position; competition in enterprises aiming at the development of Persia was desirable: *e.g.*, a railway built by the Persian Railways Syndicate was, for Persia, better than one built by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company alone, while an international syndicate would be preferable to a purely British syndicate; it was desirable to bring in American capital in competition with British capital; it was undesirable to place Great Britain in so dominating a position as to challenge active Russian antagonism, under which Persia would succumb.

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When I visited Prince Firuz on the 9th August I handed to him a translation in French of a passage in Mr. Norman's despatch No. 133 of the 16th July, 1921, regarding this incident. The prince, after reading this extract, maintained his declaration; he did not even remember having given any message at all to his brother for Mr. Norman, and felt sure that, if he had given one, it must have been badly delivered or misunderstood; he naturally had no intention of impugning Mr. Norman's veracity, but could only state his own recollection. He agreed with me that the incident, as recorded by Mr. Norman, was a justification for our astonishment at his attitude; the brother in question, Muhammad Hussein Mirza, was not in Tehran, but he would see him at Isfahan, on his way to Shiraz, whither he was proceeding shortly on appointment as Governor-General of Fars, and he would seek an explanation from him. For this purpose I left the extract from Mr. Norman's despatch with his Highness.

I dealt with these points singly, and with his Highness's attitude in particular reference to the Northern Oil Concession. I need not repeat the arguments which I employed, but it will suffice to say that they were listened to with attention by Prince Firuz, who said that they certainly presented the matter to him in a new light, and he would have to reflect on them before deciding whether it was necessary to recast his own opinions. I did not see his Highness again before his departure for Shiraz.

My impression is that Prince Firuz has realised the futility, if not the folly, of pursuing an anti-British policy. These conversations have not inspired me with any particular confidence in his Highness, though they have convinced me of his mental alertness. Now that they have taken place I think it will be much more difficult for Prince Firuz to continue in his anti-British activities whenever he returns to the arena of Persian politics. His Highness, whatever his faults, is a pretty shrewd judge of what takes place in this country. He probably sees that the current of opinion favourable to Great Britain is slowly gaining force, and does not wish to be left on the beach. Very likely he also expects, in course of time, to rehabilitate himself in our eyes, and thereafter to regain his position in the Persian Government. He will, however, in my opinion, have to undergo a lengthy and satisfactory probationary period before we could view his return to office with any degree of satisfaction. His coming to pay me a first call is a capitulation after the long struggle at a distance, which has lasted twenty months, and his capitulation would certainly not have taken place unless his Highness had realised that he stands a good deal more in need of us than we of him. The inculcation of this idea is healthy, and will serve as a useful and, indeed, the only possible basis of any further dealings with him. I do not think, however, that it will ever be possible to place any real reliance on him.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Note handed to Mohasib-ul-Mamalek on July* 31, 1923.

(Translation.)

IN January 1922, that is to say eighteen months ago, Prince Nosret-ed-Dowleh sent an oral message to Sir Percy Loraine by Abul Fath Mirza, through Mr. Smart. Mr. Smart brought the message to Sir Percy Loraine, who directed him, in writing, to state, when replying, that Sir Percy Loraine did not consider informal, oral messages a satisfactory way of dealing with the question of establishing personal relations with his Highness.

Mr. Smart added, also under instructions, that if Prince Nosret-ed-Dowleh thought it suitable to call on Sir Percy Loraine at the British Legation, Sir Percy Loraine would be willing to receive him at any convenient hour of the day-time with the courtesy due to his rank.

This communication was made to Abul Fath Mirza by Mr. Smart on the 10th January, 1922.

Sir Percy Loraine begs leave to state that the situation, so far as he is concerned, has undergone no change in regard to the above-mentioned points during the last eighteen months.

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PERSIA. [October 30.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 10603/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 30.)*

(No. 452. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, October 6, 1923.*

I HAVE had the honour to acquaint your Lordship by telegram with the gist of some conversations which I have had recently in private audience with the Shah, whom I have been invited to visit on three or four occasions during the last six weeks. His Imperial Majesty is seriously perturbed at the present situation in Persia as affecting himself. I must state with regret that I have noticed far less consideration on His Majesty's part for the welfare of this country. The principal cause of the Shah's anxiety is the rapid growth of the power of Serdar Sepah, the Minister for War, which His Majesty feels to be overshadowing that of the throne and the dynasty. The fact of the matter is of course that Serdar Sepah is an energetic and determined man, who is engaged resolutely in carrying out a fairly definite policy, whereas the Shah and the Civil Government are carrying on in the old and not very commendable methods of government, without any clear idea of what they want to do or where they wish to lead the country, so long as they maintain themselves in apparent dignity and comparative ease. On the other hand, the Majlis, which might have acted as a stabilising factor in the situation, has frittered away its time and its usefulness, as well as those of the successive Governments, in futile discussions, futile measures and futile quarrels. It thus comes about that Serdar Sepah, thanks to his comparative singleness of thought and action, has become the real and dominant power in Persia. The Crown has been the last institution to come into contact with this strong personality, and in its turn has yielded to its influence and pressure.

Having regard to this state of affairs, it must, I think, be admitted that so far Serdar Sepah has used his actual power with a restraint unusual in Oriental countries, where people readily bow their necks to the arbitrary use of power backed by visible force. However that may be, the Shah is thoroughly alarmed, and an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust has grown up between him and his powerful Minister for War. There can be no doubt that this distrust is fostered on both sides consciously and unconsciously by their respective entourages; it is also an inevitable outcome of the circumstances; the Shah fears the diminution of his personal prestige and of that of the dynasty, he is fearful of being dispossessed of his throne and of even becoming the victim of personal violence. Serdar Sepah, on the other hand, is well aware of the danger to himself should the power of the throne and its capacity for intrigue be exerted to their full extent in order to procure his downfall and dismissal from high office, and it is no doubt this consideration which has driven him to consolidate his own position and to insist successfully on the absolute control of the armed forces of the Crown being placed exclusively in his own hands.

The Shah has now reached the conclusion that Persia is not big enough to hold both himself and Serdar Sepah. He has assured me—indeed, he swore on his father's head—that he had never opposed or intrigued against Serdar Sepah, but, on the contrary, had for the sake of peace given way to him all along the line; he felt, however, that this had not satisfied or appeased the ambitious soldier, and was convinced that fresh encroachments would take place and that he would eventually be driven to a point where no further concessions could be made except such as would involve his total abandonment of the position and prerogatives of Sovereign. The Shah thus feels that his own position is untenable and that the only solution is for him to absent himself, to pay another visit to Europe, and thus to escape fresh and possibly final humiliations. If things go fairly well and no violent change in the existing régime occurred during his absence, His Majesty would contemplate returning to Persia in due course; but he thinks that if any radical change is to take place it would be better for the country and for himself that he should be out of the way when that happens. In fact, His Majesty contemplates abandoning the situation in almost exactly the same manner and for the same reasons as he did in January 1922. I have done my best to



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extricate His Majesty from this morbid state of mind, but I cannot flatter myself that I have achieved any measure of success or changed him from his purpose, and I think it probable that he will leave before the end of the autumn or in the early winter. His Majesty clearly understands that I share neither his views nor his extreme apprehensions on this subject, and on the last occasion on which I had the honour of being received he told me that he did not propose to say anything more about his intended journey to Europe because he knew that I should merely bring forth fresh arguments wherewith to discourage and disapprove his projects. This was said quite good-humouredly, and I therefore left the matter at that.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [December 28.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 12175/77/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December* 28.)

(No. 530. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, November* 20, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that already in the latter part of September there were signs indicating that the authority of Mushir-ed-Dowleh and his Government were weakening and I had heard from several sources that Mushir-ed-Dowleh was himself tiring of the task of Government and looking about for a reasonable pretext to lay down his office. In the absence of a Majlis, the only way of leaving office was to place his resignation in the hands of the Shah, and I fancy that he did this privately more than once, but was met with a refusal on the part of His Imperial Majesty to accept the resignation. Mushir-ed-Dowleh did not, so far as I am aware, possess any valid excuse for resigning, but merely that of the disinclination of a timid temperament to carry through a difficult task. About the same time the Shah was becoming more and more apprehensive of the power of Serdar Sepah, the Minister for War, and suspicious of the latter's attitude towards himself and of possible designs to emulate the rôle played in Turkey by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. These reasons and perhaps in a less degree the undesirability of bringing into power a new Government without any semblance of parliamentary mandate or support were probably those which dictated the reluctance of the Shah to permit the departure of Mushir-ed-Dowleh. Among the public there was certainly a growing dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness of Mushir-ed-Dowleh's régime, and it is somewhat surprising, in view of his Highness's previous failures in the office of Prime Minister, that any other result should have been anticipated: unfortunately the Persian public has not yet grasped the elementary idea that to change the man, at all events so far as the regular politicians are concerned, produces no change at all and that the only radical change must come from a change of ideas. Simultaneously with this dissatisfaction there was a desire for a stronger and more resolute handling of Government and the reputation acquired by Serdar Sepah during the past three years indicated him as the man for the job. The idea of his advent to the headship of the Government was, however, entirely distasteful to the Shah and to the great majority of the leading politicians, whose one chance of recovering power thereafter would be to dislodge this determined intruder from what they regarded as the realm of their prescriptive rights.

As I had the honour to inform your Lordship by telegraph before my departure on the 8th October to visit the Arabistan oil-fields, matters seemed to be brewing up for a change of Government even before the new Majlis met. The change took place shortly after my return to Tehran on the 21st October. I am unaware of the specific reasons which decided Mushir-ed-Dowleh to tender his irrevocable resignation, but am inclined to think that his principal motive was mere pusillanimity. His determination to quit was, however, inflexible, and he even went to the lengths of concealing his personal whereabouts for twenty-four hours in order to escape importunate requests to resume his office. It was fairly obvious that the general sense of the country was in favour of Serdar Sepah trying his hand at the Presidency of the Council; it was certain that he could prevent anyone else from assuming that office, if he so wished. The Shah did not wish to make this appointment, but, seeing that there was no alternative course, in his turn decided not to face the new situation, but to leave the country and leave matters to work themselves out as best they might. In various interviews which I had with His Imperial Majesty the advice which I gave him to remain here produced not the slightest effect, for his mind was completely obsessed with an almost insane desire to get far away from Persia and out of reach of the dangers with which he believed himself to be threatened on all sides, but which I believed to be quite illusory.

In an interview which I had with Serdar Sepah on the 24th October after the resignation of Mushir-ed-Dowleh, I enquired of his Excellency whether it was his definite decision to accept the post of Prime Minister. He replied that Mushir-ed-Dowleh had resigned in spite of the Shah's insistence that he should remain in office.



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His Majesty had sent for him (Serdar Sepah), had informed him of his decision to go to Europe and had expressed the hope that during his own absence he would carry on his work as Minister for War. To this Serdar Sepah replied that he also was tired and in need of a holiday, and would be glad to accompany His Majesty to Europe. If, however, His Majesty desired him to remain in Tehran he could only do so as Prime Minister; otherwise he would be exposed to continuous intrigues so long as His Majesty remained away. The Shah answered that it was impossible for them both to leave Persia at the same time; after considerable discussion it was decided that His Majesty should start for Europe in a few days' time, leaving the Valiand as Regent and Serdar Sepah as Prime Minister.

I told Serdar Sepah that from the point of view of my own personal relations with the Persian Government his appointment as Prime Minister would be very agreeable, as in the dealings which I had had with him as Minister for War, I had found him satisfactory to work with and ready to understand the point of view which it was my duty to represent. I wished, however, to speak quite frankly, and, if he would allow me, to give my personal advice as a sincere friend. In my opinion it was not advisable that he should become Prime Minister; he had done excellent work for his country as Minister for War and had established himself in a practically unassailable position in his own Ministry. If he now stepped down into the arena of politics, he would expose himself to the ceaseless attacks of every intriguer and enemy of the country, and I feared lest the political jackals might pull him down, in which case the outlook was not a very bright one. I urged him therefore to consider the matter very earnestly before taking an irrevocable step which entailed such serious risks. If he succeeded, well and good; but if his downfall were achieved, I saw nothing ahead but a relapse into an even worse state of chaos than that from which the country was slowly and painfully emerging.

Serdar Sepah expressed his gratitude for my outspoken advice, which, he felt certain, was prompted by my genuine desire to be of help and by the mutual regard which had sprung up between us. He fully realised the risks he was taking in accepting the Presidency of the Council. In leaving the Ministry for War he was going out of a fortress to expose himself in the open field to the attacks of all his enemies. That risk he accepted. He realised that nothing could be done for the country so long as it was ruled by the present type of politician and he had therefore decided to take matters into his own hands. Moreover, his position even in the Ministry for War had already been attacked and it was now a question of advancing or falling altogether. He felt that if he was to render any lasting service to his country, he must take the reins of Government into his own hands. He had organised the army and assured the internal security of the country; now he desired to organise the civil departments of the Government and to provide for the country's economic development. In his opinion the moment for action had arrived and he would be greatly to blame if he allowed this opportunity of doing further service to slip by without turning it to full advantage. His Excellency again thanked me for my friendly advice and assured me that he fully realised the serious nature of the step he was taking, but was prepared to stake everything on the venture.

I said that I could not but admire his Excellency's courage and wished him every success in his formidable task.

The formation of Serdar Sepah's Government is certainly the most important event in Persian internal politics which has occurred since my arrival in Tehran. It is open to doubt whether Serdar Sepah's force of character would bring him to the front rank in a Western country, but he is a man with a strong and definite will, and has thus been able to shoulder his way rapidly through the political magnates of this country, who, in comparison, are a crowd of old women. It is too early to make any prediction of success or failure for the new experiment. What I do feel, however, is that there is a chance of the country's affairs being put fairly straight and that that chance could not exist with the series of intriguing or incompetent Governments which for several years past have succeeded each other with a dismal and monotonous regularity.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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PERSIA. [February 5.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 1125/455/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received February* 5, 1924.)

(No. 610. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tehran, December* 27, 1923.

SHORTLY after the return to Tehran of Mr. Havard, the Oriental secretary, I requested him to set down on paper, while they were still fresh in his mind, his impressions of the situation as he found it here, in comparison with that which prevailed at the time of his departure on leave in April last. Mr. Havard took three weeks to see his numerous personal friends and other Persians of political importance, and I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the observations which he thereupon furnished to me.

For anyone who sees the whole sequence of events from day to day, the changes in the general situation are much less perceptible than to someone—and especially anyone possessing so long and intimate an acquaintance with Tehran as Mr. Havard—who has had a definite break with the environment, and I think, therefore, that Mr. Havard's observations may be of considerable interest.

I beg your Lordship to read Mr. Havard's remarks regarding the American advisers in connection with a further despatch which I am addressing to you by this bag on the subject of Dr. Millspaugh's fourth quarterly report.

I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Observations by Mr. Havard on the Situation in Persia.*

I MAY say at once that the situation has improved out of all recognition.

You will remember that when I went away in April we were at the height of an anti-British feeling which had been gradually growing since the *coup d'État* of Sayyid Zia-ed-din.

There had been for a good many years before that a certain hostility to Great Britain, but it had never attained such universal proportions as it assumed after Sayyid Zia fell, and in the two years which followed that event, hostility to the British reached its maximum point. Government after Government made no attempt to stem that hostility, some of them even covertly abetted it, a venal and licentious press openly fostered it, and it was generally recognised as the hall-mark of Persian patriotism for members of the fourth Majlis to level abuse at Great Britain.

On my return, I see that most of this ill-feeling has abruptly disappeared, and I have been at some pains to discover whether the disappearance is real, and what has been the cause thereof.

The disappearance is, I think, real, and there are several contributory causes, the principal one being that a man who will stand no nonsense from his compatriots has taken charge of the destinies of Persia. A feeling of mutual friendship and respect has sprung up between that man and His Majesty's Legation, and the Persians have not been slow to notice it. Most of his compatriots sincerely admire Serdar Sepah, and those who don't admire him, dread him, and so his word is law in the land. It must, however, be remembered that we have no Parliament sitting in Tehran to-day, and it is difficult to say how far Serdar Sepah will be able to impose his will on the Deputies. I am, nevertheless, not very anxious on that score. He has shown so much tact and intelligence in dealing at different times with the recalcitrant members of the last Majlis, that I cannot think he will experience more difficulty with a Majlis which he is convening himself. He is also in a much stronger position to-day than he was a year ago; he has brought a sense of security to Persia such as hardly any living



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Persian can remember, and success has uniformly attended his every effort. His countrymen are proud of him, and each one seems to be only intent on winning his goodwill.

Public opinion as such hardly exists in Persia, and what there is of it has usually been in the hands of a few people who traded in it for their own ends. Even then it was only a noisy minority which overawed the silent and submissive majority. This noisy minority was largely exploited by the prisoners released after Sayyid Zia fled from the country. It was very commonly supposed that Sayyid Zia's *coup* had been planned by the British, and the released prisoners decided to wreak their vengeance on Great Britain by employing a noisy crowd of ne'er-do-wells to shout abuse at her. By this means they hoped to reinstate themselves in their old position and regain the popularity which they hankered after. Most of them have now seen that the result achieved was nil, that the money spent on this propaganda gave no return, and they are to-day much poorer in pocket, even though they have gained in wisdom. Once the private purse-strings were pulled tight, the subversive Press could not continue, and not more than some three or four newspapers eke out a lamentable existence in Tehran to-day.

These are some of the causes for the change of feeling to-day, but there is one other which should not be overlooked, and that is the dignified attitude adopted by His Majesty's Government throughout these last few years, a firm refusal to be blackmailed, and the strictest attention that has been given only to looking after its own affairs. The attitude adopted by Soviet Russia has only tended to enhance the dignity of His Majesty's Government.

So much for present Anglo-Persian relations. There are two other questions—purely Persian—on which I should like to touch, and they are—

1. Internal security and measures taken to safeguard the roads; and
2. The attempts at the reorganisation of Persian finances.

1. Travelling over the 500 miles of road from Kasr-i-Shirin to Tehran, one is struck by the extraordinary discipline of the guards on the roads, their evident contentment and their courtesy. The traveller comes upon many a guard-house suddenly at a bend in the road or over the other side of a hill or mountain. Everywhere the same strict discipline, the sentinel on duty properly equipped and armed—a great contrast to the ragged, unkempt and unready guard of only a few years ago. If the rest of the main roads in Persia are guarded as well as the one mentioned here, and from what I hear, I believe this to be so, then enormous progress has been made in the discipline of the Persian army. The same improvement is noticeable in the small bodies of soldiers detailed for duty at the toll-gates. Formerly the traveller used to have to wait until the toll-man consented to come out, and in cold weather, it sometimes took a long time; moreover, although there was supposed to be a guard there, he was usually absent on other business. To-day every toll station has its guard on duty at the gate, and his mere presence seems to inspire the employees with more energy in the discharge of their duties than they were wont to show previously. In consequence of this discipline, robbery on this and, I believe, on the other main roads is now unknown.

2. During the last three weeks I have met many Persians of various classes, and I have been surprised to see and hear how unpopular the American advisers have become. When I left in April last, the Persians had nothing but praise for the American advisers; now the position has become entirely reversed, and nobody has a good word to say for them. Many reasons are given by Persians for this unpopularity. I will deal with some of them as they have been stated to me:—

(1.) For some years past young men leaving schools and university have been wont to seek Government employment, owing to the fact that there was absolutely no other employment to be had. The Government, faced with this crisis, did its best for them, and tried to absorb them in the various Departments. The Ministry of Finance in particular became overstaffed to an extraordinary degree. Naturally, the advisers have had to dismiss a large number of employees, and these people immediately became a *foyer* of intrigue against those whom they regarded as solely responsible for their unemployment.

(2.) In respect of payment of arrears of taxes, the Americans have not used gloves to deal with defaulters, and most of these were the rich "buzurgan," who for many years past had successfully avoided payment when it was a case of dealing with their own compatriots, but who now have either had

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to pay up and look pleasant, or have had their lands confiscated in lieu of payment.

(3.) Budgets of the various Ministries have been very carefully scrutinised with the result that everywhere there has been a general clearing out. The poorer employees and menial classes have suffered considerably here as they had not got the protection of the higher and more expensive functionary.

It will be seen that here are elements from every class of society who have been hard hit by the advent of the Americans, and it cannot but be expected that these elements form a large nucleus around which the malcontents gather.

(4.) Furthermore, the Americans have absolutely no previous experience of the ways and manners of the Persian people, and neither can they speak the language. Comparatively few Persians talk English, and the Americans are consequently entirely in the hands of their Persian interpreters Most of these are young boys, a few of whom have studied a little in Europe, but a larger proportion are ex-pupils of the American school in Tehran. They are somewhat raw for their work, which is of an extremely delicate nature, and many of them are Jews--a race much despised by the Persian Moslem. It will be seen, therefore, that the Americans are really out of direct contact with the Persians, and this causes much heart-burning amongst the latter.

In addition to the above causes of unpopularity, there are two others :—

(*a.*) The agile Persian mind believes that Dr. Millspaugh has failed to find money for Persia in America, and as the Persian public had expected mule-loads of dollars to follow in the wake of the advisers, they are greatly disappointed to see that no money is yet forthcoming. Persian pride is greatly mortified that in doing America the honour of going to her for advisers, America has not in turn placed all her superfluous wealth at Persia's disposal.

(*b.*) As a result of the rigid economy put into force in the various Government Departments, and the dismissal of several hundred employees, the Persian expected to see the national budget greatly improved. But actually the revenues of the State during the first year of American supervision are going to show a loss of some 3½ million tomans, in comparison with the revenues of the last year before the Americans arrived. This is quite enough proof for the average Persian of the incompetence of the advisers who have been sent here, and without taking the trouble to enquire into the reasons of this deficit, they immediately begin to abuse the advisers roundly both in conversation and in the newspapers.

All the above are contributary causes to the unpopularity of the American advisers, the forces arrayed against them are strong, and are drawn from all classes and conditions of Persian society. It will, I think, require all the strength of a strong Government to combat these forces, and great patience and strength of character will have to be shown by the advisers themselves in order that this opposition may gradually be overcome.

G. T. H.

*Tehran, December* 22, 1923.

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PERSIA. [April 29.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 3743/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 169.)

Sir, *Tehran, April* 1, 1924.

BY the time of my arrival in Tehran on the 27th ultimo, the Republican movement had, as reported by Mr. Monson in his telegrams Nos. 95 and 98 of the 20th March, already received a set-back. Although there are no definite signs that the Prime Minister has changed his plans, it appears evident that he has miscalculated the strength of the inherent conservatism of the people, and of the clergy in particular, and that he is in a state of some indecision as to his next step.

His appearance in the Majlis on the 22nd March, reported in the enclosed diary of events prepared by Mr. Havard, formed perhaps the turning-point. It was probably a mistake on his part to listen to his party advisers and make an appearance at all; but once he had done so, and finding himself unable, by the sheer weight of military display, to produce the requisite state of submission in the assembled masses, he lost his self-control and was found lacking in the necessary gifts of oratory or statesmanship which might have enabled him to stem the rising tide of opposition and turn the moment to his advantage by a direct appeal to the people.

Instead of so acting, he applied military measures, and extricated himself from the position only with the loss of a large measure of his own prestige. The outlook at the moment of writing continues to be obscure.

I have, &c.
E. OVEY.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Diary of Events concerning the Republican Movement in Persia.*

THE first outward signs of this movement appeared about the 20th January, when a Tehran newspaper reproduced an article from the Constantinople paper "Wakt," favouring the establishment of a republic in Persia.

During the interval which had elapsed since Sultan Ahmed Shah left for Europe in November 1923, there had been no apparent sign of a desire on the part of the Persian people for a change of régime; but the spontaneous welcome accorded to the "Wakt's" article by the Tehran press made it obvious that the seed had fallen on ready ground and that there may even have been already a secret under-current of opinion which favoured the deposition of the present Shah and the establishment of a different régime or even of a different dynasty in Persia.

A Tehran journalist sought an interview with Serdar Sepah, in order to try and learn his feelings in the matter, but he did not disclose them, and sought refuge behind generalities concerning the country's future welfare. The press now indulged in unrestrained Republican propaganda, and resorted to its usual methods—abuse and vituperation of the Shah, the Prince Regent and the whole Kajar dynasty.

There was now little doubt that Serdar Sepah was secretly aiding and abetting this propaganda, otherwise nobody would have dared to carry it on, but he preferred that it should wear the cloak of popular feeling. As a formality, the Government suppressed one paper for reviling the Shah, but the others immediately followed suit, and for a few weeks almost every newspaper in Tehran raked up the details of the Shah's past, even his most innocent acts being so distorted and twisted about that they were made to look criminal or sinful in the eyes of his subjects. The campaign of calumny against the Shah and the Prince Regent has surpassed anything that the gutter press in Tehran has yet indulged in, and when it was finished, not a shred of honour was left to His Majesty.

When the press had exhausted its stock of abuse, it advised the Prince Regent to inform his brother how much the Persian people hated him, and added that they should remember Louis XVI and Nicholas II, and get out of the way with a whole skin whilst



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there was yet time. The abuse of the Kajars was accompanied by the most flattering remarks and praise of Serdar Sepah, whom the papers proposed to elect President of the future republic. The Prince Regent appealed to Serdar Sepah to exercise a restraining influence on the press, but he replied that he was unable to do so, as it was the expression of popular opinion. In an ever-intensifying atmosphere of propaganda, Republican committees were formed, and telegrams began to pour in from the provinces demanding the abolition of the Kajar dynasty and the establishment of the republic. In some places people took refuge in the telegraph offices, and stated that they would not leave before Tehran had replied that their desire for a republic would be granted. In other places the bazaars were closed as a sign of a wish for the republic. There is little doubt that these acts in the provinces were not wholly spontaneous or a mark of the real wish of the people, but were simply inspired, and perhaps paid for, by the Republican committees in the capital, and even the Government itself.

Many meetings were held in Tehran in favour of the republic, and they were enlivened by a certain show of opposition, which, faint at first, hardened considerably later on. The police and soldiers, however, were generally at hand to keep a fair semblance of order, and one or two arrests generally relieved the situation.

Such was the situation up to a week before the Persian New Year (the 21st March). The opposition was not serious and people seemed to begin rallying to the Republican idea. Deputations of all classes, excepting the ulama, visited the Prime Minister and expressed adherence to the future republic.

A set-back, however, was to come. The Majlis had finished the examination of the members' mandates in commission, and the first open session took place on the 12th March, when each member's mandate was openly voted upon. The largest party in the Majlis was the Reformist, numbering fifty-two and led by Sayyid Muhammad Tadayun, an ex-schoolmaster, somewhat hot-headed and with a great idea of his own importance. This party was said to be solid for the republic, but, on the 15th March, dissension appeared in its ranks, when the mandate of one of its own members—Nuri Zadeh—was invalidated owing to about one-half of the members of the party voting against him. Opposition to the mandates of several members of the Reformist party was led by Sayyid Hassan Mudarris, the well-known demagogue, who was also a prominent member of the last Majlis. There had already existed a certain amount of personal antipathy between Tadayun and Mudarris, and each one now set out to down the other. Tadayun now opposed the credentials of Mirza Hashem Ashtiyani, which Mudarris defended; the debate became heated, and Tadayun, losing his temper, called on his party to leave the House. They did so, and the sitting broke up somewhat in disorder. Outside, one of the Reformist party slapped Mudarris in the face. The latter called on the crowd outside, who invaded the Majlis compound, and great confusion prevailed before the police and military could restore order. Tadayun's party's chief object was to bring about the proclamation of the republic as quickly as possible—the date was to be the 20th March—but his high-handed action in leaving the Majlis did not please many of his followers, and half of them subsequently left him. For two days there was no sitting, but finally the quarrel between Mudarris and Tadayun was patched up superficially. The tug-of-war now started, Tadayun wanting to rush through the remaining members' mandates in order to get to business about the republic, and Mudarris steadily opposing mandate after mandate in order to postpone any discussion on the republic until after the 21st March. The mob in the lower quarters of the town took up the quarrel of Tadayun and Mudarris and invaded the Majlis grounds in turn as each happened to be the stronger, and many scuffles took place there on the 18th, 19th and 20th March. An attempt to close the bazaars on the 19th by a Republican band was frustrated successfully, immense crowds coming to the help of the shopkeepers and mauling the Republicans severely. They subsequently gathered in the mosque, although the thoroughfares leading there was barred by the police, and an anti-Republican demonstration took place. On the 20th the rival mobs had a pitched battle in the Majlis grounds, the anti-Republicans winning the day, and remained in possession until evicted by an armed force.

The ulama were now in the forefront of the opposition, which had assumed large proportions, but up to this date it was still somewhat difficult to understand whether the opposition was really adverse to a republic or whether it was only adverse to the methods employed by Tadayun and his party to rush the matter through Parliament and present the people with a *fait accompli* by the Persian New Year. In any case, the discussion on the change of régime was started in Parliament on the evening of the 20th March, but it was voted that the discussion be left to Saturday, the 22nd, the day after the Persian New Year.

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During all this confusion the Prince Regent has remained quietly at the Palace. Some efforts were made by the Republicans to induce him to leave, but he steadily refused to do so until Parliament had decided the question. It is usual for the foreign diplomatic representatives to be summoned to the salaam at the Palace on the 21st March, where the Shah or Regent receives their New Year's congratulations; but this year no summons was issued and the reception was not held.

*Saturday, March* 22, 1924.

As previously arranged, Parliament was to meet to-day in open session to discuss a proposal put forward by some fifteen Deputies for permission to change the fundamental laws of the Constitution and to establish a republic. The sitting was not held, as the people were in an excited mood and news was received that large anti-Republican crowds were gathering in the bazaars to make a demonstration at the Parliament. Shortly before 4 P.M. a crowd numbering well over 5,000 people marched towards the Parliament, broke through the police cordon around the Parliament square, hammered at the doors of the Majlis, which had been closed, and demanded admittance to the grounds. The doors were opened after some hesitation, and the crowd rushed in, filling every nook and corner of the grounds and bearing banners inscribed with "We want no Republic." Anti-Republican speeches were made, and the Deputies were called upon to allow no change in the fundamental laws of the Constitution, at least until the previous consent of the people had been obtained. The crowd was perfectly orderly, the greater part of them squatting down on the floor, and they remained in peaceable possession of the grounds until 5 P.M.

At this time two companies of the Pehlevi Regiment arrived in the Parliament square, and fifteen minutes later Serdar Sepah drove up in a carriage and tried to drive into the Majlis. He was unable to do so, as the crowd was too dense. Very annoyed, he alighted from his carriage and gave the order for the two companies of soldiers to march into the grounds of the house. They forced their way in and lined up in the centre. As Serdar Sepah entered there was some shouting, and he made his way through to the entrance of the house with great difficulty. After waving his arms in the air several times as a sign to the crowd to make way, he ordered the soldiers to clear the grounds. The crowd now began to show temper and missiles were thrown, one of which is said to have struck Serdar Sepah. The military were none too gentle in their methods, and several people were wounded by the soldiers, who had bayonets, and some fell underneath a wall which collapsed under the pressure of the crowd. Many arrests were made, including Khalisseh Zadeh, and the arrested men were taken to the nearest police station, where they were detained until midnight.

Serdar Sepah then entered the Parliament building where Motemin-ul-Mulk, the President of the House, soundly rated him for using military force against the crowd, and told him he had no authority to do so in that place. High words ensued between these two, but Mustaufi-ul-Mamalek intervened and calmed both down. Motemin-ul-Mulk even offered to call the Deputies into session and denounce Serdar Sepah's action, and there is little doubt, had he done so, there would have been a vote of non-confidence in Serdar Sepah. After this a conference took place between the Deputies, the priests and Serdar Sepah, where it is believed that the latter sulkily agreed to abandon his desire to push through the republic, but announced he would resign as he could not work with either the Shah or the Prince Regent.

On the 23rd March in the early morning, Serdar Sepah left town for his country house, where he remained until the 26th. On the 26th he went to Kum, where he had previously promised to go to bid farewell to the priests returning to Mesopotamia, and returned to Tehran on the 27th.

The question was to have found a solution in an open sitting of Parliament on the 26th, but the absence of Serdar Sepah at Kum and the avowed intention of the crowd to invade the precincts of the Majlis again made the Deputies, after reflection, cancel the sitting and put off any parliamentary session until the 3rd April.

At present there appears to be a complete deadlock, but the Republican movement has collapsed.

A complete revulsion of public feeling took place about the 17th March. Up to that date the people had been completely apathetic; the priests had been silently hostile; Mudarris, a demagogue priest and Deputy, had alone raised his voice against a republic. He had opposed the mandates of various Deputies in Parliament on the plea that the people had not elected them freely. One day in the corridor of the House he received a slap in the face from one of his opponents belonging to the Tajadud party. This party was hotly in favour of a republic, and was the largest party in the

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House, but it split up after the Mudarris incident. This was a great blow to the republic. The press had also started to confuse the republic with religion, and one paper talked of the Prophet and the Imams as actors on the world stage. A famous Tehran poet gave a recital to a crowded audience in a public hall, in which a line occurred: "How long are we to tolerate the Kajars and priests?" News came from Turkey that the Caliphate was abolished, and nobody was henceforth to wear a turban except by permission of the police. The pro-Republicans tried to close the bazaars on New Year's eve (the 20th March), just at a time when merchants most expect to do good business. The movement was successfully resisted, and the people went to the mosques to demonstrate against a republic which allowed such things to be done. The police tried to bar the way to the mosques, and people held prayer meetings in the open bazaar instead.

The matter now bore a religious aspect, and the priests came out into the open as the champions of the anti-Republican movement. Henceforth all anti-Republican demonstrations had a religious foundation, and the speeches made were based on Islam. The people are ignorant, but show considerable fervour in matters of religion. The slogan used by the anti-Republicans brought the silent and half-hearted to their side, and the result is a solid feeling amongst the masses of Tehran against a republican form of government.

Serdar Sepah has lost most of his popularity since he turned the soldiers against the peaceful demonstrators in the Parliament grounds, and his enemies are not likely to let the chance of downing him go begging.

The more sensible people realise that if he goes it will be a national loss, but they do not know how to keep him, because up to the present he has not disclosed his own mind, nor how far he is amenable to reason or is ready to face actual circumstances. If he persists in his formerly expressed opinion that he cannot work with the present Shah or Prince Regent, he may be shelved. In any case, many people think he should give up the premiership and content himself with the Ministry for War, or even only with the post of commander-in-chief of the army. Some means to bridge over the differences between him and his political opponents must be found, but no accurate information of any discussions between them is obtainable, and the effect of Serdar Sepah's visit to the priests at Kum is not yet known.

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PERSIA. [May 27.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 4644/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received May* 27.)

(No. 199.)

Sir, *Tehran, April* 18, 1924.

THE sudden resignation and departure of Serdar Sepah on the 7th April undoubtedly caused considerable consternation amongst all classes in Tehran and the provinces. The same evening an extraordinary secret session of the Majlis was held to consider the situation, and it was decided that each group of Deputies should elect and send representatives to Serdar Sepah to enquire the reasons of his action.

Hardly had this plan been decided upon when the President of the Majlis informed the leading Deputies that a telegram had been received from the Shah to the effect that Serdar Sepah was dismissed, and that the Majlis should inform His Majesty whom it favoured as his successor, so that he might nominate a new President of the Council. This threw the Deputies into a renewed state of indecision, and they decided to postpone action on their previous decision and to reassemble the following evening for further discussion.

Ramazan, the month of fasting, had begun on the 6th April, and it had previously been decided that during that month the Majlis should hold its sittings three times a week in the evenings. The Deputies therefore had all the following day for reflection.

During that day telegrams arrived from all the army commanders in the provinces, some expressing regret at Serdar Sepah's withdrawal and requesting the Majlis to bring him back, others, notably from the divisional commanders in east and west, holding the Majlis responsible for what had happened, and threatening to march on Tehran at the head of their forces unless Serdar Sepah returned within forty-eight hours. Local disturbances were reported to have broken out in several provincial towns, bazaars were being closed and crowds were taking refuge in the telegraph offices demanding the return of Serdar Sepah.

When the Deputies assembled in Parliament in the evening the situation was decidedly critical, and on the whole it is hardly surprising that they immediately accorded a vote of confidence to Serdar Sepah. Ninety-four out of about a hundred voted in his favour, some six Deputies alone abstaining from recording their votes. On the following day a deputation from the Majlis waited on Serdar Sepah, acquainted him with the vote of confidence and asked him to return to Tehran.

The action of the army commanders in the provinces was so spontaneous that there can be little doubt that it was part of a prearranged plan. The evident joy with which Reza Khan received the glad tidings of the Majlis deputation and the almost undue haste with which he complied with the invitation to return tend to bear out this idea. He told the deputation that his only desire was to carry out the wishes of the Majlis, and he returned to his country house in Shimran the same evening after passing a few hours in Tehran.

On the 10th April a continual stream of ex-Ministers and Deputies visited him in Shimran, and in the evening he returned to his town residence.

Although a few newspapers continued to extol the advantages of a republican régime in general, active propaganda ceased, and attention was directed rather towards the person of the ruling Monarch, the general sentiment being that, out of respect for Serdar Sepah's expressed wish, the republic would not be discussed, but Sultan Ahmed Shah should be dethroned and replaced by another King.

It is perfectly clear that Serdar Sepah and his army officers were the prime movers in the republican agitation, and it cannot be supposed for one moment that they have permanently discarded their ideas.

In addition to the factors set forth in the enclosure to my despatch No. 169 of the 1st April, Serdar Sepah attributes his failure largely to the active part taken by the Russian Legation, who distributed money through the son of Mehdi-al-Khalissi and other anti-republican leaders. The crowd that invaded the precincts of the Majlis on the 22nd March was under the leadership of Khalissi, jun., and could not have been gathered without the expenditure of money. The tone of the local Russian news-sheet



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has been consistently anti-republican, and the reports which Russian consuls have spread in the provinces have been of the same nature.

Superficially it may not be evident why the Russians should oppose a republic, but the reason for their action is probably to be found in their opposition to the person of Serdar Sepah and to a republic brought about by him. Such a republic would merely be a camouflage for a military dictatorship and not a republic brought about by the people themselves.

Their interference and their aims became generally known, with the result that they defeated their own object and contributed to a certain extent to the vote of confidence given to Serdar Sepah.

A vote of confidence having been accorded to Serdar Sepah, it became necessary to communicate the fact to the Shah, who had no option but to approve it, while lamely trying to explain that his earlier telegram dismissing Serdar Sepah was only in the nature of the usual formality which is gone through whenever a fresh Parliament becomes officially open.

On the 13th April Serdar Sepah introduced his Cabinet to the Majlis. The only changes from the former Ministers were that Mahmud Aga Khan, Amir Iktidar, replaced Khodayar Khan at the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, and Mushir-ed-Dowleh, formerly Under-Secretary, became Acting Minister of Public Works. The portfolio of Public Instruction was left vacant.

Amir Iktidar is the ex-Governor of Isfahan. He was educated to be a mollah, but, having tried the priestly profession and found it uncongenial, he decided to enter the army in the former Cossack Brigade, and he has risen to the rank of general commanding a division—Amir Lashkar. A broad-minded, cultured and intelligent man, he has a long-standing friendship with Serdar Sepah, the latter once having been, it is said, his orderly. Whatever their former relations were, Amir Iktidar is credited with having a considerable influence over Serdar Sepah, and, in view of his education and intelligence, he will undoubtedly be an asset to the Cabinet.

Serdar Sepah having presented his Ministers, briefly outlined his programme, but the discussion of it was postponed until the next sitting, in order that it might be printed and handed to each Deputy.

The principal items of the programme were :—

1. The strengthening of friendly relations with foreign Powers.
2. The extension of the army and Conscription Bill.
3. The extension of educational establishments.
4. The ratification of the North Oil Bill.
5. The construction of railways and roads.
6. Aerial postal service.
7. Public wireless.

When the programme was introduced to the Majlis on the 15th April, Sayyid Hassan Mudarris criticised it on general grounds, that it was not sufficiently detailed and omitted many important measures. His criticism was moderate, but another Deputy, Haerizadeh, attacked it hotly and bitterly. He singled out the proposal to extend the army, and said that the army needed to be purged rather than to be enlarged, and that the money designed for that purpose would be better spent in spreading education, so that better educated divisional commanders might acquire a livelier sense of their duty to the State, and not send threatening telegrams of the kind which had been lately received. It was clear to him that the army belonged to one man and not to the State ; why therefore should the latter contribute to its upkeep ? These remarks caused the President of the House to intervene with the remark that the honourable member must desist from such language, as he had put forward no motion to interpellate the Government, and it was out of order.

Haerizadeh's sentiments are, however, shared by many of his colleagues, even among those who joined in the vote of confidence, and many of them wish an example to be made of these officers in command, whose telegrams concerning Serdar Sepah's resignation were particularly threatening.

The other projects put forward in the programme all received, in a more normal manner, their share of criticism.

Eventually the programme was adopted by 82 votes out of 104, which show a slight reduction as compared with the numbers who gave the original vote of confidence in Serdar Sepah.

Serdar Sepah has undoubtedly triumphed. His too early insistence on a change of régime and the unfortunate coincidence of the abolition of the Caliphate in Turkey

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nearly upset his plans. After days of indecision he hit upon the plan of retiring in disgust with a view to returning as the one strong essential man. He has been entirely successful for the moment. Opinion generally is in agreement that he is relatively head and shoulders over his nearest competitors; that the comparative absence of chaos in Persia is due to his personality alone; that were he to go chaos would reign again. The actual state of order and security throughout the country is very striking to a newcomer. It is, however, very uncertain whether the Prime Minister will be able to overcome the internal dissensions of his followers, the inability of a packed Majlis to "stay bought" and the reactionary policy of the clergy. The majority of the present Majlis was presumed to be at the Prime Minister's beck and call. Recent events have, however, again demonstrated the inherent instability of the Persian mind and the extreme elasticity of the Persian conscience.

The Government majority, now again in Reza Khan's favour, is by no means stable, composed as it is of members of different factions, with no real settled policy and with no outstanding personality to weld them into a homogeneous whole. It is quite possible that the debate on the army budget may show a hardening of the Opposition, and in no way does it appear that Serdar Sepah is going to have an easy time, nor that this fifth Majlis is going to be any more tractable than its predecessor.

I have, &c.

ESMOND OVEY.

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PERSIA. [June 26, 1924.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 5495/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received June* 26.)

(No. 251.)

Sir, *Tehran, May* 13, 1924.

AS will be seen from my despatch No. 241A of the 12th instant, there have been few, if any, purely political incidents to report in the past fortnight.

The political situation appears to have reached one of those positions of unstable equilibrium which are not uncommon in this country. No immediate outcome is apparent in the efforts of the Prime Minister to galvanise his Parliament into action, yet it would require courage to predict that this equilibrium may not be suddenly disturbed, as must be the case should a new factor emerge.

But for the moment there appears to be an undoubted calm—whether the calm that precedes a storm or not it is impossible to foretell.

The Prime Minister, according to one report, is inclined to blame his advisers for having wrongly led him into the republican adventure, for which public opinion, such as it is, was not ripe.

A rapprochement with the Shah is considered out of the question ; a similar move for collaboration with the Valiahd seems equally impracticable, except as a last resort, although relations have actually become less strained. A republic—unless the Prime Minister can win over the clergy to a policy which is repugnant to the majority, or unless he can somehow make a small minority appear as a majority—is temporarily considered out of the question. One rumour will have it that His Highness is coquetting with the Russians, another with the English. It is credibly reported that Reza Khan has visited the Russian Legation several times of late and is seeking to improve Russo-Persian relations, but, in view of his mistrust of all things Russian, it seems improbable that he will allow himself to be inveigled into any intrigue, nor, in view of the unequivocal language held by me as to the neutrality of His Majesty's Government in the internal affairs of Persia, would it seem likely that His Highness can expect to conclude any bargain with His Majesty's Government for the furtherance of his personal plans.

The selection of the committee to study the Sinclair oil question has at last been completed. Every Deputy wished to be on such a committee in the hope of sharing in the plunder, and the selection was long and arduous. It is quite uncertain how the voting may go, but the concomitant loan of 10 million dollars is hanging fire, and the American Financial Adviser finds himself forced to appeal to His Majesty's Legation to permit American financiers to alienate the only available Persian securities to enable them to raise a loan at 8 per cent., a portion of which would be required to repay a bank overdraft of 7 per cent. In the two conversations with Dr. Millspaugh (to which I had the honour to refer in my telegram No. 117 of the 30th April and No. 118 of the 8th instant), I enquired of Dr. Millspaugh how he could, apart from political considerations, reconcile this proposal with sound financial principles. His answers were evasive. The conversations were of the most friendly nature, and I constantly emphasised the desire of His Majesty's Government to co-operate in the rehabilitation of Persia's finances, in which he is playing a so onerous part.

Finally, I drew the impression that he was unwillingly convinced that in view of the obvious impossibility of His Majesty's Government acquiescing in the alienation of the only available securities pending a settlement of the outstanding debt of Persia to Great Britain his plans could only lead to an *impasse*. He, nevertheless, frankly gave me his opinion that in the present state of Persian opinion no proposal for an English loan, an English concession or any English undertaking could possibly be accepted. I replied that I was quite aware that much time must pass before Persians generally would realise the purity and disinterestedness of our motives, but that as my instructions were to do anything possible, however slight, to dissipate these unfounded suspicions, I could not give up all hope that in the end the attitude of His Majesty's Government would bear fruit. It might take time, but in Persia progress was notoriously slow ; our shoulders were broad, and even if the Prime Minister might evince disappointment that his scheme of raising money through the Sinclair concession was not



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succeeding, His Highness would certainly in the end realise that sound finance, a policy of paying one's debts, coupled with the skill of the American Financial Adviser, would ultimately redound to the greater advantage of Persia. Could Dr. Millspaugh imagine His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs arising in the House of Commons to defend the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to Persia and making a statement to the following effect:—

> "The policy of dissipating the suspicion held by Persians with regard to Great Britain is making little progress. Without entering into the details of the claim on which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company claimed the concession to the northern oil-fields, it is sufficient to say that an American company has acquired this concession. In order to facilitate this, His Majesty's Government, who are owed large sums of money by the Persian Government, for loans and assistance generally accorded in the past, have permitted the alienation of the only available assets on which payment of interest and repayment of capital could have been secured. They have thus enabled an American firm to acquire a concession to an oil-field claimed by a British company; and also a concession, as none of these plans are feasible without a loan in some form based on outside security, to build a road, or railway, on most of which line a British firm have a prior option, from the Caspian to Mohammerah; with the money thus raised at 8 per cent. the Persian Government are repaying an overdraft to the Imperial Bank of Persia, a British institution, for which only 7 per cent. was being charged, and are understood to be devoting the remainder to the encouragement of agriculture and the construction of new telegraph lines. His Majesty's Government have no security for the money owed them other than the expected general increase in Persian prosperity, but they are, at the urgent request of the American Financial Adviser, arranging to reduce their claim to one-half and allow the Persian Government a moratorium during which no interest of any kind will be paid. His Majesty's Government are further pressing the Russian Government to permit the imposition of a tariff in North Persia which will bring in increased revenue to Persia, but it is not proposed that even this possible increase of revenue should be devoted to the payment of interest on Persia's debt to Great Britain."

Dr. Millspaugh took these remarks, which exactly summarised his actual proposals, except that at one time he suggested His Majesty's Government should let the Persian Government off the whole debt entirely, in the best possible part, and undertook to explain to the Minister for Foreign Affairs how matters stood. He suggested a conference with his Excellency at which I should be present. I expressed willingness to do anything that lay in my power to clear up matters and help to bring about a situation where there would be space and opportunity for frank and loyal Anglo-American commercial rivalry. I had spoken in this sense to the Prime Minister, who had expressed entire concurrence and had offered to talk it over with his colleagues in the Cabinet. All that had resulted so far had been this proposal by the Financial Adviser, which was obviously one to which His Majesty's Government could give no countenance, which did not reflect that spirit of co-operation which His Majesty's Government had hoped for from the American side, and which was financially unsound.

He had told me himself that next year Persia should have a surplus of 1,000,000 tomans and a still greater surplus in the following year; the external debt of Persia was exceptionally small; from the international point of view her political prospects excellent, and a state of order existed throughout the country which was almost, if not quite, without parallel in Persian history. There was only one outlet to the present *impasse*—Persia must learn to pay her just indebtedness, to embark on a policy of sound finance, to respect her prior engagements and, where such permitted, invite open bids for tenders for her commercial and industrial expansion to all and sundry on a basis of frank and open competition. His Majesty's Government had no desire to indulge in a policy of dog-in-the-manger, and would go far to invite loyal American co-operation, even in all probability where British firms might have first entered the field; but the fact that Great Britain had been Persia's best friend in the past and would always be so in the future presented no insuperable obstacle to her being permitted either to claim her rights or to extend a helping hand in the future if she could do so on conditions financially more advantageous to Persia.

I was perfectly prepared to recommend to my Government that they should behave with the utmost generosity in the question of Persia's indebtedness, but I asked him frankly whether, in my place, he would expend Government money in

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telegraphing home to recommend that they should do so in return for no security whatever as proposed by him.

I used these arguments substantially in both interviews, but, fortified on the second occasion by the instructions contained in your telegram No. 73 of the 2nd instant, which I had told him were the only possible instructions I could receive, I perhaps succeeded in producing in his mind a state of pessimism which, temporarily at least, should be of a salutary nature.

Dr. Millspaugh is a quiet and by no means unsympathetic personality, but it is difficult to imagine that he will ever be induced to co-operate wholeheartedly with us in these matters. His upbringing as a theoretical rather than a practical economist, his nationality, a certain dogged obstinacy, his quite genuine desire to do his best for Persia, coupled with the constant reiteration by Persians of their desire to shake off the trammels of British influence, will all combine to make him seek any other means than what we could consider loyal co-operation except perhaps as a last resort. It was in this conviction that I telegraphed on the 8th May requesting that I might be informed exactly of the burden which a generous settlement of Persia's outstanding indebtedness would cast on the Persian budget. The iron may not be very hot, but it has momentarily lost some of its original hardness, and if His Majesty's Government could make without delay some concrete proposal which would enable Dr. Millspaugh to recast his financial plans with some degree of accuracy, something would have been done to diminish the otherwise inevitable impression in the Persian mind that we are obstructing the single-minded American plans for the rehabilitation of a country at a moment when it happens to be under a ruler unquestionably more efficient, constructive and receptive than it is its unfortunate custom to enjoy.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.

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PERSIA. [June 20, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 5340/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received June* 20.)

(No. 268.)

Sir, *Tehran, May* 28, 1924.

THE last fortnight has been marked by no event of outstanding political interest. Parliament, which in this country enjoys no recess, except involuntarily, continues its hair-splitting labours. The Prime Minister has embarked on no new or radical policy. As I had the honour to report in my telegram No. 121 of the 16th instant, the Government troops have met with a considerable reverse in Luristan, where a serious revolt arose from the impolitic action of the commander of the troops in murdering—in spite of the most solemn oaths—the Lur chiefs who had been induced to enter into negotiations with him. This act of typical Oriental treachery necessarily resulted in producing a state of mind among those chiefs who had escaped murder which led them to argue that, if they were to die, they might as well do so on the field of battle. It was recently reported that the Government have had to abandon Khoremabad, losing 1,600 men in a narrow defile, and are massing reinforcements round Burujird. This may very probably, however, be an exaggeration. From information imparted to the military attaché, it would seem to be the Government's intention, when these forces have assumed a sufficiently imposing aspect, to enter into a parley with the rebels. It is true that the Prime Minister now possesses, in the neighbourhood of the capital, five aeroplanes, all of which are capable of flight, and which took part, on the 25th, in a series of demonstration flights before large and undoubtedly interested crowds of spectators, some of the more important of whom were sufficiently fatalistic to venture on a short trip. He is also expecting some armoured Rolls-Royce cars, which appear to have mysteriously disappeared for the moment, and some "Citroen" "caterpillar" cars. Intrigues in the army are, however, very prevalent, and a new form of demonstration has recently been employed, which consists in bodies of troops, presumably bribed so to act, taking refuge in mosques. If, therefore, the news regarding his intention to compromise with the rebel Lurs, and another report that he contemplates a similar compromise with Dost Mohamed in Persian Baluchistan, are true, it would not appear that this display of modern military scientific appliances would suffice successfully to balance the loss of prestige which must mark the failure of his pacificatory efforts in a part of Persia so central as Luristan.

As I have already reported, Reza Khan has now become a capitalist, and would seem to prefer methods of compromise to military adventures. I have more than once expressed the opinion that he has not abandoned his desire to change the present form of government, in spite of his official utterances, but he appears to be working more on the lines of a rapprochement with the Russians and a mild flirtation with the Church. With regard to the latter, it is interesting to note that arrangements have been made for the presentation to him, on Friday, the 30th May, of a portrait of the prophet Ali Amir-ul-Muminin, sent to him by the ulama, recently returned to Irak, as a mark of their esteem.

From the financial point of view, his Highness's schemes seem also to be meeting with little success. Mr. Forbes, the representative of Blair and Co., who had come to Tehran to study the financial situation with a view to the raising of a 10-million-dollar loan, has left for America, without apparently having accomplished anything. Although it may not be too great a stretch of imagination to compare Reza Khan with Cromwell, it must be remembered that his difficulties are largely those which resulted in the downfall of Charles I, namely, the inability to raise money except by doubtfully legal methods. A newcomer to this country is greatly impressed with the extent to which the idea of government by the Majlis has been a part and parcel of Persian mentality. None of the five Parliaments which Persia has hitherto enjoyed have made any real or constructive contribution to the development or the rehabilitation, financial or political, of the country, and one's conclusion can therefore only be that this inactivity represents current Persian ideals. The path of the reformer is beset with many difficulties.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.



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PERSIA. [July 7, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 5863/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received July* 7.)

(No. 293.)

Sir, *Tehran, June* 17, 1924.

I HAD the honour to report in my despatch No. 268 of the 28th May last that no event of outstanding political interest had occurred in the preceding fortnight. A similar statement would apply to the period which has elapsed since that date.

The Prime Minister appears to realise that, with his present Government of personal protégés, he will never be able to overcome the dilatory and sullenly hostile attitude adopted by the Majlis. He is reported, therefore, to be considering whether it would not be better to reorganise his Cabinet and introduce into it certain of the routine (one might almost say hereditary) politicians, such as Nosret-ed-Dowleh, Mussedik-es-Sultaneh and, in a somewhat different category, Mushir-ul-Mulk (not at present a member of the Majlis), who would each contribute, in return, no doubt, for value received, the support of their respective côteries. This reported manœuvre will show clearly how far the strong man of Persia has lapsed from the path of autocratic government. He is still the strongest man and the outstanding personality in the country, and any review of the situation necessarily becomes a review of his personal position. He is no longer, however, able, like the Persian mountain torrent, to sweep away obstacles. On the contrary, he has apparently reached the point where he must have recourse to careful canalisation and the co-operation of minor tributaries to avoid stagnation, and even final evaporation. Criticism is rampant, both among private individuals and in the press. From time to time he makes a bid for popularity, as in the case of the presentation to him of the portrait of the Prophet Ali. After several alterations, this ceremony was finally held on the 6th June, at the garden of Bagh-i-Shah, which, being more accessible than Shah Abdul Azim, was thought more likely to attract a crowd. The ceremony was duly written up in the press, and was undoubtedly attended by a number of persons whose enthusiasm was artificially stimulated, although the provision of sherbet and other Persian delicacies was not on a scale sufficiently lavish to make up for the dust and heat of the day. Khalisseh Zadeh and some few other rampant preachers had assured the people that the portrait did not emanate from the returned ulama, but from the English, and a certain amusement was caused by the unfortunate and entirely inexplicable fact that the negative of the portrait of his Highness taken on this occasion, when developed, included, in addition to Reza Khan's well-known features, the statement, " I am a Bahai," written in flowing Arabic characters. It is reported, with what accuracy I cannot vouch, that thirty photographers have been imprisoned.

As regards the military position in Luristan, his Highness is able to show somewhat better results. The town of Khorremabad has been successfully relieved, and the presence of considerable Government forces, the natural tribal instincts of the Lurs to be content with a successful foray and the satisfaction of their personal vengeance, and perhaps the appearance of some of the recently imported aeroplanes, has resulted in a very considerable amelioration of the position.

The attitude of the Prime Minister towards the monarchy is not easy to elucidate. It is reported that a telegram, signed by forty mullahs, has been despatched to the Shah requesting His Majesty to return. It is not clear whether this telegram was actually despatched, or whether it was only presented at the telegraph office and held up by the Government. It is currently believed that the Government's attitude in this matter is that, if any such telegram is to be sent, it should be sent by themselves. The fact that the Government argue that they would gain kudos by such action, although additional proof of how far events have moved since March last does not by any means indicate that they desire the Shah to accept the invitation—at least, for the present—His Majesty might, for instance, be manœuvred into replying that he is quite satisfied with the present Government and prefers to remain abroad a little longer. In any case, it is symptomatic that a



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semblance at least of respect for the hereditary monarchy has become a political asset more important than condemnation of the wickedness of the Kajar dynasty.

The discussions on the Sinclair Oil Bill pursue their weary course. I hope shortly to procure a copy of the Bill as modified since its original passage by the fourth Majlis.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.

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PERSIA. [July 22, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 6283/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received July* 22.)

(No. 316. Confidential.)

Sir, *Gulhek, July* 1, 1924.

THE negotiations for the reconstruction of Serdar Sepah's Cabinet, to which I made reference in my telegram No. 138 of the 28th ultimo, and the exchange of telegraphic correspondence with the Shah with regard to his return to Persia, have formed the principal subjects of political interest since my despatch No. 225 of the 2nd May last.

I enclose an interesting survey of the situation in both these respects by Mr. Havard, which clearly indicates the technical complication of the position into which his Highness has allowed himself to drift.

Opinion in diplomatic circles here and among residents of experience is practically unanimous in the sense of my recent reports—namely, that Serdar Sepah's influence is waning and that his experiments in strictly constitutional government will end in the triumph of the forces of reaction. The increased influence of the clergy is noticeable everywhere, a proposal having even recently been brought forward for the formation of a small permanent committee of mullahs, who would have the duty of "vetting" all Bills from the point of view of religion, and should any Bill not pass the examination it would automatically be cancelled.

A frank supporter of the pessimistic view of Serdar Sepah's position is to be found in the person of Dr. Kornfeld, the American Minister. Dr. Kornfeld, who has received permission to return to Washington in the early autumn, openly admits his disappointment at the result of his labours in this country. Having arrived two years ago with the full measure of Western enthusiasm and high hopes of being able to regenerate the Persian people, he put his trust in Reza Khan, the rise of whose star coincided with his own efforts as a regenerator of a "strangled" country. In March his hopes were still high. Something dramatic, something which would round off his work in Persia, the inauguration of a republic, was apparently due, and he himself has described to me how he mingled with the New Year crowds to hear the announcement of the birth of a new era. Now he is replunged in pessimism. "This is my first failure" were recently his own words, and "I don't like it."

Persia is, however, a country of surprises, and it would be unwise totally to exclude the possibility that the local unanimity of opinion with regard to the political situation may turn out to be as erroneous as was the equally universal conviction that a republic was on the point of realisation in March last.

Serdar Sepah controls the army and many engines of destruction in the shape of guns, armoured cars and aeroplanes. Should his political manœuvres fail, is he the man to show a last flicker of enthusiasm and rule the country by force? Locally the answer is invariably in the negative. And it must be admitted that, if his real intention is forcibly to put into execution his political ideal of a republic, he has adopted during the past few months methods of camouflage so astute as to place him in the highest rank of political intriguers. Neither his enemies nor his friends concede him any such subtlety: the tendency is, on the contrary, to consider him a stupid but stubborn man, and the latest cartoon in a recently resurrected paper, which has been instantly re-suppressed, depicts the wicked English, so frequently detected in their efforts to steal the Persian honey by their obvious footmarks, now attempting to disguise their tracks by riding towards their plunder on a donkey, who is none other than his Highness the present Prime Minister of Persia.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Memorandum.*

A COMPLETE rapprochement has been effected between the Valiahd and Serdar Sepah, and the former now states that he has acquired confidence in the Prime Minister.

During the last fortnight telegrams have been sent to the Shah by (1) the priests of Tehran and (2) Sharestani, a prominent priest of Nejef, who is on pilgrimage to Meshed.

The latter requested His Majesty to reply to him through Serdar Sepah. Replies to both arrived and were couched in nearly identical language to the effect that His Majesty was feeling very much better and that he was proposing to return to Persia shortly. His Majesty also sent a telegram to Serdar Sepah congratulating him on the successful campaign in Luristan, and hoping that the military would not treat the Lurs after submission too severely.

Serdar Sepah, on the 30th June, telegraphed to His Majesty acknowledging the telegram for Sharestani, which he was sending on to that divine at Meshed, thanking His Majesty for his kind telegram, and expressing his pleasure at the news of his good health.

During the last ten days many of Serdar Sepah's more sincere friends have been urging him to reconstitute his Cabinet with men of more experience than his present Ministers and who might be calculated to have more influence with the Deputies, the object being to weld the more influential parties in the Majlis into a homogeneous whole and construct a really solid majority party which would work harmoniously with the Government and get down to work.

Serdar Sepah has agreed to this in principle, and has urged his friends to set about the construction of a majority party, when he would re-form his Cabinet from a number of people nominated by that party. It will be remembered that when he formed his Cabinet in the autumn of last year he had practically thrown himself into the arms of the small Socialist party. Although this party was able to use its influence in the late elections, that influence turned out to be so small that there are not more than ten Deputies sitting in the Majlis to-day who belong to the Socialist or allied parties.

Many of Serdar Sepah's present-day opponents are opposed to him simply on the score that he still hankers after the Socialists, who, though in touch with the Soviet Legation, are not really in a position to help him. Serdar Sepah is unwilling to cast aside his Socialist friends until he is assured of a majority in the opposite camp. The result is that the Socialists are working hard through the Soviet Legation to prevent Cabinet changes in which they would be unlikely to find a place, and the Prime Minister's anti-Socialist friends are using every endeavour to constitute a majority party and bring about the changes in the Cabinet which they consider to be essential in order to put an end to the stalemate which has existed for the last three months.

All appearances point to the fact of reconstruction in the very near future, more especially as Sayyid Hassan Mudarris, the chief opponent of Serdar Sepah in the Majlis, has signified his adherence to the changes proposed. Although he is really opposed to the Premiership of Serdar Sepah and is of the opinion that Serdar Sepah is more fitted for the simple post of Minister for War, yet he is so bitterly opposed to the Socialist party that he will lose no opportunity of dealing them a blow when occasion offers.

Against these appearances must be set the fact that the Socialists are fighting for their lives and have a powerful ally in the Soviet Legation. There are many outstanding questions between Russia and Persia which the latter are particularly anxious to see settled, and settled quickly ; the former are, on the contrary, in no hurry whatever, and the whole question of the proposed Cabinet changes may hinge on the amount of support the Soviet Legation are prepared to give to the Persian Socialists.

G. T. H.

*July* 1, 1924.

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PERSIA. [August 6, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 4.

[E 6704/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received August* 6.)

(No. 344.)

Sir, *Gulhek, July* 18, 1924.

THE incident of the caricature reported in the final paragraph of my despatch No. 316 of the 1st July has had a tragic sequel, the editor of the suppressed paper—the "Karn-i-Bistum" or "Twentieth Century"—being assassinated shortly afterwards at the door of his house by an unknown assailant. It is hardly necessary to say that rumours of the most conflicting kind were immediately set in circulation, the most generally accepted being, perhaps, that the crime was instigated by the Prime Minister. Whether this is so or not, and whether, if so, his Highness's object was to intimidate the press or to indicate to the Shah that Persia is by no means a safe place of residence, the fact remains that the Opposition press has, since the event, been noticeably more moderate in tone. I am unable to judge of the effect produced on His Imperial Majesty in Paris, who has, however, been engaged in the exchange of still further telegrams with the Government with regard to his readiness to return to Persia.

Another result of the incident has been that the negotiations for the reconstruction of the Cabinet have somewhat hung fire, either on the grounds that the Prime Minister was apparently showing signs of a more self-assertive policy on the historic oriental lines of assassination or that his alleged complicity in the murder might weaken his position in the eyes of the more moderate elements of the population. On the whole it is difficult to see that any important political change has occurred in the past fortnight. Demonstrations in Tehran have been frequent. Several bands of demonstrators, representing the most diverse political parties, invaded the Majlis on the 13th July, and public sittings had to be suspended. Anti-Bahai propaganda, alternately attributed to the enemies of the Government as directed against the Prime Minister or to the Prime Minister, whose object would be to direct popular hatred, has been rampant, and has given rise to several disturbances and to one, at least, "authentic" miracle: a Persian, who has long been threatened with the eventual loss of his sight, having been suddenly struck blind while in the act of making an irreverent reference to the Shiah faith.

Apart from purely internal politics, the principal event has been the signature of the Russian-Persian Commercial Treaty, a somewhat confusing and complicated instrument, on which I have reported fully in my despatch No. 341 of yesterday. The Soviet Legation and consulates seized the opportunity for engaging in a series of celebrations accompanied by oratory, but no one—including the Government—is able to ascertain precisely the exact cause of their jubilation, which, if arising from some secret sense of triumph, would hardly be in the best of taste.

The position of Luristan appears to have become stabilised, but a report has been received from Meshed to the effect that the Government forces in the Bujnurd area have been severely defeated by the Turkomans, and that, according to one rumour, only 180 men escaped out of 600, and that eleven officers are missing, and that two mountain guns and several Lewis guns were captured.

I received yesterday the visit of the Aga Hamid Khan, cousin of the Aga Khan, who is accompanying his aunt (Lady Ali Shah, mother of the Aga Khan) on a pilgrimage to Meshed. Although this is his first visit to Persia, he is necessarily, both through his Persian relatives and from residence in Nejef, in close touch with Persian thought. He informed me that, while the British cannot be said to be popular in Persia, he was immensely struck by the vast improvement in this respect which has occurred in the last two or three years.

I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to the Government of India.

I have, &c.

ESMOND OVEY.

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PERSIA. [August 6, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 5.

[E 6707/6215/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received August* 6.)

(No. 348.)

Sir, *Gulhek, July* 19, 1924.

THE anti-Bahai propaganda, to which I referred in my despatch No. 344 of the 18th instant, resulted yesterday in a deplorable exhibition of fanaticism, involving the death of Mr. Imbrie, the American consul.

A special edition of a newspaper, translation of which is enclosed, was immediately published in Tehran. This document gives what is probably the Persian Government's point of view. The reference to the first munshi being present is incorrect.

The first rumours of the tragedy reached Gulhek about 4 o'clock, and Mr. Hadow and Mr. Brenan immediately informed the first secretary of the American Legation, who was still in ignorance of the event. They then proceeded at once to Tehran in company with Mr. Murray, where they met the American Minister, who was in the town, and, in addition to giving the latter all assistance in their power, succeeded in unravelling, as far as possible, the true sequence of events from the mass of conflicting rumours in circulation.

I transmit herewith, in order to catch the outgoing bag to-day, a report by Mr. Brenan, which, subject possibly to minor modifications, is, I think, an accurate description of this deplorable episode.

The funeral of the victim will take place this afternoon at 4 P.M. and will be attended by the entire Diplomatic Corps in uniform. I am making arrangements for sending a wreath on behalf of His Majesty's Government, which, I trust, will be approved.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Leaflet by Tehran Paper "Tajaddod" of July* 18, 1924.

(Translation.)

TO-DAY, at 11 o'clock, the American consul, accompanied by the first munshi and one gholam, set out in a carriage to go to the Sakka Khaneh, situated in Agha Shaikh Hadi's Street, to take a photograph of the Sakka Khaneh. On approaching the Sakka Khaneh, the people, saying that they had poured poison in the Sakka Khaneh, attacked and hit them with stones and canes and injured their bodies and faces.

Three policemen, three soldiers and a cavalry officer, who were there for the purpose of keeping order, prevented the people from attacking them. In the meantime the chief of the police arrived and increased the number of guards and checked the people; but the latter would not disperse, and pursued the American to the police hospital and smashed the doors and windows of that hospital. The people were finally dispersed with great difficulty.

The American consul died as a result and the munshi bashi is also dying. The six policemen and the officer are seriously wounded and are under treatment in the hospital.

Owing to the important nature of the report, it is published in an extraordinary issue.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

*Report by Mr. Brenan on the Death of Major R. W. Imbrie, the American Consul at Tehran.*

ON the 18th July, at about 10·30 A.M., Major Robert Whitney Imbrie, American consul, accompanied by Mr. M. Seymour, an American citizen undergoing detention in the American consulate, were, together with a Persian servant of the consulate, visiting



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PERSIA. [September 16, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 7936/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received September* 16.)

(No. 412.)

Sir, *Tehran, August* 20, 1924.

IN my despatch No. 389 and in my telegram No. 166, I had the honour to report that it was generally anticipated that Serdar Sepah would succeed in dealing with the interpellation staged for the 19th instant without having recourse to violent measures. This prognostication proved correct, but, as the history of the events of the 19th will show, the Prime Minister had evidently taken the greatest care that there should be no question as to the outcome of his manœuvres.

As early as 7 o'clock a crowd of about 4,000 people assembled round the Majlis. Only a limited number were permitted by the soldiers to enter. At 8 A.M. Reza Khan arrived in his car. The people shouted to him that they were not allowed to enter, but he magnanimously gave orders to permit them to do so. As the large majority were supporters of his Highness this entrance must evidently have been arranged beforehand and the crowd duly set up shouts of "Long live Serdar Sepah!" and "Death to Modarris!"

Inside the Majlis, however, things did not apparently go so smoothly, and various disturbances were started, during one of which the Prime Minister appears personally to have intervened to save Modarris from the violence of his supporters. No result having been reached at a final secret session for the purpose of reconciling conflicting interests, it was decided at 12·30 to adjourn till later in the afternoon. Reza Khan left the Majlis amid the applause of the crowd, some of whom threw flowers at him. Modarris left humbly on foot in accordance with his pose, and was set upon by the crowd and eventually rescued by the police after receiving sufficient injuries to cause him to take to his bed.

When the Majlis reassembled at 5·30 in the afternoon it was discovered, either in accordance with a preconcerted plan or as the direct result of intimidation, that the whole of the Opposition was absent with the exception of Malik-es-Shoara, who appeared in—or alone succeeded in getting into—the House.

He was apparently permitted to make a speech of some length, in which he deplored the violence shown in the morning to Modarris and others, and asked for protection. He was assured that the latter was quite unnecessary, as Persians were famous for protecting even foreigners at the risk of their lives. Military law was necessary, and Modarris had suffered on account of the violence and impropriety of his own language; he was perfectly at liberty to move the interpellation. Malik-es-Shoara then left the Chamber to discuss matters with his supporters. Returning half an hour later, he announced that the Opposition would not make any interpellation nor attend the Majlis till it saw fit to do so. He then left the Chamber, and the Speaker, in the absence of any Opposition, announced that no one appeared willing to make any interpellation as the members in favour of it had all left. The Prime Minister declared that this was unsatisfactory, that insults had been offered to the Government, and that it was essential that he should learn whether his Government had the confidence of the Majlis. He therefore demanded a vote of confidence. After some discussion as to the propriety of moving a vote of confidence not based on an interpellation, the point was finally waived on the understanding it should not form a precedent, and the 91 members present unanimously recorded their confidence in Serdar Sepah.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.

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# CORRECTION

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C 93693

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PERSIA. [August 6, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 5.

[E 6707/6215/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received August* 6.)

(No. 348.)

Sir, *Gulhek, July* 19, 1924.

THE anti-Bahai propaganda, to which I referred in my despatch No. 344 of the 18th instant, resulted yesterday in a deplorable exhibition of fanaticism, involving the death of Mr. Imbrie, the American consul.

A special edition of a newspaper, translation of which is enclosed, was immediately published in Tehran. This document gives what is probably the Persian Government's point of view. The reference to the first munshi being present is incorrect.

The first rumours of the tragedy reached Gulhek about 4 o'clock, and Mr. Hadow and Mr. Brenan immediately informed the first secretary of the American Legation, who was still in ignorance of the event. They then proceeded at once to Tehran in company with Mr. Murray, where they met the American Minister, who was in the town, and, in addition to giving the latter all assistance in their power, succeeded in unravelling, as far as possible, the true sequence of events from the mass of conflicting rumours in circulation.

I transmit herewith, in order to catch the outgoing bag to-day, a report by Mr. Brenan, which, subject possibly to minor modifications, is, I think, an accurate description of this deplorable episode.

The funeral of the victim will take place this afternoon at 4 P.M. and will be attended by the entire Diplomatic Corps in uniform. I am making arrangements for sending a wreath on behalf of His Majesty's Government, which, I trust, will be approved.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Leaflet by Tehran Paper "Tajaddod" of July* 18, 1924.

(Translation.)

TO-DAY, at 11 o'clock, the American consul, accompanied by the first munshi and one gholam, set out in a carriage to go to the Sakka Khaneh, situated in Agha Shaikh Hadi's Street, to take a photograph of the Sakka Khaneh. On approaching the Sakka Khaneh, the people, saying that they had poured poison in the Sakka Khaneh, attacked and hit them with stones and canes and injured their bodies and faces.

Three policemen, three soldiers and a cavalry officer, who were there for the purpose of keeping order, prevented the people from attacking them. In the meantime the chief of the police arrived and increased the number of guards and checked the people; but the latter would not disperse, and pursued the American to the police hospital and smashed the doors and windows of that hospital. The people were finally dispersed with great difficulty.

The American consul died as a result and the munshi bashi is also dying. The six policemen and the officer are seriously wounded and are under treatment in the hospital.

Owing to the important nature of the report, it is published in an extraordinary issue.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

*Report by Mr. Brenan on the Death of Major R. W. Imbrie, the American Consul at Tehran.*

ON the 18th July, at about 10·30 A.M., Major Robert Whitney Imbrie, American consul, accompanied by Mr. M. Seymour, an American citizen undergoing detention in the American consulate, were, together with a Persian servant of the consulate, visiting



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the scene of a miracle recently alleged to have taken place in the neighbourhood of the Sakka Khaneh (public fountain), in the south-western quarter of Tehran, at which a professor of the Bahai faith was said to have been stricken with blindness for blaspheming the Mussulman religion.

Major Imbrie and his companion had taken a photograph of the scene of the miracle and, with his companion, had re-entered his carriage, which began to drive away.

A considerable crowd had collected in the vicinity and began to shout that the two Americans were Bahais and had killed some Mussulmans and had tried to poison the water. The mob thereupon set upon Major Imbrie and his companion with brutal ferocity, and attacked them with stones, sticks and other weapons. At one moment the driver of the carriage succeeded in getting clear of the crowd, but, in response to continued cries that the occupants had murdered Mussulmans, another crowd collected in front and blocked their escape. Among the mob was a large number of Persian soldiers, who had joined in from the neighbouring military square and barracks, and who, it appears, fully used their sabres and bayonets on the unfortunate Americans.

A posse of police from the now adjacent headquarters of the police eventually succeeded in getting hold of the victims with great difficulty and conveying them to the police hospital. It transpires that the mob—which must have numbered about 2,000—broke into the police hospital and even continued their furious onslaught on the victims in the operating room.

The actual duration of the assault appears to have been from forty-five to fifty minutes, during which time not a single shot was fired by the police or military authorities in order to disperse the mob.

The Persian servant accompanying Major Imbrie screamed out that they were not Bahais and made known the identity of the consul, but was himself set upon. He managed to escape and take word to the American mission doctor, who hurried to the hospital.

Major Imbrie died at 2 30 P.M. as a result of the terrible shock caused by his wounds, which were all over his head and body and legs, and which comprised several sword cuts and thrusts.

Mr. Seymour is, at the moment of writing, in a critical condition, but is still alive.

The Persian report that one Persian officer, three policemen and two soldiers are in hospital as a result of wounds has not yet been substantiated, two men only having been seen in hospital.

Major Imbrie leaves a widow.

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PERSIA. [September 16, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[E 7936/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received September* 16.)

(No. 412.)

Sir, *Tehran, August* 20, 1924.

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PERSIA. [September 16, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 7937/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received September* 16.)

(No. 417. Confidential.)

Sir, *Gulhek, August* 28, 1924.

I HAD the honour of reporting in my telegram No. 183 of the 27th instant that Reza Khan was engaged in remaking his Cabinet.

The method employed by his Highness was, as I am confidentially informed by one of the victims, to cause a letter to be delivered to each of the Cabinet Ministers, except the Minister for Foreign Affairs, assembled in the council room in expectation of their chief's arrival, informing them that he desired to dispense with their services. The Cabinet thereupon drafted a joint reply thanking his Highness for his communication and tendering their resignation. No letter appears to have been addressed to Zoka-ul-Mulk, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the first instance. His Excellency, however, whether voluntarily or not, appears similarly to have tendered his resignation shortly afterwards.

The alleged cause of this step is that when the vote of confidence (see my despatch No. 412 of the 20th instant) was given in the Majlis on the 19th instant, it was a vote of confidence in the Prime Minister personally and not in his Cabinet. The whole manœuvre is evidently part and parcel of the preconcerted plan of intimidation and intrigue to which I referred in my despatch No. 389 of the 10th instant.

There has long been dissatisfaction with Reza Khan's Cabinet, and it is difficult to think that a change can be other than advantageous. Rumour has it that it is the intention of his Highness to reinclude several members of his old Cabinet, including especially Mushar-ed-Dowleh, who is friendly to Great Britain, and Zoka-ul-Mulk, perhaps (and it is earnestly to be hoped that this may be so) in a different capacity. It is also rumoured that a portfolio will be given to Mushar-ul-Mulk, who is undoubtedly friendly to His Majesty's Government, although hampered, it is currently believed, in his political ambitions in Persia by the possession of a certain scrupulousness and honesty of character.

It is hardly necessary to add that the possible inclusion of two members friendly to Great Britain has caused considerable consternation in the Russian Legation, who are understood to be intriguing violently to prevent so undesirable an event from taking place.

From confidential information which has reached me from the Secretary of Takui Zadeh it is clear that the recent rapprochement between Reza Khan and the Soviet Legation is based on a threat that unless certain assurances were forthcoming with regard to the safeguarding of Russian commercial interests and the settlement of certain outstanding cases, the Soviet Legation would encourage the return of the Shah, who had undoubtedly approached them on the subject.

At the time of the republican movement in March the Russians opposed a republic for fear it might be successful under a strong man, as Reza Khan was then considered to be. Having shown their power on that occasion, they then decided to support him on the above-mentioned conditions. This support is now being ostentatiously, if clumsily, given.

I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.

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PERSIA. [September 16, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

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PERSIA. [September 30, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[E 8403/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received September* 30.)

(No. 440.)

Sir, *Gulhek, September* 10, 1924.

THE new Cabinet, the composition of which was reported in my telegram No. 187 of the 1st instant, was presented to the Majlis on the 1st September, and immediately entered on its functions.

The principal change is that in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The late incumbent, Zoka-ul-Mulk, now translated to the Ministry of Finance, is a man of great personal amiability and possesses, in addition to an admirable command of the French language, a clear and logical brain which made it a pleasure to discuss with him any affair whether of an academic or practical nature. He, however, possesses the faculty of postponing action to a degree which renders the settlement of the simplest question almost impossible. He will, in his new position as Minister of Finance, be able to exercise this faculty to the probable advantage of the Persian Treasury, and to the dissatisfaction of innumerable place seekers.

His successor, Mushir-ul-Mulk, speaks practically no language but Persian, and intercourse with him is only possible through an interpreter. He is, however, infinitely less of a figure-head, and the sentiments he invariably expresses prove him to be reasonable and friendly. Without expressing any undue optimism, the prospect of productive diplomatic relations is greatly enhanced by his appointment. In March last, when I arrived here, he was one of the first callers and he has been uninterruptedly friendly to this Legation. He refused at that time to join Serdar Sepah's Ministry on the grounds that he wished to be a Minister and not a servant. His inclusion therefore in the Cabinet marks an evolution in Serdar Sepah's political development. Exhausted by the effort entailed by constant recourse to intimidation and personal intervention with a recalcitrant Majlis, he has summoned to his aid a stronger Cabinet, and, in the person of his Minister for Foreign Affairs, a more independent politician, who commands about forty votes in the Majlis.

Another noteworthy addition to the Cabinet is Serdar Assad, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. Serdar Assad, who is a brother to Amir Jang, now Ilbeggi of the Bakhtiari, has long been on terms of friendship with the Prime Minister and has acted as a useful intermediary between his Highness and the Bakhtiari khans. Serdar Assad's appointment should be particularly useful at the present moment when the backwash of the recent military preparations and threats of the Sheikh of Mohammerah is reaching the Bakhtiari, one of whose khans, Amir Mujahid, has played the rôle of firebrand in the still unsettled crisis in Arabistan. The latter's departure from Persia will alone permit of the restoration of complete tranquillity.

Another pro-English member of the Cabinet is Mushir-ed-Dowleh, Acting Minister of Public Instruction. Mushir-ed-Dowleh makes no secret of his Anglophile views, and it was against his appointment that the Soviet Legation are understood particularly to have intrigued.

Serdar Muazam, Minister of Public Works, is an intelligent, well-read, and well-informed young Persian, educated in Russia. He has been a Deputy already three times, and was Minister of Justice in Mushir-ed-Dowleh's last Cabinet when he, together with Mudir-ul-Mulk, was delegated by Mushir-ed-Dowleh to open discussion with this Legation about the unsettled debts owing to His Majesty's Government. He was subsequently made Governor-General in Kerman, where he maintained extremely friendly relations with His Majesty's consul and efficaciously limited the propaganda indulged in by the Soviet consul.

Amir Lashkar, Amir Iktidar, Minister of Interior, an ex-mullah and an officer, has been a personal friend of the Prime Minister for long years. As ex-Governor of Isfahan, he behaved exceedingly well. He was Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the last Cabinet. He has little intercourse with foreigners.

Adib-es-Sultaneh, Minister of Justice, is a native of Resht, who has held Cabinet office before. He was lately Assistant Minister to Serdar Sepah, and is a quiet and pleasant man, not given to intrigue.



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It is difficult to estimate exactly the causes which have produced this on the whole satisfactory change of Cabinet. It is evident, of course, that it has arisen from a desire on the part of Reza Khan to broaden the base of his support. But the question arises, how was he able at this juncture to effect so salutary a change? I have, in several previous despatches, referred to his desire to change the personnel of his Cabinet, which was undoubtedly unpopular. This desire was, as I have reported, generally attributed to weakness rather than to political sagacity, and not, I think, without reason. Serdar Sepah was for a long time not sure of himself. He felt himself slipping in the morass of politics in which he is not adept, and feared to make a change from his one-man Cabinet for fear of losing his individuality. Finally, however, the establishment of military law resulting from the Imbrie murder gave him a renewed sense of power. When the interpellation (reported in my despatch No. 412 of the 20th August) was threatened, he availed himself of this new sense of power to threaten and cajole the Opposition into subservience. Having successfully achieved his purpose he adopted the attitude that it was in his Cabinet and not in himself that people had lost confidence, and proceeded to rebuild the Cabinet on firmer lines.

Already, since the new Government came into power, he has felt enough confidence in the stability of the political situation to leave the non-intriguing Zoka-ul-Mulk in charge at Tehran, and has proceeded to Khorremabad loaded, it is said, with presents hastily purchased in the bazaar to inspect and, if possible, stabilise the position in Luristan. This latter decision is probably not unconnected with the disquieting attitude of the Sheikh of Mohammerah.

In any case this return to the habit of journeying through Persia and settling things on the spot is undoubtedly a sign of renewed vigour on the part of the Prime Minister.

An interesting fact in the present situation is that, although he has thrown out his Socialist adherents from the Cabinet, he is apparently still able to count on their votes.

I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner for Irak at Bagdad, and to His Majesty's consul-general at Bushire.

I have, &c.

ESMOND OVEY.

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PERSIA. [November 10, 1924.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[E 9753/455/34] No. 1.

*Mr. Ovey to Mr. MacDonald.*—(*Received November* 10.)

(No. 492.)

Sir, *Tehran, October* 23, 1924.

IN my despatch No. 440 of the 10th September I had the honour, in reporting on the composition of Serdar Sepah's new Cabinet, to express the opinion that the prospect of productive diplomatic relations had been greatly enhanced by the appointment of Mushar-ul-Mulk to the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This hope has been fully justified. In spite of his Excellency's frequent illnesses it has been possible to discuss matters in an entirely friendly manner and to achieve certain concrete results. Not only has his Excellency personally, in conjunction with the Prime Minister, pushed through the Majlis the ratification of the arrangement concluded for the settlement of the Urumia Lake question, which had completely hung fire in spite of the constant efforts of this Legation, but he has shown constant goodwill in the settlement of various minor questions, while the Persian Government have volunteered to recognise the Government of Irak and to negotiate a treaty with that Government.

It cannot perhaps be denied that to a certain extent this satisfactory willingness to meet His Majesty's Government may be due to a desire to buy our support in the unfortunate question arising from the rebellion of the Sheikh of Mohammerah.

I had the honour to report that his Excellency had spent three hours with me one morning in the endeavour to find out whether His Majesty's Government were displeased with the Persian Government and were endeavouring to "squeeze" some concession out of them. This frame of mind is particularly oriental, and in spite of my frequent assurances with regard to the entirely unprejudiced desire of His Majesty's Government to prevent the Sheikh of Mohammerah from persisting in his folly, such suspicions were bound to arise. I need hardly say that the most fantastic rumours have been in circulation with regard to our designs. Such rumours almost invariably include the demand by His Majesty's Government for the Northern Oil Concession. I took the opportunity of informing his Excellency that I quite understood the reasons for his enquiry, and that I was particularly gratified at the confidence he displayed in coming straight to me to ascertain the truth. In doing so he had acted in exactly the manner I had always hoped the Persian Government would adopt towards this Legation. Such rumours were bound to arise, and had he under their influence stayed away and nursed his own private suspicions it would have been a proof that I had failed in my task of gaining his confidence. I earnestly trusted that both he and the Prime Minister would always act in a similar manner and approach me with equal frankness should they begin to be impressed by the constant stream of anti-British innuendo, of which there is still apparently an unfailing source in certain quarters.

Our future relationship with the present and with future Persian Governments naturally depends on the outcome of the sheikh's rebellion. Unless that is satisfactorily settled the conviction that it was a British intrigue will be universal, and all the dawning confidence of the Persians in the genuineness of our desire to assist them in their regeneration will be ruthlessly destroyed.

I am not, as you will be aware, Sir, under any delusion regarding the imminence of a millenium in Persia. But I have always interpreted the policy of His Majesty's Government as consisting in the desire to afford every opportunity to the Persian people to emerge towards a state of greater security and independence, towards some progress moral as well as industrial, which will eventually enable the world at large to consider them more and more as a permanent and inviolable political entity than as the mere relic of an ancient civilisation, so decrepit and so worthless as to justify their absorption by their more advanced and powerful neighbours. The fact that this policy coincides, as I see it, with the highest strategical and military considerations regarding the defence of India which can alone prevent the Russians from adopting an expansionist policy on their side seems to afford additional proof of the soundness of this policy. While the Persian Government will, I hope, shortly have the opportunity of judging of the honesty of our purpose,



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recent events have begun to lessen their confidence in the efficacy of extraneous sources of assistance.

The deplorable incident of the murder of Mr. Imbrie has, as far as I can judge, produced an indelible impression on the American mind. The Americans set out on their quest to reform Persia financially and morally with an unwarranted optimism. Disappointment had already succeeded this optimism when the murder took place. The peculiarly revolting circumstances attending the murder, the evasions and procrastiness in the investigation of the culprits, and all the minor manifestations of cowardice and corruption put the seal on this disappointment. Dr. Kornfeld, in addition to the inherent difficulties of his position, incurred the greatest ill-will from his Christian compatriots for his alleged weakness in dealing with the Persian Government. This ill-will actually culminated in a personal telegram from the widow of the deceased consul to the President of the United States. Dr. Kornfeld, therefore, left Persia finally in a state of despair. All his schemes for the regeneration by personal influence and the gradual infiltration of ethical ideas had been prostrated.

In addition to this, the American advisers have become distinctly unpopular and the increasing discredit into which Dr. Millspaugh has fallen is well indicated by the fact that praise of the virtues and regret for the departure of Mr. Armitage-Smith has become a frequent theme in private conversation.

I dwell at some length on the position of the Americans, as Persian disappointment at the failure of their appeal to America to provide a panacea, as they thought, for all their ills, will leave a void which will cause them to direct their hopes again to Great Britain. I have recently been strongly impressed with this frame of mind on the part of the Prime Minister, who is undoubtedly now contemplating a new orientation and is prepared to look towards Great Britain for financial support, an attitude which will itself involve the necessity of welcoming a reasonable settlement of the question of our outstanding debts and claims.

The present Prime Minister is by no means averse to a policy of industrial development. He is perhaps particularly interested in road construction, and if he remains in power will encourage reasonable development of the national resources of his country. The criticism is levelled at him that so disproportionate a share of the national income is devoted to the army. This fact is indisputable, but it does not bear the same significance that it would in an European country. The Persian army is not an instrument of aggression. It fulfils the rôle of protector of the peace. Apart from the unpopularity accruing to it from its high-handed acts of oppression and venality, it is the Persian army which enables the traveller to pass in security from the frontiers of Persia to the capital and to circulate throughout the country. A comparison of the relative cost of the Persian army with that of the British army, for instance, would be misreading. The safe passage of British travellers and British goods between London and Manchester is fortunately independent of the size of the British army; in Persia the marked increase in security of travel is directly due to the existence of a relatively strong military force.

In respect of Russo-Persian relations, it is more difficult to speak with confidence. I have before now referred to an understanding between the Prime Minister and the Soviet Legation. I have every reason to know that the Soviet Legation is ostentatiously supporting Reza Khan; that they still pose as his only friends. In this connection I would emphasise that the Soviet Legation and Government are entirely personal in their policy. Their intrigues take the form of direct personal support of individuals. They make no attempt to disguise these manœuvres or to pretend that they are merely dealing with whatever Government the Persian people may select in a normal diplomatic manner.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Soviet Government has renounced nothing of the old Russian plans to dominate Persia, although they employ other and more subtle means and have contributed a personal measure of suspicion and crooked dealing which only actual knowledge of their methods can render believable.

Reza Khan is sufficiently astute to distrust them and sufficiently alive to their intrigues to keep in well with them, reserving as final defensive weapon an almost indefinite procrastination. The Russo-Persan Commercial Treaty, for instance, still remains unratified.

On the whole, Russian influence, which, like British, is always present, can be said to be less potent than was perhaps the case a few months ago. The accusation levelled in certain quarters against Reza Khan that he is entirely under Russian influence is unfounded. He might be driven by circumstances more closely into their arms, but he would infinitely prefer any other course.

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In connection with the Russo-Persian Commercial Treaty, it may be interesting to quote a statement made to me yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs: his Excellency complained bitterly of the Russians and their methods. The Russians, he said, had now begun persecuting Persians in Russia because "their affairs in Persia were not going well." M. Apresov, who is temporarily in charge of the Soviet Legation, had produced a deplorable impression on his Excellency, which is perhaps not surprising, as he seems to have signalised his first business interview with him by making the above statement with a complete absence, as far as I can ascertain, of any diplomatic ambiguity. As regards the treaty itself, his Excellency complained that the Russian text, which was signed and which was the only text that was valid, contained important differences of meaning. For instance, the Russian copy gave the Russians certain definite rights to hold property in Persia, which rights were neither conceded by the Persian text, nor appeared in the semi-official translation which was made from the Persian. His Excellency remarked that the explanation of his predecessor in office, Zoka-ul-Mulk, was that he did not know the Russian language and did not therefore know what was signed. There was no one in the Majlis, including Zoka-ul-Mulk himself, who was responsible for the treaty, who was in favour of its ratification. I am not able to check the accuracy of Mushar-ul-Mulk's statements, as, in spite of a promise made by M. Shumiatski to me that he would immediately furnish me with the Russian text, and in spite of several subsequent requests that this promise might be fulfilled, no copy has reached me. I will, however, take an early opportunity of asking his Excellency for the Russian text. In the meantime, it might perhaps be possible for Mr. Hodgson to ask the Soviet Government if they would communicate a copy to His Majesty's Government. I would point out, however, an apparent discrepancy in the Minister for Foreign Affairs' statement that the Russian text alone was valid, as, according to the Persian text, both Persian and Russian copies are equally valid.

I have, &c.

ESMOND OVEY.

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PERSIA. [March 2, 1926.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 8.

[E 1440/10/34] No. 1.

*Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.*—(*Received March* 2.)

(No. 75.)

Sir, *Tehran, February* 6, 1926.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that my principal object in seeking the interview with the Prime Minister, some account of which was furnished to you by my telegram No. 42 of the 5th February, was to ascertain from him what attitude the Persian Government intended to adopt in view of the pressure put on them by the Soviet Government, with especial reference to the embargo placed on Persian imports into Russia, except cotton, the news of which had by then become common knowledge.

2. I began by telling his Highness that my sympathy in this occurrence was wholly with the Persian Government; the measure taken by the Soviet Government appeared to me utterly unjust; notwithstanding its economic aspect, I felt that there lurked behind it a political design, and that was to bring the Persian Government to their knees about the Caspian fisheries question, and to arouse discontent against the Persian Government in the northern provinces, and especially among the merchants, which so largely depended for their livelihood on commercial exchanges with Russia, for the Government's failure so to adjust their relations with Russia as to permit the normal and profitable flow of commerce. From such information as I had been able to glean, the sense of an appreciable majority of the deputies had been against the acceptance of the fisheries agreement on the terms embodied in the Bill before Parliament, and since the embargo had been imposed that attitude had stiffened very considerably, as had also public opinion generally. I did not wish to minimise the gravity of the situation thus created for Persia; the first movement of Persian public opinion had been what I had anticipated, and it bore witness to the strength of patriotic feeling; but if the attitude were to be carried into effect, I could not blind myself to the sacrifices which the country would have to endure with patient fortitude in order to win its point. No one could see far into the future, but my instinct was that if Persia took a firm stand she would emerge from the trial successfully, and with enhanced self-confidence and dignity; moreover, economic reprisals sometimes had a habit of recoiling on the hands of those who resorted to them.

3. I desired, however, to make quite clear my position in speaking about the matter at all. His Highness was well aware that I had never sought to embitter Persia's relations with Russia; that kind of policy was not my line of conduct nor that of His Majesty's Government; but if friction did occur between Persia and Russia, it had a necessary though indirect reaction on British interests. If Persia gave way or was compelled to give way to Russian pressure, it was a blow to our policy of encouraging Persia to stand on her own legs and, so far as we were concerned, leaving her free to do so. That policy might appear to be a negative one, but it was actually a constructive one, for we believed that our strict abstinence from intervention in Persian affairs and our liberal co-operation in settling any difficulties that might arise between us had given Persia very genuine assistance in rebuilding herself and strengthening her position. It really all came down to this: we wished to integrate Persia; we very much feared that Russia wished to disintegrate her. Therefore, if Russia could successfully put pressure on Persia and gain her own ends to the detriment of Persia's essential interests, our policy was proportionately infirmed and frustrated; and a continuation of the process might force us to take fresh stock of the situation. I had already assured him of my sympathy with Persia in the present predicament, I could confidently assure him of British moral support in resistance to unjust pressure; but I wished to state quite bluntly that beyond sympathy and moral support we could not go. The reasons were not far to seek. In bygone times we might have been able to help Persia when she had difficulties with Russia, our most natural channel at most times having been diplomatic action at St. Petersburg; but those days were past, and direct support of that or any other kind would be a negation of our present policy; for an intervention, even were it in Persia's favour, would none the less be an intervention, would entail a certain weakening of Persia's independent position, even though it



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seemed an imperceptible one, and would be opening the way to a revival of the old, unprofitable Anglo-Russian struggle over Persia's body. Sympathy and moral support might seem a hollow offering, but I felt that his Highness would fail neither to understand nor to appreciate its value or its sincerity.

4. Farouki said that the Government had considered the situation fully, and had resolved to adopt an attitude of calm, passive, but unyielding resistance; they would do nothing to embitter the situation, though they would do everything they reasonably could to alleviate the suffering which they foresaw; they would not shout their grievances on the housetops or appeal for outside assistance; they were conscious that to yield on this occasion and in such circumstances would in all probability be merely the prelude to a series of capitulations, for which they were quite unprepared, and would embolden the Russians to renew their pressure whenever they felt their desires thwarted. Persia therefore proposed to take their own stand on this issue, and to see the matter through with her own resources. As regards what I had said about the British position in the matter, I might be fully assured, his Highness continued, that there was no misapprehension on his part. He had followed British policy closely in recent years, and realised that my statement corresponded exactly with his understanding of that policy. He appreciated the frankness with which I had spoken, and would respond to it. The sympathy and moral support of England was, he said, no empty thing, but an appreciable asset for the Persian Government in an emergency such as this one. He had himself felt sure that such would be our attitude; he was glad to learn from me his anticipations were correct. Persia did not ask or expect any more from us, and would not wish us to have any different attitude. What I had said about interventions was perfectly true, and the Persian Government saw matters in exactly the same light. The Persian Government, although confident that their cause was just, were nevertheless apprehensive; Russia was able to injure them, and one could never tell to what lengths she might go. The Russians were very much annoyed with the American Advisers; these he felt had rendered most valuable services to Persia, and were capable of rendering further ones; it would be a very serious matter if their position were jeopardised. After verifying the accuracy of my inference from this observation that his Highness contemplated the possibility of a Russian attempt to get rid of the American mission, I told him that in such an eventuality he could equally rely on the moral support of Great Britain, an assurance which he gratefully accepted.

5. I then reminded his Highness of the questions which His Majesty's Government wished to have settled, particularly as regards the debts and the Sheikh of Mohammerah's affairs, and expressed my regret at the absence of any tangible progress in that regard since my last interview with him. The Prime Minister asked me most earnestly to believe that he likewise regretted the delay, and that it did not proceed from any lack of sincerity on the part of the Persian Government. Both these particular questions concerned the Ministry of Finance; that administration, and especially its mainsprings Dr. Millspaugh and Colonel MacCormack, had been almost distraught by the pressure of business in connection with the alimentation crisis, the transport crisis which it had created, and all the difficulties with the Russians—the fisheries question, the grain deliveries, the withdrawal of transport from the Resht road, the refusal of the Russian Bank to purchase "chervontsi," &c., and their whole energies had been absorbed in grappling with these questions. He would, however, bring our questions up and do what he could to further their settlement. I told his Highness that for many reasons I hoped for effective action on his part. I had recently received a telegram from my Government expressing their inability to understand why these outstanding questions were not settled, and suggesting a marked contrast between the friendly professions of the Persian Government and their acts. The Persian Government constantly told me that there was no real obstacle to settlement, but no settlement came, and my capacity for explaining to His Majesty's Government that the delays were accidental or inevitable was nearing exhaustion; moreover, I was personally involved as regards the debts, owing to my intervention in London in the summer of 1924; and as regards the sheikh, owing to my participation in the settlement of the Khuzistan crisis at the end of the same year. These delays therefore placed me in a most embarrassing position, from which it was the duty of the Persian Government to extricate me. I therefore renewed my request to his Highness to settle the matters, both on account of their intrinsic importance and because their satisfactory settlement would give much freer play to the British sympathy and friendship which he so highly valued.

6. I trust that in speaking so plainly as I did to Farouki as regards the Russo-Persian difficulties I have correctly interpreted your own views. Persian resistance to unfair Russian pressure is obviously commendable, and its absence would stultify our

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policy as well as injure our interests. It did not, however, seem to me fair or desirable to encourage the spirit of resistance, even by an expression of sympathy, without showing exactly where we stood in the matter and without dissipating in advance any possible illusions as regards the limitations of our attitude. The Prime Minister's reaction to my language should, I venture to think, be a source of genuine satisfaction to us; and if the Persian Government maintain the wise and dignified attitude which his Highness described to me, that in itself is a vindication of the policy in Persia which his Majesty's Government are pursuing.

I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the Government of India and to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner for Irak.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

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A-1106

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

Wednesday, the 26th day of April, 1922.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

WHEREAS under the regulations for the disposal of petroleum and natural gas rights, the property of the Crown, in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, the Yukon Territory, and within a portion of the Province of British Columbia, approved by Order in Council dated the 19th January, 1914, and subsequently amended, it is provided that the Minister of the Interior may permit a lessee who has acquired by assignment or otherwise more than one petroleum and natural gas lease to consolidate his operations and expenditure and to instal machinery and equipment on one or more of the locations described in the leases affected, provided that the maximum area of the locations which may be so included in one consolidation or group shall not exceed twenty square miles;

AND WHEREAS representations have been made to the Department of the Interior that one well drilled to the required depth is generally sufficient to determine whether or not oil in commercial quantity will be found within the locality surrounding the well comprising an area greatly in excess of twenty square miles, and for that reason application has been made

<u>that</u>

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that the area which may be included in a group be materially increased.

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior, and in view of the representations made, is pleased to grant and doth hereby grant authority to increase the maximum area of the locationswhich may be included in one consolidation or group, under the regulations, to twenty thousand (20,000) acres.

AND WHEREAS by Section 34 of the said regulations it is provided that the boundaries beneath the surface of a location shall be the vertical planes or lines in which their surface boundaries lie, and it would appear that boring operations conducted at or near the boundary of a petroleum location might draw upon the resources of an adjoining location;

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council is pleased to order and doth hereby order that Section 34 of the regulations above quoted be rescinded, and that the following be substituted therefor:

> "No well for the discovery of petroleum or natural gas shall be bored or drilled within two hundred feet of any of the boundaries of the location described in the lease, except in accordance with regulations duly approved by the Minister."

His Excellency the Governor General in Council is further pleased to order that the following cancellation provision shall be and the same is hereby added to the regulations for the disposal of petroleum and natural gas rights, the property of the Crown, above referred to:

"Any

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"Any person who is eligible to acquire a lease under these regulations may personally submit to the mining recorder for the district in which the lands affected lie a statement in writing that to his certain knowledge the requirements of the regulations, as specified in such statement, are not being complied with in connection with any petroleum and natural gas lease of more than eighteen months standing, and may also submit, with such statement, an application for the cancellation of the lease, owing to the defaults enumerated.

"Upon receipt of an application for the cancellation of a lease notice in writing will be sent to the last known address of the lessee, advising him of the defaults complained of, and giving him a period of sixty days from the date of notification within which to remedy the same, or to show cause why the lease should not be cancelled for failure to do so.

"In the event of the cancellation of the lease, as a direct result of the statements made and the application for cancellation submitted, the person who made application for cancellation will for a period of thirty days have the first right to obtain a lease of the rights affected under the provisions of these regulations, but without public auction."

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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TABLE SHOWING BARRELS OF CRUDE OIL PRODUCED IN ALL COUNTRIES

DURING THE YEAR 1923

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MORE THAN BILLION BARRELS OF CRUDE OIL PRODUCED IN 1923

Oil fields of the world produced 1,010,995,000 barrels of crude in 1923, so a survey by the American Petroleum Institute just received here shows. This is an increase of 156,186,000 barrels or 18.3 per cent over the 1922 estimate by the United States geological survey.

Fields in the United States yielded 735,000,000 barrels last year, or 72.7 per cent, against 557,531,000 barrels, or 55.2 per cent in 1922, an increase of 177,469,000 barrels, or 31.8 per cent.

Fourteen and eight-tenths per cent of the world's production was in Mexico, with 149,472,000 barrels, compared with 21.3 per cent in 1922, when it yielded 182,278,000 barrels. The decrease was 32,806,000 barrels or 18 per cent.

Details of the world's production follows:

| Nation | 1923 | 1922 |
|---|---|---|
| United States | 735,000,000 | 557,531,000 |
| Mexico | 149,472,000 | 182,278,000 |
| Russia | 38,167,000 | 32,966,000 |
| Persia | 25,000,000 | 21,909,000 |
| Dutch East Indies | 15,000,000 | 16,270,000 |
| Rumania | 10,850,000 | 9,843,000 |
| India | 7,575,000 | 7,700,000 |
| Peru | 6,375,000 | 5,314,000 |
| Sarawqk (British Borneo) | 3,887,000 | 2,849,000 |
| Venezuela | 3,800,000 | 2,201,000 |
| Argentina | 3,250,000 | 3,018,000 |
| Japan-Formosa | 1,695,000 | 2,042,000 |
| Egypt | 1,037,000 | 1,188,000 |
| France (Alsace) | 503,000 | 496,000 |
| Colombia | 426,000 | 323,000 |
| German | 354,000 | 319,000 |
| Canada | 175,000 | 179,000 |
| Czecho-Slovakia | 100,000 | 120,000 |
| Italy | 32,000 | 31,000 |
| Algeria | 9,000 | 9,000 |
| England | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| Others | 200,000 | 100,000 |
| | 1,010,995,000 | |

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RE GASOLINE INQUIRY

Early in March a resolution, sponsored by T.F. Donnelly, Willowbunch, and C.E. Bothwell, Swift Current, with reference to the price of gasoline, was referred for consideration to the Select Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce. The resolution reads as follows:

"That in the opinion of this House the price of gasoline to the Canadian Consumer has for some time past been too high and that this matter should be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce to investigate and report."

The first meeting of the Banking and Commerce Committee which was held to deal with this subject took place on the 8th March and from that time up to and including the 17th May, many meetings were held and many witnesses examined. The Imperial Oil Company,Limited, the British American Oil Company Limited, McColl-Frontenac Company Limited, and Shell Oil Company of Canada, had their representatives before the Committee to give evidence and in addition representatives of the retail trade in Ottawa, the Assistant Dominion Appraiser of the Department of National Revenue, and official of the White Star Refining Company of Detroit and certain witnesses in connection with the Alberta Oil Fields, also gave evidence. Early in the investigation it was suggested that a firm of accountants should be employed to investigate the books of the Oil Companies and pursuant to that suggestion George A. Touche and Company were employed and the work of the accountants was carried on under the supervision of O.A. Matthews. When the auditors made their report early in May it developed that the Auditors seemed to believe that it was his province to make a report on the facts he obtained in his investigation, instead of actually giving the facts to the Committee and his report consisted more of conclusions which he had arrived at than of facts upon which the Members of the Committee could draw conclusions. The Auditor, moreover, seemed to resent inquiries into facts which he had obtained in connection with the business of the Oil Companies, and particularly that of the Imperial Oil Company. The financial set-up of the various refining Companies in Canada was one of the matters of inquiry, but the auditor, whether through a misunderstanding or not, did not obtain and present to the Committee the evidence in this connection that was desired. As a matter of fact the auditor's investigation really amounted to an audit of the books of the Imperial Oil Company and of finding that when witnesses for the Oil Company stated that they had only made a profit of 1.01 cents per gallon of gasoline sold in the year 1930 that that statement was correct. He did, of course, make some investigation as to the system of accounting and the method of making distribution of costs in the Refinery. The work done by the auditor however, did not give to the Committee the assistance that it expected.

Notwithstanding the fact, however, that the Committee ran into many difficulties, in eliciting all facts pertaining to the Oil Industry in Canada

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they did obtain certain facts which are of interest to the public of Canada and which tends to show that we in Canada, under existing Legislation are supporting an industry that is worth to us, by reason of its payment of wages, salaries, etcetera, about Eight Million Dollars annually, but at the same time are paid most excessive prices for gasoline, as compared with World prices of that commodity. In the special Session of September, 1930, the duty on gasoline and other petroleum products was raised to 2½ cents per gallon, power was also taken by the Government to fix values for duty purposes and to impose as a special duty the difference between the cost price of commodities and the value fixed by the Department of National Revenue for duty purposes. Some difference of opinion has been expressed as to whether this legislation has had the effect of maintaining prices in Canada of this commodity abnormally above the fair and reasonable price of the article. You may draw your own conclusions from a perusal of the facts. From the facts submitted to the Committee and shown in the minutes of the Committee at pages 555 to 559, it appears that the retail price of gasoline in Canada and the United States in Imperial Gallons, as at September 1st,1930 and at February 8th, 1932, is as follows:

September 1st, 1930

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New York | 19.56 | Halifax | 24.00 |
| Augusta, Me. | 21.36 | St.John, N.B. | 24.00 |
| Manchester, N.H. | 20.88 | Montreal,Que. | 24.00 |
| Burlington, Vt. | 21.96 | Sherbrooke,Que. | 23.15 |
| Buffalo | 20.16 | Toronto | 23.00 |
| Detroit | 20.83 | Border Cities | 22.00 |
| Duluth | 21.00 | Fort William | 24.50 |
| Minneapolis | 20.64 | Winnipeg | 24.50 |
| Grand Forks | 23.04 | Brandon | 27.50 |
| Minot | 22.68 | Regina | 30.00 |
| Helena | 27.00 | Calgary | 27.00 |

Average United States price 21.737, Average Canadian price 24.877. Difference 3.140.

February 8th, 1932.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New York | 14.76 | Halifax | 24.00 |
| Augusta | 16.56 | St. John | 24.00 |
| Manchester | 16.08 | Montreal | 21.00 |
| Buffalo | 14.40 | Toronto | 21.00 |
| Duluth | 16.32 | Fort William | 23.00 |
| Detroit | 13.80 | Border Cities | 21.00 |
| Minneapolis | 15.96 | Winnipeg | 23.00 |
| Grand Forks | 18.36 | Brandon | 26.00 |
| Minot | 18.00 | Regina | 27.50 |
| Helena | 21.60 | Calgary | 24.50 |

Average price United States 16.584, average price in Canada 23.05. Difference 6.916.

The above figures show that from September 1st, 1930, to February 8th, 1932, United States retail price of gasoline has dropped 5.153 cents per imperial gallon, whereas Canadian price dropped only 1.377.

A similar computation of tank wagon prices shows a reduction in prices as between the said dates of 4.088 cents in the United States and 1.695 in Canada.

In tank car prices reference had to be made to the Oil Price Handbook as well as the evidence given in connection with tank car lots in Canada. This shows that between September 1,

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1930 and December 31st,1931, tank car prices averages over all refineries of Imperial Oil in Canada increased by .234 cents per gallon, whereas the average reduction in American refineries appears to be 3.486 cents per gallon.

A comparison of these figures shows clearly that we are paying in Canada considerably more for gasoline than our neighbors to the South of us.

Victor Ross, President of Imperial Oil Company, Limited, in his evidence stated at page six (6) of the proceedings:

> "It is quite true that there is a decided spread between the American price and the Canadian price of gasoline."

He attributed this spread to the following factors:

Canadian gasoline is a better grade, freight, evaporation, higher manufacturing costs, exchange, bootlegging of gasoline in United States, higher costs of marketing. We will now analyze some of the reasons he gave for the higher price of gasoline in Canada.

The Canadian gasoline may be of a slightly better grade, judging from the evidence given by Mr. Ross and by Mr. Matthews, but a slightly better grade will only account for a fraction of a cent per gallon. Mr. Ross at page 11 of the evidence states:

> "Better grade has little to do with price."

and at page 21:

> "Q. Cannot we eliminate that difference in quality?"
> Mr. Ross: I think so."

Mr. Rodger, Secretary-Treasurer of Shell Oil of Canada, stated that the spread between our own two grades of gasoline in Canada is possibly one-half and one cent at the outside. The Oil Price Handbook for 1931, compiled by the National Petroleum News and admitted in evidence to be authentic report of Oil prices, shows a spread as between various grades of gasoline (excepting Aviation Gasoline) of fractions of a cent per gallon, so that even supposing the Canadian Gasoline is a shade better in quality than American gasoline the difference in price, it would appear, could amount to only a fraction of a cent.

Freight rates, owing to greater distances in Canada, may also be a factor in making distribution of gasoline, but no evidence of any description was adduced to show that freight was to any material extent a factor in fixing wholesale prices at Montreal, Toronto, Sarnia, Halifax, et cetera.

Reference is made to evaporation. No attempt was made by any witness for any Oil Company to show that evaporation was a contributing factor to higher cost of gasoline in Canada. In fact the evidence is the other way, that evaporation would be higher in the United States than in Canada.

Higher manufacturing costs. It is possible that the cost of Manufacturing Gasoline in Canada is slightly higher than in the United States, but the Oil Companies failed in showing that to be a fact. Mr. Ross of the Imperial Oil Limited, stated as follows; the questions and answers being given:

> "Q. Then you get your crude oil as cheaply as the American competitor --- as any other Company?
> A. Yes.

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Q. There is no disparity so far as your raw material is concerned at that end?
A. No, Mr. Hepburn.

Again, it is stated that Peru and Colombian Crude Oil are billed at the average posted price of Mid-continent Crude. Mr. McClosky of Imperial Oil also gave similar evidence that all values in Peru and Colombia are based on corresponding gravities in the Mid-Continent Field, and based on Mid-continent value. On this question of higher manufacturing costs it is unfortunate that the Committee were not able to obtain costs from the Imperial Oil Limited for their operations in 1931. In the appendix following page 534 of the proceedings, a summary of operations by McColl-Frontenac Oil Company Limited and British American Oil Company Limited, is given. A similar summary of Imperial Oil Limited is given in the appendix following page 120. A comparison of these figures shows that the total refinery costs of McColl-Frontenac for the year ending January, 1932, was 9.20 Cents per imperial gallon, for British American Oil Company, for the year ending December 31st, 1931, 10.05 cents, for Imperial Oil for the year 1930, 13.33 cents. This means that Imperial Oil refinery costs exceed McColl-Frontenac by 4.13 cents and exceed British American Oil by 3.28 cents. There is also a difference as between the different companies in their marketing costs, but the difference there only amounts to a fraction of a cent. A Comparison of these summaries shows that the most marked spread is in the cost of crude oil and other materials and it is strange that Imperial Oil Company Limited, purchasing from its own subsidiary, International Petroleum Limited, should pay so much higher than the other Companies. This may be accounted for to some extent by the reduced price of Crude Oil in 1931, but since the retail price of gasoline has been reduced so slightly between 1930 and 1931 it would tend to show that profits of Imperial Oil for 1931 should greatly exceed that reported for 1930. Again in dealing with higher manufacturing costs it would appear that wages in Canada are approximately the same as in the United States. Mr. Ross at page 103 states:

"We feel a reasonable assumption is that the total labor rates would approximate about the same average each."

At page 74:

"Cost of labor is about on a par with the United States refineries."

It must be noted in this connection that while in the United States Refining Industry wage and salary reductions within the past two years run from five to twenty per cent, that there has been no reduction in wages in the refineries in Canada. The report by the United States Tariff Commission on the costs of production of Petroleum products, issued at Washington in 1932 shows the Refinery costs in American Refineries. Gasoline, excluding Premier Gasoline manufactured in foreign countries and in Domestic Refineries using 70% or more of foreign Crude in 1930 shows a cost per imperial gallon of 8.04 cents, and using 70% or more domestic crude petroleum for 1930 - 9.38 cents per imperial gallon, and Refinery costs for Gulf Coast Refineries for 1930 - 8.68 cents. These prices must be compared with McColl-Frontenac of 9.20, sothat it does not appear that the cost of manufacturing in Canada is higher th any appreciable extent, excpet in Imperial Oil refineries.

The question of exchange is a very small item, as exchange should be figured on the low cost of crude oil and not on gasoline.

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Much stress was laid on the lower price in the United States owing to bootlegging of gasoline, or the avoidance of State Taxes. The evidence given by the Oil Companies in this regard does not fairly explain the difference between the cost in United States and in Canada and attention should be drawn to the evidence given by representatives of the Shell Oil of Canada. At page 465 of evidence they show the laid down cost in Montreal of gasoline from the Dutch West Indies and from Chicago. In both cases they add duty, freight, sales tax, excise tax, exchange, handling, wharfage, et cetera. With duty and sales tax deducted it shows the cost per imperial gallon from Dutch West Indies for gasoline laid down in Montreal to be

| | |
|---|---|
| in April, 1931 - | 6.526, cents, |
| July | 4.747 cents. |
| November | 5.951 cents. |

At the same time the Shell Oil Company of Canada were selling in tank car lots

| | |
|---|---|
| April | 12.03 cents. |
| July | 12.91 cents. |
| November | 14.16 cents. |

and Shell Oil was paying no Dumping Duty.

The evidence in connection with Dumping Duty is shown at page 411 to 412, of the evidence. The following are the questions and answers:

Q. You could buy from American competitors for from between Four and Five cents and yet you are paying Six cents?
( or bulletin price 6.185)

A. Yes, but then we would have been subject to dumping duty. The regulations provide that gasoline must be imported at the price in the Bulletin.

Q. Instead of giving it to the Government you gave it to American Companies?

A. Yes.

Q. You allowed the Companies in the United States to get the profit?

A. Yes.

Q. That one or two cents, whatever it may be, instead of giving it to the Government by way of duty?

A. Yes.

Q. Is any part of that difference in price credited to your Company?

A. No.

Q. It is all absorbed by the parent Company in the United States?

A. Yes.

<u>At page 416:</u> The parent company ships from any point they wish and at prevailing prices."

Evidence was also tendered of the cost of Roumanian gasoline but the Committee refused to hear it because the Oil

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Companies should have an opportunity of rebutting and this evidence was tendered almost at the close of the investigation before the Committee. However the Department of National Revenue has had considerable correspondence regarding Roumanian Gasoline and it is only fair that reference should be made to it. On May 4th, 1932, H.E. Moss and Company, Ship Brokers of Liverpool, in reply to a cable from Beach Motors Limited, of Ottawa, wrote quoting a cargo of 7/8500 tons of Roumanian Straight Run Spirit at 14½ United States Dollars per ton of 2240 pounds C.I.F.,Montreal, May shipment from Constanza. They also quoted another cargo of up to 7000 tons price three pence per imperial gallon F.O.B. Thames-Haven. This gives a laid down cost in Montreal of the Roumanian Gasoline,excluding duty but including sales and excise tax,exchange, et cetera, of about 6½ cents. At the same time the Imperial Oil are charging for tank car sales Montreal 14½ cents. From the above figures it does not appear that avoidance of State taxes or the so-called bootlegging and racketeering in the United States, accounts for the low United States price. On the contrary it shows what World prices of gasoline are and Mr. Matthews, the auditor, in giving his evidence used the following expression:

"The oil business is one of the most, if not the most, competitive on a World Wide Scale, and I do not care what you do Oil will find its level in these World prices."

Evidence was also given that International Petroleum Company Limited, a subsidiary of Imperial Oil Limited, sells about 80% of its output in the World Markets at competitive prices with the Mid-continent Fields of the United States , and International Petroleum, as I will later show, is able to pay substantial dividends at these so-called bootlegging prices.

CAPITAL STRUCTURES.

On the 12th June 1931 in the House of Commons, I made a partial analysis of the financial position of Refining Companies in Canada, and the only corrections I feel that I should make is in connection with McColl-Frontenac.

Apparently instead of McColl-Frontenac shareholders getting the benefit of stock bonuses issued with the preferred stock the Company received money for all shares sold,both preferred and common, but considerable sums in excess of the amount received by the Company were received by the brokers, who put over the flotations of the amalgamated companies. The McColl-Frontenac Statement for the year ending January 31st, 1932, was recently issued and according to newspaper reports and an analysis of their statement it shows that the present common dividend that is being paid had been earned three times in the past Fiscal year. Quoting from the Toronto Star of April 4th, 1932, we have the following statement:

"Net operating profit of McColl-Frontenac Oil Company Limited for the fiscal year ending January 31st,1932, amounts to $3,370,186.00. After reserves for depreciation, bond interest, preferred stock dividend, and income tax there remained $907,958.00, equal to $1.81 on common stock outstanding. This compared with $1.43 per share on common stock outstanding for the fiscal year ended January 31st, 1931.

Net working capital amounted to $4,553,205.00 or an increase of $348,977.00 over the previous year, with a ratio of current assets to current liabilities of five to one.

Cash on hand and Dominion Government bonds amount to $766,728.00 compared with $244,779.00 on January 31st, 1931. The Company has no Bank Loans."

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The Ottawa Journal, of April 28th referring to the McColl-Frontenac Company states:

"Per share earnings on the common stock are shown at $1.81, the Sixty Cent dividend thus being earned three times."

The British American Oil Company was also dealt with in my speech of July 12th,1931, in which I referred to the report of the Company as at December 31st,1930. I just wish to draw your attention to three items in this report. Among their assets refinery plant and equipment of branches and storage distributing stations, service stations and equipment, tanks, cars, motor trucks and automobiles, after reserve for depreciation are shown in 1930 at $12,570,581 and in their 1931 statement at $14,882,088.09. In their liabilities their surplus is shown in 1930 as $8,054,887.00 and in 1931 $8,631,175,74. The 1930 statement shows an earning per share of $1.01 and a dividend paid of .80 cents, and in the statement of 1930 the Chairman of the Board is reported as having stated among other things as follows:

"Dealing with an item of $874,000.00 set aside for depreciation I said that $174,000 or $700,000.00 less than the amount set aside would have been sufficient. The larger amount was written off because nine per cent of the net revenue is payable to the Dominion Government for taxes. With respect to such a nominal wwrite-off would have substantially increased the earnings per share, as indicated in the figures presented in the forgoing."

With the more favorable showing in their 1931 operation you may draw your own conclusions as to whether this particular company needs the protection and pampering that has been afforded to the Oil Refining Industry by the Legislation of September,1930.

Imperial Oil Company it was shown on July 12th,1930, has so bonused their shareholders and split their stock that the holder of one share of stock in Imperial Oil in the year 1912 would now hold 128 shares. The evidence given shows that the total amount of money paid into Imperial Oil in subscriptions for stock amounted to $64,094,530.00. It is true that in addition to that sum of money, which was actually paid in to the Company profits have been applied in extending the business of the Company but these profits were over and above the dividends paid by the Company from year to year since 1914, as shown on July 12th,1931. An analysis of the financial structure of the Imperial Oil Company was published in the Financial Post of April,1931, and quoted from in the Western Retailer for April 1932, and I wish to quote two paragraphs from that article:

"A reference to the above table will show that owing to the bonus and series of splits the holders of the first 110,000 shares would today hold 14,080,000, or more than one-half the shares outstanding. These shares cost $15,666,300.00 and based on the profits paid by this company are valued today at $9.00 per share or $126,720,000.00, at a time of depression. The holders of the next 80,000 shares issued are less fortunate, holding today 64 shares only for each share purchased between 1915 and 1917.

No mention is made of the dividends per share subsequent to 1924, when following the second split of four for one, the $25.00 shares were changed into No Par Value Shares. It requires enormous profits to pay interest on 26,742,792 shares, upon which the market places a value of around $9.00 per share of approximately $240,000.00. Such profits can only be obtained we maintain, when there is an absence of competition. The average price on the market of Imperial Oil shares in 1930 was $22.38, which would mean that Imperial Oil were endeavoring to pay dividends on the staggering sum of a market valuation of $599,000,000.00. No wonder Imperial

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Oil endeavors to shut out competition by having increased Tariffs and values fixed for duty purposes which will effectually present importations.

Reference has also been made to International Petroleum Company Limited, a subsidiary of Imperial Oil. This is the Company that sells 80% of its product in World Markets and about 20% to Imperial Oil. In the Financial Post survey of Corporate Securities of Canada, 1931, this Company is reported as being engaged in the production and refining of crude Oil, supply local trade and exports large quantities to Imperial Oil Limited. Owns producing fields Negretis, Peru and operates refineries at Telara, Peru and Baranca-Bermeja, Colombia, the latter being owned by the subsidiary,Tropical Oil Company Limited, total capacity of 20,000 barrels daily. Gasoline and refined oils are exported to Argentine, Brazil, Equador and Panama. Owns Bulk Storage Tanks at its shipping point Telara, Peru, and a number of other places in Peru and Chili. Have also resident distributing Stations. Its capital stock structure is as follows:

Preferred -$500,000.00 authorized
$500,000.00 outstanding.
Par - $2.50.
Common - 39,800,000 shares authorized,
14,324,088 shares outstanding, N.P.V.

Preferred and common rank equally as to dividends and surplus net profits. Almost all of the preferred stock and about 58% of the common are owned by Imperial Oil. In April 1929, the entire capital stock was split two for one, the par value of the preferred being reduced from $5.00 to $2.50. Double the number of shares of both stocks authorized and the outstanding shares exchanged two new for one old. Dividends on both common and preferred. Initial dividend of 12½ cents per share on new stock paid June 25th,1929 .25¢ paid September 16th,1929 and regularly each quarter since. This works out at 40% dividend.

Andian National Corporation Limited controlled by the International Petroleum Company, also paid dividends according to the same publication, which work out to about 24%.

It does not appear from the record of the various Canadian Companies engaged in the Oil refining industry that they need the protection afforded by the increase in duty and by the fixing of arbitrary values for duty purposes under the legislation of September, 1930. Reference should be made in this connection to the petition of the Oil Companies, exhibit "B", page 112 to 115, of the evidence and to the evidence of Mr. Richards, Dominion Appraiser, with the Bulletin on pages 315 to 318 and the method of fixing prices as shown at page 319. Attention should also be drawn to the fact that on May 21st,1932 a sharp cut in gasoline prices was made at New York. Quoting from the Toronto Star of that date we read the following:

"A drastic reduction in gasoline prices in the New York Metropolitan area, beginning today, was announced by the Standard Oil Company of New York. The new rates put the cost of motor fuel at 9½ cents per gallon at Service Stations. This is a drop of four cents a gallon from previous charges."

Compare this price with the price in Canada as quoted on February 8th,1932, and remember that instead of a cut in price in Canada the retail price was raised one cent, per gallon while the investigation was on in Ottawa. Can anything more clearly demonstrate the fact that the Oil Companies are taking advantage of the duty and the dumping duties, and all companies apparently take their price from the largest operator in the field in Canada, the Imperial Oil. Mr. Ross of Imperial Oil, at page 23 states:

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"Other Companies fix their prices by ours."

Mr. Brooks of McColl-Frontenac at page 61:

"We cannot sell under the Imperial Oil."

Mr. Wilson of Shell Oil Company of Canada, at page 417:

"We have no alternative. We have to follow what our competitors do."

Q. Who is your chief competitor?

A. The Imperial Oil Company."

Regardless of whether the Oil Refineries of Canada make dividends or not the evidence before the committee clearly demonstrates that the price of gasoline in Canada is too high and in the Committee an amendment was moved by Mr. Bothwell, Swift Current, seconded by Mr. Donnelly, Willowbunch, which quoted the competitive prices on Septmber 1st, 1930 and February 8th,1932, and continued as follows:

"It was contended that the reduction in United States prices has been due to the avoidance of payment of State Taxes with resulting - socalled - bootlegging or racketeering; in this connection, however, your Committee must draw attention to the following facts:-

1. Over-production of crude oil with greatly reduced prices of crude.

2. Reduction in prices of other commodities entering into the manufacture of gasoline.

3. Reduction in wages and salaries averaging from 10% to 15% within the past two years.

4. Reduced cost of manufacturing through increased efficiency.

Reference should also be made to the fact that there has apparently been a decided decline in world prices of gasoline. Mr. Matthews in this connection made the following statement:

"The Oil business is one of the most - if not the most-competitive on a world-wide scale, and I do not care what you do, Oil will find its level in these world prices."

Evidence was also produced to show that International Petroleum Company,Limited, a subsidiary of Imperial Oi, Limited, sells about 80 per cent of its output from its Peru, Colombia and Equador fields in the world market at competitive prices with the mid-continental fields of the United States.

It was also shown that gasoline from the Dutch West Indies could be purchased at the same prices as at the American Gulf ports and the actual prices given for gasoline laid down in Montreal during the year 1931, including all charges, such as cost, freight, sales, tax, exchange, handling, wharfage, etc., (but excepting duty) is as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| April | 6.611 | cents per gallon. |
| July | 4.263 | " " " |
| November | 6.263 | " " " |

or an an average price of 5.956 cents per gallon as compared with an average wholesale price for the same months charged by the

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Imperial Oil of 13.40 cents, or a difference of 7.444 cents per gallon.

Your committee has, accordingly, reached the following conclusions:

1. There has in recent years been a marked decline in world prices of gasoline.

2. Advantage has been taken of the increased tariff duties of September 1930 and the fixing of prices for duty purposes to maintain prices in Canada abnormally above world prices.

3. The narrowing of the spread in prices as between wholesale and retail by increasing the wholesale prices and reducing the retail price, while importations from outside of Canada are restricted, tends to create a monoply in the Oil industry and to drive out of the competitive field the independent distributor.

4. The spread in prices between the different grades of gasoline (excepting aviation gasolines) of from 2½ to 5½ cents per gallon is not justified, as the evidence discloses that the actual difference in cost is about 1 cent per gallon.

Your Committee therefore recommends:-

1. That the fixing of values for duty purposes by Order in Council or by Appraiser's Bulletin be discontinued.

2. That by reason of the fact that exchange rates, freight rates and excise taxes give a substantial measure of protection to the oil refining industry in Canada, consideration be given to a reduction in the duty now existing on all commodities mentioned in Item 271, of the Customs Tariff.

In 1931 the Annual Bulletin issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and published by authority of Hon. H.H. Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, a report of the Petroleum Products Industry in Canada for the year 1930 is given. This Bulletin shows that there were Fifteen petroleum refineries in Canada. The capital employed in the Petroleum Refining industry was $69,770,982. The number of salaried employees and wage earners was 5,030, the total salaries and wages paid $8,003,357; The total fuel and electricity used $3,859,683, of which $2,085,205 was for fuel oil.

Is there any justification for supporting an industry that charges a wholesale price of 14½ cents per gallon in Montreal, and proportionate prices throughout Canada, when gasoline can be laid down in Montreal, excluding duty and dumping duty, and of as good quality, at a maximum price of Seven cents a gallon. The consumption of gasoline in Canada in 1929 was apparently 606,934,668 gallons and in 1930 about 630,000,000 gallons. The spread between wholesale and retail prices must surely take care of the cost of distribution. Is a spread in wholesale price between seven cents and 14½ cents a reasonable one? Are the Canadian people entitled to pay that spread in price for the sake of supporting an industry that pays in wages and salaries $8,003,357, or would it be better to pension every employee engaged in the Petroleum refining Industry in Canada and save the general public the additional millions that are now being received by shareholders of Oil Refining Companies, the majority of whom are residents of other countries. Can a duty of 2½ cents and a dumping duty of several cents be defended in the light of the profit that has and is being made by the Oil Refining Industry?

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C 93719 E-9009

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS February 4, 1927

The appointment of Mr. William Phillips, of Boston, as Minister to Ottawa is confirmed.

Mr. Phillips has had a long and distinguished career in the American Diplomatic Service. In these later years as Assistant Secretary of State, as Minister to The Netherlands, as Under Secretary of State and as Ambassador to Belgium, he has done important and valuable work. He has accepted the nomination as first American Minister to Canada because he realizes the importance of the position and the great further service he can render to his Government.

Only a very able man could safely have been chosen to open up a new field like that of our Mission to Canada, only the best among the servants of this Government was suited to undertake the work because our relations with Canada are of vital importance to both countries. We hold many ideas in common; many problems are common to both. On the friendly and orderly solution of those problems depends the continued growth of that good feeling, which is one of the outstanding instances of the ability of neighboring nations to continue unbroken the tradition of peace - a peace based on the appreciation of each other's good qualities and good intentions.

Few people realize how many questions are to be settled and must be settled during the next few years without any strain on the friendship which has existed almost since we became a nation.

Among the pending questions may be mentioned the following:

The difficult problems concerning the boundary waters, such as the diversion of water for the Chicago Drainage Canal; the development of the St. Lawrence Waterway and the hydro-electric development of boundary waters. There are questions concerning fisheries, such as the protection by joint action of fisheries in the Great Lakes, protection and conservation of salmon in the Pacific Coast Boundary waters, various minor questions connected with Atlantic Coast fisheries and the carrying out of the conservation of halibut under the Halibut Treaty. Various questions arise daily in connection with the preventing of smuggling from Canada to the United States and vice versa, difficult of solution often because of the long boundary line. There must eventually be taken up the negotiation of a new treaty to take the place of the Great Lakes Naval Agreement of 1817. There are constantly occurring incidents of alleged boundary infringement by fishing vessels and individuals. There are questions arising frequently as to the carrying out of the provisions of the various treaties, such as the Fur Seal Treaty, the Boundary Treaty, the Extradition Treaty, etc.

It may, in general, be said that the fact of the vast trade between the two countries and the extensive temporary interchange of citizens causes a multitude of questions to arise, which necessitate the most expert and at the same time friendly negotiation. For this work only a trusted man of wide experience could suitably represent the United States.

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C 93719 E-9009

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C 93720

To Honourable Wm. Phillips:

With deep appreciation of his services alike to Canada and his own country during the period of his sojourn at Ottawa as the United States Minister, and with profound personal regard,

W. L. Mackenzie King

Ottawa, 14-xii-1929

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C 93721

[This Document is the Property of His Britannic Majesty's Government.]

POLAND. [August 9.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 7497/1876/55] No. 1.

*Mr. Hoare to the Earl of Balfour.*—(*Received August 9.*)

(No. 360.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, August 5, 1922.*

AS I had the honour to report in my telegram No. 95 of the 31st July, M. Nowak, rector of the Cracow University, was entrusted by the Chief of State on the 29th July with the task of forming a Government. This task he concluded successfully by the evening of the 31st July, when Marshal Pilsudski countersigned the list of Ministers presented to him. A list of M. Nowak's Cabinet is enclosed; and it will be observed that, without exception, they all belonged to the late Sliwinski Government. Four portfolios still await distribution, the respective Ministries remaining under the direction of the senior permanent official.

The events which led up to the formation of this Government are as follows:—

Following on the defeat in the Diet of the vote of non-confidence in the Chief of State, reported in my telegram No. 94 of the 26th July, the Left Block demanded a meeting of the Chief Commission and invited it to withdraw the mandate to form a Cabinet which had been given to M. Korfanty. This motion was accepted by a majority of twenty, and the commission thereupon requested the Chief of State to designate a new candidate. M. Nowak was summoned to the Belvedere, and after discussing the situation with him, the Chief of State sent a letter to the Marshal of the Diet proposing him as Prime Minister.

The Chief Commission reassembled and the appointment was put to the vote. The National Democrats opposed M Nowak on constitutional grounds, and were supported by four other Conservative groups. Eventually 240 votes were cast in favour of the appointment and 184 against him, the three Centre parties, the Constitutional Party, the Citizen's Club and the Catholic Populist Party, voting with the majority. On learning of this result Marshal Pilsudski formally directed M. Nowak to form a Government.

Some discussion took place regarding the reappointment of the Minister of Justice, M. Makowski. The Centre and Right groups objected to this gentleman on the ground that he was too radical in his views, and that his presence was undesirable at the head of a Department which will exercise considerable influence during the impending elections. The parties of the Left, however, insisted on his retention, and rather than precipitate a fresh crisis, the Centre parties withdrew their opposition.

The comments of the press of the Left regarding the new Government have been exceedingly guarded. The "Kurjer Polski" paid an eloquent tribute to the virtues of M. Nowak as an administrator and a man of letters, and observed that a Government had at last been formed which showed some signs of the stability which was so sorely needed.

The "Rzeczpospolita" has remained irreconcilable, and persists in declaring that the Government of M. Korfanty is still the only legal Government in Poland, despite the recent resolutions of the Chief Commission. The remainder of the Conservative press has adopted an attitude of rather milder hostility, and has asked some searching questions as to the financial policy which M. Nowak intends to pursue. Considerable exception has been taken to the reappointment of MM. Narutowicz and Makowski, and to the radical complexion of the Cabinet in general.

M. Korfanty, too, has refused to be relegated to the background. A few days ago he published a manifesto recapitulating his grievances against the Chief of State, whose conduct he describes as "a flagrant violation of the law by its supreme guardian." The manifesto ended by stating "the struggle for right . . . . . would be settled by the whole nation at the approaching Diet elections." It is not improbable that this is an indirect appeal to the country to vote for him at the forthcoming presidential elections.

M. Nowak presented his Ministerial programme to the Diet yesterday afternoon. It was on the whole well received though without any particular enthusiasm.



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The chief points were :—

It is of vital importance to increase taxation and to obtain credits for national development, such as the construction of new railway lines ; efforts will be made to reduce the cost of living ; in Eastern Galicia it is necessary to establish local autonomy, and a draft for this purpose is ready for discussion by the Diet ; as to the national minorities, the Government is resolved that Polish citizens shall be treated on a footing of equality ; the elections would be put through with perfect impartiality, and the people may rest assured that the Government, being a non-party and extra-parliamentary Cabinet, will not pursue any party aims.

As regards foreign policy, M. Nowak stated :—

" What we wish is very simple—we wish to live in peace ; we wish to work, to be useful to ourselves and to others, but we wish to live within our actual frontiers, which are our right. In order that no encroachment may be made on our frontiers we must be strong ourselves, and we must have friends on whom we can rely ; we have such friends, and it is our sincere friendship with the great French nation—a friendship cemented by our alliance with her—which is the basis of our foreign policy."

The President of the Council then referred to the alliances uniting Poland with Roumania and to the *entente* with the Baltic States, to the establishment of good relations with Czechoslovakia, and to the close contact existing with the little *Entente*. " We hope that all the States which placed themselves alongside France in the world-war and thus recreated Poland, and above all America, England, Japan and Italy, are favourably disposed towards Poland and will continue to realise the needs of our nation."

I called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday afternoon and found his Excellency highly pleased at the conclusion of the crisis. He repeated that he told me about a month ago that he saw no reason to take it tragically. Most of the harm done had been done by violent press polemics, which had no doubt created a very false impression abroad. I agreed that it was highly unfortunate that the " Rzeczpospolita " should have on more than one occasion suggested that there was a danger of civil war. His Excellency asked whether it had ever looked like it. It was intended to prosecute the " Rzeczpospolita " for some of its utterances.

It will be remembered that when various libellous articles were published in the Warsaw press on the subject of the activities of the British passport control officer (see Sir William Max Muller's despatch No. 348 of the 15th June, 1921), we were informed that it would be difficult for the Polish Government to take any decisive action as there was as yet no press law in this country. It will therefore be interesting to see under what enactments the impending proceedings will be taken.

(Confidential.)

General Carton de Wiart was received in the evening of the 3rd by the Chief of State before starting for England on short leave of absence. After he had been with Marshal Pilsudski a short time the news of the result of the vote of the Diet was brought in and was received by Marshal Pilsudski with evident satisfaction. Marshal Pilsudski then began to talk about the recent crisis more especially about his discussion with M. Korfanty. He said that he regarded him as too much of a demagogue to be a safe man to be entrusted with the direction of affairs. In their conversations M. Korfanty had, in fact, represented himself as more socialistic than M. Daszynski, and more Jewish than the leader of the Jewish group in the Diet. The Marshal told him that, if his views were as he represented them to be, it would be well for him to come to an agreement with the Socialists and the Jews before presenting himself at the Belvedere.

With regard to M. Nowak, the Chief of State said that he was at least a sensible man, and although he had not much experience of political life, he hoped that with guidance he would be capable of conducting the affairs of the country.

General Carton de Wiart's impression was that Marshal Pilsudski considered himself to have won a victory all along the line. If the present Government remains in office until the elections, this will not, I think, be an overestimate of the case.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

(Copy to Moscow.)

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*List of Members of Polish Cabinet.*

President of the Council, Minister of Cults and Public Instruction, M. Nowak.
Interior, M. A. Kamienski.
Foreign Affairs, M. G. Narutowicz.
War, General K. Sosnkowski.
Finance, M. S. Jastrzebski.
Justice, M. Professor W. Makowski.
Agriculture (Vice-Minister), Dr. J. Raczynski.
Commerce (Vice-Minister), M. H. Strassburger.
Railways. M. L. Z. Marynowski.
Posts and Telegraphs (Provisional Director), M. J. Moszczynski.
Public Works (Director), M. M. Szczesny-Rybczynski.
Labour, M. L. Darowski.
Public Health, Dr. W. Chodzko.

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POLAND. [August 21.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 7855/64/55] No. 1.

*Mr. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received August* 21.)

(No. 374.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, August* 17, 1922.

IN my telegram No. 97 of yesterday's date I briefly informed your Lordship of the tenor of a conversation which I had had the previous day with M. Narutowicz, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of Eastern Galicia, and I now have the honour to transmit herewith copies of the two documents which his Excellency handed to me on that occasion, viz.: (1) a memorandum setting forth the history and rights of the question from the Polish point of view, asserting the Polish claims to sovereignty over the district and urging that those claims should be acknowledged by the Allied Powers with as little delay as possible; and (2) a draft statute of autonomy for Eastern Galicia, for which the Polish Government pledge themselves to obtain the assent of the Diet, provided the Allied Powers formally recognise the sovereignty of the Polish Republic over the entirety of the Polish territories formerly incorporated in the Austrian Empire.

This was the first interview which I had had with the new Minister for Foreign Affairs since my return to Warsaw on the 14th instant, and he apologised for confronting me at the very outset of our acquaintance with such a difficult and contentious problem. The arguments which he advanced in support of the Polish claims and which I summarised in my telegram of yesterday are more fully set out in the memorandum which accompanies this despatch and it is, therefore, unnecessary to do more than refer to them here. His Excellency was specially insistent on the need for a prompt settlement of the question of sovereignty on the ground of the practical impossibility of further postponing the date of the elections to the Polish Diet, which are fixed to take place on the 5th November, and he repeatedly begged me to lose no time in bringing his request to your Lordship's notice and urging on you the necessity of a speedy solution.

In reply I informed his Excellency that while sharing his views as to the inadvisability of deferring the elections, I could not hold out the slightest hope of a prompt decision being arrived at in so thorny a problem as the final attribution of the sovereignty over Eastern Galicia. Such a question, necessitating consultation between the various Governments interested, could not possibly be settled in a few days and I reminded him that I had on more than one occasion during the past year given friendly and unofficial advice to his predecessor to prepare an acceptable scheme of autonomy for submission to the principal Allied Governments. Unfortunately favourable opportunities for settling the question had been lost, and now at the very last moment when the Allied Governments were busy with problems of far greater import they were to be asked to decide off hand to assign to Poland the sovereignty of Eastern Galicia.

His Excellency replied that no one was more alive than he to the unfortunate consequences of this delay, but he reminded me that his predecessor's plans for a settlement had met with strong opposition in many quarters, and had in consequence been suspended: at present he hoped conditions were more favourable, and he had not lost a moment in getting to work on the elaboration of the statute of autonomy of which he now presented me with the draft. I congratulated him on his energy and expedition, but added that without wishing to criticise Poland's internal politics, I felt it only right to let him know that Poland's prestige in English official circles had suffered greatly from the prolonged and ill-timed political crisis and the dismissal without any apparent justification of M. Skirmunt, who as Minister for Foreign Affairs had known how in personal contact to win the confidence of foreign statesmen, and that even those Englishmen who had been most favourably disposed towards Poland could not conceal their disappointment at this fresh proof of the immaturity of her politicians and of their inability to subordinate the claims of party to the interests of country. My own impression, I continued, was that the moment was singularly inopportune for raising the question of Eastern Galicia, and that there was far less chance now than there would have been two months ago that His Majesty's



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Government would be prepared to consider Poland's claims favourably. I promised, however, that I would do as he requested and forward the draft statute of autonomy to your Lordship at the earliest opportunity. I was not, I explained, in a position to give him any authoritative idea as to what attitude His Majesty's Government would be likely to adopt nor to offer any criticism, favourable or unfavourable, on the merits of the draft statute, but I promised to submit it and the memorandum to a careful examination before forwarding them to your Lordship.

I agree with the statements of the memorandum that, from the Polish point of view, it is unthinkable to exclude Eastern Galicia from the elections for the Polish Diet, and that every Pole considers that the Polish territories formerly incorporated in the Austrian Empire, including therefore Eastern Galicia, form, both historically and legally, an integral portion of Poland. Even the more liberal Poles look on the recognition by the Allied Powers of Polish sovereignty over Eastern Galicia as a mere confirmation, for international purposes, of Poland's indisputable rights, while the more chauvinistic elements recommend that the Allies should be confronted with a *fait accompli* in Eastern Galicia, a method which has proved so successful in other instances.

Professor Askenazy in discussing this question the day before yesterday said that three different solutions had been proposed: (1) to hold the elections in Eastern Galicia at the same time as in the rest of Poland without putting forward any scheme of autonomy and without consulting the Allied Governments, (2) to hold the elections and at the same time to promulgate a scheme of autonomy, but without first submitting it to the Allied Governments, and (3) to draw up a scheme of autonomy and submit it to the Allied Governments before issuing the writs for the elections. The first two schemes were supported by the members of the Right, but the Government, more alive to their international obligations, had adopted the third one, although they were confronted with the difficulty that if the elections were to be held on the 5th November as intended, it was obligatory to issue the writs not later than the 18th August, and it was manifestly impossible to obtain the approval of the Allied Governments before that date.

Your Lordship will notice that in the memorandum the Polish Government declare their intention to elaborate a statute conferring autonomy on all palatinates containing a mixed population of Poles and Ruthenes, which so far as Eastern Galicia is concerned, means the Palatinates of Lemberg, Stanislawow and Tarnopol. This statute is described as being analogous in its scope to the draft statute submitted by the Polish Commission of the Conference of Paris in 1919, and based on the principle of perfect equality between the two nationalities, each of which will control its own affairs in the domains of public instruction and national economy.

In the memorandum the Minister for Foreign Affairs expresses his intention to communicate the draft statute to the Allied Governments if they so desire, but as a matter of fact he has already handed copies to myself, and the French, Italian and Japanese Ministers. In view of the fact that His Majesty's consul, Mr. Savery, had made a special study of the Eastern Galician question (see my despatch No. 656 of the 6th November of last year), I asked him to assist me by submitting the clauses of the draft statute of autonomy to a close scrutiny and I have the honour to forward a memorandum in which he has embodied his remarks.

Speaking generally, I am in full accord with the majority of his appreciations, though I still feel some doubt in regard to the arguments which he puts forward in support of the proposed establishment of provincial Diets in each of the three palatinates which roughly go to make up Eastern Galicia in the place of one Diet for the whole province.

It is obvious, however, that the question of the acceptability of the proposed law and of the amendments which may have to be introduced to render it acceptable is a matter for detailed and expert examination, but apart from any decision that may be arrived at on this head I feel that the proposal of the Polish Government creates a favourable opportunity for settling this dangerous question of Eastern Galicia and thus regularising the situation on that sector of Poland's eastern frontier. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the arguments which I advanced in my despatch No. 656 of the 6th November last in favour of arriving at a friendly solution of this problem on the basis of the recognition of Polish sovereignty on condition of the adoption of an acceptable scheme of autonomy, but I may fairly state that events have only tended to strengthen the force of my arguments and to accentuate the urgency of settling without further delay the status of Eastern Galicia more or less on the lines now proposed by the Polish Government. The elections will be held in Eastern Galicia whether His Majesty's Government signify their approval or not, but I

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deprecate letting the question go by default, as would be the case if the elections took place and the Poles put through their autonomy scheme, adequate or inadequate, without its formal acceptance by the Allied Governments. The Italian Minister informs me that he has strongly advised his Government to comply with the Polish request, and I have little doubt that my French colleague will personally recommend such a course, though I was unable to discuss the question with him as he left for Paris the very day that the Minister for Foreign Affairs had given him his copy of the draft statute

Finally, as to the question of the attitude of the Polish Diet towards the proposed statute of autonomy, as already reported, M. Narutowicz has assured my colleagues and myself that he can answer for the acceptance of his scheme by the Diet, provided the Allied Governments recognise Polish sovereignty in Eastern Galicia, and although certain of the officials in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs are inclined to doubt this I have good reason to believe that, though there will of course be opposition on the part of the Right, the Government will secure a majority, as the Right and especially the National Democrats have alienated many of their supporters by their behaviour during the recent crisis. Further, moderate opinion in Eastern Galicia, though it still dislikes the idea of autonomy, has, I am given to understand, come round to the view that it is a necessary evil and that the Government scheme is about as palatable a one as can be hoped for. I venture this last opinion with some diffidence as my source of information is very vague.

Before closing I should like to repeat for your Lordship's very confidential information a remark made to a member of my staff by an official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, who is himself an Eastern Galician and takes a very lively interest in the proposed settlement. This gentleman first intimated that the news received by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs from London was that His Majesty's Government were anxious to get this question settled quietly and quickly, and that they might not even raise much fuss if the Polish Government did hold elections in Eastern Galicia; then he mentioned in great confidence that the Polish Government anticipated more difficulties in Paris, where he appeared to think there was still a desire to keep the question open in order at a future date to be able to give Eastern Galicia to Russia, if it seemed desirable to do so. This last item of news was given almost *sub sigilo confessionis*, and I should therefore be glad if it could be treated as strictly confidential.

I have, &c.
W. G. MAX MULLER.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Memorandum.*

I.

LA Diète polonaise a fixé au 5 novembre 1922 les élections à la future Diète et au 12 du même mois les élections au Sénat. Le décret du Chef de l'État ouvrant la procédure électorale en vertu de cette décision devra être promulgué dans le délai que commande la loi, soit le 18 août 1922.

Les élections législatives s'étendront également à l'ensemble des territoires polonais ayant ci-devant relevé de l'Autriche.

Il serait impossible, du point de vue polonais, de refuser la participation aux élections à la population habitant la partie orientale de ces territories, la privant ainsi d'une influence équitable sur les affaires de l'État. Les droits électoraux s'étendent à tous les citoyens polonais, en vertu de la Constitution du 17 mars 1921, connue des Puissances alliées; ces droits civiques, essentiels et imprescriptibles ne peuvent être enlevés à personne.

Les habitants de la région dite " Galicie orientale " bénéficient depuis deux ans déjà des droits de cité polonais, en vertu de la loi du 20 janvier 1920. On ne pourrait les priver de l'exercice de leurs droits civiques essentiels que sur la base d'une modification de la Constitution; or, il est évident qu'une pareille modification n'est pas réalisable. Du reste, des Députés représentant tout le territoire de l'ancienne Galicie siègent, dès la restauration de l'État polonais, au sein de la Diète actuelle; ainsi leur remplacement par de nouveaux Députés, en vertu d'élections, n'est pas en

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lui-même un événement modifiant l'état présent des choses. Il est à noter, en outre, que par deux fois déjà des élections supplémentaires à la Diète de Varsovie ont été décrétées et régulièrement effectuées dans la partie orientale de l'ancienne Galicie

II.

Les Puissances alliées n'ignorent pas, la Pologne l'ayant toujours clairement fait entendre, qu'elle considère comme partie intégrante de son territoire l'ensemble des régions polonaises relevant ci-devant de l'Autriche. La Galicie a fait partie tout entière, durant de longs siècles, de la République de Pologne, et lorsque, en 1815, les Puissances attribuèrent cette province à la Dynastie des Habsbourg, l'acte final du Traité de Vienne reconnut la Galicie comme une partie de la Pologne, et lui ménagea un régime particulier, correspondant à son caractère polonais.

L'écroulement de l'Empire austro-hongrois marque la réunion à la Pologne des provinces polonaises ayant relevé de l'Autriche. C'est le retour en droit à la République de Pologne de ses anciens territoires, au titre de traditions séculaires, à celui des stipulations solennelles du Traité de Vienne, non moins qu'en vertu d'une lutte de plusieurs mois, pleine de sacrifices, que la population polonaise de cette région a soutenue contre les séparatistes.

La Pologne a donné à comprendre, à maintes reprises, aux Puissances alliées qu'elle désirait vivement obtenir de leur part une sanction de ses droits indiscutables, et elle serait particulièrement heureuse si cette sanction avait lieu.

III.

La Pologne comprend et apprécie pleinement les généreux motifs qui ont amené les Puissances alliées à s'intéresser au sort de la population habitant la partie orientale de l'ancienne Galicie. Il est clair que ces Puissances se considèrent responsables en quelque sorte des destinées de cette population, à titre de gestion de la succession de l'ancienne Monarchie des Habsbourg.

Toutefois, il ne faudrait pas oublier que le sort de cette population préoccupe en premier lieu la Pologne elle-même. Les Puissances alliées n'ont certainement pas perdu de vue les sacrifices consentis par la Pologne en 1920 pour arracher des mains bolcheviques la partie orientale de l'ancienne Galicie; sans la Pologne, cette région serait vouée aujourd'hui à la famine, aux épidémies et au cannibalisme. L'ayant libérée, le Gouvernement polonais a voué tous ses efforts à sa reconstruction.

Le Gouvernement polonais vient de mettre à jour un projet de loi accordant l'autonomie à ceux des palatinats (" voïevodies ") qui depuis de longs siècles contiennent une population mixte, polonaise et ruthène, à savoir en ce qui concerne la partie orientale de l'ancienne Galicie, aux palatinats de Lwow, de Stanislawow et de Tarnopol. Cette loi s'inspire de l'autonomie que possédait le " Kronland " de Galicie dans les cadres de l'Empire d'Autriche; par son étendue elle garde, d'autre part, une analogie avec le projet de statut de la " Galicie orientale " émis par les Puissances alliées en date du 21 novembre 1919. Suivant le projet de loi élaboré par le Gouvernement polonais, les Diétines de palatinats, élues par voie de suffrage universel égal, direct, secret et proportionnel, constitueront l'organe législatif dans les questions du ressort de l'autonomie.

A la base de l'autonomie—toujours d'après le même projet de loi—se trouve le principe intégralement appliqué d'une parfaite égalité des nationalités, dont chacune, soit la polonaise, soit la ruthène, est libre de gérer ses affaires ressortissant du domaine de l'instruction publique et de l'économie nationale, indépendamment de l'autre nationalité, au moyen de ressources mises à sa propre et exclusive disposition, affectées spécialement dans ce but, et réalisables en vertu du droit autonome d'imposer à cette fin les représentants de la nationalité bénéficiant desdites ressources.

Un siège au moins est assuré à un Ministre de nationalité ruthène au Conseil des Ministres de la République polonaise.

Il est à souligner que le territoire auquel la Pologne se propose d'étendre les bénéfices de l'autonomie est sensiblement plus vaste que celui projeté par les Puissances alliées sous le nom de " Galicie orientale," qui ne comprend que la moindre partie des provinces de la République polonaise habitées par une population mixte, polonaise et ruthène.

Faisant connaître ainsi les principes essentiels de la loi d'autonomie projetée, le Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Pologne se déclare prêt à communiquer, sur leur désir, aux Gouvernements des Puissances alliées, le texte complet du projet de loi en question. Il affirme en même temps que le Gouvernement polonais serait

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disposé à s'engager d'obtenir pour ce projet l'assentiment de la Diète polonaise à condition que les Puissances alliées reconnaissent formellement la souveraineté de la République polonaise sur l'ensemble des territoires polonais relevant ci-devant de l'Autriche.

IV.

En résumé : La seule solution de la question dite de " Galicie orientale," solution qui garantirait la paix de l'Europe centrale et correspondrait aux intérêts vitaux de la Pologne et de la Roumanie, est la reconnaissance de la souveraineté polonaise sur cette région.

La Pologne seule a droit à elle, car les liens qui ont relié la Galicie à l'Autriche étaient fondés en dernière ligne sur les partages de la Pologne, soit sur un acte de violence et d'injustice et ils ne peuvent être pris pour base et pour source d'un droit. La Pologne seule a sauvé cette région du sort le plus cruel qui lui eût été destiné sous la domination bolchevique. La Pologne seule prodigue des sacrifices, relève cette région des suites de la guerre.

Le Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Pologne espère que les Puissances alliées, tenant compte de l'état des choses ci-dessus exposé, reconnaîtront la nécessité de sanctionner au point de vue international l'attribution intégrale de la partie orientale de la Galicie à la Pologne et qu'elles faciliteront au Gouvernement polonais le règlement formel et définitif de cette question dans le plus bref délai.

*Varsovie, le* 11 *août* 1922.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

PROJET de loi ayant trait à l'Autonomie des Palatinats de Lwow, Stanislawow et Tarnopol.

ARTICLE 1er.

Des Diétines de palatinat (Assemblées législatives régionales) seront convoquées dans les palatinats de Lwow, de Stanislawow et de Tarnopol à titre d'organes suprêmes de l'autonomie de palatinat.

ARTICLE 2.

L'autonomie des palatinats s'étend sur :

1. Les affaires confessionnelles;
2. L'instruction publique, à l'exception des universités et des écoles supérieures équivalentes;
3. L'assistance publique;
4. L'hygiène publique;
5. Les questions relatives aux voies publiques relevant des palatinats, des districts et des communes, ainsi qu'aux voies ferrées locales;
6. Les questions agraires, à l'exception de la réforme agraire, et l'encouragement de l'agriculture;
7. L'encouragement du commerce et de l'industrie;
8. L'application de lois en vigueur relatives à l'emploi des courants d'eau pour l'amélioration du sol, ainsi que pour la production de la force propulsive;
9. L'application de lois en vigueur relatives à l'organisation et à l'administration des communes et des districts;
10. Le budget des recettes et des dépenses de l'administration autonome, du palatinat, ainsi, que des bilans des comptes;
11. Toutes les questions renvoyées aux Diétines par la Diète de la République.

ARTICLE 3.

La Diétine légifère sur toutes les questions susmentionnées, elle vote des lois valables sur le territoire du palatinat et, sur leur base, elle prend des arrêtés administratifs.

Toute délibération des Diétines doit respecter les dispositions de la Constitution de la République, ainsi que des lois complémentaires, annoncées dans le texte de la Constitution.

Les délibérations relatives aux questions mentionnées à l'article 2, paragraphes 1, 3, 4 et 7, doivent en outre respecter les limites que leur assignent les lois générales respectives en vigueur.



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ARTICLE 4.

Toute loi adoptée dans un palatinat ne peut l'être qu'à la suite d'une délibération valable de la Diétine, suivie d'une sanction du Président de la République, contresignée par le Président du Conseil.

ARTICLE 5.

Le nombre des membres de la Diétine est calculé de façon à donner un représentant à tout groupe de 25,000 habitants dans les limites d'un palatinat.

Le chiffre de 25,000 sera abaissé dans le cas où l'exigerait le principe admis, d'assurer à chacune des curies nationales de la Diétine un minimum de vingt membres.

ARTICLE 6.

Le droit électoral actif et passif appartient à tout habitant du palatinat qui possède les mêmes droits par rapport à la Diète de la République.

Les membres de la Diétine sont élus par la population de palatinat pour une durée de quatre ans.

ARTICLE 7.

Les élections aux Diétines se feront d'après un système identique à celui des élections à la Diète de la République.

Les électeurs de nationalité polonaise et les électeurs de nationalité ruthène voteront toutefois séparément, conformément aux dispositions de l'article 19.

Le Président de la République arrêtera, sur proposition du Conseil des Ministres, la loi électorale, réglant les premières élections aux Diétines. La loi électorale réglant les élections suivantes est du ressort de la Diétine.

En cas de dissolution de la Diétine, de nouvelles élections seront ordonnées dans un délai maximum de trois mois à dater de la dissolution.

ARTICLE 8.

Le Président de la République convoque, ajourne et dissout les Diétines.

Les Diétines seront convoquées au moins une fois l'an.

ARTICLE 9.

La validité des élections et de la procédure électorale relative aux Diétines est prononcée par la Cour suprême.

ARTICLE 10.

Les membres des Diétines bénéficient de l'inviolabilité parlementaire.

ARTICLE 11.

La procédure et l'ordre du jour des débats de la Diétine, l'indemnité allouée à ses membres durant la session, seront déterminés par un règlement adopté, sous forme de loi, par la Diétine.

ARTICLE 12.

Les membres polonais de la Diétine constituent dans son sein une curie nationale polonaise, les membres ruthènes—une curie nationale ruthène, dont chacune siège séparément, sous la présidence d'un président élu par elle, ou de son adjoint.

Les affaires communes aux deux curies nationales nécessitent une délibération adoptée d'un commun accord par les deux curies. Les affaires n'intéressant qu'une seule curie nationale sont du ressort exclusif de celle-ci.

ARTICLE 13.

La Diète de la République va allouer annuellement, pour couvrir les frais de l'autonomie du palatinat, une somme correspondant à celles allouées par l'État dans le même but aux autres palatinats, et calculée d'après la relation numérique de la population des palatinats comparés.

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Sur cette somme seront couvertes, en premier lieu, les dépenses communes du palatinat; le reste sera partagé et mis à la disposition des curies nationales qui, de leur côté, sont tenues de couvrir tout déficit éventuel.

La répartition, tant des surplus alloués aux curies nationales que des déficits couverts par elles, se fera sur la base de la relation numérique de la population polonaise et de la population ruthène du palatinat respectif.

Les dépenses grevant l'autonomie d'une seule nationalité sont couvertes séparément par chacune des curies nationales, qui impose à cette fin la population du palatinat de nationalité respective, soit en ajoutant des suppléments aux impôts directs, prélevés par l'État, soit en prélevant des impôts directs spéciaux.

Si les deux curies nationales se proposent de couvrir les dépenses de l'autonomie au moyen d'un impôt ou d'une taxe, ne pouvant être répartis d'après la nationalité des imposés, les curies devront se concerter et adopter d'un commun accord un impôt ou une taxe grevant tous les habitants du palatinat, à répartir selon la relation numérique des deux nationalités dans les limites du palatinat respectif.

Les lois concernant les impôts de palatinat ne pourront porter aucune atteinte aux systèmes des impôts de l'État.

ARTICLE 14.

Le palatin représente à la Diétine le Gouvernement de la République; il a droit de prendre part aux débats soit en personne, soit par l'intermédiaire d'un fonctionnaire délégué.

ARTICLE 15.

Pour préparer et pour appliquer les résolutions de la Diétine, ainsi que pour exercer l'administration dans le domaine de l'autonomie du palatinat, seront créées : une Commission des Cultes, une Commission de l'Instruction publique et une Commission économique. Chacune d'entre elles sera composée de deux sections, polonaise et ruthène, siégeant et délibérant sous la présidence du palatin ou de son représentant. Dans les questions d'ordre général, les deux sections de chaque commission, siégeront et délibéreront en commun; dans les questions ne concernant qu'une seule nationalité, séparément.

ARTICLE 16.

Le palatin a le droit de suspendre toute délibération de la Diétine n'exigeant pas la sanction du Président de la République, de même toutes délibérations des commissions prévues plus haut, à condition que les unes ou les autres soient, à son avis, contraires aux lois de l'État en vigueur.

ARTICLE 17.

Chacune des sections de la commission comprendra six membres, dont la moitié élue par la curie nationale, pour la durée des mandats de celle-ci, et l'autre moitié, nommée par le palatin (les membres polonais restant dans la section polonaise et les membres ruthènes dans la section ruthène).

ARTICLE 18.

A chaque section sera adjoint un bureau, composé de fonctionnaires de sa nationalité, nommés par le palatin et subordonnés à lui.

ARTICLE 19.

Afin de faciliter l'établissement des listes électorales à la Diétine, et celles des contribuables, si la population polonaise et la population ruthène devaient être imposées à part. il sera créé dans chacun des trois palatinats un cadastre national polonais et un cadastre national ruthène, qui comprendront également les personnes civiles, réparties d'après la nationalité de leur conseils d'administration.

ARTICLE 20.

Les habitants du palatinat, électeurs à la Diète, n'appartenant ni à la nationalité polonaise ni ruthène, devront être portés au cadastre national polonais ou ruthène à leur choix et exerceront d'après ce choix leur droit de vote, soit dans la circonscription nationale polonaise, soit dans la circonscription nationale ruthène.



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Ils auront à se présenter dans ce but, au moment de l'établissement des listes électorales.

Dans le cas où un tel électeur serait élu, il devra siéger dans la curie nationale de la Diétine correspondant à la liste électorale sur laquelle il aura été porté.

ARTICLE 21.

Ni l'État, ni aucune administration publique autonome ne pourra procéder à la colonisation, ni l'encourager dans les limites des trois palatinats susmentionnés.

ARTICLE 22.

Les autorités et les tribunaux de l'État qui se servent dans leur administration interne de la langue polonaise seront tenus de se servir dans leurs rapports avec les intéressés habitant les trois palatinats susmentionnés de la langue nationale de ceux-ci, polonaise ou ruthène, soit dans la correspondance, soit dans les dépositions portées aux procès-verbaux, soit aux audiences des tribunaux.

Les lois de l'État et des palatinats, ainsi que tous les avis officiels, seront publiés dans langue polonaise et en langue ruthène.

Les autorités autonomes décideront elles-mêmes de leur langue officielle, tant dans le service intérieur que dans leurs relations extérieures. Elles seront tenues, cependant, de recevoir la correspondance rédigée dans l'autre des deux langues et d'y répondre.

ARTICLE 23.

La question de la langue d'enseignement, ainsi que l'étude des autres langues dans les écoles publiques, sera résolue par chaque curie nationale de la Diétine pour les écoles de la nationalité correspondante.

ARTICLE 24.

Il sera tenu compte, avec le plus grand soin, dans l'attribution des postes et des fonctions publiques sur l'étendue des trois palatinats susmentionnés, de la répartition nationale des fonctionnaires, qui devra répondre aux besoins des deux nationalités.

ARTICLE 25.

Il sera tenu compte des besoins légitimes des nationaux ruthènes dans l'attribution des postes au sein des Ministères et des Administrations centrales.

En particulier, seront créés au Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes deux départements spéciaux, l'un pour les questions intéressant l'Église grecque-unie, l'autre pour l'instruction publique ruthène. Ces départements seront composés de fonctionnaires de nationalité ruthène.

ARTICLE 26.

Aucun habitant des trois palatinats susmentionnés ne sera poursuivi pour délit d'ordre politique commis à dater du 28 juillet 1914 jusqu'au jour de la promulgation de la présente loi.

ARTICLE 27.

La création, l'organisation et le budget de l'université ruthène et des écoles supérieures ruthènes correspondantes, sur l'étendue des trois palatinats susmentionnés, incomberont à la Diète et au Gouvernement de la République. L'Université ruthène, dotée d'une organisation autonome, sera directement subordonnée au Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes.

ARTICLE 28.

L'autonomie des trois palatinats susmentionnés entrera en vigueur au plus tard dans le délai d'un an à dater de la promulgation de la présente loi. Le Président de la République arrêtera, sur proposition du Conseil des Ministres, les dispositions nécessaires à cet égard.

*Varsovie, le* 12 *août* 1922.

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Enclosure 3 in No. 1.

*Notes on the Polish Government's Scheme of Autonomy for Eastern Galicia.*

I SHOULD like to preface these rather disjointed notes by one or two observations of a more general nature.

I have asked myself repeatedly what settlement of the Eastern Galician question would most contribute to the well-being of the inhabitants of that district. The more I study the question the more convinced I am that what is really wanted is neither autonomy nor independence, but simply an energetic carrying out of the existing laws by enlightened and impartial officials. That would, I feel sure, make at least as much for the greatest happiness of the greatest number as even the most ideally perfect scheme of autonomy. But unfortunately four years of uncertainty have not passed without leaving some impression on the mind of even the most stolid peasant. I believe that a vast majority of the Ruthenian population of Eastern Galicia desires nothing more eagerly than a chance of working quietly without political worries of any sort; but, at the same time, there is bound to be a certain amount of simmering discontent and agitation among even the prosperous peasants so long as an elaborate political propaganda is being carried on abroad by agitators of the Petruszewicz class. Such persons—and they are very likely quite sincere patriots in their own way—were undoubtedly encouraged, at any rate, in some quarters, during the peace conference. They were told that the race to which they belonged had a right to national existence. They repeated these remarks to their fellow-countrymen at home, probably in a simplified form calculated to appeal to the latter's rather primitive intellects. So far the Allies, or, at any rate, the British Government, have never either publicly disowned the Ruthenian agitators abroad or publicly stated that they are prepared to attribute the sovereignty over Eastern Galicia to Poland. But, until they do so, there is no hope of Eastern Galicia settling down or accepting any solution put forward by the Poles short of an offer of complete independence, which is manifestly impossible, and which is, I take it, no longer regarded by any of the Allied Governments as desirable. But can the Allies now suddenly turn round and tell the Ruthenes that they cannot do anything for them and that they (the Ruthenes) must make their own terms with the Poles? Frankly, I should be sorry to see the British Government make such a declaration unconditionally, not so much because I think the Poles would abuse the opportunity thus offered to them as because it would be unworthy of us as a nation. But, at the same time, we cannot expect any Polish Government to put forward a scheme of autonomy without some kind of preliminary assurance by the Allies that they will give it benevolent consideration. In fact, it is practically impossible for either side to take the first step. Both parties must, it seems to me, make a more or less simultaneous move in the right direction.

Now at last, after a delay which I deplore at least as much as anyone else, the Polish Government has made a move. It has put forward a scheme of autonomy which the Allies have to consider. In what spirit are they to consider it? For my part, I hope that that consideration will not take the form of a comparison with the autonomy which some other Power may have granted in some other part of the world under totally different conditions. If I may respectfully say so, I do not think this the right way of dealing with the question. I would rather suggest that we should go back to the utilitarian basis with which I began these remarks and ask ourselves what form of autonomy, what officially-sanctioned exceptional status for Eastern Galicia is most likely to contribute to the general well-being of the inhabitants of that district; and in so doing we ought not, I think, to lose sight of two dangers: firstly, the dangers, or, at any rate, the difficulties which may arise if the new arrangement entirely upsets the traditional forms of administration, &c., in the country, and, secondly, the danger of endowing a very undeveloped population with a ready-made parliamentary system. The Warsaw Diet itself is surely a sufficient object lesson in this respect.

It is on the ground of the latter danger that I would defend that feature of the Polish Government's present scheme, which is on the face of it most likely to encounter hostile criticism at the hands of the Allied Governments (article 1).

In 1919 the Allies proposed one Diet for the whole of Eastern Galicia; the Polish Government proposes three local Diets for the Woiewodeships of Tarnopol, Stanislawow and Lemberg respectively. The two former Woiewodeships fall entirely under the Allied conception of Eastern Galicia; that of Lemberg, however, extends

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considerably to the west of the frontier line fixed or proposed by the Allies in 1919. The obvious remark which came to my lips, as it will no doubt to those of anyone else when he first reads the draft statute, is that the Poles have made this alteration because they hope thereby to secure a Polish majority in that Woiewodeship. I have no doubt whatever that such a thought was present in the minds, at any rate, of the more chauvinistic among the Poles who helped to draw up the statute, but now that I have read the statute through twice, I am not quite sure whether this numerical superiority of the Polish element in the Woiewodeship will really affect to any great extent the status of the Ruthenian inhabitants. Further, I believe, though I am not quite sure, that this extension of the local autonomy will benefit a certain number of Ruthenian communities which would otherwise have been excluded from the safeguards and advantages which it is the desire of the Allies to secure for this particular " national minority " in Poland.

I have heard a good deal in the last few days about the negotiations which have resulted in the production of the draft statute. The Government has had many difficulties to contend with and many objections to overcome. Had the latter always come from Polish owners of " latifundia " in Eastern Galicia or from extreme National Democrats, the phenomenon would not have deserved much attention. But that is not the case. Among the experts summoned from Galicia to advise the Government in this matter was a certain Dr. Lowenherz, whom I happen to know slightly. He is a most worthy man, one of those excellent Galician Jews who have always been a very sound element in that part of Poland; in politics he is a Socialist, and by his nature essentially a moderate man, as may be imagined from the fact that he enjoys the respect and, I think, the confidence of the Conservatives in Lemberg. He always has been, and still is, opposed to any " territorial " autonomy for Eastern Galicia, as he believes that, if such autonomy were to be granted, that province would inevitably in fifty years' time cut itself loose from Poland and join Russia. Similarly, a year ago, when M. Zaleski first took this matter in hand and began to draft a statute for Eastern Galicia, he also decided for " racial " as against " territorial " autonomy. At the time I asked him whether he did not think his scheme would create a dangerous precedent in a country like Poland, which possessed so many national minorities. He considered that the dangers involved in " territorial " autonomy were still greater.

It is, I strongly suspect, mainly in order to guard against the danger of Eastern Galicia breaking off from the rest of this country that the Polish Government has proposed to divide the area in question into three, let us say, counties. It is obvious that the Diet of a large and fairly thickly-populated province such as Eastern Galicia might in time assume something of the proportions of a real Parliament—very likely a most feather-brained and injudicious one—with pretensions considerably beyond the scope of the powers with which Poland, or, for that matter, the Allies, wish to endow it. On the other hand, the assemblies of the three mere " counties " which go to make up the province of Eastern Galicia will in all probability remain neither more nor less than ordinary county councils.

Now, so far as I understand the views of the British Government, we do not wish to see Russia establish herself in the Carpathians. In this matter our wishes coincide with those of the Polish Government. It would seem to follow that it is in our interest to help the Poles to find a solution of the Eastern Galician question, which will, at any rate, defer that eventuality as long as possible.

At the same time, it is obvious that, in view of the attitude we have taken up as regards the rights of small nationalities, we cannot blindly deliver one race up to another in which for the present, at any rate, we do not put entire confidence, merely in order to further our own policy as regards Russia. It remains, therefore, to be seen whether, leaving on one side the question of the divergence between the Allied and the Polish schemes as regards the territorial extent of and the number of local assemblies in Eastern Galicia, the remainder of the provisions of the draft statute now submitted to us are sufficient to safeguard the interests of the Ruthenian inhabitants of that province.

I will now note down the observations which have occurred to me while reading the draft statute for the second time.

Article 2 of the Polish scheme appears to reproduce article 12 of the draft scheme of the Polish Commission. The latter article does not expressly exclude the agrarian reform from the scope of the agrarian legislation falling under the competence of the Eastern Galician Diet, but I gather from the remarks given on page 11 of report No. 5 (" Constitution of Eastern Galicia ") that the majority of

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the commission thought it undesirable for the Eastern Galician Diet to have a veto on agrarian legislation passed by the Warsaw Diet.

Article 3. It seems to me only natural that the local Eastern Galician Diets should be bound in the measures they may pass to respect the Constitution of the Polish State.

Article 4 implicitly raises the question of the right of the President of the Republic to veto measures passed by the local Diets, but for my part I should not think it goes too far in this direction.

Article 5 should in my opinion be made more explicit. It lays down that normally the representation in the local Diets will be in the ratio of one member to every 25,000 electors. As, however, the Polish and the Ruthenian Diets in each Woiewodeship are to consist of twenty members each, it may happen that the number of voters is insufficient on the above ratio to justify the election of forty members: in that case, the number may be reduced from 25,000 to whatever figure will make it possible to arrive at the requisite figure of forty Deputies. Here I foresee a possibility of abuse, if the article is not more clearly worded. Let us suppose that a certain Woiewodeship has 800,000 voters, 300,000 being Poles and 500,000 Ruthenes. If the 300,000 Poles are to have twenty representatives, it will mean one representative for every 15,000 voters. Then clearly the Ruthenes must be represented on the same scale or not on that of one representative for every 25,000 voters. It is most probable that the Polish Government understand the clause in this sense, but I think they ought to say so explicitly. Any other interpretation would put the race with the majority of voters merely in a position of numerical equality with the minority race on those occasions when the two local Diets, the Polish and the Lithuanian, have to debate together.

Article 6 and article 7 seem to me satisfactory.

Article 8 lays down that the local Diets shall meet at least once a year. Article 11 of the Allied scheme stated that the Diet shall hold two ordinary sessions in every year. An unimportant divergence, in my opinion.

Article 10, though very laconic, presumably answers the same purpose as article 14 of the Allied scheme in securing parliamentary immunity to the members of the local Diets.

Article 11 requires no comment.

Article 12 is important and novel. It lays down that in each Woiewodeship there are to be two local Diets, one for each nationality, which will sit apart except in the case of questions which concern both the Poles and the Ruthenes. At first sight it may appear a little grotesque, but I think it is probably sound. It should avoid friction, and at any rate neither nationality will be able to accuse the other of meddling. Also it appears to me to remove most of the sting from the fact, if fact it is, that there will be a Polish majority in the Woiewodeship of Lemberg.

Article 13 deals with the financial question, and is perhaps less complicated than it appears at first sight. The Warsaw Diet will allot each of the three Eastern Galician Woiewodeships an annual sum, calculated according to the number of the inhabitants on the same scale as in the case of all the other Woiewodeships in the country. Out of this allocation the expenses common to both nationalities will be covered. The residue will then be divided between the two nationalities according to their numbers. If there is any deficit, the nationality concerned—or, rather, the local Diet representing that nationality—will have to cover it by taxing its own "nationals." The two local Diets may, however, if they wish, decide together to levy a common tax, the proceeds of which will be divided between them according to their numerical strength. This system may be rather elaborate, but I think it ought in practice to have the merit of fairness.

Article 14 seems to me unexceptionable.

Article 15 establishes three commissions, each with a Polish and a Ruthenian section, to meet separately or in common, as in the case of the local Diets. These commission are (1) that of Public Worship, (2) that of Public Instruction, and (3) an Economic Commission. This seems quite sensible.

Article 16, though not, I think, very clearly worded, empowers the Woiewode to veto some—I gather, not all—measures passed by the local Diets or the commissions if he considers them contrary to the existing laws of the State. I own, however, I do not entirely understand this article.

Article 17 and article 18 do not seem to me to call for comment.

Article 19 lays down that in each Woiewodeship two registers ("cadastres nationaux") are to be kept, one for the Poles and the other for the Ruthenes.

Article 20 is interesting: it lays down that any inhabitant of a Woiewodeship,

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who is an elector for the Warsaw Diet, but is of neither Polish nor Ruthenian nationality, may be entered on whichever of the two above-mentioned national registers he prefers: he has then the right to vote for and even to become a member of the local Diet. It seems to me that this article ought to be of considerable use to the Jews, who will then be able to choose whether they wish to go with the Poles or with the Ruthenes.

Article 21 is most important and satisfactory: it lays down categorically that neither the State nor any autonomous administrative authority may either practice or encourage colonisation within the limits of the three Woiewodeships.

Article 22 deals—satisfactorily, I think—with the language question in the administration.

Article 23 leaves the language question in schools to be settled by the local Diets: that is to say, if a district has returned a Ruthenian member, the Ruthenian local Diet will have the right to decide as regards the schools in that district: (*a*) what the language of instruction will be; and (*b*) whether more than one language shall be taught.

Article 24 orders the utmost regard to the needs of each nationality in the appointment of Government servants.

Article 25 promises the same care to the Ruthenes as regards posts in the Central Administration at Warsaw, and also—this is important—promises the creation of a special section in each of the two branches of the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction to be manned exclusively by Ruthenian officials.

Article 26 promises that no inhabitant of the three Eastern Galician Woiewodeships shall be prosecuted for any political offence committed from the 28th July, 1914, to the date of the promulgation of the present law.

Article 27 states that the creation, organisation and endowment of a Ruthenian University and of Ruthenian higher schools all over the three Woiewodeships will be the duty of the Warsaw Diet and of the Polish Government: the Ruthenian University will be autonomous and will be directly subordinated to the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction. If we accept the Polish thesis of an Eastern Galicia divided into three countries, it certainly seems better that higher education should be placed under the control of the relevant Ministry in Warsaw, which has incidentally hitherto given proof of laudable energy in the matter of education. County councils are to my mind not competent to deal with questions affecting higher education. I should certainly read this article as implying that the present John Casimir University is to be a purely Polish institution, but then it is quite certain that the Poles in Eastern Galicia are sufficiently numerous to be entitled to have a university of their own. That would still be the case if the western extremity of the Woiewodeship of Lemberg were to be separated from the rest of Eastern Galicia. There is nothing to prevent the Polish Government from establishing the Ruthenian University at Lemberg as well: I believe that before the war there used to be both a Czech and a German University at Prague. Or they might place it at Stanislawow. But in either case there must be no delays in the matter, and I would suggest that the Polish Government should be invited to give an undertaking that, at any rate, the necessary sums to start some sort of a Ruthenian university or polytechnic will be furnished within six months from the promulgation of the law of autonomy.

Article 28 merely states that the autonomy of the three Woiewodeships will enter into force not later than one year from the promulgation of the present law.

Article 27 of the Allied Scheme of 1919 laid down that the Court of Lemberg be constituted a Supreme Court for the entire territory of Eastern Galicia. There seems to me no mention in the Polish scheme of any such Supreme Court for the three Woiewodeships. Owing to the different legal systems which prevail in various parts of Poland, all judicial questions in this country are extremely complicated at present. Personally, I am inclined to think that it would really be in the interests of the Ruthenes to have a court to fall back on in some part of Poland outside Galicia. The higher courts in Poland generally seem to enjoy a good reputation, but there would be a clearer atmosphere in Warsaw than in Lemberg for judging a delicate case between a Pole and a Ruthene. Further, if this Supreme Court is to be at Lemberg the judges of it will presumably have to be Eastern Galicians, and I doubt whether at present it would be possible to find many Ruthenes who have the necessary qualifications for such a responsible position.

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POLAND. [October 9.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 9201/1876/55] No. 1.

*Sir W. G. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received October* 9.)

(No. 457.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, October* 6, 1922.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a summary of a speech delivered in the Diet by the Minister of Finance on the 21st September regarding the present financial situation and the measures which he deems necessary to effect its improvement.

The figures quoted by M. Jastrzebski have caused no surprise. It has long been realised that the progressive fall in the Polish exchange during the past two months has, owing to the consequent rise in prices, and the enormous increase in Government expenditure on such items as the salaries of State officials, completely falsified the estimates on which the budget was based. Indeed, until inflation has ceased and the currency has been restored to a sound basis, Poland's condition will be unstable and liable to a crisis at any moment. Deflation, however, is impossible, and the only course for countries situated like Poland to pursue is permanently to devalue the existing currencies by giving them a new gold parity and simultaneously to enforce a system of strict economy.

M. Jastrzebski's future policy is based on the increase and reform of existing, and especially direct, taxation, and on the raising of an internal loan, which foreshadows the introduction of a new currency, the Polish zloty, equal in value to the Swiss franc. The loan is to be secured on the gold and silver reserves held by the State Bank and on the reserve of foreign currencies.

The Conservative press has indulged in strong criticism of the Minister's speech, which is declared to depict a situation more gloomy than the most confirmed pessimists would have believed possible. Strong exception is taken to the proposal to employ the gold reserve as security for the loan, and it is pointed out that this proceeding will shake all confidence in the Polish mark, which will thus in its turn have been deprived of its only available guarantee. The "Gazeta Warszawska" alleged, quite falsely, that the Government had spent 230,000,000 marks in gold during the past few months, and that they had been driven to appeal to the public for a loan to cover this waste of State property. Needless to say, this unworthy move of one of the National Democrat newspapers has aroused considerable indignation amongst the more conscientious organs of the press, which prophesy that the prospects of that party at the elections will be ruined by such tactics.

The loan and the Minister's demand for a further issue of bank-notes were accepted by the Financial and Budget Commission of the Diet and submitted to the Assembly on the 25th September. After some discussion the emission of bank-notes was authorised by 125 votes to 75.

The debate on the Loan Bill was continued on the 26th September, when the Bill was passed on the second reading, after the introduction of an amendment, whereby the entire resources of the republic were pledged as a guarantee instead of the metal reserve of the State Loan Bank. In the course of the third reading the Minister of Finance intervened and declared that he would withdraw his Bill if this amendment were embodied in the final text. He also took the opportunity of delivering a vigorous attack upon the National Democrats for their obstructive attitude towards his projects, and, in particular, for the attitude of their press, referred to above. The Bill was finally voted on the third reading, after a motion cancelling the amendment had been adopted.

A loan in the form proposed by M. Jastrzebski constitutes, so far as I am aware, a new departure in the floating of State loans. The earmarking of the gold and silver reserves of the Polish exchequer would appear to provide a sufficient security, but it is generally believed that the success of the loan will depend rather on the confidence felt in the Government and in the future of the Polish State in general than in its merits from a strictly business point of view.

A translation of the Loan Bill will be forwarded in due course.

I have, &c.

W. G. MAX MULLER.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Summary of Speech delivered by the Minister of Finance to the Diet on September 12.*

THE Minister opened his speech by admitting that the original budget estimates for 1922 had not been realised. The deficit of 132,000,000,000 foreseen in March had increased to 400,000,000,000 in the month of June. It was estimated that the total expenditure for the current year would total 1,155,000,000,000 and the total revenue 603,000,000,000. The deficit would thus amount to 552,000,000,000.

On account of the increase in expenditure, the debt of the Treasury to the State Bank had increased to 314,000,000,000, whilst the issue of bank-notes had risen to 424,000,000,000. He must therefore request the authorisation of the Diet to effect further borrowings from the State Bank up to a total of 370,000,000,000 and to issue fresh bank-notes to the value of 350,000,000,000.

Poland had been driven by the exceptionally difficult conditions attending her rebirth to adopt the dangerous policy of inflation in order to meet her most pressing needs and to grant extensive credits for the development of industry and agriculture, a policy which lowered the tax-paying capacity of the producer. This policy had, nevertheless, overcome the effects of industrial stagnation and unemployment. The economic life of the country was developing satisfactorily, and it only remained to establish the currency on a sound basis. A policy of deflation such as had been adopted in England would impose too severe a strain on a country which did not possess such a solid financial structure. There remained the method of introducing a more healthy value standard. Foreign assistance in carrying out this operation need not be expected. Capitalists whose confidence had been shaken by the catastrophic economic situation of Europe demanded, and quite rightly, as a first condition that each State should prove its ability to overcome its internal difficulties. Promises and schemes of financial improvement were not sufficient guarantees for international loans. Poland must therefore rely upon the resources which she possessed, all her efforts from the first moment of her resurrection having been devoted to the creation of a national treasure, and to increasing the reserves of precious metals held by the State Bank. The State possessed gold and silver to the value of 100,000,000 gold francs and foreign currencies to the value of 150,000,000 paper francs. As any scheme of complete monetary reform was impracticable under present circumstances, a middle course had been chosen which would enable the preliminary measures of reform to be carried out over a space of three to five years. In that time the balancing of the budget would have been obtained.

It was proposed to raise a new loan "in double currency"—that was to say, that bonds would be issued half in Polish marks and half in Polish zloty, the value of the latter being fixed at the equivalent of the Swiss franc. Interest would be at the rate of 8 per cent., payable by two coupons, the one in Polish marks and the other in zloty, the latter payable twice yearly in any gold currency at the rate of exchange prevalent on the day preceding the payment. These coupons would be accepted by the Treasury for all payments and would be free of taxes on capital.

The floating of this loan would not, however, suspend the measures necessary to a fundamental reform of the fiscal system. That reform would be based chiefly upon direct taxes, *e.g.*, a reformed and simplified tax on landed property, a tax on house property, an industrial tax, in particular, a tax on the *chiffre d'affaires*, and, finally, a reformed income tax. If this programme were strictly carried out, the revenue of the State for the next financial year should attain two-thirds of the pre-war revenue of the three provinces of Poland and amount to 1,000,000,000 gold francs. It was hoped that the deficit for next year would not exceed 30 per cent. of the total expenditure.

The success of the projected reforms would depend upon the attitude of the new Diet and upon their immediate application.

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POLAND. [October 16.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 9392/1834/55] No. 1.

*Sir W. G. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received October* 16.)

(No. 471.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, October* 11, 1922.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 431 of the 19th September, regarding the situation in Polish Upper Silesia, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of a report compiled by Mr. Kimens on his return from the province.

This report, which treats in detail both the political and economic aspects of the situation, amplifies and confirms my previous information on the subject as quoted in my despatch under reference.

The Upper Silesian Diet assembled on the 10th October in obedience to a decree signed by the Chief of State on the 3rd October. The opening session was attended by the Prime Minister; by M. Kamienski, the Minister of the Interior; by M. Darowski, the Minister of Labour; and by several Deputies from the Warsaw Diet.

As regards the results of the local elections mentioned by Mr. Kimens on p. 2 of his report, the Conservative press in this capital expressed some dissatisfaction at the proportion of votes cast for the German parties, and accused the Polish electors of apathy. At the same time due recognition was accorded to the success won by M. Korfanty's Party in spite of the vigorous campaign which had been waged against its leader for some time past by his political opponents.

The Warsaw Socialist organ was well satisfied with the results obtained by its Silesian partisans, and drew attention to the decisive defeat of the Communists, who, it declared, had entertained great hopes of success, and had enjoyed considerable opportunities of carrying on a vigorous propaganda.

As Mr. Kimens observes in the introduction to his report, and on p. 5, the crux of the whole situation is the question of railway transport, and if the conclusion which he draws on p. 6, be correct—namely, that no real improvement can be looked for until certain essential tasks of extension and construction are hastened—I fear that this situation, both from the social and economic standpoint, must continue to cause grave anxiety to the Polish Government.

I am driven to this conclusion by the fact that Poland is again passing through an acute crisis of inflation and rising prices, and that Germany appears to be suffering from a renewed attack of the same disease. The Polish mark has now reached the figure of 47,000 to the *l.*, and if the process continues it is difficult to see how the Government can undertake the construction of stations, railway lines, &c., which are deemed essential to the salvation of Polish Upper Silesia.

(Copy to Berlin.)

I have, &c.
W. G. MAX MULLER.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have read in an official communiqué of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs the text of the speech delivered by the Prime Minister at the opening of the Silesian Diet, copies of which are enclosed herewith.

W. G. M. M.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Report on the Situation in Polish Upper Silesia during September* 1922.

THE economic situation in Polish Upper Silesia has undoubtedly deteriorated since the partition of the district and the introduction of the Polish administration in Polish Upper Silesia. The reasons are threefold :—

1. Inefficiency of the Polish administration.
2. Transport difficulties.
3. Financial complications.



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The second is by far the most important one, and it is no exaggeration to say that the future of Polish Upper Silesia depends entirely upon its transport, and that unless and until railways, postal and telegraphic communications, are restored to their pre-war efficiency, there is little hope of a political and social stabilisation and of an economic development of the district.

It is proposed to deal in this report separately with the political situation, and with each branch of the economic life of the district as far as possible in accordance with the classification adopted in the last report on Polish Upper Silesia, which was transmitted by His Majesty's Minister under cover of his despatch No. 158 of the 24th March.

*The Political Situation.*

Too little time has elapsed since the 18th June, 1922, the date of the handing over of Polish Upper Silesia to Poland for an opinion to be expressed as to the relations between the Germans and the Poles.

There are no indications of an open anti-Polish propaganda on the part of the Germans in Polish Upper Silesia, and the reports regarding the persecution of the Poles in German Upper Silesia would appear to be exaggerated.

The community of interests between the two nations from an economic point is so strong that it is difficult to admit an organised action against the Poles, which would affect the industrial life of the district, but one cannot help noticing the sincere regret and disappointment and a feeling of resignation on the part of Germans resulting from the partition of the district.

The inefficiency of the Polish administration, which has affected the whole life of the district, has not contributed towards the improvement of the relations which have become in many ways more strained than they were at first.

At the same time the existence of a subterranean anti-Polish propaganda cannot be denied, but it is believed, for instance, that the large number of railway and other officials who left Upper Silesia rather suddenly was due to German influence, and that the difficulties which have arisen from the lack of currency are also due to special measures on the part of the German Government.

Attention has also been drawn to a series of articles which appeared lately in a Polish paper, which is supposed to be subsidised by German capital. The author points out that the only way of saving Polish Upper Silesia is the formation of an independent State consisting of Upper Silesia, Posnania and Polish Pomerellia. As similar articles appeared at the time of the incorporation of Posnania in the Polish State, the assumption that these articles are inspired by the German Government may not be without foundation.

No real anti-German propaganda by the Poles is noticeable, although attempts are decidedly being made to Polonise the district, and some of the methods would appear not to be quite judicious, for instance, the rather hasty removal of all German notices on the railways, at the post offices and in other Government buildings, and their substitution exclusively by Polish ones has caused a certain amount of bad feeling amongst the Germans who represent about one-third of the whole population, and it would perhaps have been more judicious to maintain the German language as well.

The elections to the Upper Silesian Diet have given the German population a larger number of seats then was expected. Out of forty-eight seats the three German parties, *i.e.*, Deutsche Partei (German National Party), Katolische Volkspartei-Centrum (German Centre—Roman Catholic), and the Deutsche Social Demokraten (German Socialist Party) have obtained fourteen seats. Of the remaining thirty-two seats, eighteen have gone to M. Korfanty's Party, and the balance of fourteen to the Polish Socialist Party and the National Workmen's Party.

The Germans are very pleased with the result which has surpassed their expectations, and it is admitted, even in certain Polish circles, that a considerable number of Poles voted for them as a result of the dissatisfaction caused by the inefficient Polish administration.

M. Korfanty expressed the opinion that he was also satisfied with the results of the elections. He attached great importance to the fact that no party had obtained an absolute majority, and pointed out that the present distribution of mandates is such as to enable his party to form a block with the remaining two Polish parties, and to command a majority if the occasion arose to defend Polish national interests, although it was not his intention to introduce an anti-German policy. He then went on to say that an understanding between his party and the two German Conservative

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parties would represent a sufficient strength to prevent the introduction of a Radical social and economic policy on the part of the Socialist parties.

In conclusion may it be stated that M. Korfanty's popularity has considerably waned. His work, which at one time was unanimously admitted by the Poles to have greatly contributed towards the favourable solution for Poland of the Upper Silesian problem, has been largely forgotten, but the main reason for the loss of his popularity is attributed to the fact that the population now realises that it will be impossible to carry out in practice the promises which were made to them at the time of the plebiscite regarding the introduction of far-reaching social reforms, the partition of land, &c.

*General Survey.*

The magnitude of the Upper Silesian problem has exceeded the administrative abilities of the Polish Government, and the apparatus for the administration of the district at their disposal has proved to be inadequate. The difficulties of the administration have been enhanced by the sudden departure, after the handing over of the district to Poland, of a large number of German officials who, it is stated, had originally agreed to remain, so that the Government found itself faced with a very considerably depleted personnel, and could not consequently cope adequately with the problem. The gradual substitution of the German officials by a Polish staff who were brought from other parts of Poland, and who were not acquainted with the local conditions could not remedy the situation to any considerable extent.

Another difficulty arose from the fact that some departments, such as the police, had to be recruited locally, and it is evident that it was impossible to find the necessary number of efficient men.

It is, however, only right to admit that great efforts have been made by the Government in this respect, but it appears some of the appointments were not very lucky. The Wojewoda, M. Rymer, is a weak man, and has failed to secure good collaborators.

The disturbance which took place at Kattowitz and Bismarckshütte, resulting in the loss of nine lives and the looting of twenty-six shops, was attributed solely to the fact that the police, in compliance with his orders, remained passive for several hours awaiting "the development of events."

As a result of the inefficiency of the administration, which has failed in all departments, there exists general dissatisfaction, not only amongst the Germans, but also amongst the Poles, and the feeling of uncertainty as to the future prevails everywhere. The shortage of food which is experienced from time to time on account of inadequate transport, the impossibility of obtaining full payment for work rendered resulting from the lack of German currency, the prejudice against the Polish currency, and the difficulty in the export of local products, give rise to serious apprehensions, and grave social and economic consequences may be the outcome of such a situation.

Special attention is drawn to the correct behaviour of the troops, which is admitted also by the Germans, and to their appearance which compares very favourably with that in other Polish garrisons.

*Industry.*

Industries have not as yet been seriously affected by the introduction of the Polish administration, but are suffering from the fluctuations of the continental exchanges, and the difficulties in obtaining wagons for the transport of their products.

The iron industry is experiencing considerable difficulties in the purchasing of iron ore from Sweden owing to the depreciation of the German currency, and of coke in Czechoslovakia on account of the appreciation of the Czechoslovakian valuta.

There is nothing special to report on the zinc, chemical and other industries.

The French are establishing themselves on a large scale in Upper Silesia, and are confident regarding the future of that district as they maintain that the present difficulties are temporary and will be gradually removed.

A Franco-Polish consortium has been founded for the lease and the exploitation of the State coal mines, which by virtue of the Upper Silesian German-Polish Convention have become the property of the Polish State.

Negotiations for the lease of other such properties are progressing. It is reported that a French group is on the point of acquiring a 20 per cent. share in the Hohenlohe Company. Other countries have made no investments on a large scale as far as it has been possible to ascertain.

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The negotiations between Prince Pless and an English financial consortium have not materialised, but may be resumed after the stabilisation of the German currency.

The agreement between Lord Cozens Hardy's consortium and the Henckel-Donnermarck Company has now been completed, but there still remain certain difficulties resulting from the fact that the property lies both in Polish and German Upper Silesia. As the case has been reported on separately it is not proposed to deal with it in this report.

*Mining.*

*Coal.*

The statistics relating to the production of coal since the 18th June, the date of the handing over of the district to Poland, have not yet been published.

The output of coal is, however, governed by transport difficulties. It had to be reduced considerably in August as the stocks which were awaiting removal from the mines amounted on the 1st August to over 620,000 tons, but in September work was resumed on a slightly increased scale.

The position of the Polish Upper Silesian coal market has undergone a change during the last two months.

Owing to the introduction by the Czechoslovakian Government of great restrictions regarding the import of coal, that market has been lost for the present; whilst on account of the unfavourable financial situation, the export of coal to Austria is steadily falling, and, in the opinion of the managing-director of one of the largest coal concerns in Upper Silesia, the delivery of coal to the Austrian State railways may cease in a short time owing to their expected insolvency, unless effective help from the Allies is given to the Austrian Government.

In view of the same transport difficulties, only small quantities of coal can be exported to Hungary, in spite of the existing shortage of coal in that country, and the exports to Poland proper are not likely to be increased considerably for the same reason.

There remains, therefore, Germany as chief buyer of coal from Polish Upper Silesia. In July and August the exports to Germany fell considerably as the result of the increased imports of coal from Great Britain, but since the catastrophic fall of the German mark towards the middle of August demands have increased, and exceed now the quantities which can be exported.

In the opinion of experts, the present demand for Polish Upper Silesian coal in Germany will be maintained as long as the depreciation of the German currency lasts, and while the reparation deliveries to France and Belgium continue on the present scale. Should one or both of these causes be eliminated, the exports to Germany will undoubtedly be considerably reduced, especially in view of the fact that successful efforts are being made to increase the coal production in Germany. In German Upper Silesia, for instance, the production during August and September is stated to have been increased by 10 per cent., and the statements made by the German Minister of Trade in his recent speech at Breslau are considered to be an indication of the German Government's intentions of developing the coal and other industries in German Upper Silesia.

The conditions prevailing in other branches of the mining industry call for no special comment; they are affected in the same way in proportion to their volume by transport difficulties and finance.

*Finance.*

The maintenance of the German currency in Polish Upper Silesia did not cause any special difficulties until the lack of German currency set in in Germany. The district was seriously affected by the tightness of money, as the German private banks which remained in Polish Upper Silesia, in accordance with article 311 of the Polish–German Convention and Act for the Reichsbank, are not in a position to supply the market with the necessary amount of currency.

As a result of it, on two pay days the workmen received on an average only from 40 to 50 per cent. of their wages. This led to serious trouble, especially in the Bismarckshütte and at Kattowitz, ending in bloodshed and looting of shops. The Polish Government, being faced with the impossibility of supplying Polish Upper Silesia with the necessary amount of German currency, decided to introduce the Polish currency parallel with the German, but its introduction did not improve the situation radically, and has only been a palliative. Although the Polish mark has become legal tender and is accepted in payment by all Government Offices and on the

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railways, merchants and workmen refuse to recognise it as legal tender owing to the risk of loss resulting from the continual fluctuations between the relative values of the two currencies and on account of the lack of confidence in the Polish currency.

The daily fluctuations in the rate of exchange between the German and the Polish mark form a favourable ground for speculators, who influence public opinion in favour or against the one or the other currency in accordance with the prospects of its possible appreciation or depreciation.

In some quarters it is believed that Poland will endeavour to introduce in a short time the Polish currency in Polish Upper Silesia, making use of the provisions of article 306 of the convention by which Poland has the right to substitute the Polish currency for the German currency as legal tender after notifying the German Government ten months in advance.

This anticipated measure is criticised by the business community, who rightly maintain that it would lead to a too close economic union between Poland and Polish Upper Silesia to the detriment of the still closer interdependence required between Polish and German Upper Silesia, on which depends above all the future of the district.

In Polish business circles it is maintained that the exceptional lack of German currency was provoked by the German Government with a view to denuding the province of currency, with the ultimate intention of provoking unrest and risings amongst workmen.

A more plausible explanation may be found in the fact that, whilst at the time of the handing over of the district the monthly wages and salaries amounted to about 500,000,000 German marks, they have now attained the sum of 3,000,000,000 German marks, and that this increase took place at a time when Germany was suffering from a lack of currency.

As in all countries with a depreciating currency, a large number of banks are being started in Polish Upper Silesia. It is believed that the number has grown from sixteen on the date of the handing over of the district to about 100 at the present moment.

Nearly all important Polish banks are establishing branch offices in Kattowitz and other towns, whilst two foreign banks, *i.e.*, Banque franco-polonaise, with a nominal capital of 20,000,000 French francs, and the Bank Szlazki (Banque de Silésie) Spolka Akcyjna, with a capital of 250,000,000 German marks, have been opened.

*Labour.*

Labour conditions are not satisfactory. The unrest amongst the workmen has been caused by the increased cost of living, a shortage of foodstuffs, the valuta difficulties which were explained in the chapter on finance, and, last, but not least, by the electioneering propaganda of the rival political powers prior to the elections to the Upper Silesian and Warsaw Diets.

Wages in all industries have been recently raised by a 100 per cent., but are still lower than in Poland proper, and in all probability a further increase in the near future will be necessary in view of the continuous rise in the cost of living.

The salaries of the officials both in Government and private offices, have risen by from 200 per cent. to 300 per cent. within the last three months.

It is hoped that the return of a Moderate majority to the Upper Silesian Diet may produce a quietening influence and a social equilibrium amongst the workmen.

The main root of the evil, however, lies in the unfavourable general conditions of life, which have been brought about to a large extent by the inefficient Polish administration of the district, and from which the workmen are suffering in a larger degree than prior to the partition of Upper Silesia.

*Railways.*

As stated in the introduction, the crux of the whole situation lies in the improvement of railway transport.

The chaotic conditions prevailing on the Polish Upper Silesian railways are due to five reasons :—

1. Departure of a large number of German officials.
2. Inefficiency of the Polish personnel, which was brought from other parts of Poland to substitute the Germans.
3. Absence of shunting and distributing stations in Polish Upper Silesia.



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4. Inadequacy of transport capacity of the lines between Polish Upper Silesia and the rest of Poland.
5. Lack of rolling-stock.

A considerable percentage of the German officials, contrary to their undertaking, gave up work on the day of the handing over of the railway administration to Poland, by which a grave situation was caused, as the officials who had to be brought from other parts of Poland were totally unacquainted with the local conditions and were not sufficiently qualified to deal with the problem. The corruption prevailing on the Polish railways was unfortunately introduced with their arrival.

The exclusive allocation to Germany of all shunting and distributing stations, *i.e.*, Gleiwitz, Pieskretschau and Borsigwerk-Biskupice, has undoubtedly contributed in the same manner as the inefficiency of the Polish personnel towards the defective exploitation of the railways in Polish Upper Silesia. As it is, Poland does not possess one single shunting station of any importance in the district, and will be obliged to start work immediately on the extension of the existing ones and on the construction of new stations.

Another reason is the inadequate number of railway lines connecting Polish Upper Silesia with the rest of Poland. At the present moment the transport capacity of these lines has practically reached its maximum, and unless new lines are built it will be impossible to increase the traffic.

In the minutes of a confidential meeting held at the Polish Railway Ministry, which was called for the purpose of proposing the means for the improvement of transport in Polish Upper Silesia, it is stated that the position is hopeless; that it is out of the question to increase the carrying capacity of the lines connecting Polish Upper Silesia with the rest of Poland, and that unless and until new lines are built, the stations at Sosnowice (former German–Russian frontier station) and Dziedzice (Polish–Czech frontier) extended and new shunting and distributing stations built in Polish Upper Silesia, there is no chance of an early improvement in the situation.

During July about 80 per cent. of the demands for wagons were met. In August this figure fell considerably, but it is now again improving, although it is admitted that this figure is unlikely to be exceeded, so that until the improvements referred to above are effected it will be impossible to expect that more than four-fifths of the products and manufactures of Upper Silesia will be transported, but in reality this figure will probably prove to be exaggerated, as the transport of foodstuffs from Poland proper to Upper Silesia has been left out of consideration. In other words, under present conditions—if the construction of the new lines, the extensions of some stations and the construction of shunting stations in Polish Upper Silesia are not begun with immediately, and the carrying out of this work may be delayed through financial difficulties—there is no chance of an improvement of the situation.

In conclusion, may it be remarked that the German Government has suggested to the Polish Government to appoint a mixed commission composed of Polish and German railway engineers for the purpose of studying the problem and finding a favourable solution. Although this request was submitted to the Polish Government some time ago, no answer has yet been received.

*Agriculture.*

There is nothing special to report under this heading. The output of cereals in Polish Upper Silesia could be increased very considerably, but it will require a large capital outlay, and it is doubtful whether the present moment will be considered opportune for large investments.

*Trade.*

Before the partition of the district and the establishing of the frontier between German and Polish Upper Silesia, very large quantities of goods were imported from Germany, where they could be obtained at a considerably cheaper rate than in Poland proper, as it was realised that there would be no difficulty in selling them after the abolition of the frontier between Poland proper and Polish Upper Silesia. Numerous merchants arrived from every part of Poland, the stocks were rapidly depleted, and prices rose very considerably.

As imports from Germany, owing to the very high customs duties, have become extremely difficult, the incorporation of Polish Upper Silesia should, as was pointed out in the previous report, increase the demand for goods which are manufactured in Poland proper. With a view to acquainting the population with the products of

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Poland it is proposed to hold an exhibition of Polish manufactures in the more important industrial centres in Polish Upper Silesia.

On the other hand, the crossing of the frontier in twenty-four places by narrow and normal-gauge railways, and the introduction of far-reaching customs facilities in accordance with the provisions of the German–Polish Convention, had resulted in the development on a large scale of illegal trading between Germany and Polish Upper Silesia. Adequate control is absolutely impossible—considerable quantities of German goods arrive in Polish Upper Silesia without payment of customs duties and are distributed from there to other parts of Poland.

*The Food Supply.*

The food shortage which has, and is, being experienced from time to time in different parts of Polish Upper Silesia is caused by the difficulties of transport. It will be remembered that, prior to the partition of the district, the greater part of flour, meat, bread, lard, &c., was imported from Germany, as the district was never self-supplying and that German goods have now to be substituted by Polish products. Contrary to the opinion which was expressed in Germany and other quarters that Poland would not be in a position to supply Upper Silesia with the required quantities of foodstuffs, it is maintained that this is not the case—Poland has a sufficient surplus to cover the requirements of Polish Upper Silesia, and the shortage is due entirely to the fact that it cannot be transported.

At present the efforts of the Government and the industry are concentrated on the organisation of the transport from Poland proper of potatoes before the cold weather sets in, and subsequently of flour and lard. On the successful solution of this problem will largely depend the tranquillity of the district during the coming winter.

*Conclusion.*

An attempt has been made in the above report to show the reasons for the present rather serious situation in Polish Upper Silesia, and attention has been drawn in some places to the means which should be adopted for its improvement.

It cannot be denied that conditions are not satisfactory, and they give rise to serious apprehensions, although it must be admitted that the greatest efforts have been made by the Polish Administration to improve the situation, in spite of the fact that in some cases they have been faced with a *force majeure*.

The future of the district depends entirely on the improvement of the administration, better transport, and the settlement of the complicated financial problem caused by the existence of two currencies in one State.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

*Speech by the Prime Minister at the Opening Session of the Silesian Diet.*

PAR un décret du 3 courant et conformément aux décisions du Statut d'Organisation, le Chef de l'État a convoqué la Diète de la Haute-Silésie pour aujourd'hui. En ce joyeux et solennel moment où la population haute-silésienne, représentée par ses élus, commence à décider elle-même de ses propres affaires dans les limites de l'autonomie, il est en premier lieu indispensable de consacrer quelques mots à la mémoire de ces fidèles fils de la patrie qui par leur dévouement plein de sacrifice contribuèrent à faire droit à la justice historique.

Ce jour solennel, par une bizarre volonté du destin, tombe à l'avant-jour des élections et de la convocation de la Diète de la République, dont la tâche principale sera de diriger l'ensemble de la vie sur la voie d'un travail normal et pacifique. Ce travail pacifique ayant pour but d'unifier strictement tous les territoires polonais et d'effacer toutes différences résultant des différentes dominations auxquelles ces territoires étaient sujets, ce travail aura une grave importance pour la vie nationale ainsi que la vie économique de cette province ayant déjà un haut degré de développement.

Le Gouvernement polonais se rend compte de l'énormité des travaux qui sont tombés à sa charge par l'union de cette province industrielle. Il y en va pourtant d'assurer à l'industrie haute-silésienne un grand épanouissement, partant, garantir à des centaines de milliers d'ouvriers et à leurs familles la jouissance d'une vie

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confortable. Le Gouvernement de la République du moment de la réunion de ce territoire avec la mère-patrie s'efforce non seulement de maintenir au même niveau la vie économique appropriée aux nouvelles conditions, mais aussi d'assurer au palatinat haut-silésien, par voie d'échange de richesses naturelles, un développement magnifique dans le futur pour la gloire et le bien de la république. Après établissement d'une nouvelle ligne-frontière, les représentants des diverses sphères économiques de la Haute-Silésie se sont plaints des tarifs douaniers polonais trop élevés. Le Gouvernement polonais a examiné ces plaintes et a introduit des modifications temporaires de ces tarifs pour faciliter à l'industrie et à la population l'adaptation aux nouvelles conditions politiques et économiques. C'est dans les mêmes visées qu'a été publié immédiatement après la prise de l'autorité un décret relatif à la création des chambres de commerce et de manufacture. Grâce à ces mesures, la vie économique, en dépit des difficultés, n'a pas été arrêtée pour un moment même. Nous n'avions pas eu de chômage sérieux, les réserves de charbon, contrairement aux informations d'une presse hostile de l'étranger, ne grandissaient pas, et même diminuaient sensiblement. Les conditions industrielles vont s'améliorer lors que les grandes industries transporteront ici les sièges de leurs administrations.

Le Gouvernement s'occupe assidûment du perfectionnement de l'organisation des autorités administratives auxquelles incombent des charges et tâches exceptionnellement sérieuses en cette première phase de la réunion de ce territoire. Le souci principal du Gouvernement, c'est de garantir le ravitaillement du palatinat haut-silésien. Une quantité suffisante de vivres peut être fournie par les autres provinces de la république, vu l'état de l'actuelle production agricole, qui arriva à un tel point qu'elle peut couvrir les besoins non seulement de toute la population de la république—y compris la Haute-Silésie—mais qu'elle possède un surplus important pour l'exportation. Le Gouvernement a accordé de grands crédits pour l'approvisionnement et tend à perfectionner le fonctionnement des transports de vivres par des mesures efficaces. Quant aux chemins de fer, le Gouvernement se rendant compte de leur importance pour la vie économique du palatinat, consacre ses efforts à l'élargissement et le développement des réseaux ferroviaires. En ce qui touche la monnaie, le Gouvernement suit une ligne directrice tracée pour aboutir à une solution de ce problème difficile exigeant une grande prudence pour éviter à la vie économique toute complication. Pour que la tâche du Gouvernement soit efficace, il lui faut l'aide de toute la population, sans égard à la nationalité, le parti politique ou la classe du citoyen.

Le Gouvernement, de son côté, déclare qu'il gardera une impartialité absolue dans chaque question et à l'égard de chaque habitant de cette ancienne province, à nous si chère. C'est dans ce sens que je salue au nom du Chef de l'État et du Gouvernement les représentants du palatinat haut-silésien et leur souhaite un travail en harmonie et les meilleurs résultats des débats.

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POLAND. [December 27.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 11263/1876/55] No. 1.

*Sir W. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December* 27.)

(No. 575.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, December* 21, 1922.

I HAVE kept your Lordship informed, by telegraph, of the political events which have occurred since the tragic assassination of M. Narutowicz, exactly one week after his election as first President of the Polish Republic.

It has been impossible not to be struck by the promptitude and decision with which the situation has been met in the first instance by M. Rataj, the Marshal of the Diet, who automatically became Acting President, and in the second place by General Sikorski, on his acceptance of the presidency of the Council of Ministers. I learn from M. Nowak that the selection of General Sikorski was prompted by Marshal Pilsudski, who attended and dominated the Cabinet meeting summoned by M. Rataj immediately after the assassination. M. Narutowicz was assassinated at midday, and by 9 o'clock that evening the Government was constituted and a message had been issued to the people announcing the determination of the Government to suppress with the utmost firmness any further attempts to fan the flames of party feeling, to provoke disorders or to take reprisals. Simultaneously the Government let it be known that, in case of need, a "state of emergency" (*i.e.*, a modified form of martial law) would be immediately enforced, should the Government consider such a step necessary. A proclamation to this effect was issued within thirty-six hours, and under it power was taken to arrest and maintain in detention for a period not exceeding three months any persons "whose activity might be prejudicial to the safety of the State or to public order." Similarly, newspapers were rendered liable to confiscation, domiciliary searches were authorised, and associations which might be considered subversive became liable to dissolution. Strikes in the public services were expressly prohibited.

There is, to my mind, no doubt that this measure combined with certain demonstrations of the forces behind the Government has had a most salutary effect, as since its issue the press, which on Tuesday morning was once again showing an inclination to revive the acrimonious polemics of the past week, has abstained from controversial comments. In order to reinforce this measure and to appeal to the patriotism of the people as a whole, General Sikorski held a meeting with the leading journalists of the capital, and earnestly appealed for the co-operation of the press in re-establishing calm, which, he said, "police measures are incapable of effecting." At this interview he drew special attention to the deplorable effect which had been produced abroad, where, quoting a telegram from Rome, he said that recent events were regarded as a proof that the Poles were incapable of an independent existence. It was essential that the press should in the immediate future abstain from all political agitation and from the publication of sensational rumours, as an instance of which he cited the reports which had been current of the murder of General Haller, of the Marshal of the Diet and of himself. It was from a sense of soldierly discipline that he had accepted the post of President of the Council, and nothing would deter him from following the path of duty. He counted on the support of all Polish citizens who loved their country, and especially on that of the journalists, but he made it clear that if his appeal did not produce the desired effect he would not hesitate to have recourse to the severest measures of repression.

For reasons which are obscure to me, it appears that the Socialist Party has resented this sensible and straightforward declaration. However, the general effect of the Government's vigorous action has been excellent, and, contrary to expectation, the Presidential elections were duly held yesterday. Up till late the previous evening it was impossible to obtain any information as to what candidates would be presented, and there is, I think, no doubt that it was only within an hour or two of the actual joint meeting of the Senate and the Diet that M. Wojciechowski and Professor Morawski, Rector of Cracow University, were definitely selected as candidates by the parties of the Left and Right respectively, negotiations for the formation of a block composed of the Right and the Peasants' Party having proved fruitless. At one time



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it was hoped that the Right might agree to vote for Wojciechowski and thus carry out their intention of having a President elected by a Polish majority, but the fatuity which has marked their every act was not to be denied and prevented them from following a course of action which would have gone far towards retrieving their shattered prestige. As it was, the result was never in doubt, and, as I reported by telegraph, there was a majority for M. Wojciechowski of 298 to 221. The only uncertain element in the situation was, as a matter of fact, the Jewish vote, as M. Wojciechowski has long been obnoxious to the Jews as one of the principal organisers of the co-operative movement in this country, which threatens to undermine the position of the Jews as middlemen in all commercial undertakings. However, the fact that there were only sixteen blank votes with twenty members absent or abstaining indicates that at any rate some of the Jewish Deputies preferred M. Wojciechowski to any candidate put forward by the Right, whose press had recently expressed violent anti-Semitic sentiments.

The same evening at 7 o'clock the President Elect took the oath to the Constitution, a ceremony which the Diplomatic Corps was invited to attend in uniform. No incident of any kind marked the ceremony, at the conclusion of which the diplomatists present were introduced to his Excellency, but it was curious to remark that certain members of the Right who had absented themselves in a body when M. Narutowicz took the oath were now seen to applaud his far more Radical successor.

Later in the evening the ceremony of the transfer of the Presidential power took place and M. Wojciechowski formally took possession of the Belvedere.

This morning M. Wojciechowski issued a proclamation, of which a translation is enclosed, appealing to the people in simple and moving terms to co-operate for the good of the State.

It may, I think, be said with a reasonable degree of confidence that the situation is thoroughly in hand, and that the political parties will for some time to come endeavour to control the acrimony of speech and action which has led to the murder of the first President of the Polish Republic, and might well have led to far-reaching disorders.

It will not be possible for some days to form any definite opinion as to the ultimate fate of the present Government, which, as I informed your Lordship in my telegram No. 140 of to-day's date, was at once confirmed in office by the President. This first act of M. Wojciechowski appears to me to be one of considerable political wisdom. The maintenance of General Sikorski's Government in office is the surest means of continuing the work of pacifying the excited spirits of all parties, and in refusing to accept their resignations the new President has given proof of a sure insight into the necessities of the moment. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that behind M. Wojciechowski and General Sikorski stands the dominant personality of Marshal Pilsudski, who, as chief of the General Staff, is in direct control of the army.

A manifesto issued to-day by the Right *bloc* may perhaps be regarded as a first step with a view to the eventual participation of its members in the government of the country. If it is a step in that direction it is of a tentative nature, as it is couched in controversial language, and much of it is devoted to proving that the failure to produce a candidate for the presidency acceptable to the great majority of the Polish member was entirely the fault of all the other Polish parties, the total numerical strength of which corresponds almost exactly with that of the National *bloc*.

General Sikorski, in his capacity of Minister of the Interior, has issued to-day an order for the protection of the supreme executive authority and especially the person of the President of the Republic. According to this order any person or journalist speaking disrespectfully of the President will be tried for treason (*lèse-autorité*).

A list of the members of the present Government is enclosed herewith.

I have, &c.

W. G. MAX MULLER.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Translation of Message issued by President Wojciechowski on December* 20, 1922.

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To the Polish People.

I HAVE sworn to God Almighty and to you, Polish nation, to respect and defend the Constitution and to be a faithful servant of the nation.

My predecessor—the first President of the Polish Republic, Gabriel Narutowic ow fell by the hand of a man who was led astray by a frenzy of hatred. A dark shadıe. has fallen across the regeneration of Poland on the moral foundations of our li Hatred creates unrest and disorder, and ruins the life of families and of the State.

The Polish Republic derives its dignity above all from the virtue and the labour of its citizens. I ask God Almighty and you, Polish people, to co-operate with us, eliminating from our hearts and from our deeds the evil produced by our prolonged slavery and by the war, so that we may fulfil the trust laid upon us by our forefathers and build up one undivided republic fortified by the love and by the labours of its citizens under the protection of the laws established by them.

Let us one and all remember the words of Adam Mickiewicz: "If you succeed in improving your soul, you will also in the same measure improve your laws." Let us pledge ourselves to give expression in our public life to sentiments of friendly co-operation for the good of all. The greatest need is a stable Government, in which the Diet has confidence, and an adequate revenue derived from the taxation of the citizens. The genius of no single man, no dictatorship can accomplish anything without your co-operation. Only a united effort of the whole nation can help us to achieve our task.

In the name of the republic I appeal to you, citizens: Be united in all questions regarding the public welfare. It is the first condition for the fulfilment of the Constitution, for the improvement of the economic life and for the education of citizens worthy of the name of Poles.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *General Wladyslaw Sikorski | ... | Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior. |
| *Alexander Skrzynski ... | ... | Minister for Foreign Affairs. |
| Zygmunt Jastrzembski | ... | Minister of Finance. |
| General Casimir Sosnkowski | .. | Minister of War. |
| Waclaw Makowski ... | ... | Minister of Justice. |
| *Joseph Mikulowski-Pomorski | ... | Minister of Cults and Public Instruction. |
| Henry Strassburger ... | ... | Acting Minister of Trade and Industry. |
| Joseph Raczynski ... | ... | Acting Minister of Agriculture. |
| Louis Zagorny-Marynowski | ... | Minister of Railways. |
| Louis Darowski ... | ... | Minister of Labour. |
| Witold Chodzko ... | ... | Minister of Public Health. |
| *Jan Lopuszanski ... | ... | Acting Minister of Public Works. |

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* Indicates changes from the previous Government.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Translation of Message issued by President Wojciechowski on December 20, 1922.*

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Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

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POLAND. [February 22.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 1822/306/55] No. 1.

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Sir W. Max Muller (Warsaw).*

(No. 94.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 22, 1923.*

THE Polish Minister called upon me this afternoon to invoke the friendly assistance of His Majesty's Government in respect of two matters—firstly, the official fixation of the Lithuanian-Polish frontier on the lines recently laid down by the special representative appointed by the League of Nations, and, secondly, the determination of the eastern frontier of Poland as laid down by the Treaty of Riga. The former point is now in the hands of the League of Nations, owing to the complaint which has just been made to that body by the Lithuanian Government. I read to the Minister a copy of a telegram which I had just received, giving the communication which M. Viviani, the present chairman of the council, had addressed to the Lithuanian and Polish Governments.

In this both parties were called upon to desist from any violation of the neutral zones, and, if this were done, it should not be difficult to arrive at a decent solution of the difficulty.

M. Skirmunt was in reality much more concerned with the question of the eastern frontier of his country. He pointed out to me that the matter had been raised only the day before at the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris, where M. Jules Cambon, the chairman, had urged strongly that the Allied Governments, acting in accordance with article 87 of the Treaty of Versailles, should now recognise this frontier. At this meeting Lord Crewe had asked for an adjournment in order to obtain the views of His Majesty's Government The Minister assured me that the Italian Government were equally in favour of settling the matter in a manner favourable to the claims of Poland, and accordingly he urged His Majesty's Government not to be the only one to abstain.

I remarked that this question raised the point of Eastern Galicia, and might be thought to prejudge its determination. Further, I had hitherto been rather strongly of opinion that Lithuania and Poland, owing to their respective differences, were confronting us with too many difficult problems at the same time, and that the solution of these had perhaps better be taken piecemeal.

M. Skirmunt said that it ought to be clearly understood that the acceptance of the Treaty of Riga frontier would be without prejudice to any views or reservations we might have put forward, or might desire to put forward, in respect of Eastern Galicia, and the degree of autonomy to be conceded to that area, and that it seemed a pity to lose a very favourable opportunity of settling the main question of the frontier itself, upon which all the principal parties were now united.

I promised to make a study of the papers and carefully to examine the Minister's proposal in a friendly spirit.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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POLAND. [March 2.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[N 2033/306/55] No. 1.

*Sir W. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received March* 2.)

(No. 69.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, February* 24, 1923.

WITH reference to my telegrams Nos. 54 and 55 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith a report drawn up by Major-General Carton de Wiart on the subject of his visit of inspection to the neutral zone, and his arrest and subsequent illegal detention by the Lithuanian authorities.

I should be obliged if a copy of this report could be at once communicated to the War Office.

I have, &c.
W. G. MAX MULLER.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Report by Major-General Carton de Wiart.*

I LEFT Warsaw with Major Grant and two Polish officers on the night of the 17th instant to go to visit the neutral zone. I arrived on Sunday morning, and was at once sent down the line to Wojtowo, where the Lithuanians had blown up the bridge, which made further progress impossible. I got some country sledges there and went to Kalance, which was occupied by the Poles. The place had been attacked by the Lithuanians the night before, and the Poles had evacuated it and then retaken it. When I was there I asked where the most likely place was to see some fighting, and was told there was a village called Strzelciszki, some 2 or 3 kilom. off, where there was continual fighting. On arrival there I saw a sentry at the entrance of the village and drove straight up to him, asking him where the commander of the forces was. The man seemed very nervous, and tried to get his rifle down, but happily it got caught in his scarf, and it was only then that we noticed that he was a Lithuanian. At that moment seven or eight more soldiers rushed up all with their rifles at the "present" (incidentally one of them shot off his) and made us all prisoners. We were then taken to the company commander, and I told him that I was a British general officer, and had come to inspect the neutral zone, and that I was accompanied by these two Polish officers, who were sent to act as interpreters and guides. I asked to be released, but he said that he could not do this without reference to his battalion commander. The latter wanted me to be taken to battalion headquarters, but I refused to go. I also refused to go to the brigade headquarters and divisional headquarters, and later in the evening, when orders came that I was to be taken to Kovno, I again refused. I said I wished the British diplomatic representative at Kovno to be informed of my arrest. I also asked the officer in whose charge I was whether he recognised that I was a British officer, as I had been asked for no documents. He said that he recognised that I was and had reported the fact.

The next morning, the 19th, orders came that I was to be taken by force, and on receipt of those orders I said I would go provided the Polish officers were taken with me. We then proceeded in sledges to Hanuszyszki, and on arrival there the brigade commander told me he had orders to take me to Kovno. I again protested and said that I was a British officer, and that I should be released, but it was no use. He then told me that I should have to go without the two Polish officers, and I tried to insist on their being taken with me, but there was no room in the car, and he promised me that they would be taken to the nearest railway station, and would arrive in Kovno the next morning without fail.

We then went off by car and reached Kovno at 8 P.M. on Monday night (the same night). On arrival there Major Grant and I were put into a filthy little Jewish hotel on the outskirts of the town, and I at once asked to communicate with the British



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diplomatic representative, but was told that this could not be done, and we were left there under an armed escort. The extent to which we were guarded can be realised by the fact that when Major Grant wished to go to the lavatory he was actually escorted by an armed sentry.

The next morning, the 20th, at about 9·30 A.M., an officer and a Government employee came to question me. At first I refused to answer any questions till they had told the British representative that I was a prisoner; however, they made various excuses, and to save time I wrote a statement saying that while inspecting the neutral zone I went into a village occupied by the Lithuanians and had been taken prisoner, and that up to date they had refused to release me, and had also refused to inform the British representative of my arrest. They then went off, and at 11·30 A.M. an officer and a representative of the Lithuanian Foreign Office came and casually told me that they were very sorry, I was free. I then went off to the British consulate, who had only been informed a few minutes before of my arrest. I had, therefore, been under arrest forty-three hours, fifteen of which had been spent at Kovno within a mile of the British consulate, and not a word had been told to our representative.

I should like to point out that I do not really find fault with the Lithuanians for taking me prisoner, as when I came to the village where I was arrested it had only been captured a few minutes; nor do I find any fault with the way the officers treated me, but I cannot express my feelings with regard to the way I was treated when I once got to Kovno.

The Lithuanians insist that Strzelciszki was in their territory, but on looking over the League of Nations report I find that the place was in the neutral zone, but had been allotted to the Lithuanians. The Poles had certainly occupied it, but it must be borne in mind that a village in that part of the world merely consists of a few wooden huts in the middle of the forest, and it is really very difficult to say in whose possession these villages ought to be when the situation is as troubled as it is now. While I was in the neutral zone I did not see a single regular Polish soldier or any artillery at all; on the Lithuanian side the troops were regulars, and were backed up by artillery, and I also saw partisans—irregular armed bands—and the Lithuanian officer himself told me that if we had been captured by these the probability is that we should have been murdered.

I forgot to mention that on arrival at Kovno I at once asked if the Polish officers had been brought there, and was then told that they had not, and that the Lithuanians considered them to be prisoners of war. I pointed out that these officers had been attached to me personally, and that I considered myself responsible for their safety, and that I hoped the British authorities would take the same view of the matter, but my statements seemed to produce no effect.

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[N 2781/306/55] No. 1.

*Décision de la Conférence des Ambassadeurs au sujet des Frontières de la Pologne.—(Communicated by His Majesty's Embassy, Paris, March 23.)*

L'EMPIRE britannique, la France, l'Italie et le Japon, signataires avec les États-Unis d'Amérique, comme principales Puissances alliées et associées, du Traité de Paix de Versailles,

Considérant qu'aux termes de l'article 87, alinéa 3, dudit traité, il leur appartient de fixer les frontières de la Pologne qui n'ont pas été spécifiées par ce traité ;

Considérant que le Gouvernement polonais a adressé, le 15 février 1923, à la Conférence des Ambassadeurs, une demande tendant à voir les Puissances qui s'y trouvent représentées faire usage des droits que leur confère ledit article ;

Que, de son côté, le Gouvernement lithuanien s'était déjà, par sa note du 18 novembre 1922, montré soucieux de voir lesdites Puissances faire usage desdits droits ;

Considérant qu'aux termes de l'article 91 du Traité de Paix de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, l'Autriche a renoncé, en faveur des principales Puissances alliées et associées, à tous ses droits et titres sur les territoires qui appartenaient antérieurement à l'ancienne Monarchie austro-hongroise et qui, situés au delà des nouvelles frontières de l'Autriche, telles qu'elles sont décrites à l'article 27 dudit traité, ne sont actuellement l'objet d'aucune autre attribution ;

Considérant qu'il est reconnu par la Pologne qu'en ce qui concerne la partie orientale de la Galicie, les conditions ethnographiques nécessitent un régime d'autonomie ;

Considérant que le traité conclu entre les principales Puissances alliées et associées et la Pologne, le 28 juin 1919, a prévu, pour tous les territoires placés sous la souveraineté polonaise, des garanties spéciales en faveur des minorités de race, de langue ou de religion ;

Considérant qu'en ce qui concerne sa frontière avec la Russie, la Pologne est entrée directement en rapport avec cet État en vue d'en déterminer le tracé ;

Qu'en ce qui concerne la frontière de la Pologne avec la Lithuanie, il y a lieu de tenir compte de la situation de fait résultant, notamment, de la résolution du Conseil de la Société des Nations du 3 février 1923,

Ont chargé la Conférence des Ambassadeurs du règlement de cette question.

En conséquence, la Conférence des Ambassadeurs :

1. Décide de reconnaître comme frontières de la Pologne :

(1) *Avec la Russie :*

La ligne tracée et abornée d'accord entre les deux États et sous leur responsabilité à la date du 23 novembre 1922.

(2) *Avec la Lithuanie :*

La ligne ci-dessous décrite (d'après la carte allemande au 1/100,000e) :

Depuis le point où la limite administrative septentrionale du district de Suwalki rencontre la frontière de Prusse orientale (point commun à la Prusse orientale, à la Pologne et à la Lithuanie) et jusqu'au point le plus au sud du rentrant de la limite du district de Suwalki, point situé à environ 7 kilom. au nord-ouest de Punsk, la limite administrative septentrionale du district de Suwalki ;

De là, vers le sud-est jusqu'à un point de la route Berzniki–Kopciowo situé à environ 2 kilom. au sud-est de Berzniki :

Une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain laissant Punsk à la Pologne, traversant le lac Galadusya depuis son extrémité nord-ouest jusqu'à un point situé à environ 2 kilom. au nord de Zegary, se dirigeant ensuite vers l'est, puis parallèlement à la ligne de petits lacs situés entre Berzniki et Zegary à environ 2 kilom. à l'est de ces lacs ;

De là jusqu'à un point à environ 2 kilom. 500 à l'est de Zelwa sur la Marycha, une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain ;



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De là, en aval, le cours de la Marycha jusqu'au confluent d'un petit affluent situé sur la rive gauche de cette rivière et immédiatement en amont de Sztudjanka ;

De là, une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain jusqu'à la source de la rivière Igorka, puis le cours de cette rivière qui passe à Warwischki jusqu'à son confluent avec le Niémen ;

De là, en aval, le cours du Niémen jusqu'au confluent de la rivière Grawe ;

De là, la rivière Grawe jusqu'au point où elle se croise avec la chaussée Merecs–Rudnica (Rotnica) ;

De là, une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain jusqu'au confluent de la rivière Skroblis avec la rivière Mereczanka ;

De là, le cours de la Mereczanka jusqu'à un point à environ 800 mètres au sud-est de Podkamien ;

De là et jusqu'à la cote 142 à environ 2 kilom. au nord-est de Strzelciszki :

Une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain laissant en Lithuanie les localités de Podkamien, Karpiszki, Strzelciszki, en Pologne celles de Bortele, Kukle, et passant par la croisée des routes allant de Bobryszki à Olkieniki et d'Orany à Wojtowo sur la voie ferrée de Grodno à Wilna ;

De là et jusqu'à un point à déterminer sur le cours de la Wilia à environ 800 mètres à l'ouest de Surmance :

Une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain laissant en Lithuanie les localités de : Kalance, Spengleniki, Gieceniszki, Uzuleje. Prybance, Greczowka, Wismance, Jagielany, Dergiance, Kopciszki, Zailgi, Chwosz-na, Niedzwiedowka, Janczuny, Daniliszki, Jerzowka, Nowy-Dwor, Promyslowka, Walakiszki, Kurkliszki, Kalejkiemie, Wiluniszki, Kiermanczyszki, Bialolesie et Owsieciszki, et laissant en Pologne les localités de : Wojtowo, Vw-Puskarnia, Czarnokowale, Kol-Lejpuny, Wejksztelance, Ejgielance, Markowsz-na, Skobska, Wizgirdy, Dombrowo, Dembniaki, Stanislawowka, Kotysz, Staskuniszki, Lebiedzie, Mejluszki, Podworance, Glity, Piektoniszki, Kiermeliszki, Kudrany, Poniewiezka, Majdany, Miciuny, Lojziszki, Mejryszki, Borcie, Jateluny, Puzanowo, Kazimirowka et Surmance ;

De là, le cours de la Wilia jusqu'à un point situé à environ 1 kilom. 200 au sud de Sejmieniszki ;

De là, et jusqu'à un point à déterminer à l'extrémité sud-ouest du lac Oswie au sud de Zoltynie :

Une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain laissant en territoire lithuanien les localités de : Sejmieniszki, Kliszebloto, Podozierce, Pojodzie, Pospierze, Kejmince, Skietery, Olinowo, Pory, Kontromiszki, Kiele, Awizance, Nieczance, Borowy, Olany, Palki, Ollis, Okmiana, Towkiele, Alexandryszki, Gawejki, Zoltynie, et en territoire polonais les localités de : Podworzance, Podgajem, Drawcze, Mejluny, Papiernia, Bortkuszki, Uzyblindzie, Lipowko, Poblyndzie, Zyndule, Astyki, Szelkowsz-na, Romaskance, Pogiry, Borowka, Sontoki, Pulstylki, Rudejki, Stolewsz-na, Zemwiszki, Smilgi, Gawejki, Sidabry ;

De là, une ligne traversant le lac Oswie jusqu'à un point à déterminer sur sa rive nord-est, à 1,500 mètres environ au sud-est d'Olka ;

De là, et jusqu'à un point à déterminer sur la rive sud du lac Prowa à l'est de Surgance :

Une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain, laissant en territoire lithuanien les localités de : Olka, le lac Boloma, Labejszyski, Mlynek, Janiszki, Szerajkiszki, Surgance, et en territoire polonais les localités de : Jankuniszki, Purwiniszki, Szarkiszki, Maciejewa, Orniany, Skardze, Nowosiolka, Grybiance ;

De là et jusqu'à un point à déterminer sur la rive méridionale du lac au bord duquel se trouve Antolkony et à 500 mètres à l'ouest de cette localité :

Une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain, laissant en territoire lithuanien les localités de : Madejki, Mazule, Szykaliszki, Andrulance, Shukowschtschisna, Shemeityschki, Prudsischki, Polukno, Poshenis, Shwirblischki, Rgt-Sidorischki, Mineischany, et en territoire polonais les localités de : Maldziuny, Rutowschtschisna, Baranowo, Antaledse, Bernjuny, Lyngmjany, Antolkony ;

De là et jusqu'à la frontière de Lettonie :

Une ligne à déterminer sur le terrain se dirigeant vers le nord-est, puis vers le nord, passant entre le lac de Boloscha et le lac Dringis et laissant en territoire lithuanien les localités de : Rgt-Ashusseniz, Achramjanzy, Reipe, Ashany, Sadsjuny,

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Bol-Derewnja, Suntupe, Kalnischki, Schablowisna, Muglischki, Junkokalne, Gut-Nowo-Smolwy, Werugischki, et en territoire polonais les localités de : Kosatschisna, Meiluny, Wardsikeme, Aliejuny, Sakischki, Poshemischki, Karatschuny, Smolwy, Paukschte-Lischki, Gut-Smolwy (Nord), Dulzischki, Matelischki.

Le tracé de cette ligne sur le terrain est laissé aux soins des deux Gouvernements intéressés, qui auront toute latitude pour procéder, d'un commun accord, aux rectifications de détail qu'ils reconnaîtraient, sur place, indispensables.

2. Décide de reconnaître à la Pologne, qui accepte, tous droits de souveraineté sur les territoires compris entre les frontières ci-dessus définies et les autres frontières du territoire polonais, sous réserve des dispositions du Traité de Paix de Saint-Germain-en-Laye concernant les charges et obligations incombant aux États auxquels un territoire de l'ancienne Monarchie austro-hongroise est transféré.

Fait à Paris, le 15 mars 1923.

ERIC PHIPPS.
R. POINCARÉ.
ROMANO AVEZZANA.
M. MATSUDA.

Le soussigné, dûment autorisé, déclare, au nom du Gouvernement polonais, accepter les dispositions ci-dessus.

Fait à Paris, le 15 mars 1923.

MAURICE ZAMOYSKI.

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Bol-Derewnja, Suntupe, Kalnischki, Schablowisna, Muglischki, Junkokalne, Gut-Nowo-Smolwy, Werugischki, et en territoire polonais les localités de : Kosatschisna, Meiluny, Wardsikeme, Aliejuny, Sakischki, Poshemischki, Karatschuny, Smolwy, Paukschte-Lischki, Gut-Smolwy (Nord), Dulzischki, Matelischki.

Le tracé de cette ligne sur le terrain est laissé aux soins des deux Gouvernements intéressés, qui auront toute latitude pour procéder, d'un commun accord, aux rectifications de détail qu'ils reconnaîtraient, sur place, indispensables.

2. Décide de reconnaître à la Pologne, qui accepte, tous droits de souveraineté sur les territoires compris entre les frontières ci-dessus définies et les autres frontières du territoire polonais, sous réserve des dispositions du Traité de Paix de Saint-Germain-en-Laye concernant les charges et obligations incombant aux États auxquels un territoire de l'ancienne Monarchie austro-hongroise est transféré.

Fait à Paris, le 15 mars 1923.

ERIC PHIPPS.
R. POINCARÉ.
ROMANO AVEZZANA.
M. MATSUDA.

Le soussigné, dûment autorisé, déclare, au nom du Gouvernement polonais, accepter les dispositions ci-dessus.

Fait à Paris, le 15 mars 1923.

MAURICE ZAMOYSKI.

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POLAND. [March 19.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 2655/306/55] No. 1.

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Sir W. Max Muller (Warsaw).*

(No. 158.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 19, 1923.

THE Foreign Minister of Poland, Count Skrzynski, who had come over from Paris on purpose to see me, called this afternoon. The Polish Legation had already informed the Foreign Office that there were certain questions which he intended to discuss with me, but as, with one exception, and that the least important, he showed complete indifference to them, our conversation was of a rather disjointed and pointless character.

He commenced by expressing the warmest thanks of his Government and his country to the Allied Powers, including Great Britain, for the decisions just arrived at by the Ambassadors' Conference in Paris, which had determined the frontiers and provided for the security of Poland, and he informed me that the announcement had been made the occasion of festal rejoicings throughout his country. Poland now felt encouraged to go ahead with her task and to devote herself to the process of internal consolidation.

The point about which he was most anxious was the settlement of a small section of the frontier between Poland and Czechoslovakia, at a place called Javorina, about which an agreement had not yet been arrived at. The matter was before the Ambassadors' Conference at Paris, who, he hoped, would soon arrive at a decision.

I had heard, I said, that M. Benes had taken up a very stiff line on the matter, and I asked the Minister what chances there were of overcoming his resistance.

He replied that, once a line was fixed by the Ambassadors, he was certain that it would be accepted by M. Benes and that the difference would be at an end.

Later on in our conversation he touched upon the question of the relations of Poland and Czechoslovakia in their larger aspect, and I strongly advised him to establish friendly relations with his powerful and progressive neighbour without delay, and added that, in my view, the Little *Entente*, of which Poland ought to be a prominent member, was an element of stability in Central Europe to which His Majesty's Government attached the greatest significance.

As Count Skrzynski did not volunteer anything about the Russo-Polish frontier, which had also been fixed by the Ambassadors on the line laid down by the Treaty of Riga, I felt it desirable to say something myself about the conditions under which His Majesty's Government had given their assent. I recalled to him the history of the Galician question from the time of the Treaty of Versailles, and reminded him of the interest that had been taken by very prominent statesmen in this country in the independence of its inhabitants. The scheme of so-called autonomy, which had been proposed by the Polish Government and accepted by the French and Italian Governments, had met with less favour at our hands, and, indeed, we had assumed no responsibility for it; but now that Eastern Galicia had been handed over to Poland a serious obligation lay upon her to give as large and reasonable a measure of autonomy as she safely could, and I trusted to the Minister to use his best efforts in that direction.

He seemed to be quite satisfied that the people generally would be content with the solution and that no trouble need be apprehended.

He said nothing to me whatever about either our relations with Russia or about the reported French advance to the Soviet Government, but he indicated that, while the relations of his own country with that Government would remain correct, they were characterised by no warmth. He did not, however, think that the Russian army was capable of any effort at the present time, though it might become formidable in from two to three years.

The main topic that interested the Minister seemed to be the instability of Polish Governments, due to the fact that there was no clear line of division between parties and no tradition of party Government, and he seemed to think that the Administration of which he was a member would not be likely to remain in office for more than three months.



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I said that it was hardly to be expected that any country could attain prosperity under such conditions, but when I asked him what was the reason for this unfortunate condition of affairs, his only reply was that everybody thought himself fit for office and wanted to obtain it, and, therefore, rapid shuffling of offices was the only means of satisfying the general desire.

At the close of our conversation, in spite of its friendly character, I still remained in doubt as to what could have been the object that brought Count Skrzynski to England at all.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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POLAND. [May 22.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 4551/29/55] No. 1.

*Sir W. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received May* 22.)

(No. 220.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, May* 16, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of a *note verbale* addressed by the Polish Legation in Berlin to the German Government in regard to the tone of certain speeches pronounced in the course of a demonstration attended by German Ministers which took place in Berlin on the 8th April in connection with Upper Silesia. The note quotes in particular a statement by M. Herschel, Deputy for Breslau, that Polish Upper Silesia had been detached from Germany by illegal means, and that the task of the "Hilfsbund" was to maintain the economic and spiritual union between the two portions of the province and to prepare the way for its early return to Germany.

After alluding to the two previous occasions on which the German Government questioned the legality of the partitions of Upper Silesia, namely, the notification by the Ambassadors' Conference of the frontier and the signature of the convention of the 15th May, 1922, the note goes on to state that the German Government appear to show insufficient respect for the political acts whereby part of Upper Silesia was attributed to Poland, notwithstanding the fact that the convention of the 15th May, 1922, has been ratified by the German Parliament. Finally, the Polish Government, while asserting their firm adherence to the principle of respect for existing treaties, protest solemnly against the above declarations, which, by creating on both sides an atmosphere of anxiety and excitement, are calculated to disturb the mutual relations of the two countries.

A summary of this note was published in the "Bulletin of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs," and I accordingly enquired of Count Skrzynski whether he had any special object in view in addressing this remonstrance to the German Government at the present moment. His Excellency explained that he had come to the conclusion that he should no longer disregard these repeated demonstrations of responsible German Ministers and officials against a decision taken by the Allied Governments in conformity with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and sanctioned by the German legislature, and he had accordingly instructed the Polish Minister in Berlin to address this protest to the German Government; but otherwise it had no special significance. His Excellency promised to send me a translation of the note, which he has now done.

The German Minister, who called on me a few days ago in connection with the rumours that had reached him from Danzig as to preparations for a Polish "Putsch," took the opportunity to talk to me in regard to what he described as the ill will with which he had met lately in his dealings with the Polish Government. He referred briefly to the attitude of the Polish authorities in the question of the German colonists in the former German provinces, and then went on to complain of the difficulties which he experienced in obtaining Polish exequaturs for the appointment of German consuls. It had, he said, taken him over six months to extract an exequatur for a German consul at Lodz; and, though he had applied several months ago for an exequatur as German consul-general at Danzig for M. Dirksen, formerly first secretary to the German Legation here, the document had not yet reached him. On their part the German Government were holding up their *agrément* to the proposed appointment as Polish Minister in Berlin of M. Olszowski, principal Polish delegate for the Polono-German negotiations proceeding at Dresden. At the direct request of M. Strasburger, he had consented to use his personal influence with M. Maltzahn to secure the prompt issue of the formal *agrément*, to which in principle the German Government had no objection, on the tacit understanding that the Polish Government on their side would send him the exequatur for M. Dirksen. To his great surprise, a few days later, when he was just writing a private letter to M. Maltzahn recommending the issue of the *agrément* for M. Olszowski, he received a note signed by M. Strasburger, with whom he had so recently discussed the question of German consular representation in Poland,



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requesting in peremptory terms the immediate removal of M. Tyaben, the German consul at Thorn, on the ground of his anti-Polish attitude, and the closing of the German consulate. M Rauscher felt that he had every reason to resent this action of M. Strasburger, who had never even hinted at such a development during their conversation only a few days previously. M. Rauscher explained that it was difficult for him to do anything to smooth away difficulties if he were treated in this fashion, and added that he feared that this demand, which he described as contrary to the usages of civilised nations, would result in further delay in the acceptance of M. Olszowski as Polish Minister in Berlin.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin.

I have, &c.

W. G. MAX MULLER.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Note verbale.*

D'ORDRE de son Gouvernement, la Légation de Pologne à Berlin a l'honneur de communiquer à l'Office des Affaires étrangères ce qui suit :

Lors de la réception dans la seconde moitié de mars dernier de la députation du Hilfsbund haut-silésien par le Chancelier Dr. Cuno, celui-ci déclara, entre autres, qu'un préjudice grave a été porté à la production et au développement de la Haute-Silésie par le tracé arbitraire de la nouvelle frontière. Une grande manifestation eut lieu à Berlin le 8 courant, à laquelle prirent part, entre autres, le Ministre d'Empire des Finances M. Hermes, le Ministre prussien Hirtsiefer, ainsi que l'ancien plénipotentiaire du Reich pour les négociations polono-allemands dans la question de la Haute-Silésie, le Ministre Schiffer. Au cours des solennités, le Député du Centre Dr. Herschel, de Breslau, prit la parole et déclara, entre autres, que la partie de la Haute-Silésie attribuée à la Pologne a été détachée de l'Allemagne de façon illégale et que la tâche du Hilfsbund, tâche dont il s'acquitte avec un entier succès, était de maintenir et de sauvegarder les liens économiques et moraux qui unissent la Haute-Silésie polonaise à l'Allemagne ainsi que de préparer la voie au retour prochain de ce pays au Reich.

Les déclarations précitées ne font que constituer la suite d'une tactique qui semble, dès le début, avoir été adoptée par l'Allemagne dans la question haute-silésienne.

En effet, quand, le 2 février 1921, la Conférence des Ambassadeurs eut statué sur les frontières devant départager les parties polonaise et allemande de la Haute-Silésie, et que sa décision eut été notifiée au Gouvernement allemand, celui-ci déclara qu'il prenait acte de cette décision, sans que cela préjugeât toutefois de l'attitude de l'Allemagne au point de vue juridique dans cette question.

Le 15 mai 1922, M. le Ministre Schiffer, plénipotentiaire du Reich, en signant la convention conclue avec la Pologne dans la question de la Haute-Silésie, a fait une réserve juridique solennelle, protestant contre la décision du partage, réserve qui fut toutefois reconnue par les principales Puissances alliées comme nulle et non avenue. Une protestation analogue a été peu de temps après formulée par le Parlement allemand, durant la séance, où fut votée la ratification de la Convention haute-silésienne. La presse allemande, de toutes nuances politiques, n'a cessé de seconder la tactique adoptée par le Gouvernement allemand.

Toutes les déclarations susmentionnées ne laissent pas de produire l'impression que le Gouvernement allemand, contrairement à ce dont a fait preuve le Gouvernement polonais, ne semble pas respecter suffisamment les actes politiques en vertu desquels une partie de la Haute-Silésie fut attribuée à la Pologne, sans tenir compte du fait que la convention en date du 15 mai 1922, sanctionnant, en conformité de l'article 90 du Traité de Versailles et en plein accord avec la Constitution du Reich, le partage de la Haute-Silésie, a été ratifiée par les corps législatifs allemands.

Immuablement attaché au principe du respect des signatures apposées aux traités conclus, principe qui constitue la base fondamentale des relations internationales et de la paix, le Gouvernement polonais proteste solennellement par la présente contre les déclarations citées plus haut, lesquelles, en créant de part et d'autre une atmosphère d'inquiètude et de surexcitation, sont de nature à troubler les relations mutuelles entre les deux pays.

*Le* 21 *avril* 1923.

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POLAND. [June 4.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[N 4973/29/55] No. 1.

*Sir W. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received June* 4.)

(No. 239.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, May* 29, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to report that a member of my staff recently had a conversation with M. Lukaszewicz, the head of the Russian Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of Poland's Eastern policy, which may contain matter of interest to your Lordship.

M. Lukaszewicz opened the conversation by stating that he was extremely pleased with the tone of the British note to the Soviet Government, which was couched in the only kind of language which the present rulers of Russia were capable of understanding. He also considered that the moment for the despatch of the note had been well chosen, as, according to his information from Moscow, the approaching death of Lenin was causing grave apprehension in the ranks of the Communist party, and the British ultimatum, whether it led to the withdrawal of the British Trade Mission or not, would, without doubt, seriously weaken the position of the Soviet Government inside Russia. Personally he would prefer to see a complete rupture of relations between His Majesty's Government and Russia, as that would greatly accelerate the disintegration of the Communist party, a process which was already noticeable.

So far as Poland was concerned, M. Lukaszewicz had no hesitation in expressing the view that what was desired above all was a weakening of the control exercised by Moscow over the outlying portions of Russia. He did not believe in the ultimate capacity of the Ukraine or White Russia to form themselves into independent States, but he did expect that the disappearance of Bolshevism would greatly stimulate local initiative in the Ukraine and elsewhere, and that any later attempts on the part of Moscow to reconstitute a Centralist Government on the lines of the Tsarist or Bolshevik systems would meet with very serious difficulties. It was naturally very greatly to the interest of Poland to encourage any such centrifugal tendencies, though Poland had no intention of, and indeed would be most careful to refrain from giving active support to any separatist movements in Russia during the period of disintegration which might follow the collapse of Bolshevism. So far, for example, as the Ukraine was concerned, Poland would confine her relations with a new Ukrainian Government to securing the rights of the numerous Polish subjects settled in the western districts of the Ukraine, and to promoting commercial interests which were of very great importance to her

M. Lukaszewicz considered that, if the future of Russia lay in a system of federated States built up again after a period of disintegration, Poland would have less to fear from her eastern neighbour, and he looked forward to the possibility of greatly improved relations in the future. Meanwhile, however, he fully realised the importance of cementing Polish relations with the countries of the Little *Entente*, especially with Czechoslovakia, though in the case of the latter country he foresaw considerable difficulties owing to the conflicting views held by Poland and Czechoslovakia on the question of their relations with Russia. Up to the present the Czechoslovakian Government had appeared to base their foreign policy on gaining Russian support against their two most dangerous neighbours, Germany and Hungary, and with this object in view Dr. Benes had favoured a common frontier with Russia and the restriction of Poland to much narrower frontiers than she at present possessed. He trusted, however, that in course of time, if Poland became more closely associated with the Little *Entente*, and when it became clear that Poland nurtured no aggressive designs against Russia, these differences might disappear and a larger *entente* might be built up among the States of Central Europe, which would be for Poland a guarantee of peace in her future dealings with Russia.

I have, &c.

W. G. MAX MULLER.

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POLAND. [June 4.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 3.

[N 4979/29/55] No. 1.

*Sir W. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received June* 4.)

(No. 249.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, May* 31, 1923.

WITH reference to my telegrams Nos. 101 of the 26th May and 102 of the 29th May, I have the honour to submit the following account of the events which led to the overthrow of General Sikorski's Government, and the advent to power of a Right-Centre Government under M. Witos, and to offer some observations on the members of the new Ministry and on its future prospects.

As anticipated in my despatch No. 236 of the 24th May, General Sikorski addressed a letter to the Marshal of the Diet on that day expressing his desire that the existing state of political uncertainty should not be prolonged, and requesting therefore that the provisional budget for the June quarter should be discussed at the next session of the Diet, in order that the Government might be enabled to ascertain the attitude of the Chamber and conform their action accordingly. It was decided that the Financial Commission should examine the budget on the 25th May, and that it should be submitted to a plenary session of the Diet on the 26th May, in accordance with the Prime Minister's desire. On the same day the National Workmen's party declared definitely for General Sikorski, by announcing that they would vote the budget and express their confidence in the Administration.

The meeting of the Financial Commission entirely changed the whole situation, and on its termination it was evident that nothing short of a miracle could save the Government.

The Opposition, unable for obvious reasons to reject the budget *in toto*, declined to vote the secret funds placed at the disposal of the President of the Council and of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, part of which incidentally, was destined to cover the expenses of Marshal Foch's visit. When the vote took place, the Opposition was supported by the Jews, Germans and Ukrainians. The credit of the President of the Council was rejected by 21 votes to 9, and that of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs by 17 votes to 13.

The plenary session opened on the 26th May at 11 A.M., when the motion of the majority of the Financial Commission to the effect that the funds in question should be withheld was submitted to the Assembly. The Prime Minister then delivered an exposé of the work of his Government, which lasted for an hour and a half. He was heard with respect, and applauded by all sides of the House on leaving the tribune.

General Sikorski paid special attention to the successes won by his Government in the sphere of foreign policy, and alluded to the recognition of Poland's eastern frontiers and the strengthening of her relations with the Allied Powers, which found their highest expression in the visits to Warsaw of Marshal Foch and Lord Cavan. His Excellency spoke of Anglo-Polish relations in the following terms: "The relations between Poland and Great Britain have changed. The statement I made in January that England would realise the importance of Poland in the East has been confirmed. The attitude adopted by the British Government at the time of the discussion of our most important problem—the settlement of our frontiers—is the best proof of that changed attitude. Lord Cavan's visit to Poland, Lord Curzon's recent speech in the House of Lords and the subsequent debate proved that the attitude of Great Britain was identical with that of Poland, especially in regard to the question of Jaworzyna, whilst the favourable prophecy in regard to Poland's future made by Lord Curzon is a further proof of this change of relations. The reconstruction of Eastern Europe, aided by Anglo-Polish co-operation, has now a real basis."

As regards internal affairs, General Sikorski emphasised the decrease in the emission of banknotes, the fall in the prices of coal and iron-ore, the economic unification of Poland and Upper Silesia, and finally the consolidation of the Polish element in Posnania and in the eastern districts. Finally, he stated that the Cabinet had deserved the respect even of its opponents ,and that he would, without resentment or regret, cede his place to anyone who would lead the country to a better future.



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The spokesmen of all the parties, with the exception of two minor groups, then expressed their attitude towards the Government. The representatives of the national minorities adhered to their attitude of the previous day, and M. Kronig, on behalf of the German party, was particularly vigorous in his denunciation of the attitude of the Government towards his compatriots. It must be added that no one appeared to take the least interest in his remarks, an observation which applies equally to the other speakers of the minorities. The most effective speakers during the later stages of the debate were M. Thugutt of the Emancipation party, who supported the Government, although not without reserve, M. Korfanty, whose replies to his interrupters caused considerable merriment, and M. Stronski, whose fiery oration caused some tumult at intervals amongst the Left parties. When the vote was taken, 279 votes were cast against the Government, and 117 in their favour, while 6 votes were spoilt.

The following is an analysis of the vote, the figures in the righthand column showing the maximum strength of the parties :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| National Democrats ... ... ... | 96 | 98 |
| Peasant party (M. Witos) ... ... | 46 | 70 |
| Christian Democracy (M. Korfanty) ... | 43 | 43 |
| Dubanowicz group ... ... ... | 22 | 23 |
| Jews ... ... ... ... | 23 | 34 |
| Ukrainians ... ... ... ... | 17 | 20 |
| Germans ... ... ... ... | 15 | 17 |
| White Russians ... ... ... | 6 | 11 |
| East Galician Peasants ... ... | 5 | 5 |
| Catholic Populist party (M. Matakiewicz) | 4 | 4 |
| Independents ... ... ... ... | 2 | |
| | 279 | |
| Emancipation ... ... ... | 45 | 48 |
| Peasant party (Dabski group) ... ... | 14 | |
| Socialists ... ... ... ... | 36 | 41 |
| National Workmen's party ... ... | 15 | 18 |
| Okon group ... ... ... ... | 4 | 4 |
| Independents ... ... ... ... | 3 | |
| | 117 | |

As soon as the result of the vote was announced the members of the Government left the Chamber and General Sikorski proceeded to draft his resignation, which was accepted on the following day. The President of the Republic then sent for M. Witos, who succeeded in forming a Cabinet in the course of the 28th May. Three portfolios have not yet been allotted, those of War, Labour and Health, the respective Ministries having been placed in charge of temporary chiefs, the Ministry of War was again offered to General Sosnkowski, who refused it, at all events for the time being, and also to Generals Szeptycki and Stanislas Haller, who did likewise. The following is the list of the Cabinet as at present constituted :—

President of the Council : M. Wincenty Witos (Peasant).
Interior : Dr. Ladislas Kiernik (Peasant).
Foreign Affairs : M. Marjan Seyda (National Democrat).
Finance : M. Ladislas Grabski (non-party).
Justice : M. Stanislas Nowodworski (National Democrat).
Religion and Public Instruction : M. Stanislas Glabinski (National Democrat.
Agriculture : M. Georges Goscicki (Christian Democracy).
Commerce : M. Ladislas Kucharski (Christian Democracy).
Railways : M. Leon Karlinski (non-party).
Posts : M. Jean Moszczynski (non-party).
Public Works : Dr. Jean Lopuszanski (non-party).
Director of Ministry of War : General Alexander Osinski (non-party).
Director of Ministry of Labour : M. Lucien Darowski (non-party).
Director of Ministry of Health : Dr. Georges Bujalski (non-party).

The new President of the Council, as your Lordship is aware, was head of the Coalition Government which assumed office at the end of July 1920, at the height of

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the Bolshevik invasion, successfully surmounted that emergency and concluded the Treaty of Riga with the Soviet Government in March 1921. As reported in recent despatches he played a prominent part throughout the negotiations which led directly to the formation of the present Government. Two of his present Ministers figured also in his former Administration, M. Kucharski, who was then Minister of the ex-Prussian provinces, and M. Nowodworski, who occupied the same post as he does at present. Four members of General Sikorski's Government remain in office, viz., M. Grabski, whose reappointment to the Ministry of Finance will secure continuity in the policy of what is now the most important Department in the State, M. Moszczynski, M. Lopuszanski and M. Darowski.

M. Marjan Seyda, the New Minister for Foreign Affairs is well known to your Lordship's Department, though he has not yet held office in this country. Born at Posen in 1879 he studied law at Berlin, Breslau and Munich, and subsequently entered journalism. He was a member of the Polish committee in Lausanne during the war, and chief of the press bureau of the Polish National Committee in Paris from 1917–19, when he was elected to the Diet and became vice-president of the National Democrat party.

M. Glabinski, who figured in the Austro-Hungarian Government in 1911 as Minister of Railways, was elected president of the National Democrat party in the first Polish Diet. He was also a member of the Committee of National Defence, which was formed in 1920.

M. Kiernik was elected to the first Polish Diet, was a member of the Committee of National Defence, and afterwards chief of the National Land Office, a Department charged with the execution of the Agrarian Reform Bill. He retired from this post early last year under circumstances reported in the enclosure to my despatch No. 178 of the 5th April, 1922, and became vice-president of the Polish Peasant party.

M. Karlinski, the Minister of Railways, was formerly a prominent official of the Austrian State railways, and after the war represented Poland on the commission for the repartition of Austro-Hungarian rolling-stock. He has lately been employed as head of the Upper Silesian Railway Directorate.

M. Georges Goscicki, the Minister of Agriculture, is a well-known agricultural expert.

General Osinski, who has hitherto acted as Under-Secretary at the Ministry of War, and as quartermaster-general, has spent most of his life in Siberia, and has seen service in the Russo-Japanese war, in the European war, and in the Polish-Bolshevik war.

Dr. Bujalski, the Director of the Ministry of Health, was Under-Secretary of that Department under the late Government.

The result of the pourparlers carried on between M. Witos and the different parties was that the Socialists, Emancipation and White Russian groups declared that they would oppose the Government. M. Dabski who, as anticipated, has seceded from the Peasant party, taking fourteen Deputies with him, returned an evasive answer, as did the representatives of the National Workmen's party, who are still debating what their attitude shall be. A split in this party is foreseen, as the new Government are apparently making desperate efforts to win their support. The Eastern Galician Peasant party, five in number, decided to support the Government, though I hear that they are now wavering. The attitude of the Jewish and Ukrainian parties is still doubtful.

Under the circumstances the prospects of the new Government are exceedingly precarious, as they do not command an assured majority in a full house. According to yesterday's " Rzeczpospolita " they control 225 votes out of 444, but the paper has failed to deduct from this figure the number of members of the Cabinet who are debarred from taking part in a division. It went on to state that " it appeared certain that the National Workmen's party would not vote against the Government." This may be a correct forecast, but, at the same time, it must be remembered that M. Dubanowicz's party has never concealed its dislike of the pact with the Peasants, and their support may be very half-hearted.

M. Witos's Government will appear before the Diet on Friday, when the Prime Minister will announce his Ministerial programme, which was discussed by the Council of Ministers the day before yesterday. Until then it will be difficult to form any judgment as to the projects and prospects of M. Witos's second Government. Much will depend on his plans for the enforcement of the law of Agrarian Reform, which is a subject of vital interest to the large Posnanian landlords, who form the bulk of the supporters of M. Dubanowicz.



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Beyond repeating the truism that in Poland any change of Government is in itself a misfortune to the best interests of the country, there is no need to enter on a discussion of the relative merits of the outgoing and the incoming Cabinets, but no impartial observer will deny that General Sikorski, who took office at a moment when Poland was threatened with grave internal strife, has rendered signal service to his country, especially in the realm of foreign politics. At the same time, any real approach to the formation of a proper parliamentary Government, based on a stable majority, is to be welcomed, but it is doubtful how far this has been attained by the present change, as the life of the new Government hangs by a very slender thread, which is liable to be broken by the slightest change in the breath of public opinion. Moreover, the list of Ministers contains eight names of men who are not members either of the Senate or of the Diet.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a summary of press comments on the change of Government, which, as was only to be expected, followed strictly party lines.

I have, &c.

W. G. MAX MULLER.

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Enclosure in No. 1.

*Summary of Press Comments on the Change of Government.*

THE newspapers of the Right have seen in the change of Government the opening of a new era in Polish political history, in which the country, ruled by an Administration based on the purely Polish parties, will be freed from the uncertainties of non-parliamentary Governments and released from the " demagogues and Radicals," who, in their opinion, have largely influenced previous Cabinets. Some unworthy attacks have been delivered on General Sikorski for having postponed the advent of the happy day owing to his " obstinacy and ambition," which impelled him to told office until the last moment. His final speech in the Diet has been criticised on the ground that he laid too much stress on the successes won by his Government in the sphere of foreign policy. It was pointed out that Poland's foreign policy was laid down long ago, and that successive Governments had only to watch over its execution. The character, merits and defects of an Administration were thus not displayed by its handling of foreign affairs, and the existence of a non-parliamentary Government could not be justified by their success in that one sphere of activity.

The " Kurjer Polski," which occupies an independent position midway between the newspapers of the Left and Right, but which always supported General Sikorski. stated clearly the position on the eve of the crisis by remarking that the question at issue was not whether a " Polish majority " was good or bad—a question about which there was no dispute—but whether such a majority could be formed capable of carrying on the government of the country. It concluded that no such majority existed, and warned the parties of the Right against committing the country to a crisis from which no sure issue had been discovered. In another article the " Kurjer Polski " paid an eloquent tribute to General Sikorski, who, it said, had earned the gratitude of the country by demanding a vote of confidence, and thus avoiding a period of uncertainty, during which he would have held office with no means of governing efficiently. " Everyone," it said, " feels that General Sikorski has retired from the field with honour, and when the excitement of the crisis is over, he will be recognised as one of the outstanding figures of Polish politics." It was comforting, the article concluded, to see a Prime Minister, who, on leaving office, became greater and not less.

The newspapers of the Left have subjected the present Government's supposed majority to a thorough analysis, and have found it to be non-existent. The " Kurjer Poranny " stated that they had neither an aggregate majority, nor a Polish majority, nor a parliamentary character, seeing that only six of the new Ministers were members of the House, whilst eight were outside it. The " Robotnik " declared that the Government were endeavouring to enlist the support of the National Workmen's party in order to obtain the majority which they did not otherwise possess, and abused the party in question for what it described at their double-faced attitude

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throughout the crisis. It stated that legislation would shortly be introduced to deprive workmen of the right to strike, in spite of the Government's protestations that they would safeguard the interests of the working classes.

The same paper criticised the rôle played by the National minorities in overthrowing the late Cabinet. Were their grievances, it asked, so serious as to warrant this conduct, which would inevitably result in the subjection of the minorities to the domination of the Right? The Socialist party had its own complaints against General Sikorski, but it did not push heedlessness to such a point as to make a free gift of power to its opponents.

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POLAND. [June 5.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 5088/1064/55] No. 1.

*Memorandum on the Relations between Poland and Danzig.*

1. ARTICLE 103 of the Treaty of Versailles lays down that the High Commissioner of the League of Nations shall be entrusted with the duty of dealing in the first instance with all differences arising between Poland and the Free City of Danzig in regard to the treaty or any arrangements or agreements made thereunder.

2. This article is amplified by article 39 of the Polish-Danzig Convention negotiated in Paris on the 9th November, 1920, which stipulates that any differences arising between Poland and the Free City in regard to the convention or to any other subsequent agreements, arrangements or conventions, or to any matter affecting the relations between Poland and the Free City shall be submitted by one or other party to the decision of the High Commissioner, who shall, if he deem it necessary, refer the matter to the Council of the League of Nations. Both parties retained the right of appeal to the Council of the League.

3. It will be useful, in connection with the present developments which have arisen in the relations between Poland and Danzig, to summarise as briefly as possible the cases in which the good offices of the High Commissioner have been sought and the nature of the decisions which have been given. It may be noted in passing that the High Commissioner, by the terms of article 39 of the Polish-Danzig Convention of the 9th November, 1920, would appear to be invested with the widest competence in all matters out of which a dispute between Poland and Danzig might be likely to arise, since his authority extends to "any matter affecting the relations between Poland and the Free City." It is consequently hard to accept a view which is put forward by the Polish Government that certain matters pertain alone to the Polish and Danzig Governments, and must be settled between them without the intervention of the High Commissioner. The view is one for which it is impossible to find any justification in the wording of the treaties, and which in any case the Council of the League would be likely to reject as destructive of their supreme authority. On more than one occasion they have made it evident that they consider their authority is final in all matters touching the Free City, particularly where Poland is concerned, and they are unlikely to make any concession on the point, whatever view the Polish Government may take, since any concession must mean the thin end of the wedge, which would ultimately achieve the elimination of the authority of the High Commissioner in the sphere which dictated his original appointment, and by this means deprive the League of its *locus standi*.

4. The questions which have come before the High Commissioner of the League in Danzig since the beginning of 1921, and which have been put upon official record, are as follows :—

(a.) *The Polish Transport Guard at Neufahrwasser.*

The authorities of the Free City of Danzig claimed the removal of a Polish military detachment from Neufahrwasser, where it had been employed for some months safeguarding the transport of Polish goods, especially military stores, from the ships to the railway.

The removal was claimed by the Danzig authorities in virtue of the resolution of the Council of the League of the 17th November, 1920, forbidding Danzig to be used as a naval or military base, and also of the convention between Danzig and Poland

The High Commissioner found the detachment was a military detachment, and therefore threatened the sovereignty of the Free City. On the other hand, the Polish rights in the harbour had not been sufficiently safeguarded by the authorities of Danzig in the past and they must be so safeguarded now and in the future.



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The High Commissioner proposed as a compromise that until the Harbour Board was in full working order the Danzig authorities should show their goodwill by permitting the Polish detachment to remain as caretakers of Polish goods passing through Danzig, and that the Polish authorities on their side should remove all possibility of the detachment being considered to be of a military nature by withdrawing their arms, accoutrements and uniforms.

(b.) *Puppel* v. *Deutsche Bauernbank*. Decision dated February 28, 1921.

On the 2nd December, 1920, the Commissioner-General of the Polish Government represented to the Acting High Commissioner that a difference regarding some property had arisen between the Polish and Danzig Governments, which demanded arbitration on the part of the High Commissioner.

The President of the Danzig Senate urged that the case was a private dispute between individuals, and not between Governments, and that therefore there was no need for arbitration.

The High Commissioner decided that the case was not one in which he was justified as High Commissioner to arbitrate, especially considering the fact that only one party in the dispute desired arbitration.

(c.) ***Railways in the Territory of the Free City of Danzig. Ownership, Control, &c.*** Decision dated August 15, 1921.

The Governments of Poland and the Free City of Danzig having failed to come to an agreement regarding ownership, control and administration and exploitation of the railways situated within the territory of the Free City of Danzig, applied to the High Commissioner for a decision under article 39 of the convention of the 9th November, 1920. After considering the representations of the two parties, the High Commissioner made the following decisions :—

I. That the ownership, control, administration and exploitation of the existing railways and of all property and establishments belonging thereto, which specially serve the port, belong to the Harbour Board, except—

(*a.*) The Eisenbahndirektion.
(*b.*) The tramways and the narrow-gauge light railways.

II. That the railways and tramways primarily serving the needs of the Free City are the existing narrow-gauge railways and tramways within the territory of the Free City, and the ownership, control, administration and exploitation of those railways and tramways with the property appertaining thereto belong to the Free City.

III. The ownership, control, administration and exploitation of all other existing broad-gauge railways within the territory of the Free City, with the property appertaining thereto, including the Eisenbahndirektion, belong to Poland.

IV. The Harbour Board, whilst retaining the ownership of the railways allotted to it in paragraph I above, will make use of the existing Polish Railway Administration for carrying out the Harbour Board's work of control, administration and exploitation. For this purpose three delegates appointed by the Harbour Board will be attached to the Polish Railway Administration to convey to the latter the wishes and requirements of the Harbour Board. The Polish Railway Administration will engage to do their utmost to fulfil these wishes and requirements of the Harbour Board. The latter will also retain the ownership of half of the locomotives and wagons the property of the late German Government. These locomotives and wagons to be maintained in good condition and replaced when required by the Polish Railway Administration.

V. The Polish Railway Administration, working for the Harbour Board, will collect all dues, taxes and receipts in connection with the railway system belonging to the Harbour Board, and will, in accordance with article 23, defray the cost of upkeep, control, exploitation, improvement and development of that system.

VI. The Government of the Free City of Danzig will have the right to appoint one railway official to serve on the Polish Railway Administration, in order to keep that Administration informed regarding the requirements of the Free City and the towns and villages in its territory, especially as regards local passenger traffic and merchandise sent or received by the inhabitants of the Free

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City. The Polish Railway Administration will engage to deal with these requirements with the same efficiency as they deal with the requirements of their own traffic.

VII. The Polish Government will engage to make full use of the Port of Danzig, whatever other ports she may open in the future on the Baltic coast.

VIII. The Government of Danzig will engage to safeguard the interests of Poland as regards free access to the sea at all times, this free access being further guaranteed to Poland by the instructions issued to me by the Council of the League of Nations in their decision dated the 22nd June, 1921.

IX. It is necessary for the Polish and Danzig Governments to reconsider, in the light of the present decision, the questions in dispute regarding the terms of the agreements to be concluded under article 22 of the convention, and also the payment of certain money by Poland to Danzig in virtue of the second paragraph of article 23 of the convention. If no agreement can be reached, an appeal should be made to me at the earliest possible date.

X. With the exception mentioned in IX, this decision will be accepted, subject to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations, by both Governments as the interpreters of the convention of the 9th November, 1920, on all railway matters referred to herein and now in dispute between the two States.

(d.) *Visas not Required for Foreigners Entering the Free City of Danzig.* Decision dated August 13, 1921.

A question arose whether foreigners, with the exception of citizens of the Polish State, required a visa for entering the territory of the Free City of Danzig, in case such a visa was required for entering Poland. The Governments of Poland and Danzig failed to agree upon this question, the former Government urging that Poland has the right under the Treaty of Versailles and the convention of the 9th November, 1920, to impose such conditions upon the Government of the Free City and the latter denying this right.

The High Commissioner, after reviewing the case, decided that the Polish visa was not necessary to enable a foreigner to enter the Free City of Danzig unless the Government of the Free City desired that such a visa should be given.

(e.) *Control and Administration of the River Vistula within the Territory of the Free City of Danzig.* Decision dated September 1, 1921.

A difference arose between the Polish and Danzig Governments regarding what portion of the River Vistula within the territory of the Free City of Danzig should be controlled and administered by the Harbour Board and what portion by Poland. The arguments put forward by the Polish Government were, briefly, as follows:—

I. The Treaty of Versailles, article 104 (3) definitely gives the whole of the Vistula to Poland, that it is supported by the convention of the 9th November, 1920, and nothing can alter it.

II. The convention only gives to the Harbour Board the so-called "dead Vistula" and other waterways within the territory of the Free City, exclusive of the "live Vistula."

III. The Vistula has a length of 1,043 kilom. in Poland and only 25 in Danzig, its whole administration, therefore, must be under Polish control, which can be carried out more economically and efficiently by Poland than by Danzig, especially as regards the maintenance of the banks and of ice breakers.

The main points of the Danzig arguments are as follows:—

I. Article 20 of the convention of the 9th November, 1920, includes the living Vistula in the term waterways, if this were not the case a boundary would have been fixed clearly indicating which were the waterways and which was the Vistula.

II. The Harbour Board was created as a compromise by which both Poland and Danzig renounced some of their rights to that Board.

III. The agricultural interests of the Free City are strongly bound up with the preservation of the banks of the river to avoid floods, because the most productive land in the Free City is situated in the delta of the river. It is vital, therefore, for Danzig to retain the control and administration of the river within her territory.

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The High Commissioner decided that the control and administration of the whole of the Vistula within the territory of the Free City of Danzig must be undertaken by the Harbour Board.

(f.) *Railways in the Territory of the Free City of Danzig. Use of Language and Currency. Payment of Rates and Taxes. Issue of Bye-Laws. Filling of Vacancies on Working-staff and Payment to be made by Poland to Danzig.* Decision dated September 5, 1921.

Poland is called upon to control, administrate and exploit, either on her own behalf or that of the Harbour Board, the whole of the broad-gauge railway system within the territory of Danzig. The object of this arrangement was twofold, first to secure to Poland free access to the sea and secondly to provide for the inhabitants of Danzig all the facilities of transit for passengers and goods which she has enjoyed in the past. *It was necessary in all these questions to distinguish, so far as the territory of Danzig was concerned, between the administrative and economic rights of Poland and the sovereign rights of the Free City.*

Basing matters on this principle the High Commissioner decided—

I. That the German language must be used by the Polish Administration in all their dealings with the Danzig public.

II. That the currency employed by the Free City of Danzig should be used by the Polish Railway Administration.

III. That the Railway Administration must conform to the laws of the Free City, although the passing of bye-laws for the railway system within these limits was a matter entirely for the Polish Railway Administration.

IV. That everything connected with the Polish Railway Administration within the territory of the Free City of Danzig was subject to the Civil and Criminal Courts of Danzig.

V. That the police employed by the Danzig Government to maintain order will be subject to the bye-laws of the Polish Railway Administration, but will remain under the control of the Danzig Government.

VI. The Polish Railway Administration must apply to Danzig officials, employees and workmen serving under them the same regulations regarding insurance, sickness, accident and old age as they have enjoyed under the Danzig Administration, even if these regulations are more favourable than those in existence in the territory of Poland.

VII. As regards filling of vacancies on the Railway Administration the High Commissioner laid it down that priority must be given to Danzig citizens. Failing a suitable applicant of Danzig nationality Poland had the right to introduce Polish nationals.

VIII. Poland was to pay to Danzig 50,000,000 marks on account, directly her Railway Administration had assumed control of the railways situated in the Danzig territory.

(g.) *Option by Nationals of the Free City of Danzig.* Decision dated November 26, 1921.

The Government of the Free City of Danzig having failed to come to an agreement with the Polish Government regarding the interpretation of articles 105 and 106 of the Treaty of Versailles applied for a decision. The difference of opinion can be reduced to the interpretation of the term "domicile," and the Danzig Government took up its standpoint on the system of German law by which a person who resides habitually in a place establishes his domicile in that place, but domicile may exist in several places and is only lost if residence is discontinued with the intention of abandoning it. On the Polish side it was maintained that the German law could not be accepted as the interpretation used in the Treaty of Versailles and urged that if German and Polish nationals were allowed to have several places of residence from the point of view of being domiciled in more than one of them, such an agreement would be contrary to the Versailles Treaty, which recognises one permanent domicile only and further that this idea of double domicile is only known in Germany and is not recognised by the Allied and Associated Powers who made the Treaty.

The High Commissioner decided that the word "domicile" should be interpreted to mean that an inhabitant of Danzig at the date of the coming into force of the Versailles Treaty can only have a domicile or ordinary residence either in a foreign State or in Danzig, but not in both.

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(h.) *Legal Position of Property of the Polish "Fisc," Polish Authorities, Offices and Employees and Polish Ships in the Free City of Danzig.* Decision dated December 6, 1921.

The High Commissioner was called upon to make a decision on the—

(1.) Legal position of the property of the Polish "Fisc" situated in the territory of the Free City of Danzig.
(2.) Legal position of the Polish authorities, offices and employees.
(3.) Legal position of the Polish ships.

The idea underlying the Polish claim was that Poland was entitled to certain extraterritorial rights for Polish property and ships in the territory of the Free City. The following decisions were recorded by the High Commissioner :—

I. That the Harbour Board must retain its full administrative powers and activities as laid down in the convention dated the 9th November, 1920. That Polish ships using the Danzig port and waterways are subject to the administration of the Harbour Board and to the Danzig tribunals and authorities like all other vessels, Danzig or foreign, using those waters.

II. That Polish property situated in the territory of the Free City of Danzig is to be treated in the same manner as railway property, the details to be settled between the two Governments, except that Polish ships are not exempt from the harbour dues or any charges or regulations imposed by the Harbour Board.

III. That all persons of Polish nationality entering the territory of the Free City of Danzig or her territorial waters, being already protected under article 33 of the Polish-Danzig Convention dated the 9th November, 1920, must be subject to the laws and judiciary system of the Free City, excepting the diplomatic representation referred to in article 1 of the convention of the 9th November, 1920, and also subject to any agreement arrived at by the two Governments under paragraph IV below.

IV. That in the light of this decision the terms of article 35 shall be carried out by negotiation between the two States as early as possible, and nothing in this decision shall prevent the Government of Danzig from granting in a liberal spirit any judicial exceptions or extensions required by Poland as regards the Polish buildings, property or inhabitants in the territory of the Free City, provided always that such judicial exceptions or extensions in no way limit or interfere with the rights of the Harbour Board, which amount to disallowance of the Polish claim.

(i.) *Power of Danzig Authorities to expel Polish Citizens, Nationals and Nationals of other Countries from the Territory of the Free City of Danzig.* Decision dated December 16, 1921.

The High Commissioner was requested by the Polish Government to give a decision regarding a question as to whether a certain person of Polish nationality should have been ordered by the Danzig authorities to leave the territory of the Free City and whether he should have been arrested when he refused to do so.

In this case the High Commissioner decided that the procedure demanded of foreigners on their territory by the Danzig authorities was fair and reasonable, but qualified this opinion by expressing the view that when a foreigner was of Polish nationality the Danzig Government, after warning him for the first time to depart and finding that the order had been disobeyed, should agree as an act of courtesy to the Polish Government to inform the diplomatic representative of the Polish Government and give him an opportunity of protesting. As regards the individual over whom the dispute arose, he should be permitted to remain in Danzig so far as his present act was concerned, but no claim allowed against the Government of Danzig for the action they had taken.

(j.) *Conduct of Foreign Affairs of the Free City of Danzig.* Decision dated December 17, 1921.

The President of the Senate of the Free City of Danzig requested a decision regarding the interpretation of, and method of executing, article 2 of the Polish-Danzig Convention of the 9th November, 1920, relative to the conduct of the foreign affairs of the Free City of Danzig, which are to be undertaken by Poland. The



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Polish claim was that she was entitled to conduct the foreign affairs of Danzig in any manner she pleased, even if directly opposed to the foreign policy of the Free City, while Danzig, on the other hand, urged that she had the right to request Poland to conduct the foreign affairs of Danzig in the manner which suited the foreign policy of Danzig, even if opposed to that of Poland, the latter being merely an agent employed by Danzig.

The decisions of the High Commissioner were as follows :—

I. That Poland, when called upon by Danzig to conduct any of the foreign relations of the Free City, has the right to refuse the application, if the matter involved is clearly to the detriment of the important interests of the Polish State.

II. That Poland has no right to initiate and impose upon Danzig a definite foreign policy which is clearly opposed to the well-being, prosperity and good government of the Free City. Moreover, it is apparent from the Polish statement of the case that she has no desire to do so.

III. That on the request of the Danzig Government to conduct any foreign relations of the Free City, the Polish Government will, as fully agreed to in her own statement of the case, at once take cognisance of the demand, and will either carry out the wishes of Danzig without delay, and in a complete and loyal manner, or will inform the Government of the Free City as soon as possible, and in any case within a delay of thirty (30) days, that the Polish Government is unable to carry out the wishes of the Danzig Government. Poland will also give her reasons for this refusal, and will suggest to the Danzig Government how far she is prepared to go, or what alternative she would accept, to meet the wishes of the Danzig Government in the matter.

(k.) *Administration of Justice, Treaty dealing with Judicial Affairs to be arranged between Germany and Danzig.* Decision dated December 18, 1921.

The Government of Danzig requested a decision concerning a question in dispute between the Governments of Poland and Danzig regarding direct judicial relations between the Governments of Danzig and Germany. In the view of the High Commissioner, all that was required was a decision whether the Danzig Government could be permitted to retain or establish direct relations with the German Government on judicial matters or not.

He decided that the Government of Poland should give Danzig such facilities for arranging a treaty with Germany dealing with judicial affairs as she proposes to arrange herself with Germany.

(l.) *Depot for Polish War Material in Transit in the Port of Danzig.* Decision dated April 7, 1922.

The Governments of Poland and Danzig requested a decision regarding the selection of a site for a depot for Polish war material in transit on the banks of the Vistula. This controversy arose out of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations that such a site should be provided, and that the question of its selection should be referred to the Harbour Board. It was laid down by the council that the site should be at sufficient distance, and as isolated as possible, from all dwelling-houses. The Harbour Board came to the conclusion that there was no site within the harbour of Danzig which filled this condition, and proposed a site on the south-west corner of the basin, on Holm Island, which the Polish Government refused.

The High Commissioner decided, as a temporary measure, that the site should be placed on Holm Island, but should remain the property of the Harbour Board and be leased to Poland free of rent, taxes, or any other charge. That, in the meantime, the Polish and Danzig Governments should enter into negotiations to build a channel and basin on the eastern side of the Vistula, near its mouth, each Government to provide its share of the necessary funds. Poland was responsible to provide any reasonable compensation for loss of life and property in the event of an explosion of her munitions.

(m.) *The Establishment of a Polish Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Service in the Port of Danzig.* Decision dated May 25, 1922.

The Governments of Poland and Danzig, having failed to come to an agreement regarding the interpretation of articles 29 and 30 of the convention of the 9th November, 1920, the Polish Government applied for a decision of the High Commissioner. Poland represented that the articles in question gave her the right to

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establish any post offices she required in or outside the limits of the port of Danzig, and, in the case of the railways, to purchase or lease any ground or buildings outside the limits of the port, in the territory of the Free City, which she may require. The Government of Danzig maintained that Poland can only establish one post office, which must be within the limits of the port of Danzig and not elsewhere in Danzig territory. Furthermore, that Poland's right of purchasing or hiring ground or buildings does not extend outside the limits of the port of Danzig.

The High Commissioner decided :—

I. That Danzig must provide Poland with the means of establishing postal, telegraph and telephone service in the vicinity of the port of Danzig, if possible in one building, but in any case in one or more adjacent buildings.

II. That Poland had the right of purchasing or hiring from the Government of Danzig, on equitable terms, and anywhere on the territory of the Free City, the necessary land or buildings for the establishment of the service, but that, when making demands under this right, Poland must show that the purchase or hire of such land or buildings is necessary.

III. That communications must go direct by any route selected by Poland, or any routes agreed upon by the two Governments of Poland and Danzig, from one place selected in Danzig territory to one place or places selected in Polish territory.

IV. That Poland could establish this communication under any conditions she might choose within these limits.

(n.) *Contracting of Foreign Loans by a Municipality or Commune of the Free City of Danzig.* Decision dated August 22, 1922.

The Government of Danzig applied to the High Commissioner for a decision regarding the interpretation of article 7 of the Convention of the 9th November, 1920. The Government of Danzig considered that a foreign loan contracted by a municipality or other public body was not a State loan within the meaning of article 7 of the convention, which only referred to foreign loans contracted by the Government itself. Poland, on the other hand, maintained that article 7 did not discriminate between State and municipal loans, and that all must be considered to come within the terms of that article, because they are of the nature of foreign State loans.

The High Commissioner decided that a foreign loan negotiated by a municipality or any other State came within the terms of article 7 of the Convention of the 9th November, 1920.

(o.) *Competence of the Diplomatic Representative of the Polish Government in Danzig.* Decision dated August 23, 1922.

The Government of Danzig applied for a decision regarding the competence of the diplomatic representative of the Polish Republic in Danzig in matters other than those connected with intermediary correspondence between the Polish and Danzig Governments, and especially his power of welcoming foreign fleets in the harbour of Danzig on behalf of his Government.

The contention of the Danzig Government was that the competence of the diplomatic representative of the Polish Government did not extend to the welcoming of a foreign fleet, and that the Danzig Senate alone could greet a foreign fleet which pays a visit to Danzig on Danzig soil.

The High Commissioner decided that the Polish Government had not the right, either through its diplomatic representative in Danzig or in any other way, to welcome officially in Danzig waters or on Danzig soil a foreign fleet which visited the Free City.

(p.) *Representation of the Free City of Danzig at International Conferences.* Decision dated August 24, 1922.

The Government of the Free City of Danzig requested a decision regarding the status of Danzig delegates on international conferences, especially those of an economic nature. The Government of Danzig claimed that the Free City was an independent participating State at all international congresses, and that their delegate should be allowed a separate and direct vote so far as economic questions were concerned, and a vote given through the representative of the Polish Republic as regards political affairs. The view of the Polish Government was that the representation of the Free City at international congresses could only be established



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through the agency of the delegate of the Polish Republic, who acted in the name of the Free City as well as in that of the Polish Government.

The High Commissioner decided that Danzig had not the right of separate representation and separate voting at international conferences, but that she had the right to send one or more delegates to such congresses, and that these delegates, whilst not having the right of an independent vote, must be permitted to take part in any discussions of an economic nature which affected the well-being and prosperity of the Free City.

(q.) *Leasing of Property belonging to the Harbour Board.* Decision dated October 27, 1922.

The Polish Government appealed for a decision regarding a decision of the Harbour Board which denied to Polish companies a right of priority when letting ground and warehouses belonging to the Harbour Board.

The High Commissioner decided that it was necessary, not only to facilitate, but also to attract Polish imports and exports through the port of Danzig, and that, consequently, in the event of a trader or a firm of recognised Polish nationality being in competition for the lease of Harbour Board property with one of Danzig nationality, both being equally desirable as a tenant, preference must be given to the one of Polish nationality.

(r.) *Treaty concluded by the Polish Government with Memel on behalf of the Free City.* Decision dated November 3, 1922.

The Government of the Free City of Danzig appealed for a decision regarding a treaty with Memel concluded by Poland on behalf of the Free City. The Government of Danzig forwarded a draft treaty with Memel to the Polish Government regarding the registration and discharge of merchant seamen, with a request for this treaty to be negotiated by the Polish Government. The latter completed the negotiations, but without consulting the Danzig Senate added a paragraph to the treaty. The paragraph did not change the original draft, but merely provided a definite period of time during which the treaty was to remain in force. The Danzig Senate did not approve of this addition on the question of principle.

The High Commissioner decided that the Government of Poland, before concluding a treaty affecting the Free City of Danzig, must consult with the Danzig Government, and if after that consultation, and during the subsequent negotiations, any alterations or additions which affected the interests of the Free City were introduced, a further consultation must be held between the Governments of Danzig and Poland. In the meantime, as the treaty in question had been negotiated by Poland in all good faith, it should be accepted by the Government of Danzig.

(s.) *Method of Conducting Correspondence regarding Foreign Affairs of the Free City of Danzig.* Decision dated November 28, 1922.

The President of the Danzig Senate requested a decision regarding the manner in which correspondence should be conducted between the Danzig and Polish Governments, and between the latter and any foreign State when Poland is undertaking the conduct of the foreign affairs of the Free City. Danzig contended that letters emanating from the Senate of Danzig, dealing with the foreign relations of the Free City, should be addressed to the foreign State concerned and merely be marked "through the diplomatic representative of the Polish Republic." The Polish Government was of opinion that Poland was not under the necessity of adopting the demand made by the Danzig Government.

The High Commissioner decided that in any correspondence regarding the conduct of the foreign relations of Danzig the Government of the Free City must address all communications direct to the diplomatic representative of the Polish Government stationed at Danzig, who acted as intermediary between the Polish Government and the Government of the Free City.

(t.) *Official Languages of the Harbour Board.* Decision dated December 5, 1922.

The Governments of Poland and Danzig applied for a decision regarding the official languages to be used by the Harbour Board.

The High Commissioner decided that the Polish and German languages were to be considered as having equal rights for all purposes of the Harbour Board, and that the president of the Harbour Board should decide which language should be used on any particular occasion.

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(u.) *Establishment of a Polish Railway Direction in Danzig which Administered Railways other than those in the Free City.* Decision dated December 12, 1922.

The Government of the Free City of Danzig requested a decision regarding the establishment by Poland, in the territory of the Free City, of a railway direction which dealt with certain railways in the territory of Poland, as well as those in the territory of the Free City.

The High Commissioner decided that Poland had no right to establish on Danzig territory a railway direction which dealt with the management of railways other than those situated within the territory of the Free City except by agreement with the Free City of Danzig.

(v.) *Claim by Poland against Danzig for Demurrage incurred by Delay in Unloading Explosives.* Decision dated December 20, 1922.

The Polish Government applied for a decision regarding a claim against the Government of Danzig for demurrage to a ship unloading ammunition for the Government of Poland in November 1921.

The High Commissioner decided that the Danzig Government were justified in issuing the instructions which led to the demurrage and could not be called upon to pay the demurrage resulting from these instructions.

(w.) *Establishment of a Polish Letter Sorting Office on Danzig Main Railway Station.* Decision dated December 23, 1922.

The Governments of Poland and Danzig requested a decision regarding the establishment in certain rooms in the main railway station of Danzig of a branch of the Polish postal service intended for the sorting of letters. The Senate of the Free City objected to letters being sorted anywhere, except in the post office building already allotted to Poland for the purpose, or in the Polish postal railway wagons.

The High Commissioner decided that the Polish postal service had not the right to establish in the railway station at Danzig a letter sorting office, and that such work must be done in the building already allotted to Poland for her postal service, or in the Polish postal railway wagons.

(x.) *Installation of a Polish Firm in the Main Station at Danzig with the Title of Official Travelling Agency.* Decision dated December 31, 1922.

The president of the Danzig Senate requested a decision on the action of the Polish Railway Administration in abolishing a long-established organisation for the sale of sleeping-car and other tickets at Danzig railway station, and the installation of a Polish firm in its place, with the title of official travelling agency.

The High Commissioner decided that Poland was not justified in establishing a Polish firm in the chief railway station at Danzig, and that, if necessary facilities were not available for the sale of tickets on the premises of the chief railway station at Danzig, the question must be settled by negotiations between the two Governments within the following three months.

5. This concludes the list of cases in which the good offices of the High Commissioner have been invoked, either by the Danzig or Polish Governments, or both in conjunction, from the beginning of 1921 up to and including the period ending on the 31st December, 1922.

6. For the purposes of the present memorandum only the briefest summary of the cases with the decisions of the High Commissioner has been introduced for reasons of space. In fairness to the High Commissioner, it is necessary to make it plain that in order to appreciate his decisions with any degree of justice to him, resort should be had to the textual statements, both of the cases and the decisions. The reasons which have prompted the decisions are set out *in extenso*, and are now available for perusal in book form. The document was printed by the Danzig Government, and we received copies through the League of Nations secretariat.

7. Perusal of the proceedings of the Council of the League shows that in no case were the decisions of the High Commissioner reversed, or, indeed, called in question, by the council. This was the case up till June 1922, and in this connection it is interesting to note that at the sixth meeting of the Council of the League, on the 13th May, 1922, General Haking registered a protest against the continual



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appeal to the council by either the Polish or Danzig Governments, or both together, against his decisions. The council could judge whether those decisions were just and workable. If they were neither, the only solution was to change the High Commissioner.

8. Lord Balfour agreed that appeals must be discouraged, that the decisions of the High Commissioner were in the best interests of Poland and Danzig, and that the impartiality of the High Commissioner was above suspicion. The Italian and French members of the council endorsed Lord Balfour's view, the Italian representative drawing attention to the fact that every one of the decisions of the High Commissioner had been approved by the council up to that date.

9. For all practical purposes the Council of the League are identified with the High Commissioner's rulings.

10. The summary of the cases referred to the High Commissioner speaks for itself. Their very number, and the complexity of the arrangements with which the decisions deal should be sufficient to show that the present system is, if not unworkable, at least so nearly so as to lead to the creation of an entirely new situation.

11. The arrangements of the Treaty of Versailles, adopted at the time as a political expedient, may be comprehensible to the initiated and disinterested observer, but translated into the intricate workings of an administration, they must inevitably lead, as they now seem to have done, to the creation of a state of affairs of the uttermost confusion. Divided authority is apparent on all sides, with its attendant disputes and controversies

12. If evidence in support of the view that a new situation has arisen is required, it is forthcoming, apart from recent Polish action, in the shape of a proposal which has recently emanated from the Council of the League of Nations, arising out of *the nature and extent of the problems* concerning international administration, which the council is called upon to examine.

13. The proposal refers to the case of Danzig, and is to the effect that in order to ensure fuller consideration of the problems requiring the attention of the council it would be desirable for the Powers represented on the council to arrange for a meeting of experts of the respective Governments to assemble before the council session with a view to preparing reports for the council meetings, and thus expedite the transaction of business, and fuller examination of the problems at issue. Up to the present His Majesty's Government have not approved of the principle of this proposal. So far as Polish-Danzig relations are concerned I venture to express the opinion that whatever the necessity may be for its adoption as regards the organisation of the League, it would be a fallacy to imagine that it would provide any real remedy for the fundamental difficulties with which the League is faced. These difficulties have arisen out of the provisions of the treaties, and a fresh committee no matter how expert it might be would be powerless to deal with the situation or to effect what the High Commissioner of the League at Danzig had already failed to do. The expert committee could co-ordinate the work for the decision of the council, but it does not appear to me that that is exactly what underlies the proposal of the council for the constitution of the committee.

*The Present Position.*

14. The situation which has been created by the Treaty of Versailles, the accompanying Polish-Danzig Treaty, the decisions of the High Commissioner and the Council of the League, has now led the Polish Government to take matters into what looks very much like their own hands.

15. Failing to obtain satisfaction from the Danzig Government over the customs question, the Polish Government issued an order to the effect that as from the 4th April last, goods, whose import into or export from the Polish customs area was prohibited, would only be permitted to cross the Polish customs frontier into Danzig when covered by an import or export licence issued by the proper Polish authorities, and that consignments of prohibited goods would be detained and the importers or exporters prosecuted. The Danzig Government have lodged a protest with the Council of the League. Further, the Polish Government have broken off certain

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negotiations regarding customs, excise and monopolies, on which they were engaged with the Danzig Government, on learning of the forcible occupation by the Danzig police of the Polish Commercial Academy.

16. We have recently received from Sir W. Max Muller a memorandum of the Polish grievances which has been communicated by the Polish Government to the representatives of the Powers in Warsaw.

17. The Polish complaints are as follows :—

(*a*.) That the interior legislation of the Free State conflicts with the provisions of the treaties, and undermines the rights secured to Poland by those treaties.

(*b*.) That the customs arrangements are unworkable under the conflicting authority of the Polish and Danzig Governments, which results in depriving Poland of her rights.

(*c*.) That in the matter of goods subjected to State monopoly, the Free State Government has not conformed its own legislation to that of Poland. This impedes a rational fiscal administration by Poland of the whole of her territory "including that of Danzig."

(*d*.) Facilities in respect of the port of Danzig are denied to Poland by reason of the attitude of the representative of the Danzig Government on the Harbour Board. Polish demands as regards the policing of the port, its commercial exploitation, the use of the Polish language are systematically resisted. The executive power is in the hands of the Danzig authorities, who do not stop even at the use of force to damage Polish interests.

(*e*.) In the matter of the Postal Service, obstacles are continually being placed in the way of the Polish Government. The Danzig Government refuses sites, buildings and material necessary for the Postal Services and interferes with the internal organisation of those establishments which are at the disposal of Poland.

(*f*.) The Danzig Government makes a practice of ignoring the decisions of the Inter-Allied Commission for the apportionment of German material. They refuse to evacuate sites adjudged to Poland.

(*g*.) An analogous state of affairs exists on the railways.

(*h*.) The Danzig Government maintains the view that Polish citizens and Polish corporations are not entitled to rights on the territory of the Free State other than those accorded to foreigners in general. Every possible obstacle is placed in the way of the entry into and sojourn on Danzig territory of Polish nationals.

(*i*.) Legislation has been adopted by the Danzig Government impeding the acquisition of real property by foreigners. This legislation is peculiarly detrimental to Polish interests.

(*k*.) Poles in Polish uniform on Danzig territory are exposed to arrest.

(*l*.) The Polish Railway Administration is the object of constant attack by the Danzig Senate. If the administration takes action in the Danzig courts, it is subjected to the rules applying to foreign corporations.

(*m*.) Polish nationality constitutes a reason for the refusal by the Danzig Government to grant an exequatur to a consul appointed by a foreign country.

(*n*.) Polish students in polytechnic schools at Danzig receive worse treatment than that accorded to other foreigners.

18. In conclusion, the Polish Government states that, seeing that the economic and commercial interests of Poland are menaced, they have no alternative but to adopt retaliatory measures on Polish territory designed to alleviate the damage which Poland is suffering as a result of the attitude of the Free State. A strict control will be exercised over traffic between Danzig and Poland and over the activities of Danzig citizens in Poland. The Polish Government, the memorandum continues, are resolved, unless the Free State modifies its attitude, to address the principal Allied and Associated Powers, in accord with the League of Nations, with a view to considering the modifications which are necessary in the legal status of the Free City. The present system is destructive of the mission assigned to Danzig in virtue of the treaties in its relations with Poland.

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19. It may be noted that in a resolution voted by the Polish Diet on the 18th May reference is in particular made to the High Commissioner and the Council of the League, and the opinion is expressed that seeing the inefficacy of these authorities in the questions at issue the Polish Government should themselves adopt the measures necessary to meet the situation.

*Future Policy.*

20. I have referred to the explanatory memorandum issued by the Polish Government as to their intentions failing satisfaction of their claims. Of the attitude of the Danzig Government on the recent development we at present know nothing, as we have received no report from the League of Nations. Their point of view may be assumed, however, from a statement of their case dated the 11th January, which reached us from Geneva. They deny the charges brought against them by the Polish Government as regards discrimination against Polish trade and Polish citizens, and on their side bring counter-complaints against the Poles, but the real difficulty is brought out in the following phrase, which occurs in the statement "Danzig desires to live in friendly economic relations with Poland, and has repeatedly given material proofs that she is ready, *so far as the legitimate interests of the State in any way permit*, to soften the harshness of certain administrative measures which it was found necessary to introduce during the period of transition." For the rest, the statement only confirms the impression any investigator must gain by an examination of the subject as to the well-nigh hopeless confusion which exists as a result of the duality of control throughout the branches of the administration.

21. The Polish attitude and Polish future intentions are, however, what really concern us, and it will not be out of place to attempt some forecast of the form the Polish demands will take.

22. Assuming that they stop short of demanding sovereignty over Danzig the prospects are sufficiently serious; indeed, it is difficult to see how the issue of the sovereignty of Danzig can be avoided.

23. The memorandum of the Polish Government which has reached us involves practically every decision given over a period of two years by the High Commissioner of the League, and the possibility must not be excluded that the Polish demands, if and when they come forward, will not fall short of—

(*a.*) The right to maintain military forces on the territory of the Free State;
(*b.*) Extraterritoriality for Polish railway administration on the territory of the Free State.
(*c.*) Restrictions as regards foreigners not to apply to Polish citizens.
(*d.*) Right to establish postal services in Danzig territory in accordance with Polish views.
(*e.*) Priority for the Polish language in the administration of the Harbour Board.
(*f.*) Danzig to be regarded as a Polish naval base.

24. The attitude which His Majesty's Government should adopt in the face of these or analogous demands is not within the competence of the writer of this note to decide, for at this point the question enters into the region of higher policy.

25. A single comment may, however, be permissible and is relevant to the grave issues at stake. The Polish Government can almost certainly rely upon the unequivocal support of the French Government for any demands which they may put forward if they have not already received assurances from that quarter. The success attendant upon the recent visit of Marshal Foch to Poland is significant.

26. So far as Danzig is concerned, the considerations which determined the establishment of a Free State of Danzig are little, if at all, less cogent than they were four years ago. The subjection to foreign domination, and a hated one at that, of a population of 300,000 Germans sympathetic to Germany and accustomed to German institutions contains possibilities of future trouble which it is impossible to minimise or disregard.

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27. As regard Poland, the situation has changed since the Versailles Treaty was signed only in one respect. It was only a result of that treaty that Poland herself emerged as a sovereign State. Since then she has seen her eastern frontiers rcognised in accordance with her wishes and Eastern Galicia and Vilna incorporated in her territory. The eyes of Poland now turn to Danzig for a further realisation of her imperialist aims. She aspires to control Danzig not only as an untrammelled outlet for her commerce, but as a token of the position she considers she has achieved as one of the most important and vigorous military Powers in Central Europe. It is a strongly nationalist Poland, confirmed in its sovereignty by the Versailles Treaty, with frontiers established by subsequent decisions of the Powers, and assured of the support of a powerful Western ally, which raises the problem of Danzig anew.

W. SELBY.

*Foreign Office, June* 5, 1923.

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[N 5480/29/55] No. 1.

*Sir W. Max Muller to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received June* 18.)

(No. 264.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, June* 13, 1923.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 253 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith an official résumé in French of the speech in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs explained his political programme to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate.

The speech in itself calls for little comment, but as the paragraphs regarding Polish relations with Germany appeared to lend themselves to the interpretation that the present Government intended to adopt a less conciliatory attitude towards Germany than their predecessors, I took the opportunity of my first conversation with M. Seyda yesterday morning to enquire as to how far he intended to convey this impression. His Excellency's reply was on the whole reassuring, and I gathered from it that he had thought it necessary, as a representative of the National Democratic party, to speak in rather more threatening tones about Germany than he really meant. I admitted that it was difficult to deny the truth of his warning regarding the future German menace to Poland, but added that I had noticed with regret that his remarks were being interpreted as a declaration of anti-German policy on the part of the present Government. He assured me that such was not his intention, and that, on the contrary, he was determined, without pandering to Germany as he appeared to consider his predecessors had done, to maintain an absolutely correct attitude in his dealings with her. For the present such difficulties as might arise between the two countries were of a purely administrative nature and could easily be settled by the exercise of patience and goodwill. He had, he told me, just spoken in this sense to the German Minister, but had explained to him that so long as the German Government continued to expel Poles from Germany the Polish Government would have to retaliate by expelling Germans from Poland, as public opinion here would not tolerate a Government which acted otherwise.

When, he continued, he looked to a more distant future he could not close his eyes to the fact that a restored and reconstituted Germany was likely to prove a grave menace to Poland's very existence, and that, therefore, it became his duty to devise means of safeguarding his country against this danger. The only means, in his view, for achieving this result was the formation of a Central European group of States sufficiently strong to inspire even Germany with respect, and thus render war unlikely if not impossible. For this reason he had thought it right to speak quite openly of the future German menace and of the consequent necessity of bringing together the States which had been built up on the ruins of the former Central Powers. Indeed, this work was the principal item of his political programme, and he would devote his main efforts towards removing all obstacles in the way of a good understanding between Poland and the three States of the Little *Entente*. The present obstacles were the disputes, insignificant in themselves, between Czechoslovakia and Poland regarding the treatment of the Polish minority in Teschen Silesia and the delimitation of the Jaworzyna frontier. Hitherto Poland had always got the worst of it in her disputes with Czechoslovakia, and Polish public opinion would not tolerate yet another defeat in regard to Jaworzyna. The Polish Government were, however, quite willing to accept the compromise suggested by the International Delimitation Commission, and if that compromise could only be imposed on the two countries by the unanimous decision of the Conference of Ambassadors he felt certain that things would settle down and that the other difficulties at present separating the two countries could easily be removed.

He enquired whether it would not be possible for His Majesty's Government to take some action to expedite such a decision, but I replied that he already knew the attitude of my Government in the matter, and that while only too anxious to have the question settled promptly, we were not prepared to take the initiative, and considered that it was for the Polish Government to get the Conference of Ambassadors to move in



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the matter. His Excellency replied that he had instructed the Polish Ministers in London and Paris to make a fresh appeal to the British and French Governments to have the matter brought up before the Conference of Ambassadors at an early date. He shared my view, however, that the results of Marshal Foch's discussions with M. Benes could not be regarded as entirely satisfactory from the Polish point of view. and were likely to lead to further delay rather than the contrary. M. Seyda repeated that, at the present moment public opinion in Poland was much excited against Czechoslovakia, and that he was sure to encounter opposition at home in any attempt he might make to improve relations with that country. Nevertheless, he was determined to make the establishment of good relations the corner-stone of his policy, and thus lay the foundation for the formation of a group of States stretching from the Baltic to the Balkans which would act as a sure defence against Germany on the one side and Russia on the other.

In regard to relations with Russia, he explained that he had felt bound to express himself with great diffidence as though there had of late been indications of an improvement in the policy of the Soviet Government towards Poland, that policy was so uncertain and changeable that it was impossible to speak of it with any degree of certainty. Poland had no aggressive intentions against Russia, and the only thing that the Polish Government demanded was the execution of the terms of the Treaty of Riga. He had had a satisfactory conversation with the Russian Minister, but he felt very doubtful how far the promises made to him would be executed. Nevertheless, his impression was that Poland had nothing to fear from that side, at all events for the present.

Finally, M. Seyda renewed to me his assurance (see my despatch No. 260 of the 7th June) that the Polish Government did not contemplate taking any forcible measures against Danzig; but he repeated that things could not be allowed to go on as they were, and that some means must be devised by which Poland shall enjoy in practice, as well as in theory, the rights to which she is entitled by the Treaty of Versailles. He had every hope that Sir Eric Drummond's visit to Warsaw and Danzig would contribute towards this result.

I have, &c.
W. G. MAX MULLER.

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**Enclosure in No. 1.**

*Résumé of the Speech by the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, June 8, 1923.*

ME prêtant volontiers à votre désir, Messieurs, je vais commenter en détail les observations générales sur la politique étrangère, comprises dans l'exposé du Président du Conseil. Je ne m'arrêterai pas longtemps toutefois aux grandes Puissances alliées et associées, à la France, à l'Angleterre, à l'Italie et au Japon, ainsi qu'aux États-Unis; leurs rapports avec la Pologne étant suffisamment clairs et connus de tout le monde pour rendre superflues de plus amples explications.

Je rappellerai, néanmoins, que l'exposé part du point de vue essentiel que la victoire des Puissances alliées dans la guerre mondiale et la défaite de l'Allemagne sont la pierre angulaire de notre unification et de notre indépendance. Ces paroles ont été prononcées non comme un lieu commun politique, mais à titre de constatation d'un fait historique, dont s'inspire notre ligne de conduite et notre orientation politique pour l'avenir.

Aussi envisageons-nous l'action entreprise dans le Bassin de la Ruhr par notre alliée la France, de concert avec la Belgique, en exécution du Traité de Versailles, non seulement avec la sympathie que nous portons aux nations française et belge, ayant à soutenir en temps de paix un dur combat pour le droit et la justice, mais avec la conscience que la suite et le résultat de cette lutte ont une importance directe également pour notre État. N'est-il pas évident que le rôle de l'Allemagne en Europe et ses rapports avec la Pologne dépendront pour longtemps de la tournure que prendront les événements dans la Ruhr?

Quiconque jette un regard avisé sur l'avenir, même le plus lointain, se rend compte que tout ce qui se passe en Allemagne, que les sentiments dont les Allemands sont animés à notre égard, appellent de notre part un effort persévérant et énergique, en vue de consolider et de raffermir les États restaurés sur les décombres des Puissances centrales, et d'organiser sur des bases rationnelles l'Europe centrale. A l'effet d'assurer à l'Europe centrale, et par cela même à toute l'Europe, une paix durable, qui est le but

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vers lequel tend la politique polonaise, il est indispensable de coordonner l'activité des nations et des États, depuis les bords de la Baltique jusqu'aux Balkans.

La coopération polono-roumaine, sincère, sérieuse et riche de conséquences, mais évidemment n'embrassant pas dans ses limites d'action tout l'ensemble des problèmes de l'Europe centrale que j'ai abordés ici, cette coopération, dis-je, est un fait accompli. Mais elle devrait être complétée par le concours de la Yougoslavie et de la Tchécoslovaquie. Au nord, il y aurait lieu de l'étendre sur les États baltes.

Je le dis hautement et nettement, je le dis avec la plus profonde conviction, le programme d'une telle organisation de l'Europe centrale, entièrement dépourvu de tout caractère offensif, et tendant exclusivement à des buts constructifs, ce programme sauvegarde les intérêts de la Pologne non moins que ceux des autres nations et États intéressés ; il est, en même temps, une garantie pour la paix universelle.

Mais il faut également mettre en lumière cette vérité, que la réalisation de ce programme dépend de la liquidation préalable, conforme aux principes du droit et de l'équité, des questions litigieuses divisant encore la Tchécoslovaquie et la Pologne. J'entends par là le règlement équitable du sort des minorités nationales en Silésie de Cieszyn (Teschen), ainsi que la solution définitive de l'affaire de Jaworzyna par la Conférence des Ambassadeurs, pour le moins dans les limites de la décision unanime de la Commission interalliée de Délimitation. La Pologne ne peut être toujours astreinte aux seuls sacrifices ; il serait imprudent d'éprouver par trop la patience de l'opinion publique ; il faut entrer sur le terrain de la justice et d'une répartition équitable des sacrifices.

A cette condition seront écartées les difficultés dans les rapports polono-tchèques, au plus grand bien des deux États limitrophes et à la satisfaction la plus certaine des Gouvernements occidentaux. Avant qu'ait lieu la désirable liquidation de ces questions litigieuses et avant que le Gouvernement polonais ait pu en apprécier sous un nouveau jour les conséquences, je ne voudrais pas encore préjuger de façon concrète la forme à donner à notre future coopération avec les États alliés de l'Europe centrale. Je tiens seulement à faire remarquer que, si cette coopération se réalise sous telle ou telle forme d'entente collective, elle n'en doit pas moins en tout cas être fondée sur le resserrement individuel des liens nous unissant avec chacun des Gouvernements de la petite Entente en particulier.

En ce qui concerne la Yougoslavie, nous avons conclu avec elle d'heureuses conventions économiques qui demandent sans doute, tout en étant de part et d'autre appliquées avec bienveillance, d'être élargies dans les conditions que dictera le cours de la vie elle-même. Ainsi comprise, notre collaboration amicale avec la Yougoslavie, dans le cadre des intérêts réciproques et sur le terrain de l'Europe centrale, ne portera aucune atteinte aux problèmes politiques qui intéressent le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes et l'Italie. Je désire relever expressément ce point, eu égard aux rapports d'amitié très sincères qui nous attachent à l'Italie et que le Gouvernement polonais tiendra à cœur de maintenir.

A l'est de l'Europe nous nous trouvons toujours en face de problèmes très difficiles. Il ne nous appartient pas de vouloir influer sur la situation intérieure de la Russie et de l'Ukraine soviétistes, mais, par contre, nous avons le souci et le ferme propos de nous opposer énergiquement à la propagation de l'esprit de désordre dans l'État polonais, et à toute tentative visant à y semer le ferment révolutionnaire et les théories communistes.

Contrairement aux nouvelles lancées avec mauvaise foi par des ennemis déclarés ou masqués de l'État, et exploitées en vue de spéculations de Bourse, le Gouvernement polonais nourrit des sentiments franchement pacifiques à l'égard de ses voisins de l'est, et il ne compte point se départir de cette attitude. D'autant plus, toutefois, a-t-il le droit et le devoir d'exiger énergiquement la réalisation consciencieuse des stipulations du Traité de Riga, dans toute leur étendue. Le souvenir des douloureux événements qui, il n'y a pas longtemps, ont ému la conscience du monde civilisé ne s'effacera pas facilement ni de sitôt de notre mémoire. Si, néanmoins, le Gouvernement des Soviets, conscient de nos tendances pacifiques, désire établir avec nous des rapports de voisinage normal, c'est à lui de nous fournir des preuves concrètes d'une bonne volonté dont certains symptômes, peut-être, nous ont été signalés ces jours derniers. La mise en liberté du Doyen Ziélinski à Moscou, arrêté à l'occasion du procès de Mgr. Cieplak, la réouverture des églises catholiques de Pétrograde, les dernières dispositions au sujet de la restitution des biens, conformément au Traité de Riga, enfin certain engagements nouveaux concernant le rapatriement et le choix de la nationalité, toutes ces manifestations, dis-je, n'offrent point encore, il est vrai, la garantie d'une revision de la tactique soviétiste, et je ne voudrais pas en les mentionnant faire naître une illusion quelconque ; cependant, elles méritent de n'être pas passées sous silence.

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Au nord la question de Dantzig est devenue, à la suite de la politique hostile des autorités de la ville libre, une parodie de ce qu'elle devait être d'après les stipulations du Traité de Versailles, qui, du reste, ne donnaient qu'en une très faible mesure satisfaction aux intérêts les plus vitaux de la République polonaise. Il n'y a pas longtemps, la Diète et le Sénat de Pologne se sont occupés de ce problème, et des résolutions ont été prises à l'unanimité.

Nous avons profité du séjour récent à Varsovie de Sir Eric Drummond, secrétaire général de la Société des Nations, pour lui faire connaître la vérité entière, car nous n'avons rien à cacher et nous pouvons seulement désirer que ce représentant éminent et influent de la Société des Nations voie les choses clairement. La ville libre de Dantzig qui, en vertu du Traité de Versailles, a été appelée à la vie, afin de garantir à la Pologne un libre accès à la mer, agit aujourd'hui, sous la direction de ses autorités, de manière à nous rendre cet accès aussi difficile que possible, et s'imagine que ses relations avec la Pologne doivent être édifiées non sur des devoirs, mais exclusivement ou avant tout sur des droits, des privilèges, fût-ce même, au prix de la souveraineté de la république.

Nous ne pouvons malheureusement pas épargner à la Société des Nations le reproche d'avoir inconsciemment contribué, soit par ignorance du terrain, soit à cause d'une trop grande condescendance à l'égard des prétentions excessives du Sénat de Dantzig, à augmenter ces prétentions au point de rendre vaine toute discussion ultérieure entre la Pologne et la ville libre. En pratique le Traité de Versailles n'existe point pour le Sénat de Dantzig ; les conventions de Paris et de Varsovie ne sont pas, à ses yeux, destinés à commenter ce traité, dans le cadre de ses stipulations, mais à l'amender, et à y substituer un nouvel état des choses. La Pologne est à peine tolérée dans le port ; les Polonais à Dantzig, loin d'être traités sur le même pied que les citoyens dantzigois, s'y trouvent en une plus mauvaise situation que les étrangers ; ils sont soumis à un régime exceptionnel, et sont victimes de vexations constantes. Par contre, les Dantzigois se réclament en Pologne des privilèges les plus étendus.

Nous avons déclaré au secrétaire général de la Société des Nations que, en dépit de toutes les provocations, le Gouvernement polonais reste sur le terrain pacifique, et honore fidèlement le Traité de Versailles, que, toutefois, il se refuse à toute négociation, avec le Sénat de Dantzig, du moment que celui-ci n'admet à " collaborer " que sur un terrain diamétralement opposé au traité.

Que celui qui veut violer le droit, le fasse, mais, pour notre part, nous n'y contribuerons pas et nous n'y souscrirons point. Nous ne répondrons pas aux actes iniques par un acte inconciliable avec les tendances pacifiques de la Pologne, mais nous appliquerons des mesures légales, bien que décisives, de façon à amener Dantzig à une compréhension plus saine des choses et à compter avec la réalité. Je n'entrerai pas ici dans les détails ; du reste, il ne s'agit point de propos, mais d'actes. J'ajouterai seulement que nous ne cèderons point, tant que Dantzig ne se replacera nettement sur le terrain du Traité de Versailles, tant qu'il ne se conformera pas à la lettre et à l'esprit de ce traité, et tant qu'il ne s'inclinera pas devant l'expresse volonté qui y est exprimée, à savoir que la ville libre constitue pour la Pologne un accès à la mer et non un obstacle. Cette question se pose d'une façon claire et nette.

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POLAND. [July 2]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 5886/29/55] No. 1.

*Mr. Leeper to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received July 2.)*

(No. 290.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, June* 25, 1923.

WITH reference to Sir William Max Muller's despatch No. 264 of 13th June, I have the honour to report that the Minister for Foreign Affairs delivered a further *exposé* of his foreign policy before the Diet Commission for Foreign Affairs on the 21st June. As much of this speech is practically a repetition of his Excellency's previous utterances, I do not propose to trouble your Lordship with a translation *in extenso*, but will confine myself to such of M. Seyda's remarks as have not hitherto been expressed.

His Excellency first of all complained of the efforts being made by elements hostile to Poland to shake the confidence of other countries in her pacific intentions. Entirely baseless rumours of aggressive designs on the Soviet Republic had been spread abroad, and of late it had been suggested, especially in financial circles, that Poland had similar designs on Danzig. Nevertheless, he continued, responsible politicians abroad must know that the foreign policy of the Polish Government, which strove to maintain a stable and permanent peace in Central Europe, left no room for such activities. These politicians would also realise the economic strength of Poland, which allowed the Government, by the application of radical measures, to combat the crisis in the exchange, which had been artificially provoked.

M. Seyda once again recapitulated the grievances of the Polish Government against Danzig, and announced that, argument and persuasion having proved futile, the Government would address a formal declaration to the League of Nations on the subject, stating—

(*a.*) That they would regard as contrary to the Treaty of Versailles any interference in the internal affairs of the Polish Republic based on article 103 of that treaty, as neither the letter nor the spirit of the article in question subordinated the executive or legislative powers, established on Polish territory, to the procedure defined therein, which was described in article 39 of the Paris Convention;

(*b.*) That the rights of the Polish Republic on Danzig territory, as established by the Treaty of Versailles and by the Paris Convention of 1920, had never been realised, and were, in fact, further from realisation than in 1919;

(*c.*) That, having no executive power on Danzig territory, and having no intention of continuing to defend their rights by methods which had not yielded the desired results, they, the Polish Government, expected that the stipulations of articles 100–108 of the Treaty of Versailles would be rendered effective as a result of a fundamental change in the present state of affairs, and of the enforcement of the guarantees in favour of Poland established by that treaty (*vide* Sir William Max Muller's telegram No. 109 of the 19th June).

Having disposed of Danzig, M. Seyda turned to Germany and declared that whilst the Polish Government had no aggressive intentions, and were continuing the Dresden negotiations, they would admit no alienation of the rights granted to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles, nor would they listen in silence to insulting remarks made in public by Prussian Ministers to the effect that the territories ceded to Poland in virtue of that treaty were only hers for a season. In addition, they could not regard with indifference the expulsion of Polish citizens from Germany by the authorities and the acts of violence perpetrated on peaceful Poles by the German population. M. Seyda invited the public to remain calm in the face of this provocation, to refrain from thoughtless acts of retaliation, and to leave to the Government the duty of answering these "German iniquities" by the application of legal administrative measures to German subjects in Poland who showed tendencies hostile to the State.

M. Seyda also alluded briefly to the reparations problem, the Polish negotiations with Turkey, the forthcoming Baltic States Conference and the situation in Bulgaria.



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In regard to reparations, His Excellency declared that it was highly desirable that the problem should be settled by France, England, Italy and Belgium working in unison, in such a way as to safeguard the interests of Poland's ally, France, and of Belgium.

In regard to Turkey, His Excellency declared that the negotiations at Lausanne were nearing a happy conclusion. Their result would be the establishment on a sound basis of the traditional relations between Poland and Turkey.

In regard to Bulgaria, the Government would observe an attitude of strict neutrality, and only regarded the events taking place there from the point of view of the peace of the Balkans and the state of affairs created by the treaties.

In regard to the Baltic States, M. Seyda stated that Poland would be represented at a conference to be held at Riga in July. It was true that the Warsaw Convention of March 1922 had never entered into force, owing to the failure of Finland to ratify it, but the Polish representative, by his presence, would testify to the cordial relations existing between Poland on the one hand and Finland, Latvia and Esthonia on the other, and would endeavour to conciliate the points of view of the different Governments on the numerous judicial, economic and railway questions which would form the subject of discussion.

I have, &c.
R. A. LEEPER.

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POLAND. [June 25.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

[N 5696/273/55] No. 1.

*Memoranda for the Guidance of Lord Robert Cecil, British Delegate at Meeting of Council of League of Nations, beginning June* 29, 1923.

THE relations existing between Poland and Danzig appear to have reached an acute stage, and are likely to require the serious attention of the Council of the League at its forthcoming meeting at the end of this month.

2. It seems that Poland, failing to obtain satisfaction at the hands of the Danzig authorities with respect to certain demands which she had put forward, has taken matters into her own hands by issuing an order to the effect that, as and from the 4th April last, goods, the import of which into, or the export from, the Polish customs area was prohibited, would only be permitted to cross the Polish customs frontier into Danzig when covered by an import or export licence issued by the proper Polish authorities, and that consignments of prohibited goods would be detained and the importers or exporters prosecuted. In taking this action she has ignored the High Commissioner at Danzig, and called in question the authority of the Council of the League in matters relating to disputes between herself and Danzig.

3. The attitude of the Polish Government would appear to be based on the contention that it is exclusively the Treaty of Versailles which regulates the rights conferred upon Poland in Danzig, and that those rights are not affected by the Polish-Danzig Convention of the 9th November, 1920, and subsequent subsidiary treaties and arrangements.

4. The Danzig Government dispute this point of view, and have appealed to the Council of the League for a decision upon the legality of the restrictive measures recently adopted by the Polish Government. They maintain, on their side, that the relations between Poland and Danzig are regulated not by the Treaty of Versailles alone, but also by the Polish-Danzig Convention of the 9th November, 1920, negotiated between the two parties, which they claim has equal force with the Treaty of Versailles, is explanatory of that instrument, and must be read in conjunction with it. In substance, the claim of the Danzig Government amounts to this, that the High Commissioner and the Council of the League have competence in all matters relating to disputes arising between the Polish Government and the Government of the Free State, and that neither party has the right, in pursuance of particular aims, to ignore the machinery provided on the authority of the Allied and Associated Powers for the settlement of such disputes; or, of their own volition, to proceed to the adoption of retaliatory measures in cases in which a divergence of view has arisen between the two Governments.

5. From a memorandum by the High Commissioner of the League at Danzig which has been received through the secretary-general (copy annexed) it appears that Mr. Macdonnell is clearly favourable to the point of view of the Danzig Government. He considers that his competence extends to any difference of opinion arising between the two parties out of the Treaty of Versailles or any agreement or arrangement made between Poland and Danzig as a result of that treaty, and that in consequence his authority should be definitely vindicated at the forthcoming meeting of the council.

6. After a careful examination of the position created by the treaties, His Majesty's Government see no reason to dissent from the view taken by the High Commissioners of the League. In their opinion the agreement of the 9th November, 1920, between Danzig and Poland, and other subsidiary arrangements arising out of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, must be regarded as completing and amplifying that treaty. Moreover, both Poland and Danzig were parties to the agreement of the 9th November, 1920, and it is now consequently not open to either party to call its validity into question.

7. When the point comes up for discussion at the Council of the League, the British representative should make clear the view taken by His Majesty's Government on the issue raised by Poland, and take such steps as may be possible to reassert



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the authority of the High Commissioner and, through him, of the Council of the League in all matters relating to disputes between the two States.

8. Should, notwithstanding this, the Polish Government still maintain their point of view, it would be desirable to urge upon the council the expediency of insisting upon an immediate reference of the question at issue to the Permanent Court of International Justice for a decision. Pending a promulgation of this decision such pressure as may be possible should be brought to bear forthwith upon the Polish Government in order to cause them to suspend the restrictive measures to which it has resorted against Danzig.

9. It would be premature at the present stage to deal with the problem which might arise were the Polish Government to refuse to comply with suggestions of the council for solving the existing difficulty. Defiance by Poland of the authority of the council would lead to the creation of an entirely new situation, which would require the special consideration of His Majesty's Government in consultation with other States represented upon the Council of the League.

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*Note on the Polish-Danzig Situation, May* 17, 1923.

1. During April, relations between Danzig and Poland suddenly became somewhat strained for no specific reason that I can discover. The President of the Polish Republic, the Marshal of the Sejm and the Commissioner-General at Danzig, all made speeches or gave press interviews, in which they stated that Poland was determined to bring about a radical alteration in the attitude of Danzig towards Poland. At the beginning of May there was a general feeling of nervousness in Danzig that Poland was contemplating military action against her. This apprehension was dispelled by a declaration of the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Parliament of the 17th May, 1923, to the effect that Poland was going to employ the measures at her disposal for bringing the Free City to reason, but that the reports of projected military action to attain her objects were unfounded. The last part of the declaration was received with relief in Danzig, and did much to restore tranquillity. I had been approached from various quarters, before the declaration was made, with anxious enquiries as to the probability of Poland taking military action, and had had no hesitation in giving it as my definite opinion that nothing was further from the intentions of the Polish authorities.

2. The principal points in the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs were that Poland, by means of conciliation, agreements and conventions, had endeavoured to create amicable relations with Danzig, but that, in spite of this policy, Poland found herself without the access to the sea to which she was entitled by the Treaty of Versailles; that Danzig, instead of being included in the Polish customs frontier, was merely a gap in them; that Polish citizens were being badly treated by the Danzig authorities; that, in matters of the Harbour Board, Poland was being considered as merely existing for the purpose of bearing a share in the cost of exploiting the port without having any views in police and administrative matters; that the Danzig Government was a Prussian Government, which would not carry out the Treaty of Versailles; and that Poland has sovereign rights in Danzig which she must not be hindered from enjoying. The question of the competence of the High Commissioner was also raised.

3. In addition to this official and considered statement, there are various other Polish points of view which have recently been brought forward and which should be noted. One is, that while Poland has rights in Danzig, Danzig has none in Poland, and that Danzig cannot appeal to the High Commissioner or League of Nations to obtain rights outside Danzig territory, any more than in the case of Poland's sovereign rights in Danzig; another is that the Treaty of Versailles, and not the convention of the 9th November, 1920, regulates Polish-Danzig relations; a third, that Danzig, by hostile executive action on her own territory, prevents the carrying out of decisions of the High Commissioner or League of Nations, and that, in any case, the procedure of decisions and appeal on them is so cumbersome and dilatory that Poland never does succeed in getting decisions put into force.

4. The Danzig standpoint is that while the force of the Treaty of Versailles remains unimpaired, it only laid down the general lines and objects of the Allies in regard to the Polish-Danzig relations, and the machinery for putting these into working order is to be found in the subsequent treaties, conventions and agreements

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which have been subscribed to by both parties, and, therefore, have equally binding effect. That Poland resorts to direct action when she fails to arrive at an amicable agreement with Danzig, even when she or Danzig has submitted the case to the decision of the High Commissioner, or on appeal to the League of Nations.

Having been placed under the protection of the League, Danzig looks to it, and to its representative, not only for the settlement of differences, but also as a guardian of her rights and her Constitution.

5. I think an explanation of the present feeling in Poland is to be found partly in the fact that two and a half years' experience of the working of the Treaty of Paris has shown it not to come up to the hopes and expectations of Poland; there can be no question that if Poland expected to have the full and undivided control of the Port of Danzig, she has not got it under the existing arrangements, and, although I do not see any reason why the intention of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of article 104 of the Treaty of Versailles should not be fully realised under existing arrangements, there is the difference between Poland being in a position to put these articles into effect directly and of her own motion, and having to have them put into effect for her by an organisation in which she has only equal representation with Danzig; partly owing to an unformed public opinion on the real difficulties of the Polish-Danzig question bringing pressure to bear in political quarters; partly from a policy on Poland's part of pressing political rather than economic issues; and, finally, to the almost universal post-war tendency to expect sudden changes of nomenclature to effect rapid changes of habits, of minds, and of national characteristics. Danzig is essentially a German town at the present day, whatever its past history has been. It has been cut off from Germany and feels its security menaced by every Polish advance, whether economic or political, but especially political. It is passing through a difficult time owing to scarcity of dwellings and shortage of food supplies, which it fears any expansion by an influx from Poland of the resident population will accentuate. The governing authorities are, in many cases, German functionaries of the old régime, who are, in spirit, and perhaps in act, antagonistic to Poland. Danzig feels its whole security depends from the maintenance of the treaties in force, according to her interpretation and to the protection of the League of Nations, whereas Poland feels her rights in Danzig can only be secured by her interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles being accepted, and regards the League of Nations connection with Danzig as a possible source of embarrassment to her.

6. That the Polish view is more due to a general feeling of disappointment and irritation than to specific present differences on which no agreement can be reached is, I think, to be seen from an examination of the cases submitted by Poland for a decision. If agreements are not reached, decisions can be given at a pace which depends only on the speed with which the parties will submit their point of view. In the Polish *exposé* of the situation, published recently, special reference was made to questions of customs, of the Harbour Board, and a Polish Commercial Academy. With regard to customs questions, at the moment I have been asked for a decision on one matter by Poland and on another by Danzig. In spite of this, negotiations were being continued by both parties and were, I understand, at one moment likely to lead to certain results both in regard to the points submitted to me and others in which a difference had arisen. As no decision has yet been given on those submitted to me nor asked for on the other points, I do not feel that a situation of any urgency or gravity has arisen. In the case where Danzig asked for a decision, Poland settled the difficulty by taking direct action to put her wishes into effect.

With regard to the Harbour Board, at the time when the Polish statement was made. I had four cases up for a decision. On two of these I had given both parties a draft of my decision, about a month ago, with a view to assisting them in coming to an agreement, and have had no communication from either side since, but I have reason to believe that no move has been made by Poland to negotiate on these two matters. Two other cases are ready to be decided, but are neither of them of so urgent a nature as to cause Poland any prejudice at the moment.

A fifth case, involving larger issues, was received by me only after the declaration of the Polish policy alluded to above.

The case of the Polish Commercial Academy is, in my opinion, of secondary importance, has been dragging on for some two and a half years, and has only within the last ten days reached me for a decision. No negotiations on the subject have taken place by the parties for over six months, and had it not been for an incident which took place in the actual building itself, it possibly would not bulk

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so large as it now does in the Polish-Danzig relations. It should be stated that there is not at present such a thing as a Polish Commercial Academy, but only a proposal, by a Polish national, supported by the Polish Government, to turn a privately owned building into such an academy, a proposal which is being resisted by Danzig.

I have only within the last few days received notice of cases where Polish citizens are being treated improperly, and have not yet received the reply of the Senate, so cannot judge of the urgency of this particular case.

7. I am, however, meeting some difficulty in finding support for the Polish viewpoint of the Treaty of Versailles. There can be no question but that the principal Allied and Associated Powers, of which Poland was one, intended that Poland should secure certain rights in Danzig, but I do not think that the Treaty of Versailles declares in terms that Poland possesses these rights by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles. It says, in article 104, that the same parties as made the Treaty of Versailles undertake to negotiate a treaty between the two States with certain specified objects. The French version of this article appears to me to accentuate slightly the fact that it will be by virtue of the convention, rather than of the Treaty of Versailles that Poland obtains certain rights. The creation of the convention is as much a part of the Treaty of Versailles as the creation of any other instrument foreseen in that treaty, and the possibility of other agreements is also foreseen and specifically provided for in the convention itself. Had it been the intention of the principal Allied and Associated Powers to give Poland her rights in Danzig under the Treaty of Versailles, this could have been done, and a convention between Poland and Danzig would then not have been necessary. I am not concerned to enquire why they did not insert the necessary provisions unconditionally in the Treaty, but only to take account of the facts that they did not, and that they did negotiate a convention between the two parties with certain objects. It does not even follow, in my opinion, that these objects would necessarily be realised in their entirety in the convention. The principal Allied and Associated Powers undertook to negotiate a treaty between two parties, not to impose specifically definite terms on one party or the other. It might have been that in the process of negotiation, some objects were wholly irrealisable, or that some object was unattainable in its fullness. This actually happend to the objects described in article 104 (2), (3) and (4), as in the convention, the right of Poland to develop, &c., &c., the docks is transferred to the Harbour Board, and not left to Poland, as in the Treaty of Versailles.

I cannot avoid the conclusion that for the respective rights of the two States, the convention of the 9th November, 1920, and not the Treaty of Versailles must be taken as the determining document, and, as the Treaty of Versailles foresaw the making of agreements, it appears to me that when once such agreements have been entered into, they must have binding force on the parties who made them. This interpretation is not accepted by Poland, which looks only to the Treaty of Versailles. If, however, it is the correct one, both Poland and Danzig are bound by the convention and agreements until such time as both they and the Treaty of Versailles are altered by the same parties as made them.

8. With regard to the competence of the High Commissioner, any difference of opinion is not a matter of great importance, because it is one which can be examined at any moment and settled by the decision of the Council of the League. The Polish view is that the High Commissioner is incompetent to deal with matters which affect the sovereign rights of Poland, whether on Polish or Danzig soil, or anywhere else, that while Poland has rights on Danzig soil, Danzig can have none on Polish soil, and, therefore, no question outside Danzig's territory can form the subject of reference to the High Commissioner. My view is that in any difference arising between the two States which is *primâ facie* a case of a difference arising out of the Treaty of Versailles or any agreement or arrangement made thereunder, I am competent to decide :—

(*a*.) If the difference is of such a nature.
(*b*.) To give a decision on the merits of the case, irrespective of geographical or constitutional considerations, provided it falls within the limitations of article 103 of the Treaty of Versailles, or article 39 of the Treaty of Paris.

I have not yet had an opportunity of examining whether Danzig has or has not rights on Polish soil, but Poland has undertaken certain obligations towards

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Danzig under the Treaty of Versailles and arrangements and agreements made thereunder, in relation to which a difference between the two States might arise, such as foreign relations; protection of Danzig citizens abroad or on Polish territory, where they have no representation; commercial treaties, &c., which would fall within the High Commissioner's competence. Moreover, I have another status as the representative of the League of Nations, under whose protection the Free City is placed by article 102 of the Treaty of Versailles.

It is to be noted that the provision of some treaty or convention is always adduced in support of any request for a decision in a difference between the two States.

On the competence of the Council of the League it is unnecessary for me to make any observations.

9. I think in some respects the procedure for dealing with differences is unsatisfactory, but it need not be so, and it is difficult to see what other or speedier method could be found for composing differences which, in so many cases, arise through genuinely divergent interpretations of some treaty or agreement.

For one thing, too much use is made of the right to ask for a decision; secondly, decisions are asked for on matters claimed as of right, when they should be sought by agreement; thirdly, both parties accuse each other of not respecting decisions, and of employing direct action when differences have arisen and been submitted for a decision; fourthly, too long a time is wasted in correspondence on these matters and in submitting appeals.

I think the fact that I now have twenty-four cases for decision will support the first point. An analysis of the decisions given will show how many have laid down that the claim of one or other party is not supported by any treaty or agreement. With regard to the third consideration, this practice is undoubtedly indulged in, and cannot be too strongly deprecated. It prejudices the case, embitters feeling, and is contrary both to the spirit and the letter of the Treaty of Versailles and the convention. I would strongly urge on the council a resolution to the effect that in no case is either party entitled to employ direct action to settle a case which is the subject of a difference. Correspondence takes far too long and delays, both in answering letters and submitting appeals, are unavoidable It is more difficult for the Polish Government than for the Danzig on account of the size of its administration and the fact that the seat of Government is at Warsaw, but, even with these unavoidable difficulties, it should be possible to act with greater despatch.

10. To sum up, I think it is essential that a definite understanding be arrived at on the respective values of the Treaty of Versailles and the treaty of the 9th November, 1920, and subsequent agreements arising out of them, on which Polish and Danzig views are so divergent. That the Council of the League should strongly disapprove of direct action of either side once a case is submitted for a decision of the High Commissioner, or an appeal has gone to the council, and that the question of the competence of the High Commissioner in differences between the two States be settled once and for all.

M. S. MACDONNELL
(*High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig*).

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2.—(a.) *Financial Situation of the Free City of Danzig.*

The Free City is in serious financial difficulties. The position, in brief, is as follows. Owing to the establishment of the Free City as a sovereign Power, and her consequent separation from the German Empire; to the depreciation of the mark; and to the claims for her share in reparations and for the expenses of occupation, frontier delimitation, &c., she is quite unable to make ends meet.

The Financial Commission of the League of Nations accordingly in September 1922 requested the Reparation Commission to grant to Danzig some postponement of the liabilities laid upon her as a result of the peace settlement. On the 6th January, 1923, the Reparation Commission agreed to grant a moratorium of twelve months as regards Danzig's liabilities in respect to (*a*) the former German State property acquired by the Free City under the treaty, and (*b*) the share of the German and Prussian public debts attributable to the Free City in accordance with



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the Treaty of Versailles, adding that it was not within its competence to deal with the Free City's liabilities in respect to the inter-Allied occupation and administration in 1920, a matter which concerned the Conference of Ambassadors.

But this was not enough; and, as a result of further representations by the Free City, it was decided by the council to approach the Reparation Commission and the Conference of Ambassadors, with a view to assuring the Free City priority for credit operations, which are not to exceed 500,000 gold marks; the reason for this further request being that, although Danzig had balanced her budget in 1922, she had no ready money with which to meet the ordinary expenses of administration, and thus bridge the gap between the time that expenses were incurred and the taxes collected. The Reparation Commission, on the 16th March, reported that it was not in a position to give a definite decision, and suggested that Danzig might obtain funds by a mortgage of State property. On the 14th April, His Majesty's Treasury proposed that His Majesty's Ambassador in Paris should move the Ambassadors' Conference to inform Danzig that, subject to the final decision on the reparations loans, and provided claims of other Powers were similarly dealt with, no objection would be taken to a loan for, say, ten years, for a sum not exceeding 500,000 gold marks, which will rank prior to the claims of the Allied Powers in respect of civil administration and army of occupation; and that, further, a moratorium will be granted of one year in respect of the cost of civil administration, and of three years in respect of the cost of the army of occupation; these concessions to be made expressly on the condition that Danzig formally admits her obligation to pay the sums now claimed, of which the British claim amounted to 243,444*l*. 7*s*. for cost of civil administration, military occupation, and the half share of boundary delimitation. The British representative on the Reparation Commission was informed to the same effect, but, so far, this body have come to no final decision. The majority of the Financial Committee of the Conference of Ambassadors considered, however, that there was not sufficient evidence to justify their recommending the course suggested by the British member in favour of granting a moratorium, as proposed by the League of Nations, and the Conference of Ambassadors accordingly decided, on the 13th June, to address the League of Nations, requesting further information. In the meanwhile, the situation at Danzig is becoming steadily worse, having been aggravated by the further fall in the German mark, and the Senate have urged the immediate acceptance of the proposals of the League of Nations.

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### 2.—(b.) *Establishment by Poland of a Railway Direction in Danzig.*

Poland claimed the right to establish in Danzig a Railway Direction dealing with the management of railways ,other than those situated within the territory of the Free City, on the ground that the former German railway administration controlled railways outside Danzig, *e.g.*, the Pomeranian system, and that it would be unfair and expensive to alter the former system of administration.

The High Commissioner decided that Poland had no right to do so, except by agreement with the Free City.

The Polish Government appealed.

The attitude of His Majesty's Government is to support the decision of the High Commissioner.

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### 2.—(c.) *Property to be Transferred to the Harbour Board under Article* 25 *of the Polish-Danzig Treaty, November* 9, 1920.

The legal advisers to the Conference of Ambassadors are of opinion that the right of the Harbour Board to transfer or mortgage this property could be restricted only by agreement between Danzig and the Polish Government.

The French were of opinion that it would be inadvisable in practice for the Board to have this power of alienation, and the Conference of Ambassadors accordingly suggested that the High Commissioner should be asked whether some voluntary arrangement in this matter could not be arrived at between Danzig and Poland. M. Poincaré, in League of Nations document C. 218, M. 120, 1922, of the 27th April, 1922, suggested that Poland and Danzig might be given a guarantee

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that former German State property to be ceded to the Danzig Harbour Board shall neither be mortgaged nor sold without the previous consent of Poland and the Free City.

The view of His Majesty's Government is that, as the Harbour Board consists of an equal number of Danzig and Polish Commissioners, and is presided over by a person chosen by agreement between the two Governments, the interests of Danzig and Poland in the property in question are amply secured without the necessity for the suggested guarantee, which, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, would weaken the powers and limit the independence of the Harbour Board.

As will be seen from League of Nations document C. 382, M. 174, 1923, the Polish and Danzig Governments have failed to come to an agreement on this question, and the High Commissioner has referred the matter to the Council of the League.

It is therefore suggested that our representative on the council should, as stated in paragraph 3 of the High Commissioner's letter to the secretary-general, May 1923, oppose the placing of any conditions on the Harbour Board's ownership of these properties, on the grounds that any such conditions would be an infringement of the treaty of the 9th November, 1920.

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2.—(d.) *Visa Fees for Danzig Nationals when crossing Polish Frontiers.*

We cannot trace that we received any papers from the League of Nations on this subject.

The question probably arises in connection with the Polish measures which are being taken against Danzig.

Our general attitude on this question is that such measures are illegal, since they have been taken independently of the Council of the League.

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2.—(e.) *Financial Situation of the Danzig Harbour Board.*

The Polish Government refused up to a short time ago to place their contribution at the disposal of the board.

They have now paid it, but not to the board. The money is at the disposal of the Polish representative at Danzig. This, the board say, does not fulfil the financial obligations of the Polish Government.

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2.—(f.) *Power of the Danzig Harbour Board to contract Loans.*

The High Commissioner decided on the 24th May, 1923, that the Harbour Board had this power.

With regard to the attitude to be adopted by the British representative on the council, see paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 of the memorandum for Lord Robert Cecil, the 20th June.

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POLAND.

CONFIDENTIAL.

[July 31.]

SECTION 1.

[N 6576/29/55]

No. 1.

*Mr. Leeper to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received July 31.)*

(No. 325.)

My Lord,

*Warsaw, July 23, 1923.*

TWO months have now elapsed since M. Witos formed his Government out of a combination of groups in the Diet forming a parliamentary majority, independent of the votes of the national minorities. It has been a period devoid of any acute political crisis, and, as there are no immediate signs of any change, it is a convenient moment for reviewing the general political situation in the country.

During the year previous to the formation of the new Government, Poland had suffered from a series of short-lived and unstable Governments, handicapped by the absence of any steady majority in the Diet. It had been hoped that the elections at the end of last year would have produced the remedy required, but in this respect the results were disappointing, the balance of parties remaining much the same as before. It was generally recognised that the formation of a Government that could rely upon the support of a real majority in the Diet was an object to be kept in view, and it was equally recognised that the Government formed by General Sikorski, who had no such majority behind him, could only be regarded as transitional. The first few months, therefore, of this year witnessed a persistent attempt, in spite of many initial failures, to form a purely Polish majority out of the parties of the Right and the main wing of the Peasant party, under the leadership of M. Witos. Success was finally attained by the middle of May, and General Sikorski fell a few days later, not for any failure on the part of his Government either in home or foreign policy, but in order to satisfy this perfectly natural, though exaggerated, craving for a Polish majority.

The desire for a Polish majority, however, had concentrated undue attention on purely party manœuvres, and the essential needs of the day had been overlooked or treated as of secondary interest compared to the political game that was being played out behind the scenes. The parties of the Right, while absorbed in their political game, were content to ascribe all the evils from which the country was suffering to the weakness of the Government, through the absence of proper parliamentary support, and to exaggerate the change that would take place for the better when that support was forthcoming. It was in this atmosphere that M. Witos's Coalition Government made its appearance .

The situation with which M. Witos and his National Democratic supporters were confronted was by no means an easy one, owing to the serious state of the national finances. In foreign affairs, it is true, the main outstanding questions had been settled in Poland's favour. The only points, viz., Danzig and Jaworzina, on which public opinion was inclined to be agitated, were subjects for compromise and negotiation, and, in view of the urgent need for concentration on the economic condition of the country, a strong Government should have done its utmost to avoid any occasion for popular agitation. It can, however, hardly be maintained that this has been done. The new Government, probably acting on the advice of M. Plucinski, the High Commissioner at Danzig, appears to have deliberately worked up excitement against the free city by a series of retaliatory measures against Danzig after negotiations had been broken off on a pretext that could only be regarded as trivial, and by ill-considered attacks on the High Commissioner of the League of Nations. The Polish case against Danzig, in spite of repeated efforts to extract the information, was never adequately stated by the Government, or, when real grievances were referred to, they were overloaded with a mass of trivial complaints. When finally the case was submitted by the Government to the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, it was put forward in so vague a form, and with so little explanation vouchsafed by the Government itself, that it was by no means clear to public opinion here what was really demanded, save that, in a general way, the Danzigers were Germans and were violating the rights guaranteed to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles. There is no doubt that the Government has



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failed to work out a clear and reasonable policy, couched in an intelligible form, which could have given a lead to public discussion on the subject. It has preferred to make but a show of standing up for Poland's case against Danzig in a more vigorous manner than its predecessors had done, and then, when receiving a rebuff, to let it be thought indirectly that the Council of the League had given Poland the satisfaction she had requested as her due. The result has been confusion in the public mind, which cannot fail to affect the prestige of the Government which is so largely responsible for having produced it.

In home affairs the Government has suffered from the same shortcomings. In no direction has a strong lead been given, and, especially in questions of finance, the impression has been created that the Government does not know its own mind and has no definite solution to suggest. M. Grabski, who had been Minister of Finance in General Sikorski's Government, continued in that office when the change of Government took place. This was indeed a welcome sign of continuity in questions of finance. As soon, however, as the mark began to collapse, signs of indecision appeared, and the special measures hurriedly introduced by M. Grabski soon led to his resignation, on the ground that he did not see eye to eye with his colleagues. It is clear that there is no controlling personality in the present Government to put his hand on what is really essential and to put through the measures necessary to achieve it.

The most prominent feature in the past history of Poland has been the pernicious tendency to divide on personal issues rather than unite on essentials. Poland has had no lack of strong personalities in the past, and it is when such men have taken control of her affairs that she has prospered. When the field has been left open to personal and party disputes, she has gone backwards. Since she has recovered her independence she has again produced a man of strong character and striking personality. Marshal Pilsudski, in spite of his many and transparent faults, in spite of his methods which in many cases have been deplorable, has rendered great services to Poland. Though he unfortunately roused violent animosities against his person owing to his impatience of opposition, he knew his own mind and was capable of carrying through a definite policy so long as he remained in power. His disappearance from the scene, accompanied by the disappearance of General Sikorski, who shares with Marshal Pilsudski many of his strong points, while free from the latter's particular failings, has had the effect of cutting Poland adrift from the anchorage provided for her while under the control of a dominating personality. The present Government is under the leadership of a clever and crafty peasant, who possesses considerable political experience, but whom his own colleagues neither trust nor admire. The National Democrats, who are the main support of the Government, have been unable to contribute anybody who has caught, or is likely to catch, the popular imagination. Time is wasted both in the Diet and in the press on party invective. The press that support the Government barely know what they are supporting and are forced back on abuse of their opponents, which is the main theme of every leading article. One cannot but feel that in such an atmosphere no serious progress is likely to be attempted until a much firmer and more masterful hand is put forward to take charge.

It was hoped that when the present Government was formed a more reasonable attitude would be adopted towards foreign business men, who from time to time have negotiated with the Polish Government on the question of concessions. Hitherto it has been held that the Socialists, on whose votes previous Governments had been forced to rely, had been mainly responsible for the obstruction, on the ground that they objected to the property of the State being sold or leased to foreign capitalists. The new Government, however, which is strongly Nationalist, has so far failed to give any sign that it intends to be more accommodating in this respect than its predecessors. The present tendency would appear to be to keep everything in Polish hands, even if those hands are unable to exploit what they have got under their control. It cannot be said that the foreign concessionnaire receives a warm welcome in this country under present conditions. On the contrary, there appears to be a tendency which of late, if one can judge from a number of isolated instances, has become more marked, to show the foreigner in general that he is not particularly wanted in Poland. The difficulties that Poland is at present suffering from seem to be having the effect of making her stand more upon her own dignity and to resent what she considers the air of superior wisdom shown by foreigners whose country is better placed economically. One cannot but feel that, were the present Government more sure of themselves, and more decided on the policy they intended to

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pursue, these incidents would not arise. They appear, indeed, merely to reflect the feeling of irritability which springs from weakness and indecision, and it is unnecessary to seek for any deeper-rooted explanation.

Politically, the French continue to be regarded as Poland's main bulwark abroad. This tendency is all the more marked at present, as the tradition of the National Democrats is to look to France, and to France alone. To those, however, who think in economic as well as in political terms, it must long since have become obvious that France's present policy in Central Europe is greatly aggravating Poland's economic difficulties. The dependence of Poland on the German market is a well-established fact, and the ruin of Germany, with the headlong fall of the German mark, has brought Poland's finances to their present pass. In spite of this patent fact no criticism of France is heard in any section of the Polish press. Poles may admit the truth of such criticism in private conversation, but, in view of the uncertain state both of Germany and Russia, the feeling of dependence on France is so great that publicly they dare not give voice to any criticism of their main protector. Poland is deeply involved in the general turmoil of Central Europe. She is anxious to extricate herself from dependence on Germany and to develop her very real internal resources, apart from what may happen outside her frontiers. So far, however, she has found no way out of the difficulty, and nobody has, as yet, come forward with a plain statement as to the cause of Poland's difficulties and the sacrifices that must be borne to remedy them.

I have, &c.
R. A. LEEPER.

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POLAND. [August 7.]

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[N 6717/29/55] No. 1.

*Mr. Leeper to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received August 7.*)

(No. 332.)

My Lord, *Warsaw, July* 28, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to report that M. Witos, the President of the Council, delivered a speech to a number of his adherents at Tarnow on the 17th July, in the course of which he dealt chiefly with the internal situation, and the reasons which had prompted the Peasant party to take part in the present administration.

There were, I understand, no regular reporters present on this occasion, with the result that various unauthorised versions of the speech were published by the Opposition press, which sought to discover a trace of differences of opinion between M. Witos and his colleagues of the Right. A full report of the speech was therefore published in M. Witos's party organ, the "Wola Ludu," on Monday last, and it is from that account that the following summary is taken.

With regard to the formation of the present Government, M. Witos stated that, before the elections of November last, he had endeavoured to form a common platform with other party leaders (a probable reference to the radical Peasants), but without success. The results were disastrous; the elections in the border territories were lost, as the Polish elements voted for "foreign" lists. When the Presidential elections approached, a difference of views—social, political and national—became apparent. Solidarity was only visible amongst the "foreign nationalities."

The conviction then became prevalent that if the union of the whole was an impossibility, at least a united majority was necessary. "We had to forget what "divided us, what divides us now, and what will still divide us, and show that we "could act and sacrifice ourselves."

M. Witos then emphasised the necessity for all States to have an aim in view, a definite policy, which it was their duty to pursue unswervingly in the manner of Russia, which strove incessantly for Constantinople, and of the other States, such as England and France. "He who does not know in what direction he is going will arrive "nowhere."

In regard to foreign policy, his Excellency remarked upon the danger which would threaten Poland from a restored Germany or a reconstituted Russia. If Poland, he said, desired to expand, her policy should be to advance towards the east and not towards the west.

After some rather disjointed criticism of the methods of past Governments and a protestation that he would lay down his office if anyone said to him "I am wiser than "you, and will do what I have to do half-an-hour earlier," M. Witos announced that he would support any "Polish" Government, but that the fate of the State could not be made dependent on the machinations of Jews or White Russians. "I will not give "the destiny of the State into the hands of enemies or of uncertain persons."

It was useless to appeal for financial help to foreign States, who would inevitably reply: "Show that you can give something yourselves and then we will help you." He hoped for an improvement in the autumn, and the country must wait in patience and not despair.

As regards agrarian reform, M. Witos summed up the attitude of his party as follows:—

> "We keep to our treaty. Others may deceive us, or they may not, but it is "known that if one party to a policy takes the path of dishonour, it passes a death "sentence upon itself."

The Opposition press, as already stated, proceeded to hail this speech as an indication of a divergence of views amongst the parties composing the Government, seizing particularly upon the passage in which M. Witos pointed to the east, rather than to the west, as the path of Poland's expansion. They pointed out that this conception was entirely opposed to the principles of foreign policy enunciated by M. Seyda, and that it had all along aroused the anger and contempt of the parties of



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the Right. Finally, they accused the Government papers of endeavouring to hush up the speech by declining to publish it in their columns.

The passage in question formed one of the subjects of the interpellation on foreign policy put forward by M. Dabski in the Diet on the 24th July (*vide* my despatch No. 330 of the 29th July). In the course of his speech, in reply, M. Seyda stated that the authentic text of the passage was as follows: "We must consider whether our "economic expansion should not proceed in the direction of Russia." There was, therefore, no question of political expansion.

Although this text differs from that published by M. Witos's party organ, I have little doubt that it accurately interprets the idea which the Prime Minister desired to convey to his audience, whatever words he may have actually employed, and that the Opposition press, in their desire to injure the Government, have seriously exaggerated the whole incident.

I have, &c.
R. A. LEEPER

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OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

L.S.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

Although I kept Mr. King informed during this trip by a series of private letters, I think it desirable and in accordance with my custom on like occasions, to submit a short report to the Minister on the mission with which I was entrusted.

O. Skelton

Ottawa, 15th September, 1922.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE 334

MEMORANDUM

Dept External Affairs
b.s. - Appointments

MR. McGREGOR: Retirement of Sir Joseph Pope

Mr. King said you had better take up this matter with the Auditor General; the following is the action I have taken, on Mr. King's instructions,

I showed Dr. Roche Sir Joseph Pope's letter of May 1, 1924 in which the desire is expressed to serve three years, ending April 1, 1926 at the increased salary. Mr. King told me to say that he would like to meet Sir Joseph Pope's wishes, but at the same time he would like to be able to appoint Sir Joseph's successor with effect from April 1, 1925.

Dr.Roche said the matter could not be arranged by granting Sir Joseph leave of absence because this would entail two salaries. He thought it could be done by asking the Auditor General if he would draft an item to be placed in the Estimates granting to Sir Joseph Pope a sum equal to a year's salary which will be taken to apply as a year's service so far as the Superannuation Act is concerned: the grant to be in recognition of service, etc.

Dr. Roche said something of this kind was done for Mr. Black.

(In the Old Superannuation Act there was a provision enabling the Govt. to add certain years to a man's service so as to entitled him to increased retirement allowance; Mr.Fielding opposed this provision and it was not included in the present Act.)

Jan.20 1925

WHM

(W.H. MEASURES)

C 93798 MG 26 J 1 vol 200 p. 333

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Dept. External Affairs
b.s. - Appointments

Tuesday,
January 20 1925

MR. KING:

I have spoken to Mr. Gonthier about Sir Joseph Pope's retirement. He will have drafted for you, for consideration at Council tomorrow, an item for the Estimates which will cover the points raised. Mr. Gonthier will consult the Deputy Minister of Justice in the matter.

McG.

(F.A. McGREGOR)

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# *Canadian Mail Contractors' Association*

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

GUELPH, Ont., April 14th, 1928.

THE HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
AND THE SENATE OF CANADA.
OTTAWA, ONT.

DEAR SIRS,—

As an Association representing the Mail Contractors of Canada, we ask your Honourable Body to support our efforts to secure a larger income for the services we render, and a more reasonabale form of engagement with the Government.

Among the improved conditions our Association is asking for are the following:—

(1) The abolition of the contract system, and the introduction in its place of a salary system at the rate of Seventy Dollars per mile, per year, for the Rural Mail Contractors, and with permanency of occupation guaranteed (subject to good service being rendered).

(2) We ask for the same rate, namely, Seventy Dollars per mile per year, for the Contractors engaged on the long distance contracts as between Post Offices and Post Offices.

(3) That for the Contractors engaged as between Post Offices and Railway Stations, we ask for a substantial increase, in most cases it would require almost three times the present rate of pay. These contracts represent a very short distance, and a **very trifling income,** one entirely inadequate for the responsibility of the services rendered.

For many years the Mail Contractors have suffered losses, and in hundreds of cases have been reduced to the state of abject poverty and distress. Bailiffs have entered the homes, and seized the household furniture; Humane Society Officers have arrested the Mail Contractors, charging them with driving their horses in an underfed and unfit condition.

These conditions are all the result of the Tendering or Contract System.

This is the only Branch of the Government Service in Canada where men are employed under contract, and by **Tendering.**


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In every other part of the Post Office, and all other Government Departments, all the employees from the **Janitor** to the **Highest Official** are engaged on a **Permanent Salary Basis,** and at a **living wage,** always ample to provide for the **necessities** of life, while the Rural Mail Contractors are obliged to submit to all public competition, of **Immature** and **Inexperienced** people in the locality where they live, and because of this competition it is impossible to secure a living wage. There is also the very objectionable practise of the Post Office Officials, when the contracts are being tendered for, of writing the applicants tendering for the contract, informing them that the price they have submitted was altogether too high, even though it was not more than from **Two** to **Three Dollars** per day, and out of which they are obliged to keep and pay for the maintenance of two horses and rigs, and in addition thereto to live themselves and keep their families. Then after the applicant has reduced his tender, he is again written to and requested to make still further reductions. Many cases are on record, with the Association, where a bartering system was carried on by the Officials, who even visited the scene of tendering doing their best to secure some unfortunate individual to do the work at a price even lower than that required to pay the actual running expenses. Then the contractor is obliged to furnish two reliable sureties, or bondsmen, to the extent on the average Route of $500.00 each. Some of the practises that have been resorted to in obtaining lower tenders are contrary to any fair set of ethics used in general business life today.

Some time ago the Contract System was changed in the United States, and for several years the men employed on Rural Routes have enjoyed a permanent salary basis of engagement, and at the rate of Seventy-five Dollars per mile per year, as well as two weeks of annual vacation each summer, in addition to the regular Statutary Holidays.

The average Route in the United States is 24 miles, therefore the average income received is $1,800.00. The average Route in Canada today is 20 miles and the average income received is $732.00, whereas the City Letter Carriers, who have all their equipment furnished, including uniforms, etc., receive on an average from $1,500.00 to $1,600.00. So also the City Postal Clerks, Railway Mail Clerks, Town and City Post Masters, Janitors, Post Office Inspectors, and in fact all Employees known to the Government Service, receive an income several times greater than that of the Rural Mail Contractors who have to provide their own horses and equipment.

And to you as Honourable Members of the House of Commons and of the Senate, we submit that our engagement is not a fair one, and we humbly ask your support in our effort to bring about the changes we are seeking to secure.

All of which we respectfully submit to you.

Faithfully yours,

CANADIAN MAIL CONTRACTORS' ASSOCIATION

JOSEPH P. EVERETT, President.

GARFIELD MacKINNON, Secretary.

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# COMMENTS FROM THE PRESS

## *Re* RURAL MAIL CARRIERS

The Toronto Globe, of September 10th, 1928, Editorially says:—

"**HEED THE RURAL CARRIERS**—The Annual Meeting of the Canadian Mail Contractors' Association, held in Toronto the other day, brought once more to the attention of the public the **unfortunate conditions** under which the Rural Mail Contractor carries on his work. Chief among the resolutions passed by the Carriers was that requesting the Government to abolish the present contract plan under which mail is delivered in the country, and to bring about the introduction of the Salary System on the basis of $70.00 per mile per year for Rural Contractors. The request made by these men is **reasonable.** What they are asking from the Government is simply a **living wage** and to be placed on a similar footing to the Postal Carriers in the cities of the Dominion. The Contract System has outlived its usefulness, and should be discarded without delay. It was given up long ago by the United States Government, and the Rural Mail Men placed on the same basis as other employees of the Postal Department. The Contract System in vogue in Canada has little to commend it, except that it is **cheap.** The man who submits the lowest tender may get the job. Too often it may happen that he will also perform the worst service. The Rural Mail Carriers have protested for long against the present plan, and have petitioned the Government repeatedly to have it changed. Surely the time has come when their plea should be heeded."

The Ottawa Citizen editorially said as follows:—

"**RURAL MAIL CASE.**—A convincing case has been made out for better treatment at the hands of the Department at Ottawa by the Rural Mail Contractors' Association in the memorandum they recently sent to Members of both Houses of Parliament. As most persons are aware, Rural Mail Deliveries are carried out under a Contract System whereby the Contractor undertakes to deliver mail along a given Route for four years. The average length of a Mail Contract Route is 20 miles and the average yearly contract price paid by the Government is $732.00. Besides furnishing wholly inadequate remuneration for the character of the work and duties entailed, this system possesses inherent defects which only its abolition can remove. The Rural Mail Men point out that the average upkeep of a Contractor's horses and rigs during the last five years has been $1,058.00. This means an average loss of $326.00 yearly, in addition to which the Mail Contractor has given his time and assumed responsibilities **free of charge.** What the Mail Contractors ask for —and it seems a reasonable and modest request—is that the Contract System be abolished, and in its place a Salary Plan be introduced. The rate they ask is $70.00 per mile per year. If the average mileage is 20, this would not mean a very lavish scale of pay, but it would, at least, cover expenses. In the United States the Rural Mail Carriers receive $75.00 per mile per year on a permanent Salary Basis, and are allowed holidays."

The London Advertiser, editorially, said as follows:—

"Contracts are still being called for the delivery of Rural Mail although there has been a determined effort on the part of the Rural Carriers themselves to have this system abolished. The one thing to commend it is that it is cheap, and its cheapness seems to be possible by taking it out of the men engaged in the work. Taking the Routes, as they exist at present, the average yearly salary is about $750.00 and the average Route is 20 miles per day. For this amount of money it is necessary for a Carrier to keep, in nearly all cases, two horses and rigs, and to pay for the feed and shoeing of the horses, repairs to the rigs, harness, etc. It has been shown that in many cases it costs more to keep up the outfit than the man himself draws on salary. The real grievance these men have is that they are not getting enough money. In fact, many of them lose money. They get no holidays. They have no allowance made for sickness. They must get out six days a week in all kinds of weather. They have to carry and sell stamps, money orders and postal notes, registered mail containing money, and carry on nearly all the functions of a travelling Post Office. When a man has finished his four years as a Carrier, if he wishes to continue, he must put in another bid. If he is $25.00 above another tenderer **he is out of it, and his outfit is left on his hands.** This seems to be too loose a method to be continued. The wonder is that the Post Office Department at Ottawa has allowed this thing to continue for such a length of time. There is no desire on the part of the people that any Department of Government Service shall be carried on in a way that does not give a man who performs good service a **decent wage** for it. The United States places its Rural Carriers on a mileage basis, and that seems to be a reasonable way to do it. Thus, when a Rural Carrier goes to work he knows he is going to get a fair return and that his position is assured as long as he does his work well. The idea of making these men quit and tender over again every four years **is all wrong and unfair to them.**"

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The Toronto Star, editorially, said in part as follows:—

"One economy, at least, is practised in the governing of Canada. It has long been practised. Governments may come and go, new Prime Ministers may rise, flourish, and fade away, but this particular economy continues to be practised; and skilled men devote their lives to Scrooging and saving to make the record good. It is perhaps by now the traditional policy of the country to adhere to this economy, and practise it to the utmost degree, because it is so **lone** and **singular.** We refer to the way the Rural Mail Contractors are underpaid, and the men who contract to carry mail between Post Offices and Railway Stations. It is our opinion, deliberately arrived at, that the Dominion of Canada, in no other bit of business which she carries on, arrives at such **a perfection of detail** in skin-flinting those who serve her, as she does in dealing with the Rural Mail Carriers. Many of these Mail Contractors have not in recent years been receiving sufficient pay to meet the feed bills of the horses they employ."

The Montreal Herald, in an editorial, under the heading:—

**"RURAL MAIL STAFF COMPLAINS OF VILE WORK CONDITIONS.**—One of the worst paying lines of business in Canada is that of the Rural Mail Carrying Contractor. With luck, he does not lose more than about four hundred dollars per year, and to achieve this set-back, he works from sunrise to the setting of the same. His happiest hours are those of sleep when he can entirely forget that this old world exists. Bone ache and abuse are his portion in life. Compared with city men, the Canadian Mail Contractors' Association submit to the Members of the House of Commons that this unfair, un-Canadian and miserable state of affairs should be determined and ended, and the Mail Carriers in the Rural Districts should be working under as favorable conditions as the men delivering Mail in the cities of Canada. The city men are supplied with all their equipment, including practically everything they wear, and in addition thereto receive a salary and a bonus which total from $1,500.00 to $1,900.00 per annum. The city men have no equipment to supply. The Rural Mail Carriers are willing to supply their equipment and also to dress themselves, but submit that for their work they should be paid a minimum of $70.00 per mile per year, which would total not more than $1,400.00 per year on the average route of 20 miles and is less in money than the average Mail Carrier in the city receives, who has in addition all the other advantages before referred to."

The Telegraph-Journal, Saint John, N.B., editorially said:—

"This is the only branch of the Government Service in Canada where men are employed under contract by public competition. In every other branch of the Post Office, and all other Government Departments, all employees, from the Janitor to the Highest Official, are engaged on a permanent salary basis, and at a living wage, always ample to provide for the necessities of life, while the Rural Mail Contractor is obliged to submit to all public competition of immature and inexperienced people in the locality where he lives, and because of which he cannot secure an income on his contract sufficient to pay the running expenses. This would be the case in every other Branch of the Postal Service if public competition were allowed. The Government extends to Janitors, Postmasters, City Letter Carriers, Postal Clerks in Offices and Railway Mail Clerks, as well as Post Office Inspectors and all other employees a permanent engagement on a salary basis, not allowing any competition, so that the Mail Contractors are merely asking that the same fair treatment be now extended to them, and that they may enjoy the same conditions as that experienced by all other Government employees in Canada. There is also the system practised by the Post Office Inspectors when contracts are being tendered for. The practise has been to write the applicants tendering for the contract, informing them that the price they have submitted was altogether too high, even though it was not more than from $2.00 to $3.00 per day, and out of which he is obliged to keep and pay for the maintenance of two horses and rigs, and in addition thereto to live himself and keep his family. Then when he has reduced his tender price, at the request of the Post Office Inspectors, these same Inspectors very frequently visit the place of tendering, or the locality, and there do their utmost to barter each applicant against the other, endeavoring in every way possible to get the various applicants to underbid each other, which results in getting some unfortunate individual signed on a contract at a price much lower than that required to pay the actual running expenses, and where he is also obliged to furnish two reliable sureties to the value of $500.00 each. In case of the Contractor not being able to fulfill the terms of the contract because of the low price received, these two sureties will be compelled to step in and fulfill the life of the contract, or carry on the work to the completion of the contract period. This bartering system would not be tolerated in any other Branch of the Government Service. The City Letter Carriers, or the Clerks in City Post Offices, or the Mail Clerks on trains, Postmasters, or Janitors, would not stand for a day under such a system of employment. The Rural Mail Contractors are, therefore, through their Association, asking that the Government abandon the Contract System entirely, and inaugurate in its place a Salaried System, where permanency of occupation will be guaranteed to the men in the service, and at the rate of $70.00 per mile per year. In the United States the Rural Mail Carriers have for the last ten years enjoyed a permanent Salary Basis of engagement, and at an income of $75.00 per mile per year, which is $5.00 per mile per year more than that asked for by the Rural Mail Carriers in Canada. They are also given Free Uniforms and running equipment, which consists

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of horses and rigs and motors, and two weeks' holidays each summer, as well as the ten Statutory Holidays, and all with full salary payment, while the Canadian Mail Contractors are only asking for $70.00 per mile per year rate of income. All the employees in the Civil Service, including the Post Office and all other Government Departments, from the Janitor to the Highest Official, have been enjoying a War Bonus, or back payment of moneys, as it is called, based on the high cost of living during the war and the post war period, and have been annually receiving this bonus for the last ten years, while the Rural Mail Contractors have received less than half of the income paid to any of the other Branches of the service, and unlike any of the other Branches, have had to maintain at their own personal expense horses and rigs, etc., which constitutes their whole running equipment, and because of these facts they are asking the Government that in all fairness they will now be paid the increased rate, $70.00 per mile pear year, back to January 1st, 1917, to reimburse them for carrying on the work during that period of time when the cost required to perform the services was so abnormally high. The average Rural Mail Contract is 20 miles in length, and the average income received is $732.00, while the expenses required yearly to perform this service have been considerably over $1,000.00, hence a yearly loss has been incurred of approximately $300.00, as well as the Contractor being forced to give **Free of all Cost** the responsibility of service, as well as the free use of his running equipment. This is entirely unfair and requires remedial measures for relief of such conditions, and the Mail Contractors are merely asking for **Fair Conditions** under which to give service. It is in the interests of the public served, as well as the Mail Contractors performing the service, that a fair living wage be provided, with the security of a **Permanent Engagement.**"

The Hamilton Herald, in an editorial, said as follows in discussing the Contract System:—

"Hundreds of farmers have been lured to disaster, once they have signed that Contract, they, or their sureties must fulfill its terms to the letter. There is no mercy for them if they fail, and practically all of them are compelled to carry out their contracts, at serious personal loss. In Ontario, the average annual income of the Rural Mail Contractor is $732.00, and the average annual expenditure is $1,058.00. Their average annual loss in **Cash** is therefore $326.00, besides their labor. On duty in the open air in all sorts of weather, responsible for the care of registered mail, containing large sums of money, most of these men not only receive nothing for their service, but are actually out of pocket for the privilege of working for the public."

The Canadian Countryman, in an editorial on the Contract System, said as follows:—

"There is no System under which any man in Canada has ever been employed that is so disgraceful as the System today in operation by the Postal Department when the Mail Contractors are employed. The Tendering System employed at present in itself is bad enough, but worse than even that is the very deplorable conduct of Post Office Inspectors who go around and prey upon the weakness of the Contractor, doing their utmost to secure from him a much lower amount than the original tender, bartering one applicant against the other, until they succeed in getting some individual signed on the contract at a price much lower than that required to pay the actual running expenses."

The St. Thomas Times and Journal, in an editorial, said as follows:—

"**SHAMEFUL AND DISGUSTING.**—There is no such form of treatment ever extended to any employees in any walk of life, in Canada, or any other country. It is **Shameful and Disgusting** in its nature, and should not be allowed. Any common laborer is entitled to receive his daily wage, but the Mail Contractor performing the work of great responsibility and carrying upon their person a large amount of money, are asked to perform these responsible duties at a price that will not commence to meet their expense account. Then another feature in regard to the Contract System is that no matter how certain individuals may be able to judge the cost to do the work under present conditions, no man is able to look ahead and determine what expenses will be incurred in doing the work in the four succeeding years, as prices of all commodities have been rising tremendously during and since the war and are apt to be so again even in normal times. Oats, hay, straw, horseshoeing and rig repairs are items of expense that vary very much from one season to another, and their advanced cost in many years is a very serious matter to men engaged in this line of work, and they therefore should not, as Contractors, be asked to look ahead and determine what will be required to do this work in the succeeding years. That is a gift of foresight that **no human being** has been able to attain, and one which the Almighty has not blessed any of us with."

The Canadian Observer, Sarnia, Ont., says as follows editorially:—

"Rural Mail Carriers are endeavoring to have the Government extend them more consideration in the way of remuneration. Some rather peculiar methods have prevailed in dealing with tenders for the Mail Carrying Service. These should certainly be amended, because it should not be a question of hammering down the price beyond a living wage. The country has now achieved considerable experience in dealing with the Rural Mail Problem. It ought to be possible from the records available to decide what is fair remuneration for this work, which is a tedious job necessary on every day of the year except Sundays. It ought to be possible for the Postal Department to decide what a man and team could earn in other employment working these hours, for the same number of days. From that basis it could be calculated what the job is worth.

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The Rural Mail Service is one of the best accomplishments of modern Government effort. It has brought the country districts into close touch with the centres and with each other. It means that farmers get daily information on all subjects equal to that available to the city dweller. It is an immense aid to agricultural business because through it the farmers are in close touch with their markets. It renders life in the rural districts much more attractive and less isolated. The **Mail Carrier is an important link** in the chain that comprises the service that has accomplished the benefits outlined. He is entitled to fair treatment."

The Farmers' Sun, editorially, said in part:—

"The Rural Mail Contractors claim they have a very serious grievance against the Government. They not only make the claim, but they back it up with facts and figures, which go to show that the Government expects them to carry on at a financial loss. Statistics show that the average Rural Route is twenty miles in length, while the average payment made for this is $732.00 a year. The average expenses amount to $1,058.00 a year, so that the average Mail Contractor is $326.00 worse off than if he had never taken the contract. The bargain which they are forced to sign does not provide for any sliding scale, no matter how the cost of doing business increases in the meantime, as for example, oats which cost 55c per bushel in 1917, cost $1.60 in 1920; baled hay which cost $15.00 to $18.00 in 1917 was $45.00 in 1920, while horseshoeing, rig repairs and other expenses are very high."

The Hamilton Spectator, in an editorial, says:—

"The plea of the Rural Mail Contractor for increased remuneration and for compensation for losses sustained through the fulfillment of their contracts with the Government in the past is one which will commend the sympathy of all fair-minded people. The rates demanded cannot be considered high; in fact when the expenses incidental to the work are taken into account, they must be regarded as extremely moderate. What the Carriers ask for is a twenty-mile contract at $70.00 per mile, or $1,400.00. Their average expenses are estimated at $1,078.00, leaving a profit of $322.00, or about a dollar a day—surely little enough for the services rendered. There is also a request that the new scale be made retroactive to January, 1917. The reason for this latter provision is easily explained. These contracts were entered into at a time when the cost of living was considerably lower than it is today. The Bonus Principle to meet such discrepancies has been put into practise in the case of Urban Mail Carriers, but nothing has been done for the Rural men. These Contractors have had to find fodder for their horses, etc., etc., at greatly enhanced prices, and are subject to the same increase in living expenses as their city confreres, or City Letter Carriers. There is no justification, therefore, for making fish of the one and flesh of the other, and the protest of the Rural Men appears well founded. They claim they have **incurred actual losses on their Contracts,** and it is in order to recoup themselves in some measure for these losses that the demand for the increased rate is made, or antedated to the beginning of 1917. The average income from these old contracts, it is proven by Mr. Garfield MacKinnon, General Agent of the Canadian Mail Contractors' Association, is only $732.00, while the expenses are placed at $1,078.00, as mentioned above—a net loss of $346.00 per annum on the contract. To expect Government Servants to be contented under such circumstances is manifestly absurd. The public will not desire to inflict an intolerable hardship of this character on those who serve them so well. There is another matter of equal importance. It relates to the position of the contractors who carry the mails between the Post Offices and the Railway Stations. These have been receiving compensation ridiculously inadequate for the services rendered. It is urged on behalf of these Contractors that the scale should be increased to three times its present proportions. All these matters have been, and will again be, brought **forcibly to the attention of the Government,** and the representations thus made have apparently been received with sympathy and a sincere desire to remedy whatever may be found inequitable in the existing conditions. Mr. MacKinnon has succeeded in gaining the support of various public bodies for these suggested reforms. No impartial person will fail to be impressed by the logical and circumstantial brief presented on behalf of the Rural Mail Carriers."

The following item appeared in the Stratford Beacon-Herald, on January 7th, 1928:—

**"CRUELTY CHARGE IS DISMISSED BY COURT.—Rural Mail Carrier Forced to Keep Horse and Himself on $1.75 per day.**—A charge of cruelty to animals laid against Fred Sapwell, Rural Mail Carrier, was dropped in City Police Court this morning when circumstances in connection with the case were brought to the attention of Magistrate Makins. He was haled into Court at the instance of Inspector J. J. Dalrymple, of the Humane Society, who noticed the horse on the street this morning, and immediately ordered the driver to cease work. He was charged with driving a horse on the highway in an underfed and unfit condition, thereby ill-treating the same. In Court it was alleged that the animal was in a pitiful condition, but the accused told a story which changed the whole complexion of the case. He covered 24 miles on his Route every day, including coming and going to work, for which he was paid $1.75 per day. He told the Magistrate with this sum he was supposed to provide a horse and equipment, and the balance went to his own keep. Garfield MacKinnon, Secretary of the Rural Mail Contractors' Association, corroborated the man's story, and pleaded for leniency, to which both Inspector Dalrymple and John Murray, Prosecutor for the Humane Society, agreed, and accordingly the charge was dropped upon condition that the horse is withdrawn from service."

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## *Newspaper and Public Comment in this Connection*

The Toronto Daily Star, in its Editorial of October 24th, 1927, says:—"As a rule, the men who do the Rural Mail conveying are badly underpaid, and the **'System'** whereby Inspectors are sent out to Scrooge the tightest bargains **procurable** from those who are renewing their Mail Contracts or dig up somebody else who will do the work for a Dollar and a half a year less than the regular man asks for the job, is a bad one, and a reproach to the country. The man who drives mail every lawful day in the year, **wet** or **dry, stormy** or **fair,** is doing a work for which there should be a **known,** a right and a just wage, and the man who does the work should get it. He should not be talked out of it by the **High Pressure contract makers** sent out by the Government of the country."

The Toronto Globe, in its Editorial of October 14th, 1927, says:—"The method of contracting for the delivery of Rural Mail today has little to commend it. It is an obsolete arrangement which should be discarded without delay. In no other branch of the Government Service would such an antiquated mode of employing men for responsible work be for a moment tolerated. The job of the Letter Carrier in the country is just as important as that of his fellow workers in the cities, and it seems only just that both should be placed on the same footing with regard to the manner of their employment. It is the claim of the Rural Carriers that under this contract plan it is impossible to secure an income sufficient to pay the expenses involved in the delivery of mail. The system is open to the grossest abuses, both in the letting of the contracts and in the fulfilling of them. Government positions, no matter how humble, should not be made the subject of barter and be given to the lowest bidder. The United States recognized this ten years ago, and placed its Rural Mail Carriers on a permanent salary basis. It is time that similar action was taken in Canada. In the ordinary evolution of things, the present system cannot continue much longer. The Postmaster General should give heed to the reasonable requests of the Rural Mail Carriers and have it ended now."

Several Members of the House of Commons have, during the present Session, strongly supported our claims.

Mr. T. M. Cayley, South Oxford, and Mr. George H. Spotton, North Huron, advocated increases of remuneration for the Rural Mail Carriers, while Mr. Cootnam, North Renfrew, said in part:—"I believe it is a crying shame and a disgrace to this country today that our Rural Mail Carriers do not receive more remuneration for the service they render."

Mr. M. J. Maloney, South Renfrew, said:—"These men are performing an arduous and exacting task. They are working long hours, travelling over rough roads, all in the country's service, and I have always thought that any Minister, no matter how cold blooded he might be, should blush with shame when he comes to sign his name to a contract which binds a man to perform the service these men are performing today, for the remuneration they are receiving. There will be, I believe, an application before the Government for an increase up to $70.00 per mile, whereas in United States they receive $75.00 a mile as a flat rate. They have their annual holiday, and they have sick leave, and everything else."

Mr. G. H. Pettit, Welland:—"I do not think there is a more faithful or a harder working class of Government Employees than the Rural Mail Carriers. Practically all of them are married men with families, and I appeal to the Government to put them, the Rural Mail Carriers, on a proper basis. The remuneration should be at least $1,400.00 a year, and even that is little enough. The remuneration ought to be on the basis of $70.00 per mile."

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Memorandum for Mr. Henry:

Mr. Jean François Pouliot, M.P., telephoned from Montreal to say that he had, yesterday, arranged for an appointment with Mr. Cardin to-day, regarding a certain matter which he has explained in detail to Mr. King. This had been done from Ottawa over the telephone.

To-day, upon arrival at Montreal at noon, Mr. Pouliot telephoned to Mr. Cardin who told him he would receive him at three o'clock. At three o'clock when he called, he was informed that Mr. Cardin had left for Sorel.

(The matter about which Mr. Pouliot wishes to speak to Mr. Cardin is the financing of his recent campaign and the settlement of a case in the Magistrate's Court which comes up on Saturday. The other parties have agreed to confess judgment provided a settlement is provided)

Mr. Pouliot considers this very urgent and is under the impression that Mr. Cardin is endeavouring to sidetrack him . He said that if the matter is not adjusted satisfactorily at once he will resign.

He asked me if he could get in touch with Mr. King and I said that it was impossible owing to the fact that he was in the country, but that I would get word to him through you. Mr. Pouliot said he would not do anything before he hears what Mr. King has to say about it.

He asked to be communicated with to-morrow at Rivière-du-Loup (by mail) at the earliest possible moment in order that he may govern himself accordingly.

V. L.

Ottawa, September 24, 1930.

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THE RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING:

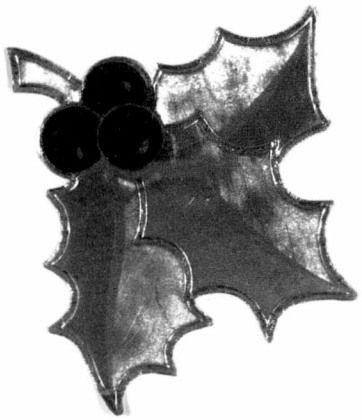
This turkey is typical of the Broad Breasted Bronze birds which are being continuously improved both in fleshing and fatness. We believe they are not without gustatorial appeal. If you would care to express an opinion as to the quality of this specimen, it would assist us in our research along these lines.

H.S. Gutteridge
Dominion Poultry Husbandman.

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.... P. C. 124 C 93809 A-1003

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA
Saturday the 19th day of January, 1923

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL:

WHEREAS by Order in Council of the 25th September, 1922, (P.C.2001) regulations were promulgated with respect to inspection and grading of eggs, Sections 18 and 19 of these regulations dealing with the inspection of eggs imported into Canada in shipments of ten cases or more;

AND WHEREAS it has been found that shippers in the United States evade these regulations by sending eggs forward in lots of less than ten cases;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed advisable to make provision for the inspection of shipments of eggs in less than ten cases;

THEREFORE His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Agriculture, is pleased to order that Sections 18 and 19 of the Egg Regulations at present reading as follows:

18. All shipments of eggs in the shell, imported into Canada for domestic consumption in shipments of ten (10) cases or more shall be subject to inspection and marking at the port of entry in the Dominion of Canada by duly authorized inspectors.

19.

POOR
COPY

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C 93810

19. Collectors of Customs and Excise shall not release for delivery any importations of eggs in shipments of 10 cases or more intended for domestic consumption until they have been furnished with a certificate signed by a duly authorized inspector setting forth that the eggs contained in the shipment referred to have been inspected as required by these Regulations. Such certificates ..... (Signed)
Inspector No .....

shall be and the same are hereby amended by striking out the words "in shipments of ten (10) cases or more" in the second and third lines of Section 18, and by striking out the same words in the second and third lines of Section 19, of the Egg Regulations.

Clerk of the Privy Council.

POOR
COPY

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19. Collectors of Customs and Excise shall not release for delivery any importations of eggs in shipments of 10 cases or more intended for domestic consumption until they have been furnished with a certificate signed by a duly authorized inspector setting forth that the eggs contained in the shipment referred to have been inspected as required by these Regulations. Such certificates ..... (Signed)
Inspector No .....

shall be and the same are hereby amended by striking out the words "in shipments of ten (10) cases or more" in the second and third lines of Section 18, and by striking out the same words in the second and third lines of Section 19, of the Egg Regulations.

W.L. Mackenzie King

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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C 93811 A-1003

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
CANADA

Ottawa
Thursday
July 23

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

Livestock and Livestock Products Act
Prosecution Loblaw's Groceterias Limited

Referring to the Prime Minister's memorandum of July 13th to Mr. Campney, I forward herewith summary relative to the above.

Bridale
Dept Minister of Agric

The Prime Minister expressed the wish that a Mr. ~~Gilchrist~~ be consulted. The only Mr. Gilchrist I know of was Gilchrist of the Department of Trade and Commerce, but when I approached him he said he was not familiar with the Loblaw prosecution.

The information forwarded was obtained from fyle, and from Mr. W. A. Brown, of the Department of Agriculture.

Will the Prime Minister please forward details of Gilchrist's identity and I shall pursue the inquiry further.

I learned from the Assistant Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture that the petitions forwarded by the Loblaw Company did not go further than the Department. In the absence of the Minister and his Secretary it was impossible to obtain any explanation.

O/C
Lord Athlone au
Président

J Gibson 23.7.25
upw

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C 93812

LIVE STOCK AND LIVE STOCK PRODUCTS ACT

PROSECUTION LOBLAW FROCETERIAS LTD.

S U M M A R Y

I PLEAS:

(a) Department of Agriculture, Plaintiff -

Loblaw's contravention of the Act.

The Act stipulates -

First - Eggs for sale must be candled and graded

Second - The containers must be marked with the name of the class and the grade

Third - Returns must be made to the producer on a graded basis

whereas

(b) Loblaw's do not grade, yet they put a statement on the carton that the eggs are graded according to Government standard.

Loblaw's, Defendant -

No details of plea are available but it appears the system of the firm is to buy direct from the farmers, whom they supply with cartons, and sell direct to the consumer. The farmer's name, and the date of purchase, are stamped on the carton, and in the event of a complaint from a consumer, they are reimbursed for inferior quality, Loblaw's then obtain redress from

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C 93813



the farmer and cut off the offending producer from their list.

Intermediary profits are saved by this method, 76% of proceeds goes to the farmers, and farmers in at least six constituencies in Ontario obtain three cents per dozen more for their eggs than they would otherwise secure.

II LEGAL

1924 13th February - Action entered against Loblaw's by the Department for infringement of Act.

17th March - Prosecution withdrawn on the understanding that Loblaw's would conform to the regulations.

27th July - Loblaw's not having conformed, further action instituted.

14th November- Judgment in lower courts against Loblaw.

22nd November- Appeal filed by Loblaw.

1925 31st March - Prosecution of Loblaw's at Teeswater; judgment reserved.

9th April - Prosecution at Hamilton - conviction.

23rd April - Loblaw's appeal against Hamilton verdict.

30th April - Further prosecution at Toronto and verdict for plaintiff but no fine imposed pending result of appeal by Loblaw's in previous cases.

12th May- Appeal of Loblaw against the Hamilton conviction allowed.

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C 93814



There are to be no further prosecutions until the appeals are disposed of.

III POLITICAL

April 15th - There is an unofficial organization, fostered by Loblaw's planning to organize against the Prime Minister in North York -- letter from Mr. Alexander McGregor, Toronto.

April 15th - The Loblaw Company have a very questionable record. I do not agree that the enforcement of the Government regulations will have an injurious political repercussion. -- Honourable Mr. Motherwell.

IV CONCLUSIONS

(a) Loblaw's point of view -

The Producers are supplied with cartons which they mark with their names, grade and place the eggs in the cartons. Loblaw's agents buy on the weight basis and deliver the cartons to the consumer without any inspection or interference. They refund consumer for the price of any eggs not up to standard, and reimburse themselves from the producer.

This system reduces cost of handling as between producer and consumer to a minimum, the producers get about three cents more than normal, and the consumers get eggs cheaper.

(b) The Department's point of view -

According to the terms of the Livestock Products Act Loblaw's are themselves responsible for the sorting and grading of eggs. They are not fulfilling these responsibilities, although the statement placed on the cartons indicates that they have complied with the regulations. In other words, they are evading the law.

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C 93814



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C 93815



Loblaw's by means of this evasion save cost of inspection and handling, and are enabled to undersell in the market their competitors who are complying with the regulations of the Department of Agriculture.

Any further prosecutions are held up pending decision of the higher courts on appeal. Loblaw's are continuing to undersell their competitors, the latter being very bitter.

(c) The issues at stake are quite simple from a Departmental point of view but from a political standpoint it is true that producers and consumers are both satisfied and Loblaw's are clever enough to exploit the situation, the situation is delicate.

Loblaw's may contend that they are endeavoring to do service to the community by eliminating middlemen's profits, and are hampered in so doing by legislation.

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A-1003
C 93816

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
CANADA

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Tuesday,
July 28,
1925

Prosecution - Loblaw Groceterias, Limited

1. I have seen Dr. Grisdale with reference to the above, and he states that Mr. Loblaw is the only one of the three partners in the firm who wishes to persist in defying the Board of Agriculture regulations. The other two partners are perfectly reasonable in the matter.

Quality of the eggs sold by Loblaw's continues to get worse, and Dr. Grisdale is of opinion that in consequence of this, sales are bound to be affected adversely.

The Deputy Minister has heard that Loblaw has political friends whom he is interesting in his side of the case.

All further prosecutions are held up pending decision of the Appeal Court, and I have asked Dr. Grisdale to let the Prime Minister's Office know before Loblaw's are again brought into Court.

2. I attach letter received from Mr. Brown, Chief of the Poultry Division, with reference to the matter in question.

HMU. 28.7.25

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C 93817

Notes
on
General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

(1) Express regret at not being able to be present at the opening of the Assembly or on Thursday evening when Civic welcome was tendered by Mayor Ellis.

(2) Congratulations to Reverend Dr. David Perrie, of St. Andrew's Church, Wingham, Ontario, on his election as Moderator.

(3) The Prime Minister happens to hold office as Moderator of another assembly, which, unfortunately, is not as united as the Presbyterian Assembly.

(4) Welcome to Overseas visitors.

(5) The Presbyterian Church a link between Canada, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

(6) The value of National Assembly in Ottawa - the national capital. It is hoped that Ottawa will become the focus of national patriotism in Canada.

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C 93818



(7) The Church and patriotism - two kinds of patriotism:

(a) A patriotism that feeds on superiority, imagined insults, and dislike of other nations. This type of patriotism has its expression in armies and navies in a struggle for material wealth.

(b) The other patriotism feeds on the beauty of the country side, the wealth of natural resources, production of art and literature, the things of mind and spirit. This type of patriotism has its expression in a desire to develop the nation for the service of humanity.

The one type of patriotism is competitive and often belligerent. The other is neighbourly and co-operative. The one is governed by material considerations, the other is governed largely by a spirit of altruism. The one tends to war, and the other tends to peace. Surely it is the duty as well as the opportunity of our churches to develop in Canada a type of patriotism which will make for peace and co-operation.

The patriotism of Scotland was essentially based upon the love of beauty as expressed in the natural scenery of the Highlands. It also derived its strength from appreciation of the mental and spiritual qualities of the Scottish people.

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C 93819



John Knox was no less a Scotchman because he was a Presbyterian. Indeed, the establishment of Presbyterianism was coincided with a remarkable outburst of national feeling.

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C 93819



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C 93820

## Geneva - The Home of the League of Nations

## Geneva - at one time the Home of John Knox, Pupil of Calvin and the Founder of Presbyterianism.

When in Geneva this summer, you were doubtless shown the pulpit from which John Knox was accustomed to preach during his association with Calvin.

### The Educational Function of the Pulpit.

The Presbyterian Church received from John Knox something of the severe mental discipline and scholarly austerity of Calvin and from the beginning of its history it laid strong emphasis on the educational equipment of its miniters. While there was a tendency in other evangelical and reform churches to allow any one to preach who had the urge to do so, provided the spirit was working in him, Calvin and Knox had the wisdom to discern the value of a teaching ministry and laid the foundation of that strict educational and theological training which has always been required of ministers of the Presbyterian Church. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of this policy, both for the Presbyterian Church and for Scotland. At a time when state education was unheard of, the clergymen of Scotland began to discharge the joint functions of teacher and preacher, and in due course even the remot hamlets of the

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C 93821



Highlands were enabled to receive from their ministers the best learning afforded by the Scottish universities. We hear much in our own day of adult education and university extension, but for centuries past the Presbyterian Church has been bringing the lamp of learning from the universities to the people, not only of Scotland, but wherever their preachers and missionaries have gone. I am sure that this tradition is one of the richest legacies of the Presbyterian Church of Canada and that the educational life of this Dominion owes not a little to the manner in which the pioneer ministers of the Presbyterian Church faithfully discharged their duties of teacher and preacher to their people.

There is still need today for a teaching as well as a preaching pulpit. It is true that the State has assumed control of education and that the ancient relationship between church and state has been severed in most countries, but the central theme of the teaching of Christ - peace and goodwill among men and nations - supplies today a great field of endeavour in which both church and state have a joint opportunity and responsibility. There is no danger of friction here, but a call for active co-operation in the high enterprize of safeguarding the peace of the world.

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C 93822




You are cordially invited to the Service of Dedication
of the site of the new Knox Presbyterian Church
at the corner of Elgin and Lisgar Streets
on Wednesday evening the 8th day of July at 7.30 o'clock
The Right Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King will turn the first sod
If the weather is not suitable on the date mentioned
the service will be held the following evening.

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Dedication of Site of new Knox Church July 8

7.30 p.m.

Thanks - Dr. Johnson, Board of Managers and Congregation for invitation:
(1) a fellow Presbyterian
(2) a member of a sister congregation
(3) had at heart the beautification of the capital
(4) thanks for silver spade

Congratulations -
(1) on participating in scheme to beautify
(2) on site selected
(3) on architects selected - Sproatt and Rolph, Ewart
(4) on style of edifice

- thanks of government and city - noble example.
- building a capital.
- as to site, etc.
- everything in perspective - past and future.

Plan of Government -

- create a memorial park in centre of city dominated by National War Memorial.
- a processional way.
- Base line of park development:
  Houses of Parl. - Knox Church
  State - Church
  - Laws in conformity with divine will.





Church not - to edifice
= to congregation
= to Presbyterian
but = to Christian

Church moved from Daly Avenue to Elgin & Queen
Elgin & Lisgar

Best Wishes to Congregation, etc.

E.a.P. - L.H.

C 93825

July 7, 1931

Memorandum for Mr. King:

Re Dedication of site of
new Knox Church

Although unable to get in touch with Mr. Graham, the chairman of the building committee, I spoke to Dr. Johnson about the matters you requested this morning. Tomorrow morning I will try to get in touch again with Mr. Graham.

Dr. Johnson says that the members of the clergy will not wear robes and that dress will be quite informal. He himself will not wear a silk hat, and thinks that if you wish to wear a morning coat that will be sufficient.

The silver spade with which you will be presented is, of course, a miniature spade, which you will retain as a souvenir. The spade with which you will turn the sod will be handed to you at the appropriate moment.

Dr. Johnson feels that, while it would be preferable for you to speak four or five minutes, as you suggested, would be sufficient. Reference to the site, the type of building being erected, the architects - Sproatt and

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C 93826



Rolph, with Ernst as associate, as you had thought - would be quite fitting. The original church was built on Daly Avenue in 1844. The present church was begun in 1872 and completed in 1874. Dr. Johnson had only one suggestion to make as to what you might say: He would be very glad if you would make some references as to the reasons for having to leave the present building and erect a new church. It seems that some of the members of the congregation do not even yet appreciate the reasons for the removal, and Dr. Johnson believes in a very unobtrusive way you could clearly show why it had been done and in so doing afford some justification for the action which the church has taken.

E. a. R.

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C 93827

2 3266.

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C 93828

Rev. King.

I attach a few notes re the ceremony at Knox Church.

WLMK

July 7.

C 93829

Honoured at being invited to officiate.

Name of Great Scottish Champion & preacher to be perpetuated in name of Church.

You may wish to say something of changes due to beautification of Ottawa.

You may wish to say a few words as to the influence of the church & the pulpit in the national & individual life; hence the following:

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Plutarch, after long years ~~spent~~ spent in foreign countries returned home to affirm that he had found cities without walls, without literature without coin or kings; "but there never was nor shall there ever be, a city without temple, church or chapel."

How true this statement has been proven to be down the ages!

Indeed, is not the history of social



progress very largely the history of those teachers who have lifted up before men Christian ideals and principles, as beacon lights for the human race.

When we exercise our privilege of free speech & thought we recall Guizots words: "Democracy crossed over into Europe in the little boat that brought Paul".

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"The economic and political struggles of modern society are in the last analysis religious struggles — their sole solution the life teachings of Jesus Christ set forth through the human voice."

Emerson said the Puritan pulpits were "the springs of American Liberty"



Recall influence of: Luther, Calvin, Savonarola, Knox, Wesley etc

The world is in a state of unrest & turmoil. What an opportunity for the preacher to point the way to peace:

Newell Dwight Hillis once said: "So long as life is full of strife and conflict, so long as

C 93834

men are the children
of misfortune, adversity
& defeat; so long as
dark minds need
light & inspiration...
... will religion
remain the guide, the
hope, the friend, the
support of the people".

What an opportunity
today; but also what
a responsibility!

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C 93835

I am delighted indeed to
be with you, the congregation
of Knox Church on this
happy occasion —
It is especially pleasing
that your Pastor — whom
I esteem so highly — and
your Building Committee
should confer upon me
the honour of turning
the first sod for your
new church — In a small
way, I had something to
do with your leaving
the old site and this
very kind invitation to
be with you this evening
assures me that we are
united in realizing the
wisdom & the desirability
of the change.

C 93836

May I say at once
how fortunate I think
you are in being able
to build on this particular
location - so near the
centre of activities and
yet so much quieter &
more fitting in every way.
It is very delightful that
the contemplated & partially
accomplished park
should lie between
the Houses of Parliament
at one extremity and
a noble church at the
other — They form as it
were a frame for a
beautiful landscape &
I like to visualize their
towers & spires blending
together on the sky-line

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of the Capitol
while to us Presbyterians
whose ancestors worshipped
God in hidden glens
& wooded hillsides &
found His presence there,
costly buildings are
not a necessity — the
little sod churches on
on the lonely prairies
testify to that — Still
it is becoming that
our churches should
combine beauty of form
with quiet reverence
I am sure you will
secure this. Knowing
as I do, the work of
your architects Sproatt
& Rolph, our good friend
W. Sirard whose work



in Ottawa is a guarantee
I should imagine an
Architect does not build
many churches in his
life time and I take
it appreciate what
happiness a real artist
must obtain from a work of
Ecclesiastical architecture
He must not only give
it dignity & noble lines
but he must put into
it peace, rest, quietness
of soul and all the
other lovely qualities
which should enter
into the House of God
I feel sure you will have
these - and I believe the
Gothic form which you
have wisely chosen to

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C 93838

be the best Midians
May this Church, down
the years stand for
all that is noblest
& best in our country's
life. May it ever hold
as a sacred trust
the precious legacy
of true religion left us
by our Scottish forefathers
- not forgetting John
Knox. Your patron -
& be worthy of it -
I thank you deeply
for this honour - I
will now endeavour
to live the fuller God
for the new Knox Church
of Ottawa & may all
the work be done to

C 93840

the glory of God &
in His Name.

Collateral - The Press - 2100
C 93841 Supplement

SUPPLEMENTARY

List of Newspapers entitled to recognition by the Liberal Party as recommended by the Members of Parliament and Defeated Candidates, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Newspaper | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Halifax | Hon. W. S. Fielding | The Echo, Halifax. | |
| Cape Breton | Hon. D. D. McKenzie | Nor. Sydney Herald<br>" " "<br>Victoria News, Baddeck.<br>News, Sydney Mines. | Daily<br>Weekly |
| (QUEBEC) | | | |
| Ste Anne Div. of Montreal | J.C.Walsh, K.C., M.P., (Information received from Mayor J.A.A.Leclaire of Verdun). | Le Messanger, 256 Rielle Ave., Verdun, P. Q. | |
| Shefford | Geo. H. Boivin, Barrister, Granby, Que. | Waterloo Advertiser, Waterloo, P. Q.<br>Le Journal de Waterloo | W.H.Bullock, Editor.<br>O. Seguin, Editor - Wkly. |
| (ONTARIO) | | | |
| Bruce South | R. E. Truax, Walkerton, Ont. | Walkerton Telescope,<br>Chesley Enterprize,<br>Lucknow Sentinel,<br>Mildmay Gazette,<br>Ripley Express,<br>Teeswater News. | |
| Dufferin | W. Logan Craig, Grand Valley. | Star & Vidette, Grand Valley. | |
| Ont. South | L. O. Clifford, M.P. | Gazette & Chronicle, Whitby, Ont.<br>The Star, Port Perry, Ont.<br>The News, Pickering, Ont.<br>Ontario Reformer, Oshawa, Ont. | |
| Wellington Nor. | J. H. Shannon, Barrister, Harrison, Ont. | The Express, Clifford, Ont.<br>The Confederate & Representative, Mt. Forest, Ont. | Ind.- Prop & Ed'r always takes Int. in Libs. |

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ONTARIO continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Newspaper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| York South | Alexander MacGregor, K.C. | Tin Hat Review | Gunner Howe, Ed'r Entitled to special recognit'n. |
| **(MANITOBA)** | | | |
| Brandon | Jno. S. Mortimer 217 Chamber of Commerce, Winnipeg, Man. | Register, Oak Lake. | Weekly. |
| | | News, Oak Lake. | R. Hogg, Editor. |
| | | Recorder, Reston. | Frank Manning, Editor. |
| | | Plain Dealer, Souris. | J.A.McMorran, Editor. |
| Dauphin | | Herald, Dauphin. | Ind.Liberal, Wkly W.D.King, Editor. |
| Lisgar | | Sentinel, Pilot Mound. | |
| | | Courier, Crystal City. | Ind. Liberal. |
| Macdonald | | Gazette, Glenboro. | Mr. Oleson, Editor. |
| Marquette | | Star Shoal Lake | Weekly Editor W. Stone. |
| | | Echo, Hamiota. | |
| | | Tribune, Minnedosa. | A. Crossley Editor - Weekly. |
| | | Miniota Herald, Miniota. | A. N. Oliver Editor - Weekly. |
| | | The Post, Oak River. | |
| Neepawa | | News Express, Carberry. | J. L. Cowie, Editor - Weekly. |
| | | Press, Neepawa. | Ad. Dunlop, Editor. |
| | | Langruth Times, Langruth. | Hon.C.D.McPherson, Editor. |
| Portage la Prairie | Jno. S. Mortimer | Oakville Standard, Oakville. | do. |
| | | Graphic, Poetage la Prairie. | do. |

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| MANITOBA continued<br>Constituency | Recommended by | Newspaper | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Miss Cummings, Dept. of Agriculture. | News Publishing Co., Prince Albert. | S. L. Small, Manager. |
| Provencher | Jno. S. Mortimer | Weekly Echo, Dominion City. | |
| | | Journal, Emerson. | W.B.Ballantyne, Editor. |
| Selkirk | do. | Argus, Stonewall. | Weekly, J.A.Stratton, Editor |
| Souris | do. | New Era, Melita. | T. Beveridge, Editor. |
| | | News, Waskada. | |
| | | Guide, Killarney. | Weekly. |
| | | Whitewater Packet, Minto. | |
| | | Star, Hartney. | |
| | | Times, Deloraine. | |
| Winnipeg | | Logberg<br>(Svenska Tidningen,<br>(325 Logan Ave.<br>Canada Posten,<br>(Israelite Press,<br>(811 Main St.)<br>Western Home Monthly<br>(Canadian Farmer,<br>(120 King St.,<br>(Der Nordwestern<br>(120 King St.,<br>Ukranian Labor. | J.J.Bildfell,<br>P.M.Dahl,<br><br>A.Hollonquist,<br>H.E.Wilder.<br><br>- Jno. Stovel,<br>F. Dojacek,<br><br><br><br> |
| Winnipeg South. | | Press, 120 Marion St., Norwood. | Mr. Dunbar, Editor. |
| (SASKATCHEWAN) | | | |
| Prince Albert | Miss Cummings, Dept. of Agriculture. | News Publishing Co., Prince Albert. | S. L. Small, Manager. |

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C 93844

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate for the different constituencies, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Algoma East | Dr.Jno.Carruthers,M.P.<br>Little Current, Ont. | Manufacturer Expositor,<br>Little Current, Ont. | |
| | | The Recorder,<br>Gore Bay, Ont. | |
| | | Algoma Advocate,<br>Thessalton, Ont. | |
| Algoma West | H.S.Hamilton, Esq.,<br>Barrister &c.,<br>Sault Ste. Marie, Ont. | The Sault Star,<br>Sault Ste. Marie. | Tory - Employees gave some support to Lib'l Candidate. |
| Brant | R. J. Aitken, Esq.,<br>St. George, Ont. | Star-Transcript,<br>Paris, Ont. | Did extra good work in campaign. |
| | | Burford Advance,<br>Burford, Ont. | |
| Brantford | W. Raymond, M. P.,<br>Brantford, Ont. | The Expositor,<br>Brantford, Ont. | Formerly Liberal. Two years ago absorbed the Tory Courier. Now claim to be absolutely neutral. Each Party paid for space in campaign. T.H.Preston & Sons, Publishers. |
| Bruce North | James Malcolm, M.P.,<br>Kincardine, Ont. | Kincardine Reporter,<br>Kincardine, Ont. | A.B.Hunt, Editor. Deserving of special recognition - gave very marked assistance in campaign. |
| Bruce South | | | |
| Carleton | J.Bower Lyon, Esq.,<br>22 Citizen Building,<br>Ottawa, Ont. | The J. Bower Lyon Advertising Agency. | An Agency for the writing and distribution of copy. |
| | | The Westender,<br>22 Citizen Bldg.,<br>Ottawa. | A local paper. |
| Dufferin | W.Logan Craig,<br>Grand Valley, Ont. | The Star & Vidette,<br>Grand Valley, Ont. | |
| Dundas | | | |

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Durham | W.T.R.Preston, Box 327, Port Hope. | The Guide, Port Hope, Ont. | Geo. Wilson & Son, Editor. |
| | | The Statesman, Bowmanville, Ont. | M. A. James & Son, Editor. |
| | | The Miror, Millbrook, Ont. | C. E. Richards, Editor, |
| Elgin East | | | |
| Elgin West | | | |
| Essex North | Hon. W.C.Kennedy, Ottawa, Ont. | The Border Cities Star, Windsor, Ont. | |
| | | The London Advertiser, London, Ont. | |
| Essex South | Hon. Geo.P.Graham, Ottawa, Ont. | The Post, Leamington, Ont. | |
| | | The Herald, Comber, Ont. | |
| | | The Reporter, Kingsville, Ont. | |
| | | The Free Press, Essex. | |
| | | The Times, Tilsbury, Ont. | |
| | | The Journal, Wheatley, Ont. | |
| | | The Echo, Amherstburg, Ont. | |
| Ft. William & Rainy River | R. J. Byrnes, Barrister &c., Fort William,Ont. | Daily Times Journal, Fort William, Ont. | These papers are all independent, but have given us fair play, therefore should be put on list. |
| | | Times and Rainy Lake Herald, Fort Francis, Ont. | |
| | | Rainy River Record, Rainy River, Ont. | |
| Frontenac | | | |
| Glengarry & Stormont. | | | |
| Grenville | | | |

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PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grey North | W.P.Telford, K.C., Owen Sound, Ont. | Owen Sound Sun-Times, Owen Sound, Ont. | |
| | | The Express, Meaford, Ont. | |
| | | The Review-Herald, Thornbury, Ont. | |
| Grey's East | Walter Hastie, Esq., R.R.#2, Holstein. | Dundalk Herald, Dundalk, Ont. | Should receive some work. |
| | | Chesley Enterprise, Chesley, Ont. | |
| Haldimand | D. Z. Gibson, Esq., Caledonia, Ont. | Haldimand Advocate, Cayuga, Ont. | |
| | | The Reform Press, Drumville, Ont. | |
| Halton | W. F. Fisher, Esq., Burlington, Ont. | The Milton Reformer, Milton, Ont. | Very deserving. |
| | | The Star, Oakville, Ont. | |
| | | Burlington Gazette, Burlington, Ont. | |
| | | Acton Free Press, Acton, Ont. | |
| Hamilton E. | Jno. Newlands, Esq., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper here. |
| Hamilton W. | Wm. Ainslie, Esq., 49 Main St. E., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper here. |
| Hastings E. | J. V. Walsh, Esq., Marysville, Ont. | The Deseronto Post & East Hastings' Leader, Deseronto, Ont. | Harry M. Moore, Prop. |
| | | Tweed Advocate, Tweed, Ont. | May be considered |
| Hastings W. | | | |
| Huron North | W. H. Fraser, M.P.P., Blueville, Ont. | Goderich Signal, Goderich, Ont. | Deserves all possible favors. |
| | | Wingham Times, Wingham, Ont. | |
| | | Brussells Post, Brussells, Ont. | |

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PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Huron South | Thos. M. McMillan, R.R. #2, Seaforth. | Seaforth Expositor, Seaforth, Ont. | |
| | | Clinton New Era, Clinton, Ont. | |
| | | Exeter Times, Exeter, Ont. | |
| | | Goderich Signal, Goderich, Ont. | |
| Kent | Hon.Jas. Murdock,M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | Chatham News, Chatham, Ont. | |
| | | Ridgetown Plain Dealer, Ridgetwon, Ont. | |
| | | Blenheim Tribune, Blenheim, Ont. | |
| Kingston | J.M.Campbell, Esq., Kingston, Ont. | The British Whig, Daily Kingston, Ont. | |
| | | The Canadian Freemen, Weekly Kingston, Ont. | |
| Lambton E. | Senator F.F.Pardee, K.C., Sarnia, Ont. | Forest Free Press, Forest, Ont. | Pure Grit, H.P.Pettypiece, Editor. |
| Lambton W. | Senator Pardee, K. C., Sarnia, Ont. | Sarnia Canadian Observer, Sarnia, Ont. | Strictly non-partisan. Would be a good idea to give them some printing. |
| Lanark | Peter McCallum, Esq., Almonte, Ont. | Carleton Place Herald, Carleton,Place, Ont. | W.H.Allen, Proprietor. |
| | | Perth Courier, Perth, Ont. | |
| Leeds | | | |
| Lennox & Addington | W.A.Martin, Esq., Yarker, Ont. | Napanee Express, Napanee, Ont. | |
| Lincoln | | | |
| London | | | |

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PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Middlesex E. | | | |
| Middlesex W. | | | |
| Muskoka | | | |
| Nippissing | | | |
| Norfolk | James Ross, Esq., Waterford, Ont. | Waterford Star, Waterford, Ont. | P. Geo. Pearce, Editor - only real Liberal paper in Norfolk. |
| Northumberland | C. W. Kerr, Esq., Barrister &c., Lumsden Building, Toronto, Ont. | Cobourg World, Cobourg, Ont. | Deserves recognitio |
| | | Cobourg Post, Cobourg, Ont. | Independent, but d erves some recogni |
| Ontario North | M. H. Keeler, Esq., Uxbridge, Ont. | Uxbridge Journal, Uxbridge, Ont. | |
| Ontario South | " " | | |
| Ottawa | E.R.E. Chevrier, M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | Le Courier Federal, Ottawa, Ont. | |
| | | The Capital, Ottawa, Ont. | |
| Oxford N. | Dr. D.J.Sinclair, M.P., Woodstock, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal pa |
| Oxford S. | M. G. Dean, Esq., Tillsonburg, Ont. | Tillsonburg,News, Tillsonburg, Ont. | |
| | | Norwich Gazette, Norwich, Ont. | |
| | | Ingersoll Tribune, Ingersoll, Ont. | |

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PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parkdale | Wm. Douglas, Esq., Barrister, 17 Queen St. E., Toronto, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper. |
| Parry Sound | Dr. W. R. Mason, Parry Sound. | The North Star, Parry Sound. | Half hearted Lib. supporter. Some of the shareholders are Liberal. |
| Peel | W. J. Lowe, Esq., Snelgrove, Ont. | The Banner & Times, Brampton, Ont.<br>The Bolton Enterprise, Bolton, Ont. | |
| Perth N. | Dr. J.P.Rankin, M.P., Strathroy, Ont. | Stratford Daily Beacon, Stratford, Ont. | |
| Perth S. | Wm. Forrester, M.P., Mitchell, Ont. | The Tavistock Gazette. | |
| Peterboro W. | G. N. Gordon, M.P., Peterboro, Ont. | The Examiner, Peterboro, Ont.<br>The Standard, Havelock, Ont.<br>The Register, Norwood, Ont.<br>The News, Lakefield, Ont.<br>The Reporter, Millbrook, Ont. | |
| Peterboro E. | Jno. H. Dewart, Esq., Indian River, Ont. | Norwood Register, Norwood, Ont. | Published outside riding, but have large circulation in Peterboro. |
| Port Arthur & Kenora. | J.A.McComber, Esq., Port Arthur, Ont. | The Kenora Examiner, Kenora, Ont. | Supported Liberal candidate in last election. |
| Prescott | | | |

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PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prince Edward | H. H. Horsey, Esq., Ottawa, Ont. | Picton Times, Picton, Ont. | |
| Renfrew North | Dr. M. McKay, M.P., Pembroke, Ont. | The Pembroke Observer, Pembroke, Ont. | |
| | | The Eganville Leader, Eganville, Ont. | |
| Renfrew South | Hon. T. A. Low, M.P., Woodstock, Ont. | The Renfrew Mercury, Renfrew, Ont. | |
| Russell | Hom. Chas. Murphy, K.C., Ottawa, Ont. | Russell Leader, | Duncan McArthur, Editor. |
| Simcoe E. | Manley Chew, M. P., Midland, Ont. | The Herald, Penetang, Ont. | |
| | | The Free Press, Midland, Ont. | |
| | | News Letter and Orillia Times, Orillia, Ont. | |
| Simcoe Nor. | | | |
| Simcoe S. | | | |
| Temiskaming | Donald McEachrem, Esq., Cobalt, Ont. | North Land Post, Cochrane, Ont. | |
| Toronto Centre | N. McEachren, Esq., Royal Bank Building, Toronto, Ont. | Atwell Fleming Printing Co. - Cor. Pearl & Duncan Sts., Toronto. | Should get printing. |
| Toronto E. | | | |
| Toronto N. | Brig.Gen. Wm. Rennie, Hampton Court, Toronto. | The Globe, Toronto, Ont. | Entitled to every recognition. |
| | | The Star, Toronto, Ont. | do. |
| Toronto S. | | | |
| Toronto W. | | | |

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PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Victoria & Halburton. | | | |
| Waterloo Nor. | W. D. Euler, M.P., Kitchener, Ont. | The Daily Record, Kitchener, Ont. | |
| | | Ontario Journal, Kitchener, Ont. | Weekly. |
| | A. W. Hilborn, Esq., Galt, Ont. | The Telegraph, Kitchener, Ont. | |
| | | The News Record, Kitchener, Ont. | |
| Waterloo S. | A. W. Hilborn, Esq., Galt, Ont. | The Ayr News, Ayr, Ont. | Small circulation; does not amount to much. |
| Welland | W. M. German, M.P., Barrister, Welland, Ont. | Niagara Falls Review, Niagara Falls, Ont. | Liberal, thought not very enthusiastic. |
| | | The Thorold Post, Thorold, Ont. | |
| Wellington N. | J. H. Shannon, Barrister, Harrison, Ont. | The Express, Clifford, Ont. | |
| | | Confederate & Representative, Mount Forest, Ont. | - Independent; Proprietor and Editor always take active interest in Liberal Party. |
| Wellington S. | Samuel Carter, Esq., Guelph, Ont. | The Guelph Mercury, Guelph, Ont. | Clear cut Liberal Paper - J.I.McIntosh Proprietor. |
| Wentworth | Walter T. Evans, Barrister &c., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No liberal paper here. |
| York East | A. F. Ross, Esq., Barrister, 511 McKinnon Bldg., Toronto, Ont. | Beachers Ratepayers, 1860 Queen St. E., Toronto, Ont. | Weekly |
| York Nor. | W.H.S. Cane, Esq., Newmarket, Ont. | Newmarket Era, Newmarket, Ont. | Absolutely Liberal deserves every recognition. |
| | | Aurora Review, Aurora, Ont. | Originally Liberal at present not supporting Lib. cause without pay. Have idea they were paid by Lennox for working in interest of local House. |
| | | Stouffville Tribune, Stouffville, Ont. | |

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PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| York South | Alex. MacGregor, K.C. | The Economist & Sun, Markham, Ont.<br><br>The Liberal, Richmond Hill, Ont.<br><br>Weekly Times, Earlscourt, Ont. | |
| York West | Major J.E.L. Streight, Islington, Ont. | The Record Press & Publishing Company, New Toronto, Ont. | This paper was established by Major Streight for the campaign and is still being carried on. All possible assistance will be much appreciated by Maj.Streight |

NOTE: To be added to Lambton East -

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| W. R. Stephenson, Petrolia, Ont. | Alvinston Free Press, Alvinston, Ont. | D.J.McLean, Publisher. |
| | Bothwell Times, Bothwell, Ont. | | |

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Argentruil | | | |
| Bagot | | | |
| Beauce | Hon. Dr. Beland, M.P., Minister of S. C. R., Ottawa, Ont. | L'Eclaireur, Beauceville, P.Q. | |
| Beauharnois | L. J. Papineau, M.P., Valleyfield, P. Q. | Le Progress De Valleyfield) Valleyfield, P. Q. | The Proprietor refused the late Govt's business during last election. |
| Bellechasse | C. A. Fournier, M.P., St. Chas.de Bellechasse, P. Q. | | No paper in this constituency, but recommends Le Soleil and Daily Telegraph of Quebec, P. Q. |
| Berthier | | | |
| Bonaventure | Hon. Chas. Mercil, M.P., Montreal, P. Q. | | No paper here but recommends The Graphic of Campbellton, N.B.; (The Telegraph and Le Soleil of (Quebec and Le Canada of Montreal. |
| Brome | Andrew McMaster, M.P., Montreal, P. Q. | H.F.Smith Co., Knowlton, P. Q. | Printers only but highly recommended, also The Waterloo Advertiser and Le Journal de Waterloo of Waterlo |
| Chambly-Vercheres | | | |
| Champlain | | | |
| Charlevoix Montmorency | | | |

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Province of Quebec - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chateauguay<br>Huntingdon | Hon. J.A.Robb, M.P.,<br>Minister of Trade &<br>Commerce, Ottawa. | Huntingdon Gleaner,<br>Valleyfield, P. Q.<br><br>Ormstown Bulletin,<br>Ormstown, P. Q.<br><br>Le Progress de Valleyfield,<br>Valleyfield, P. Q. | (Only one in this<br>(constituency). |
| Chicoutimi<br>Saguenay | | | |
| Compton | A. B. Hunt, M. P.,<br>Bury, P. Q. | | No paper in this constituency. |
| Dorchester | Lucien Cannon, M.P.,<br>Quebec, P. Q. | | No paper in this constituency, but recommends strongly L'ECAIREUR of Beauceville, P. Q., circulating there. |
| Drummond<br>Arthabaska | M.K.Laflamme, M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | L'Union des Cantons<br>de L'Est,<br>Arthabaska, P. Q. | |
| Gaspe | Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.<br>Ottawa, Ont. | | No paper to recommend in his cons., but recommends LE SOLEIL of Quebec. |
| George Etienne<br>Cartier | S.W.Jacobs, K.C.,M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | Le Canada,<br>Le Bulletin,<br>L'Autorite,<br>Jewish Daily Eagle,<br>all of Montreal, P.Q. | |
| Hochelaga | | | |
| Hull | Dr.J.E.Fontaine, M.P.,<br>Hull, P. Q. | Le Spectateur,<br>Hull, P. Q. | |
| Jacques Cartier | D.A.Lafortune, M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | | No paper here. |
| Joliette | J.J.Denis, K.C., M.P.,<br>Joliette, P. Q. | L'Etoile Du Nord,<br>Joliette, P. Q. | |
| Kamouraska | A. Stein, K.C., M.P.,<br>Riviere-du-Loup,P.Q. | Le St. Laurent,<br>Riviere-du-Loup,P.Q. | Weekly Paper. |
| Labelle | | | |
| Laprairie<br>Napierville. | | | |

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PROVINCE OF QUEBEC - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| L'Assomption Montcalm | | | |
| Laurier Outremont | Hon.Sir Lomer Gouin, Minister of Justice, Ottawa, Ont. | Le Canada, Montreal, P.Q.<br>Le Bulletin, Montreal, P.Q.<br>The Herald, Montreal, P.Q. | |
| Laval Two Mountains | J.A.C.Ethier,K.C.,M.P. Ste.Scholastique, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends L'Avenir du Nord of St. Jerome, P. Q. J.E.Prevost,M.P., proprietor. |
| Levis | Thos. Vien, K.C.,M.P., Quebec, P. Q. | Le Quotidien, Levis, P. Q. | |
| L'Islet | | | |
| Lotbiniere | Thos. Vien, K.C.,M.P., Quebec, P. Q. | | No paper here but recommends Le Soleil, The Daily Telegraph, both of Quebec, P. Q., and Le Quotidien of Levis, P. Q. |
| Maisonneuve | | | |
| Maskinonge | Eug. Desrochers, M.P., St. Didace, P. Q. | L'Echo de St.Justin, St. Justin, P. Q. | |
| Matane | F.J.Pelletier, M.P., Matane, P. Q. | | No paper here but recommends Le St. Laurent of Riviere-du-Loup, which circulates in his district. |
| Megantic | Lucien Pacaud, M.P., Thetford Mines, P. Q. | Canadien, Thetford Mines, P.Q.,<br>Cie. d'Impressions de Plessisville, P.Q. | |
| Missisquoi | W. F. Kay, M.P., Philipsburg, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends La Tribune and Sherbrooke Record of Sherbrooke, P.Q. |

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PROVINCE OF QUEBEC - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Montmagny | A. M. Dechene, M.P., Montmagny? P. Q. | LeCourier De Montmagny, Montmagny, P. Q. | |
| Nicolet | | | |
| Pontiac | | | |
| Protneuf | | | |
| Quebec County | H. E. Lavigueur, M.P., Quebec P. Q. | Le Soleil, Daily Telegraph, Quebec, P. Q. | |
| Quebec East | Hon. E. Lapointe, M.P., Minister of Marine, Ottawa, Ont. | Le Soleil, Quebec, P.Q.<br>L'Evenement, " "<br>Daily Telegraph, " "<br>L'Eclaireur, Beauceville, P.Q.<br>Le St. Laurent, Riv-du-Loup, P.Q. | |
| Quebec West | Geo. Parent, M.P., Quebec, P. Q. | Le Soleil, Quebec, P.Q.<br>Daily Telegraph, Quebec, P.Q. | |
| Quebec South | C. G. Power, M.P., Quebec, P. Q. | Le Soleil<br>L'Evenement<br>Daily Telegraph<br>all of Quebec, P.Q. | |
| Richelieu | P.J.A.Cardin, M.P., Sorel, P. Q. | Le Courrier de Sorel, Sorel, P. Q. | |
| Richmond & Wolfe | E. W. Tobin, M.P., Bromptonville, P.Q. | Times Guardian, Richmond, P. Q. | |
| Rimouski | | | |
| St. Anns Div. Montreal. | | | |
| St. Antoine Div. Montreal | | | |
| St. Denis Div. Montreal | | | |
| St. Hyacinthe-Rouville | Rene Morin, M.P., St. Hyacinthe, P.Q. | Le Clairon, St. Hyacinthe, P.Q. | |

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PROVINCE OF QUEBEC - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| St. James Div. MONTREAL, P. Q. | Fernand Rinfret, M.P., Montreal, P. Q. | Le Canada, 73 James St., Montreal, P.Q.<br>Le Bulletin, 109 Ontario St., Montreal, P. Q. | |
| St. Jean Iberville | | | |
| St. Lawrence-St. George | H. M. Marler, M.P., Montreal, P. Q. | The Herald Printing & Publish, Montreal.<br>J. McCallum & Son, Printers, "<br>J. E. Roy, Printers, "<br>Rothchild Press, Printers, "<br>A 1 Printing Co., " "<br>Canadian Railroader," " | |
| St. Mary Div. Montreal, P.Q. | | | |
| Shefford | | | |
| Sherbrooke | F. N. McCrea, M.P., Sherbrooke, P. Q. | La Tribune, Sherbrooke, P.Q.<br>Sherbrooke Daily Record, Sherbrooke, P. Q. | This paper pretends to be neutral but leans toward the Conservative Party. |
| Stanstead | W.B.Baldwin, M.P., Baldwin Mills, P.Q. | The Stanstead Journal, Rock Island, P. Q.<br>Coaticook Observer, Coaticook, P. Q. | |
| Temiscouata | C. A. Gauvreau, M.P., Riv.-du-Loup, P. Q. | Le St. Laurent, Riv.-du-Loup, P. Q. | |
| Terrebonne | J.E.Prevost, M.P., St. Jerome, P. Q. | L'Avenir du Nord, St. Jerome, P. Q. | |
| Three Rivers & St. Maurice. | Hon. Jacques Bureau, Minister of Customs, Ottawa, Ont. | L'Echo du St. Maurice, Shawinigan Falls, P.Q.<br>St. Maurice Valley Chronicle, Three Rivers, P. Q. | |
| Vaudreuil - Soulanges | Gustave Boyer, M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | The Tribune, Hudson, P. Q. | Also recommends LE MONITEUR of Hawkesbury, Ont. |
| Westmount St. Henry | Paul Mercier, M.P., Montreal, P. Q. | Le St. Henri 1884 Notre Dame O. Montreal, P.Q. | Has greatly helped this man during campaign without remuneration. |
| Wright | | | |
| Yamaska | | | |

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C 93858

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| King's | J. J. Hughes, M.P. Souris East. | The Patriot, Charlottetown, P.E.I. | |
| Prince | Jno. E. Sinclair, Emerald, P.E.I., and A. E. McLean, M. P., Summerside, P.E.I. | The Pioneer<br>The Island Farmer | Both these papers are published by The Pioneer Publishing Co., and should get every recognition. |
| Queens | D.A.Mackinnon, M. P., Charlottetown, P.E.I. | The Patriot, Charlottetown. | |

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C 93859

NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING OR ADVERTISING - As reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| CHARLOTTE | W. F. Todd, Esq., St. Stephen, N.B. | | No Liberal Paper here. |
| GLOUCESTER | O. Turgeon, M.P. Bathurst, N. B. | Gloucester Northern Light, Bathurst, NB. | Entitled to all possible advertising. |
| | | L'Acadien, Moncton, N. B. | |
| KENT | A. T. Leger, M.P. Rickibuctou, N. B. | The Transcript, Moncton, N. B. | |
| NORTHUMBERLAND | John Morrissey, M.P. Newcastle, N. B. | North Shore Leader, Newcastle, N. B. | |
| RESTIGOUCHE & MADAWASKA | Pius Michaud, M. P., Edmundston, N. B. | The Graphic, Campbellton, N. B. | |
| | | Le Madawaska, Edmundston, N. B. | |
| ROYAL | Dr. D.H.McAllister, Sussex, N. B. | King's County Record, Sussex, N. B. | |
| ST. JOHN CITY COUNTIES OF ST. JOHN & ALBERT. | Wm. D. Broderick, 6 Germain St., St. John, N. B. | St. John Globe, St. John, N. B. | |
| | | St. John Times, St. John, N. B. | |
| | | St. John Telegraph, St. John, N. B. | |
| | | The New Freeman, St. John, N. B. | |
| VICTORIA & CARLETON. | | | |
| WESTMORELAND | T. W. Quayle, Esq., Sec'y to Hon. Mr. Copp. | The Transcript, Moncton, N. B. | Daily and semi-weekly. |
| YORK SUNBURY | Col. W. J. Osborne, Fredericton, N. B. | The Daily Mail, Fredericton, N.B., by The Mail Publishing Co. | Should get all possible assistance. |

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Canditate for each constituency, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Antigonish & Guysboro' | Hon.C.F.McIsaac, M.P. Antigonish, N.S. | Antigonish Casket, Antigonish, N.S. | Non partisan, but should be recognized. |
| | | The Canso Breeze, Canso, N. S. | |
| Cape Breton N. and Victoria | Hon.D.D.McKenzie,M.P. Ottawa, Ont. | Sydney Record, Sydney, N. S. | Principal Liberal paper. |
| Cape Breton SQ and Richmond. | | | |
| Colchester | Harold Putnam, M.P. Box 488, Truro, N.S. | The Wesleyan, Truro, N. S. | Weekly - absolutely neutral safe for advertising. Do not give them any business until further advised. |
| Cumberland | | | |
| Digby and Annapolis | Dr.L.J.Lovett, M.P. Bear River, N. S. | The Weekly Courier, Digby, N. S. | |
| | | The Weekly Monitor, Bridgetown, N.S. | |
| | | The Middleton Outlook, Middleton, N.S. | |
| Halifax, | Dr.E.Blackadder, M.P. Halifax, N.S. | Acadian Recorder, Halifax, N. S. | |
| | | Morning Chronicle, Halifax, N.S. | |
| Hants | L. H. Martell, M.P. Barrister, Windsor, N. S. | The Hants Journal, Windsor, N.S. | Weekly,entitled to good recognition. H.S.Anslow, Proprietor. |
| Inverness | | | |
| Kings | Ernest Robinson, M.P. | Western Chronicle, Kentville, N.S. | |
| | | Berwick Register, Berwick, N. S. | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93861

NEWSPAPERS IN NOVA SCOTIA continued

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lunenburg | Wm. Duff, M. P.<br>Lunenburg, N.S. | Newton Gazette,<br>The Walogash News. | Mr. Duff wishes to have these papers added to the list. |
| | | NOTE: Mr. Duff wants The Bridgewater Bulletin, the Weekly News and The Daily News of Lunenburg, taken off the patronage list in all the Departments so that in future they will not get any advertising or printing. | |
| Pictou | E.M.Macdonald, M.P. | Eastern Chronicle,<br>New Glasgow, N.S. | |
| | | Pictou Advocate,<br>Pictou, N. S. | |
| Shelbourne & Queens | Hon.W.S.Fielding, M.P. | The Liverpool Advance,<br>Liverpool, N. S. Weekly. | |
| Yarmouth & Claire | P.L.Hatfield, M.P. | Yarmouth Herald,<br>Yarmouth, N. S. | |
| | | Yarmouth Telegram,<br>Yarmouth, N. S. | |

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CANADA

C 93862

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY, - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| BRANDON | | | |
| DAUPHIN | | | |
| LISGAR | | | |
| MACDONALD | | | |
| MARQUETTE | | | |
| NEEPAWA | | | |
| PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE | | | |
| PROVENCHER | | | |
| SELKIRK | | | |
| SOURIS | | " | |
| SPRINGFIELD | Thos. B. Molloy, Esq., Ste. Anne, Man. | TRANSCONA ADVERTISER, Transcona, Man. | |
| WINNIPEG CENTRE. | | | |
| WINNIPEG NORTH. | | | |
| WINNIPEG SOUTH. | | | |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 93863

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY, - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| ASSINIBOIA | | | |
| BATTLEFORD | | | |
| HUMBOLDT | O. F. Meilicke, Esq., Dandrum, Sask. | THE VISCOUNT SUN, Viscount, Sask.<br>THE HUMBOLDT HERALD, Humboldt, Sask.<br>ST. PETERS BOTE, Muster, Sask.<br>QUILL LAKE RECORD, Quill Lake, Sask.<br>BRUNO LEADER, Bruno, Sask.<br>THE YOUNG JOURNAL, Young, Sask.<br>THE COLANSAY JOURNAL, Colansay, Sask.<br>THE ALLEN TRIBUNE, Allan, Sask. | |
| KINDERSLEY | | | |
| LAST MOUNTAIN | W. A. McFarlane, Nokomis, Sask. | THE PRAIRIE NEWS, Govan, Sask.<br>THE IMPERIAL REVIEW, Imperial Sask. | |
| MACKENZIE | Geo. W. McPhee, Esq., Barrister, Yorkton, Sask. | YORKTON PRESS, Yorkton, Sask. | |
| MAPLE CREEK | | | |
| MOOSEJAW | | | |
| NORTH BATTLEFORD | | | |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93864

PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| PRINCE ALBERT | | | |
| QU'APPELLE | | | |
| REGINA | Hon. W.R.Motherwell, Ottawa, Ont. | THE LEADER Regina, Sask. | Should be recognized for printing & advtg |
| | | SASKATCHEWAN COURIER, Regina, Sask. | This paper is friendly to us and should be recognized for any work of foreign natu |
| | | LUMSDEN NEWS, Lumsden, Sask. | This paper should be recognized for advertising only. |
| SALTCOATS | | | |
| SASKATOON | | | |
| SWIFT CURRENT | | | |
| WEYBRUN | | | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93865

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA WHICH ARE DESERVING OF RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| BATTLE RIVER | | | |
| BOW RIVER | | | |
| CALGARY EAST | | | |
| CALGARY WEST | E. F. Ryan, Esq., Barrister, Calgary, Alta. | CALGARY DAILY HERALD, Calgary, Alta. | Has been pretty fair with us - would give them some work, |
| EDMONTON EAST | Jos. A. Clarke, Esq., Barrister, &c., McLeod Building, Edmonton, Alberta. | THE EDMONTON BULLETIN, Edmonton, Alberta. | |
| EDMONTON WEST | | | |
| LETHBRIDGE | Dr. J. E. Lovering, Lethbridge, Alta. | COALHURST SUN, Coalhurst, Alta. | |
| | | CANADIAN ADVOCATE, Lethbridge, Alta. | J. B. Davies, Editor. |
| | | CARDSTON GLOBE, Cardston, Alta. | F. Burton, Editor. |
| | | BOW ISLAND REVIEW, Bow Island, Alta. | C. Avery, Editor. |
| | | TABER TIMES, Taber, Alta. | T. Green, Editor. |
| | | LETHBRIDGE HERALD, Lethbridge, Alta. | W. A. Buchanan, Editor. |
| | NOTE:- Any possible business should be divided equally among the above newspapers in Lethbridge. | | |
| | | RAYMOND RECORDER, Raymond, Alta. | D.C.Paterson, Editor. |
| MACLEOD | | | |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93866

PROVINCE OF ALBERTAY- continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| MEDICINE HAT | | | |
| RED DEER | | | |
| STRATHCONA | | | |
| VICTORIA | W. H. White, Esq., Ft. Sask, Alta. | CAMROSE CANADIAN, Camrose, Alta.<br><br>VEGREVILLE OBSERVER, Vegreville, Alta. | |

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 93867

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Friday,
July 14, 1922

I understand from Mr. Haydon's office that the attached list of newspapers has been sent to each one of the English Speaking Ministers in the Cabinet. A list of French newspapers is being compiled and will be sent to the French Ministers.

McG.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Collateral 93868 Collateral — 276 PRESS
X-1604

# NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

*President:*
HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

*General Offices:*
115 SPARKS STREET, OTTAWA.
*Phone:* Queen 5805

*National Organizer and General Secretary:*
ANDREW HAYDON

OTTAWA, Ont. April 10th. 1922

F. A. McGregor, Esq.,
Private Secretary,
To the Prime Minister,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. McGregor:-

I am enclosing herewith for your information, list of newspapers in the various constituencies which are deserving of recognition by the Liberal Party for printing and advertising, as reported to me.

Yours sincerely,
Andrew Haydon per O.M.
Acting General Secretary.

/OM

APR 12 Rec'd

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93869

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate for each constituency, as the case may be:-

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Antigonish & Guysboro' | Hon. C. F. McIsaac, M.P., Antigonish, N.S. | Antigonish Casket, Antigonish, N.S. | Non partisan, but should be recognized. |
| | | The Guysboro Breeze, Canso, N.S. | |
| Cape Breton N. and Victoria | Hon. D. D. McKenzie, M.P. Ottawa, Ont. | Sydney Record, Sydney, N.S. | Principal Liberal paper. |
| Cape Breton S. and Richmond | | | |
| Colchester | Harold Putnam, M.P., Box 488 Truro, N.S. | The Wesleyan, Truro, N.S. | Weekly - absolutely neutral Safe for advertising. Do not give them any business until further advised |
| Cumberland | | | |
| Digby and Annapolis. | Dr. L. J. Lovett, M.P. Bear River, N.S. | The Weekly Courier, Digby, N.S. | |
| | | The Weekly Monitor, Bridgetown, N.S. | |
| | | The Middleton Outlook, Middleton, N.S. | |
| Halifax. | Dr. E. Blackadder, M.P. Halifax, N.S. | Acadian Recorder, Halifax, N.S. | |
| | | Morning Chronicle, Halifax, N.S. | |
| Hants | L.H. Martell, M.P., Barrister, Windsor, N.S. | The Hants Journal, Windsor, N.S. | Weekly, entitled to good recognition. H.S. Anslow, Proprietor. |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate for each constituency, as the case may be:-

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Antigonish & Guysboro' | Hon. C. F. McIsaac, M.P., Antigonish, N.S. | Antigonish Casket, Antigonish, N.S. | Non partisan, but should be recognized. |
| | | The Canso Breeze, Canso, N.S. | |
| Cape Breton N. and Victoria | Hon. D. D. McKenzie, M.P. Ottawa, Ont. | Sydney Record, Sydney, N.S. | Principal Liberal paper. |
| Cape Breton S. and Richmond | | | |
| Colchester | Harold Putnam, M.P., Box 488 Truro, N.S. | The Wesleyan, Truro, N.S. | Weekly - absolutely neutral Safe for advertising. Do not give them any business until further advised |
| Cumberland | | | |
| Digby and Annapolis. | Dr. L. J. Lovett, M.P. Bear River, N.S. | The Weekly Courier, Digby, N.S. | |
| | | The Weekly Monitor, Bridgetown, N.S. | |
| | | The Middleton Outlook, Middleton, N.S. | |
| Halifax. | Dr. E. Blackadder, M.P. Halifax, N.S. | Acadian Recorder, Halifax, N.S. | |
| | | Morning Chronicle, Halifax, N.S. | |
| Hants | L.H.Martell, M.P., Barrister, Windsor, N.S. | The Hants Journal, Windsor, N.S. | Weekly, entitled to good recognition. H.S.Anslow, Proprietor. |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

NEWSPAPERS IN NOVA SCOTIA continued -2

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inverness | | | |
| Kings | Ernest Robinson, Esq.M.P. | Western Chronicle, Kentville, N.S.<br>Berwick Register, Berwick, N.S. | |
| Lunenburg | Wm. Duff, M.P., Lunenburg, N.S. | Newton Gazette, The Walogash News, | Mr. Duff wishes to have these papers added to list |
| | | NOTE:- Mr. Duff wants The Bridgewater Bulletin, the Weekly News and The Daily News of Lunenburg, taken off the patronage list in all the Departments so that in future they will not get any advertising or printing. | |
| Pictou | E.M.Macdonald,M.P. | Eastern Chronicle, New Glasgow, N.S.<br>Pictou Advocate, Pictou, N.S. | |
| Shelbourne & Queens | Hon.W.S.Fielding,M.P. | The Liverpool Advance, Liverpool, N.S. | Weekly |
| Yarmouth & Clare | P. L. Hatfield, M.P. | Yarmouth Herald, Yarmouth, N.S.<br>Yarmouth Telegram, Yarmouth, N.S. | |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING OR ADVERTISING - AS REPORTED BY THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OR DEFEATED CANDIDATE IN EACH CONSTITUENCY, AS THE CASE MAY BE.

C 93871

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| CHARLOTTE | W. F. Todd, Esq., St. Stephen, N.B. | | No Liberal paper here. |
| GLOUCESTER | O. Turgeon, M.P., Bathurst, N.B., | GLOUCESTER NORTHERN LIGHT, Bathurst, N.B.<br>L'ACADIEN, Moncton, N.B. | Entitled to all possible advertising. |
| KENT | | | |
| KENT | A. T. Léger, M.P., Richibuctou, N.B. | THE TRANSCRIPT Moncton, N.B. | |
| NORTHUMBERLAND | John Morrissey, M.P., Newcastle, N.B. | NORTH SHORE LEADER Newcastle, N.B. | |
| RESTIGOUCHE & MADAWASKA | Pius Michaud, M.P., Edmundston, N.B. | THE GRAPHIC, Campbellton, N.B.<br>LE MADAWASKA, Edmundston, N.B. | |
| ROYAL | Dr.D.H.McAllister, Sussex, N.B. | KING'S COUNTY RECORD Sussex, N.B. | |
| ST.JOHN SITY COUNTIES OF ST.JOHN & ALBERT | Wm. D. Broderick 6 Germain St., St. John, N.B. | ST.JOHN GLOBE St. John, N.B.<br>ST. JOHN TIMES, St. John, N.B.<br>ST. JOHN TELEGRAPH, St. John, N.B.<br>THE NEW FREEMAN St. John, N.B. | |
| VICTORIA & CARLETON | | | |
| WESTMORELAND | T. W. Quayle, Esq., Sec'y to Hon. Mr.Copp, | THE TRANSCRIPT, Moncton, N.B. | Daily and semi-weekly. |
| YORK SUNBURY | Col.W.J.Osborne, Fredericton, N.B. | THE DAILY MAIL, Fredericton, N.B., by The Mail Publishing Co., | Should get all possible assistance. |

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CANADA

C 93872

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be:-

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| King's | J. J. Hughes, M.P., Souris East, | The Patriot, Charlottetown, P.E.I. | |
| Prince | Jno. E. Sinclair, Emerald, P.E.I. and A. E. McLean, M.P. Summerside, P.E.I. | The Pioneer, The Island Farmer | Both these papers are published by The Pioneer Publishing Co. and should get every recognition. |
| Queens | D. A. Mackinnon, M.P., Charlottetown, P.E.I. | The Patriot, Charlottetown. | |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC WHO ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY AS REPORTED BY THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OR DEFEATED CANDIDATE IN EACH CONSTITUENCY - AS THE CASE MAY BE.

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| ARGENTEUIL | | | |
| BAGOT | | | |
| BEAUCE | Hon. Dr. Béland, M.P., Minister of S.C.R. Ottawa, Ont. | L'ECLAIREUR Beauceville, P.Q. | |
| BEAUHARNOIS | L. J. Papineau, M.P. Valleyfield, P.Q. | LE PROGRES DE VALLEYFIELD Valleyfield, P.Q. | The proprietor refused the late Govt's business during last election. |
| BELLECHASSE | C. A. Fournier, M.P., St.Chas.de Bellechasse, P.Q. | | No paper in this constitu. but recommends Le Soleil and Daily Telegraph of Quebec, P.Q. |
| BERTHIER | | | |
| BONAVENTURE | Hon. Chas.Marcil,M.P., Montreal, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends The Graphic of Campbellton,N.B (The Telegraph and Le Soleil (of Quebec & Le Canada of Mont |
| BROME | Andrew McMaster, M.P., Montreal, P.Q. | H.F.Smith, Co., Knowlton, P.Q. | Printers only but highly recommended, also The Waterloo Advertiser and Le (Journal de Waterloo, of Waterloo. |
| CHAMBLY-VERCHERES. | | | |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC - Continued.....2

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| CHAMPLAIN | | | |
| CHARLEVOIX<br>MONTMORENCY | | | |
| CHATEAUGUAY<br>HUNTINGDON | Hon. J.A.Robb, M.P.,<br>Min. of Trade & Commerce<br>Ottawa, Ont. | HUNTINGDON GLEANER<br>Valleyfield, P.Q.<br>ORMSTOWN BULLETIN (Only one in this<br>Ormstown, P.Q. constituency)<br>LE PROGRÈS DE VALLEYFIELD?<br>Valleyfield, P.Q. | |
| CHICOUTIMI<br>SAGUENAY | | | |
| COMPTON | A. B. Hunt, M.P.,<br>Bury, P.Q. | | No paper in this constituency. |
| DORCHESTER | Lucien Cannon, M.P.,<br>Quebec, P.Q. | | No paper in his cons., but recommends strongly L'ECLAIREUR of Beauceville, P.Q. circulating there. |
| DRUMMOND<br>ARTHABASKA | N. K. Laflamme, M.P.,<br>Montreal, P.Q. | L'UNION DES CANTONS<br>DE L'EST,<br>Arthabaska, P.Q. | |
| GASPE | Hon.R.Lemieux, M.P.,<br>Ottawa, Ont. | | No paper to recommend in his cons., but recommends LE SOLEIL of Québec. |
| GEORGE ETIENNE<br>CARTIER | S.W.Jacobs, K.C.,M.P.<br>Montreal, P.Q. | LE CANADA,<br>LE BULLETIN,<br>L'AUTORITE,<br>JEWISH DAILY EAGLE<br>all of Montreal,P.Q. | |
| HOCHELAGA | | | |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93875

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| HULL | Dr. J.E.Faontaine, M.P. Hull, P.Q. | LE SPECTATEUR Hull, P.Q. | |
| JACQUES CARTIER | D.A.Lafortune, M.P. Montreal, P.Q. | | No paper here. |
| JOLIETTE | J.J.Denis, K.C., M.P., Holiette, P.Q. | L'ETOILE DU NORD Joliette, P.Q. | |
| KAMOURASKA | A. Stein, K.C., M.P., Rivière-du-Loup, P.Q. | LE ST.LAURENT Rivière-du-Loup, P.Q. | Weekly paper. |
| LABELLE | | | |
| LAPRAIRIE NAPIERVILLE | | | |
| L'ASSOMPTION MONTCALM | | | |
| LAURIER OUTREMONT | Hon.Sir Lomer Gouin, Minister of Justice, Ottawa, Ont. | LE CANADA Montreal, P.Q. LE BULLETIN Montreal, P.Q. THE HERALD Montreal, P.Q. | |
| LAVAL TWO MOUNTAINS | J.A.C.Ethier, K.C.M.P., Ste. Scholastique, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends L'Avenir du Nord of St.Jérôme,P.Q. J.E.Prévost,M.P., proprietor. |
| LEVIS | Thos.Vien, K.C.,M.P., Québec, P.Q. | LE QUOTIDIEN, Lévis, P.Q. | |
| L'ISLET | | | |
| LOTBINIERE | Thos. Vien, K.C., M.P., Québec, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends LE SOLEIL, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH ~~and LE~~ both of Québec,PQ and LE QUOTIDIEN of Lévis, P.Q. |
| MAISONNEUVE | | | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| MASKINONGE | Eug. Desrochers, M.P., St. Didace, P.Q. | L'ECHO DE ST.JUSTIN St. Justân, P.Q. | |
| MATANE | F. J. Pelletier, M.P., Matane, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends LE ST.LAURENT of Riv.du-Loup, which circulates in his district. |
| MEGANTIC | Lucien Pacaud, M.P., Thetford Mines, P.Q. | CANADIEN, Thetford Mines, PQ. Cie. d'Impressions de Plessisville, P.Q. | |
| MISSISQUOI | W. F. Kay, M.P., Philipsburg, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends La TRIBUNE and SHERBROOKE RECORD of Sherbrooke, P.Q. |
| MONTMAGNY | A. M. Déchêne, M.P. Montmagny, P.Qé | LECOURRIER DE MONTMAGNY, Montmagny, P.Q. | |
| NICOLET | | | |
| PONTIAC | | | |
| PORTNEUF | | | |
| QUEBEC COUNTY | H.E.Lavigueur, M.P., Québec, P.Q. | LE SOLEIL DAILY TELEGRAPH Québec, P.Q. | |
| QUEBEC EAST | HOn. E. Lapointe, M.P. Minister of Marine, Ottawa, Ont. | LE SOLEIL, Québec, P.Q. L'EVENEMENT, " " DAILY TELEGRAPH " " L'ECLAIREUR, Beauceville, P.Q. LE ST.LAURENT, Riv-du-Loup, P.Q. | |
| QUEBEC WEST | Geo. Parent, M.P. Québec, P.Q. | LE SOLEIL, Québec, P.Q. DAILY TELEGRAPH, " " | |
| QUEBEC SOUTH | C.G.Power, M.P., Québec, P.Q. | LE SOLEIL L'EVENEMENT DAILY TELEGRAPH all of Quebec, | |
| RICHELIEU | P. J. A. Cardin, M.P., Sorel, P.Q. | LE COURRIER DE SOREL Sorel, P.Q. | |
| RICHMOND & WOLFE | E. W. Tobin, M.P., Bromptonville, P.Q. | TIMES GUARDIAN, Richmond, P.Q. | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93877

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| RIMOUSKI | | | |
| ST.ANNS DIV. MONTREAL. | | | |
| ST.ANTOINE DIV. MONTREAL | | | |
| ST. DENIS DIV. MONTREAL. | | | |
| ST.HYACINTHE-ROUVILLE | René Morin, M.P., St. Hyacinthe,P.Q. | LE CLAIRON, St. Hyacinthe,P.Q. | |
| ST.JAMES DIV. MONTREAL? P.Q. | Fernand Rinfret, M.P. Montreal, P.Q. | LE CANADA 73 St.James St. Montreal, P.Q.<br>LE BULLETIN 109 Ontario Est., Montreal, P.Q. | |
| ST.JEAN IBERVILLE | | | |
| ST.LAWRENCE-ST. GEORGE | H.M.Marler, M.P., Montreal, P.Q. | The Herald Printing & Publish, Montr.<br>J.McCallum & Son., Printers, Montreal<br>J.E.Roy, Printers, Montreal,<br>Rothchild Press, Printers, Montreal,<br>A 1 Printing Co., " "<br>Canadian Railroader, " " | |
| ST. MARY Div. Montreal, | | | |
| SHEFFORD | | | |
| SHERBROOKE | E. N. McCrea, M.P., Sherbrooke, P.Q. | LA TRIBUNE, Sherbrooke,P.Q.<br>SHERBROOKE DAILY RECORD, Sherbrooke, P.Q. This paper pretends to be neutral but leans toward the conservative party. | |

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 93878

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| STANSTEAD | W.B.Baldwin, M.P., Baldwin Mills, P.Q. | THE STANSTEAD JOURNAL ~~Stanstead~~ Rock Island, P.Q.<br>COATICOOK OBSERVER, Coaticook, P.Q. | |
| TEMISCOUATA | C. A. Gauvreau, M.P., Riv.-du-Loup, P.Q. | LE ST.LAURENT, Riv.-du-Loup, P.Q. | |
| TERREBONNE | J. E. Prévost, M.P., St. Jérôme, P.Q. | L'AVENIR DU NORD St. Jérôme, P.Q. | |
| THREE RIVERS & ST.MAURICE | Hon. Jacques Bureau, Minister of Customs, Ottawa, Ont. | L'ECHO DU ST.MAURICE, SHAWINIGAN FALLS, P.Q.<br>ST.MAURICE VALLEY CHRONICLE, THREE RIVERS, P.Q. | |
| VAUDREUIL - SOULANGES | Gustave Boyer, M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | THE TRIBUNE, Hudson, P.Q. | Also recommends LE MONITEUR of Hawkesbury, Ont. |
| WESTMOUNT ST.HENRY | Paul Mercier, M.P., Montreal, P.Q. | LE ST.HENRI 1884 Notre Dame O. Montréal, P.Q. | Has greatly helped this man during campaign without remuneration. |
| WRIGHT | | | |
| YAMASKA | | | |

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Members of Parliament or Defeated Candidates for the different constituencies, as the case may be:

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Algoma East | Dr. Jno. Carruthers, M.P.<br>Little Current, Ont. | Manufacturer Expositor,<br>Little Current, Ont.<br><br>The Recorder,<br>Gore Bay, Ont.<br><br>Algoma Advocate,<br>Thessalton, Ont. | |
| Algoma West | H. S. Hamilton, Esq.,<br>Barrister &c.,<br>Sault Ste. Marie. | The Sault Star,<br>Sault Ste. Marie. | Tory - Employees gave some support to Lib'l Candidate |
| Brant | Rbt. J. Aitken, Esq.,<br>St. George, Ont. | Star-Transcript,<br>Paris, Ont.<br><br>Burford Advance,<br>Burford, Ont. | Did extra good work in campaign. |
| Brantford | W. Raymond, Esq. M.P.<br>Brantford, Ont. | The Expositor,<br>Brantford, Ont. | Formerly Lib'l. Two years ago absorbed the Tory Courier. Now claim to be absolutely neutral. Each Party paid for space in campaign - T. H. Preston & Sons, Publishers. |
| Bruce North | James Malcolm, M.P.<br>Kincardine, Ont. | Kincardine Reporter,<br>Kincardine, Ont. | A. B. Hunt, Editor<br>Deserving of special recognition - Gave very marked assistance in campaign. |
| Bruce South | | | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS CONTINUED -2

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Carleton | J. Bower Lyon, Esq., 22 Citizen Bldg. | The J. Bower Lyon Advertising Agency. | An Agency for the writing and distribution of copy. |
| | | The Westender, 22 Citizen Bldg. | A local paper |
| Dufferin | W. Logan Craig. Grand Valley, Ont. | The Star & Vidette. Grand Valley | |
| Dundas | | | |
| Durham | W. T. R. Preston, Esq., Port Hope, Box 327 | The Guide, Port Hope, Ont. | Geo. Wilson & Son, Editor. |
| | | The Statesman, Bowmanville, Ont. | M.A. James & Son, Editor. |
| | | The Mirror, Millbrook, Ont. | C. E. Richards, Editor |
| Elgin East | | | |
| Elgin West | | | |
| Essex North | Hon. W.C. Kennedy, Ottawa, Ont. | The Border Cities Star, Windsor, Ont. | |
| | | The London Advertiser, London, Ont. | |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued -3

C 93881

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Essex South | Hon. Geo. P. Graham, Ottawa, Ont. | The Post, Leamington, Ont.<br>The Herald, Comber, Ont.<br>The Reporter, Kingsville, Ont.<br>The Free Press, Essex,<br>The Times, Tilsbury, Ont.<br>The Journal, Wheatley, Ont.<br>The Echo, Amherstburg, Ont. | |
| Ft. William & Rainy River | R. J. Byrnes, Esq., Barrister &c, Fort William, Ont. | Daily Times Journal, Fort William, Ont. - Times and Rainy Lake Herald, Fort Francis, - Rainy River Record, Rainy River, Ont. | These papers are all independent, but have given us fair play, therefore should be put on list. |
| Frontenac | | | |
| Glengarry & Stormont. | | | |
| Grenville | | | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 93882

ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued - 4

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grey North | W. P. Telford, K.C., Owen Sound, Ont. | Owen Sound Sun-Times, Owen Sound, Ont. | |
| | | The Express, Meaford, Ont. | |
| | | The Review-Herald, Thornbury, Ont. | |
| Grey's East | Walter Hastie, Esq., R.R. #2, Holstein. | Dundalk Herald, Dundalk, Ont. | |
| | | Chesley Enterprise, Chesley, Ont. | Should receive some work. |
| Haldimand | D. Z. Gibson, Esq., Caledonia, Ont. | Haldimand Advocate, Cayuga, Ont. | |
| | | The Reform Press, Drumville, Ont. | |
| Halton | W. F. Fisher, Esq, Burlington, Ont. | The Milton Reformer, Milton, Ont. | Very deserving. |
| | | The Star, Oakville, Ont. | ditto. |
| | | Burlington Gazette, Burlington, Ont. | |
| | | Acton Free Press, Acton, Ont. | |
| Hamilton E. | Jno. Newlands, Esq., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper here. |
| Hamilton W. | Wm. Ainslie, Esq., 49 Main St. E. Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No. Liberal paper here. |
| Hastings E. | J. V. Walsh, Esq., Marysville, Ont. | The Deseronto Post & E. Hastings' Leader, Deseronto, Ont. | Harry M. Moore, Prop. |
| | | Tweed Advocate, Tweed, Ont. | May be considered. |
| Hastings W. | | | |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued - 4

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grey North | W. P. Telford, K.C., Owen Sound, Ont. | Owen Sound Sun-Times, Owen Sound, Ont. | |
| | | The Express, Meaford, Ont. | |
| | | The Review-Herald, Thornbury, Ont. | |
| Grey's East | Walter Hastie, Esq., R.R. #2, Holstein. | Dundalk Herald, Dundalk, Ont. | |
| | | Chesley Enterprise, Chesley, Ont. | Should receive some work. |
| Haldimand | D. Z. Gibson, Esq., Caledonia, Ont. | Haldimand Advocate, Cayuga, Ont. | |
| | | The Reform Press, Drumville, Ont. | |
| Halton | W. F. Fisher, Esq. Burlington, Ont. | The Milton Reformer, Milton, Ont. | Very deserving. |
| | | The Star; Oakville, Ont. | ditto. |
| | | Burlington Gazette, Burlington, Ont. | |
| | | Acton Free Press, Acton, Ont. | |
| Hamilton E. | Jno. Newlands, Esq., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper here. |
| Hamilton W. | Wm. Ainslie, Esq., 49 Main St. E. Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No. Liberal paper here. |
| Hastings E. | J. V. Walsh, Esq., Marysville, Ont. | The Deseronto Post & E. Hastings' Leader, Deseronto, Ont. | Harry M. Moore, Prop. |
| | | Tweed Advocate, Tweed, Ont. | May be considered. |
| Hastings W. | | | |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued - 4

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grey North | W. P. Telford, K.C., Owen Sound, Ont. | Owen Sound Sun-Times, Owen Sound, Ont. | |
| | | The Express, Meaford, Ont. | |
| | | The Review-Herald, Thornbury, Ont. | |
| Grey's East | Walter Hastie, Esq., R.R. #2, Holstein. | Dundalk Herald, Dundalk, Ont. | |
| | | Chesley Enterprise, Chesley, Ont. | Should receive some work. |
| Haldimand | D. Z. Gibson, Esq., Caledonia, Ont. | Haldimand Advocate, Cayuga, Ont. | |
| | | The Reform Press, Drumville, Ont. | |
| Halton | W. F. Fisher, Esq, Burlington, Ont. | The Milton Reformer, Milton, Ont. | Very deserving. |
| | | The Star, Oakville, Ont. | ditto. |
| | | Burlington Gazette, Burlington, Ont. | |
| | | Acton Free Press, Acton, Ont. | |
| Hamilton E. | Jno. Newlands, Esq., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper here. |
| Hamilton W. | Wm. Ainslie, Esq., 49 Main St. E. Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No. Liberal paper here. |
| Hastings E. | J. V. Walsh, Esq., Marysville, Ont. | The Deseronto Post & E. Hastings' Leader, Deseronto, Ont. | Harry M. Moore, Prop. |
| | | Tweed Advocate, Tweed, Ont. | May be considered. |
| Hastings W. | | | |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued -5

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Huron North | W. H. Fraser, M.P.P., Bluevale, Ont. | Goderich Signal, Goderich, Ont. | Deserves all possible favors. |
| | | Wingham Times, Wingham, Ont. | |
| | | Brussels Post, Brussels, Ont. | |
| Huron South | Thos. M. McMillan, R.R. #2, Seaforth, Ont. | Seaforth Expositor, Seaforth, Ont. | |
| | | Clinton New Era, Clinton, Ont. | |
| | | Exeter Times, Exeter, Ont. | |
| | | Goderich Signal, Goderich, Ont. | |
| Kent | Hon. James Murdock, M.P. | Chatham News, Chatham, Ont. | |
| | | Ridgetown Plain Dealer, Ridgetown, Ont. | |
| | | Blenheim Tribune, Blenheim, Ont. | |
| Kingston | J.M.Campbell, Esq., Kingston, Ont. | The British Whig, Kingston, Ont. | Daily |
| | | The Canadian Freeman, Kingston, Ont. | Weekly |
| Lambton E. | Senator F.F.Pardee, K.C., Sarnia, Ont. | Forest Free Press, Forest, Ont. | Pure Grit - H.P. Pettypiece, Editor. |
| Lambton W. | Senator Pardee, K.C., Sarnia, Ont. | Sarnia Canadian Observer, Sarnia, Ont. | Strictly non-partisan. Would be a good idea t to give them some printg. |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS CONTINUED -6.

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lanark | Peter McCallum, Esq., Almonte, Ont. | Carleton Place Herald, Carleton Place, Ont. | W.H. Allen, Proprietor. |
| | | Perth Courier, Perth, Ont. | Walker Bors. Proprietors |
| Leeds | | | |
| Lennox & Addington- | W. A. Martin, Esq., Yarker, Ont. | Napanee Express, Napanee, Ont. | |
| Lincoln | | | |
| London | | | |
| Middlesex E. | | | |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS CONTINUED -7

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Middlesex W. | | | |
| Muskoka | | | |
| Nippissing | | | |
| Norfolk | James Ross, Esq., Waterford, Ont. | Waterford Star, Waterford, Ont. | P. Geo. Pearce, Editor - Only real Liberal paper in Norfolk. |
| Northumberland | C. W. Kerr, Esq., Barrister &c., Lumsden Bldg., Toronto, Ont. | Cobourg World, Cobourg, Ont. | Deserves recognition. |
| | | Cobourg Post, Cobourg, Ont. | Independent, but deserves some recognition. |
| Ontario North | M. H. Keeler, Esq., Uxbridge, Ont. | Uxbridge Journal Uxbridge, Ont. | |
| Ontario South. | | | |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued - 8

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ottawa | E.R.E. Chevrier, M.P.<br>Ottawa, Ont. | Le Courier Federal,<br>Ottawa, Ont.<br><br>The Capital,<br>Ottawa, Cnt. | |
| Oxford N. | Dr. D. J. Sinclair, M.P.,<br>Woodstock, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper |
| Oxford S. | M.G. Dean, Esq.,<br>Tillsonburg, Ont. | Tillsonburg News,<br>Tillsonburg, Ont.<br><br>Norwich Gazette,<br>Norwich, Ont.<br><br>Ingersoll Tribune,<br>Ingersoll, Ont. | |
| Parkdale | Wm. Douglas, Esq.,<br>Barrister,<br>17 Queen St. E.,<br>Toronto, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper |
| Parry Sound | Dr. W. R. Mason,<br>Parry Sound | The North Star,<br>Parry Sound | Half hearted Lib. supporter. Some of the shareholders are Liberal. |
| Peel | W. J. Lowe, Esq.,<br>Snelgrove, Ont. | The Banner & Times,<br>Brampton, Ont.<br><br>The Bolton Enterprise,<br>Bolton, Ont. | |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued -9

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS.6 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Perth N. | Dr. J. P. Rankin,M.P., Strathroy,Ont. | Stratford Daily Beacon, Stratford,Ont. | |
| Perth S. | Wm. Forrester,M.P., Mitchell,Ont. | The Tavistock Gazette, | |
| Peterboro W. | G. N. Gordon,M.P., Peterboro',Ont. | The Examiner, Peterboro', Ont.<br>The Standard, Havelock,Ont.<br>The Register, Norwood,Ont.<br>The News, Lakefield,Ont.<br>The Reporter, Millbrook,Ont. | |
| Peterboro' E. | Jno. H. Dewart,Esq., Indian River,Ont. | Norwood Register, Norwood,Ont.<br>Hastings Star, Hastings,Ont. | Published outside riding, but have large circulation in Peterboo |
| Port Arthur & Kenora | J.A. McComber,Esq., Port Arthur,Ont. | The Kenora Examiner, Kenora,Ont. | Supported Lib. candidate in last election. |
| Prescott. | | | |

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CANADA

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued 10

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prince Edward | H. H. Horsey, Esq., Ottawa, Ont. | Picton Times, Picton, Ont. | Weekly |
| Renfrew North | Dr. M. McKay, M.P., Pembroke, Ont. | The Pembroke Observer, Pembroke, Ont.<br>The Eganville Leader, Eganville, Ont. | |
| Renfrew South | Hon. T. A. Low, M.P. Woodstock, Ont. | The Renfrew Mercury, Renfrew, Ont. | |
| Russell | Hon. Chas. Murphy, K.C., Ottawa, Ont. | Russell Leader, | Duncan Mc Arthur, Editor. |
| Simcoe E. | Manley Chew, M.P., Midland, Ont. | The Herald, Penetang, Ont.<br>The Free Press, Midland, Ont.<br>News Letter and Orillia Times, Orillia, Ont. | |
| Simcoe Nor. | | | |
| Simcoe S. | | | |

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CANADA

ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS CONTINUED - 11

C 93890

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Temiskaming | Donald McEachren, Esq., Cobalt, Ont. | North-Land Post, Cochrane, Ont. | |
| Toronto Centre | N. McEachren, Esq., Royal Bank Bldg., Toronto, Ont. | Atwell Fleming Print'g Co. - Cor. Pearl & Duncan Sts, Toronto. | Should get printing. |
| Toronto E. | | | |
| Toronto N. | Brig. Gen. Wm. Rennie, Hampton Court, Toronto, Ont. | The Globe, Toronto, Ont. | Entitled to every recognition. |
| | | The Star, Toronto, Ont. | ditto |
| Toronto S. | | | |
| Toronto W. | | | |
| Victoria & Halburton | | | |
| Waterloo Nor. | W. D. Euler, M.P., Kitchener, Ont. | The Daily Record, Kitchener, Ont. | |
| | | Ontario Journal, Kitchener, Ont. | Weekly. |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued - 12

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPER | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Waterloo N. continued | A. W. Hilborn, Esq., Galt, Ont. | The Telegraph, Kitchener, Ont.<br><br>The News Record, Kitchener, Ont. | |
| Waterloo S. | A. W. Hilborn, Esq., Galt, Ont. | The Ayr News, Ayr, Ont. | Small circulation, does not amount to much. |
| Welland | W. M. German, M.P., Barrister, Welland, Ont. | Niagara Falls Review, Niagara Falls, Ont.<br><br>The Thorold Post, Thorold, Ont. | Liberal, tho' not very enthusiastic. |
| Wellington N. | J. H. Hammond, Barrister, Harriston, Ont. | The Express, Clifford, Ont.<br>Confederate Representative, Mt. Forest, Ont. | — Independent — Prop. & Editor always take active interest in Liberal Party. |
| Wellington S. | Samuel Carter, Esq., Guelph, Ont. | The Guelph Mercury, Guelph, Ont. | Clear cut Lib. paper - J. I. McIntosh, Prop. |
| Wentworth | Walter T. Evans, Barrister &c., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper here. |
| York East | A. F. Ross, Esq., Barrister, 511 McKinnon Bldg., Toronto, Ont. | Beachers Ratepayers, 1860 Queen St., E., Toronto, Ont. | Weekly |

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ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS continued - 13

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | PAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| York Nor. | W. H. S. Cane, Esq., Newmarket, Ont. | Newmarket Era, Newmarket, Ont. | ...Absolutely Liberal, deserves every recognition. |
| | | Aurora Banner, Aurora, Ont. | Originally Lib. At present not supporting Lib. cause without pay. Have idea they were paid by Lennox for working in interest of local House. |
| | | Stouffville Tribune, Stouffville, Ont. | Claims to be Ind. 'tho gave us better treatment than Aurora Banner. Should be given some business. |
| York South | Alexander MacGregor, K.C., | The Economist & Sun, Markham, Ont. | |
| | | The Liberal, Richmond Hill, Ont. | |
| | | Weekly Times, Earlscourt, Ont. | |
| York West | Major J.E.L. Streight, Islington, Ont. | The Record Press & Publishing Co., New Toronto, Ont. | - This paper was established by Maj. Streight for the campaign and is still being carried on. All possible assistance will be much appreciated by Maj. Streight. |

NOTE:- To be added to Lambton East -

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| W. R. Stephenson, Petrolia, Ont. | Alvinston Free Press, Alvinston, Ont. | D. J. McLean, Publisher. |
| | Bothwell Times, Bothwell, Ont. | ~~Bothwell~~ |

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93893

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY AS REPORTED BY THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OR DEFEATED CANDIDATE IN EACH CONSTITUENCY - AS THE CASE MAY BE.

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| BRANDON | | | |
| DAUPHIN | | | |
| LISGAR | | | |
| MACDONALD | | | |
| MARQUETTE | | | |
| NEEPAWA | | | |
| PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE | | | |
| PROVENCHER | | | |
| SELKIRK | | | |
| SOURIS | | | |
| SPRINGFIELD | Thos. B. Molloy, Esq., Ste. Anne, Man. | TRANSCONA ADVERTISER Transcona, Man. | |

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C 93894

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA - Continued.....2

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| WINNIPEG CENTRE | | | |
| WINNIPEG NORTH | | | |
| WINNIPEG SOUTH | | | |

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 93895

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY WHEN AS REPORTED BY THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OR DEFEATED CANDIDATE IN EACH CONSTITUENCY - AS THE CASE MAY BE.

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMAKRS |
|---|---|---|---|
| ASSINIBOIA | | | |
| BATTLEFORD | | | |
| HUMBOLDT | O. F. Meilicke, Esq., Dandrum, Sask. | THE VISCOUNT SUN Viscount, Sask.<br>THE HUMBOLDT HERALD, Humboldt, Sask.<br>ST. PETERS BOTE, Muster, Sask.<br>QUILL LAKE RECORD Quill Lake, Sask.<br>BRUNO LEADER, Bruno, Sask.<br>THE YOUNG JOURNAL, Young, Sask.<br>THE COLANSAY JOURNAL Colansay, Sask.<br>THE ALLEN TRIBUNE, Allan, Sask. | |
| KINDERSLEY | | | |
| LAST MOUNTAIN | W. A. McFarlane, Nokomis, Sask | The Prairie News, Govan, Sask.<br>The Imperial Review, Imperial, Sask. | |
| MACKENZIE | Geo. W. McPhee, Esq., Barrister, Yorkton, Sask. | YORKTON PRESS, Yorkton, Sask. | |
| MAPLE CREEK | | | |
| MOOSEJAW | | | |

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CANADA

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| NORTH BATTLEFORD | | | |
| PRINCE ALBERT | | | |
| QU'APPELLE | | | |
| REGINA | Hon.W.R.Motherwell, Ottawa, Ont. | THE LEADER Regina, Sask. | Should be recognised for printing and advertising. |
| | | SASKATCHEWAN COURRIER Regina, Sask. | This paper is friendly to us and should be recognised for any work of foreign nature. |
| | | LUMSDEN NEWS Lumsden, Sask. | This paper should be recognised for advertising only. |
| SALTCOATS | | | |
| SASKATOON | | | |
| SWIFT CURRENT | | | |
| WEYBURN | | | |

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CANADA

C 93897

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA WHICH ARE DESERVING OF RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY - AS REPORTED BY THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OR DEFEATED CANDIDATE IN EACH CONSTITUENCY, AS THE CASE MAY BE.

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| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| BATTLE RIVER | | | |
| BOW RIVER | | | |
| CALGARY EAST | | | |
| CALGARY WEST | E. F. Ryan, Esq., Barrister, Calgary, Alta. | CALGARY DAILY HERALD Calgary, Alberta. | Has been pretty fair with us - would give them some work. |
| EDMONTON EAST | Jos. A. Clarke, Esq., Barrister, Etc., McLeod Bldg., Edmonton, Alberta | THE EDMONTON BULLETIN Edmonton, Alberta. | |
| EDMONTON WEST | | | |
| LETHBRIDGE | Dr. J. E. Lovering, Lethbridge, Alta. | COALHURST SUN Coalhurst, Alta. | |
| | | CANADIAN ADVOCATE Lethbridge, Alta. | J. B. Davies, Editor. |
| | | CARDSTON GLOBE Cardston, Alta | F. Burton, Editor. |
| | | BOW ISLAND REVIEW Bow Island, Alta. | C. Avery, Editor. |
| | | TABER TIMES Taber, Alta. | T. Green Editor |
| | | LETHBRIDGE HERALD Lethbridge, Alta. | W.A.Buchanan, Editor. |
| | | NOTE:- Any possible business should be divided equally among the above newspapers in Lethbridge. | |
| | | RAYMOND RECORDER Raymond, Alta. | D.C.Paterson, Editor. |
| MACLEOD | | | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PROVINCE OF ALBERTA - Continued.....2

C 93898

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| MEDICINE HAT | | | |
| RED DEER | | | |
| STRATHCONA | | | |
| VICTORIA | W. H. White, Esq., Ft. Sask. Alta. | CAMROSE CANADIAN Camrose, Alta.<br>VEGREVILLE OBSERVER Vegreville, Alta. | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers

Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES

ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES

CANADA

C 93899

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY AS REPORTED BY THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OR DEFEATED CANDIDATE IN EACH CONSTITUENCY - AS THE CASE MAY BE.

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| BURRARD | | | |
| CARIBOO | Wm. Somerton, Esq. Box 234, Prince George, B.C. | The Leader, Prince George, B.C. | Sharefolders all Liberal — Only straight Liberal paper in Riding. |
| COMOX-ALBERNI | | | |
| KOOTENAY EAST | | | |
| KOOTENAY WEST | | | |
| FRASER VALLEY | E. A. Munro, M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | CHILLIWACK PROGRESS Chilliwack, B.C. | Not Liberal, but would recommend that they get some work. |
| | | FRASER VALLEY RECORD Mission City, B.C. | Might be given some patronage. |
| NANAIMO | Thos. B. Booth, Esq., Nanaimo, B.C. | NANAIMO FREE PRESS Nanaimo, B.C. | |
| NEW WESTMINSTER | John Reid, Esq., P. O. Box 85, New Westminster, B.C. | JACKSON PRINTING CO., Columbia St. New Westminster, B.C. | |
| | | PACIFIC CANADIAN PRINTING CO., Carnarvon St., New Westminster, B.C. | |
| | | NOTE:- Abova firms in New Westminster do printing only. | |
| SKEENA | Fred Stork, M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | DAILY NEWS, Prince Rupert, B.C. | |
| | | INTERIOR NEWS, Smithers, B.C. | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

| CONSTITUENCY | RECOMMENDED BY | NEWSPAPERS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| VANCOUVER CENTRE | | | |
| VANCOUVER SOUTH | V. W. Odlum, Esq., Rogers Bldg., Vancouver, B.C. | THE WORLD Vancouver, B.C. | |
| | | THE SUN Vancouver, B.C. | |
| VICTORIA CITY | Wm. Ivel, Esq., 1200 Douglas St., Victoria, B.C. | VICTORIA DAILY TIMES Victoria, B.C. | Not Liberal, but it might be well to try them. |
| | | VANCOUVER ISLAND MAGAZINE, Vancouver, B.C. | Monthly - a very good friend of ours. |
| | | B.C.ORPHAN WEEKLY, Victoria, B.C. | A church paper always friendly would be well to advertise. |
| YALE | | | |
| YUKON TERRITORY | Fred T. Congdon, Esq., Barrister, Vancouver, B.C. | THE WHITE HORSE STAR White Horse, Y.T. | Should get preference |
| | | DAWSON DAILY TIMES Dawson City, Y.T. | Usually with the government. |

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93901 X-2100

# NATIONAL LIBERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE


*President:*
HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

*General Offices:*
115 SPARKS STREET, OTTAWA.
*Phone:* Queen 5805

*National Organizer and General Secretary:*
ANDREW HAYDON


OTTAWA, Ont. July 13th. 192 2

F. A. McGregor, Esq.,
Private Secretary to Prime Minister,
East Block,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. McGregor:-

Enclosed please find supplementary list of newspapers which have recently been recommended to this office as being entitled to recognition by the Liberal Party.

Yours sincerely,

Andrew Haydon per EOH

Acting General Secretary.

JUL 14 Rec'd


W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93902 X-2160

Ottawa, July 14, 1922

Andrew Haydon, Esq.,
Acting General Secretary,
National Liberal Organization Committee,
115 Sparks Street,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Haydon:

This line is to acknowledge the receipt today of your letter of the 13th instant, with which you have enclosed a supplementary list of newspapers which have been recommended to your office as being entitled to recognition by the Liberal Party.

I thank you for letting me have this information.

Yours sincerely,

F. A. McGREGOR

Private Secretary.

FAM/ESH

POOR
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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93903

SUPPLEMENTARY

List of Newspapers entitled to recognition by the Liberal Party as recommended by the Members of Parliament and Defeated Candidates, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Newspaper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| (NOVA SCOTIA) | | | |
| Halifax | Hon. W. S. Fielding | The Echo, Halifax, | |
| Cape Breton | Hon. D. D. McKenzie | Nor. Sydney Herald | Daily |
| | | " " " | Wkly. |
| | | Victoria News, Baddeck, | |
| | | News, Sydney Mines. | |
| (QUEBEC) | | | |
| Ste Anne Div. of Montreal | J.C.Walsh,K.C.?M.P., (Information rec'd from Mayor J.A.A. Leclaire of Verdun. | Le Messanger, 256 Rielle Ave., Verdun, P.Q. | |
| Shefford | Geo. H. Boivin, Barrister, Granby, Que. | Waterloo Advertiser, Waterloo,Que. | W.H.Bullock Editor. |
| | | Le Journal de Waterloo | O.Seguin, Editor -Wkly |
| (ONTARIO) | | | |
| Bruce South | R. E. Truax, Walkerton,Ont. | Walkerton Telescope, Chesley Enterprise, Lucknow Sentinel, Mildmay Gazette, Ripley Express, Teeswater News. | |
| Dufferin | W. Logan Craig, Grand Valley, | Star & Vidette, Grand Valley | |
| Ont. South. | L.O. Clifford,M.P. | Gazette & Chronicle, Whitby,Ont. | |
| | | The Star, Port Perry,Ont. | |
| | | The News, Pickering,Ont. | |
| | | Ontario Reformer, Oshawa, Ont. | |
| Wellington Nor. | J. H. Shannon, Barrister, Harrison,Ont. | The Express, Clifford,Ont. | |
| | | The Confederate & Representative, Mt. Forest,Ont. | Ind. - Prop & Ed'r always takes Int.in Libs. |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

ONTARIO continued.

| Constituency. | Recommended by | Newspaper | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| York South | Alexander MacGregor, K.C., | Tin Hat Review | Gunner Howe, Ed'r Entitled to spec'l recognition. |

(MANITOBA)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brandon | Jno. S. Mortimer, 217 Chamber of Commerce, Winnipeg, Man. | Register, Oak Lake, | Weekly, |
| | | News, Oak Lake, | R. Hogg, Ed'r. |
| | | Recorder, Reston, | Frank Manning, Editor. |
| | | Plain Dealer, Souris, | J. A. McMorran, Editor. |
| Dauphin | | Herald, Dauphin, | Ind. Liberal, Wkly W.D.King, Editor. |
| Lisgar | | Sentinel Pilot Mound, | |
| | | Courier, Crystal City, | Ind. Liberal. |
| Macdonald | | Gazette, Glenboro, | Mr. Oleson, Editor. |
| Marquette, | | Star, Shoal Lake | Weekly, Ed'r W. Stone |
| | | Echo, Hamiota, | |
| | | Tribune, Minnedosa, | A. Crossely, Ed'r - Weekly, |
| | | Miniota Herald, Miniota, | Wkly - Editor, A. N. Oliver, |
| | | The Post, Oak River, | |
| Neepawa | | News Express, Carberry, | J.L.Cowie, Ed'r. Weekly, |
| | | Press, Neepawa, | A Dunlop, Ed'r |
| | | Langruth Times, Langruth, | Hon.C.D.MCPherson, Editor. |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93905

MANITOBA continued

| Constituency. | Recommended by | Newspaper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Portage la Prairie | Jno. S. Mortimer | Oakville Standard, Oakville, | Hon.C.D.McPherson |
| | | Graphic, Portage la Prairie | " |
| Provencher | " | Weekly Echo, Dominion City, | |
| | | Journal, Emerson | W. B. Ballantyne, Editor. |
| Selkirk | " | Argus, Stonewall, | Weekly, J.A. Stratton, Ed'r |
| Souris | " | New Era, Melita. | Ed'r. T. Beveridge |
| | | News, Waskada, | |
| | | Guide, Killarney | Weekly, |
| | | Whitewater Packet, Minto, | |
| | | Star, Hartney, | |
| | | Times, Deloraine. | |
| Winnipeg. | | Logberg<br>(Svenska Tidningen,<br>(325 Logan Ave.<br>Canada Posten,<br>(Israelite Press,<br>(811 Main St.)<br>Western Home Monthly<br>(Canadian Farmer,<br>(120 King St.,<br>(Der Nordwestern<br>(120 King St.,<br>Ukranian Labor. | J.J.Bildfell,<br>P.M.Dahl,<br><br>A. Hollonquist,<br>H.E. Wilder,<br><br>- Jno. Stovel,<br>F. Dojacek, |
| Winnipeg South | | Press, 120 Marion St., Norwood. | Mr. Dunbar, Editor, |

SASKATCHEWAN)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prince Albert | Miss Cummings, Dept. of Agriculture | News Publishing Co., Prince Albert, | S. L. Small, Manager. |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93906 X- 2100 1922

SUPPLEMENTARY

List of Newspapers entitled to recognition by the Liberal Party as recommended by the Members of Parliament and Defeated Candidates, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Newspaper | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Halifax | Hon. W. S. Fielding | The Echo, Halifax. | |
| Cape Breton | Hon. D. D. McKenzie | Nor. Sydney Herald | Daily |
| | | " " " | Weekly |
| | | Victoria News, Baddeck. | |
| | | News, Sydney Mines. | |
| (QUEBEC) | | | |
| Ste Anne Div. of Montreal | J.C.Walsh, K.C., M.P., (Information received from Mayor J.A.A.Leclaire of Verdun). | Le Messanger, 256 Rielle Ave., Verdun, P. Q. | |
| Shefford | Geo. H. Boivin, Barrister, Granby, Que. | Waterloo Advertiser, Waterloo, P. Q. | W.H.Bullock, Editor. |
| | | Le Journal de Waterloo | O. Seguin, Editor - Wkly. |
| (ONTARIO) | | | |
| Bruce South | R. E. Truax, Walkerton, Ont. | Walkerton Telescope, Chesley Enterprize, Lucknow Sentinel, Mildmay Gazette, Ripley Express, Teeswater News. | |
| Dufferin | W. Logan Craig, Grand Valley. | Star & Vidette, Grand Valley. | |
| Ont. South | L. O. Clifford, M.P. | Gazette & Chronicle, Whitby, Ont. | |
| | | The Star, Port Perry, Ont. | |
| | | The News, Pickering, Ont. | |
| | | Ontario Reformer, Oshawa, Ont. | |
| Wellington Nor. | J. H. Shannon, Barrister, Harrison, Ont. | The Express, Clifford, Ont. | |
| | | The Confederate & Representative, Mt. Forest, Ont. | Ind.- Prop & Ed'r always takes Int. in Libs. |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93907

ONTARIO continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Newspaper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| York South | Alexander MacGregor, K.C. | Tin Hat Review | Gunner Howe, Ed'r Entitled to special recognit'n |
| (MANITOBA) | | | |
| Brandon | Jno. S. Mortimer 217 Chamber of Commerce, Winnipeg, Man. | Register, Oak Lake. | Weekly. |
| | | News, Oak Lake. | R. Hogg, Editor. |
| | | Recorder, Reston. | Frank Manning, Editor. |
| | | Plain Dealer, Souris. | J.A.McMorran, Editor. |
| Dauphin | Heral | Herald, Dauphin. | Ind.Liberal, Wkly W.D.King, Editor. |
| Lisgar | | Sentinel, Pilot Mound. | |
| | | Courier, Crystal City. | Ind. Liberal. |
| Macdonald | | Gazette, Glenboro. | Mr. Oleson, Editor. |
| Marquette | | Star Shoal Lake | Weekly Editor W. Stone. |
| | | Echo, Hamiota. | |
| | | Tribune, Minnedosa. | A. Crossley Editor - Weekly. |
| | | Miniota Herald, Miniota. | A. N. Oliver Editor - Weekly. |
| | | The Post, Oak River. | |
| Neepawa | | News Express, Carberry. | J. L. Cowie, Editor - Weekly. |
| | | Press, Neepawa. | Ad. Dunlop, Editor. |
| | | Langruth Times, Langruth. | Hon.C.D.McPherson, Editor. |
| Portage la Prairie | Jno. S. Mortimer | Oakville Standard, Oakville. | do. |
| | | Graphic, Poetage la Prairie. | do. |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

MANITOBA continued

| Constituency | Recommended by | Newspaper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Provencher | Jno. S. Mortimer | Weekly Echo, Dominion City. | |
| | | Journal, Emerson. | W.B.Ballantyne, Editor. |
| Selkirk | do. | Argus, Stonewall. | Weekly, J.A.Stratton,Editor. |
| Souris | do. | New Era, Melita. | T. Beveridge, Editor. |
| | | News, Waskada. | |
| | | Guide, Killarney. | Weekly. |
| | | Whitewater Packet, Minto. | |
| | | Star, Hartney. | |
| | | Times, Deloraine. | |
| Winnipeg | | Logberg<br>(Svenska Tidningen,<br>(325 Logan Ave.<br>Canada Posten,<br>(Israelite Press,<br>(811 Main St.)<br>Western Home Monthly<br>(Canadian Farmer,<br>(120 King St.,<br>(Der Nordwestern<br>(120 King St.,<br>Ukranian Labor. | J.J.Bildfell,<br>P.M.Dahl,<br><br>A.Hollonquist,<br>H.E.Wilder.<br>- Jno. Stovel,<br>F. Dojacek, |
| Winnipeg South. | | Press, 120 Marion St., Norwood. | Mr. Dunbar, Editor. |

(SASKATCHEWAN)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prince Albert | Miss Cummings, Dept. of Agriculture. | News Publishing Co., Prince Albert. | S. L. Small, Manager. |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93909

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate for the different constituencies, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Algoma East | Dr.Jno.Carruthers,M.P.<br>Little Current, Ont. | Manufacturer Expositor,<br>Little Current, Ont. | |
| | | The Recorder,<br>Gore Bay, Ont. | |
| | | Algoma Advocate,<br>Thessalton, Ont. | |
| Algoma West | H.S.Hamilton, Esq.,<br>Barrister &c.,<br>Sault Ste. Marie, Ont. | The Sault Star,<br>Sault Ste. Marie. | Tory - Employees gave some support to Lib'l Candidate. |
| Brant | R. J. Aitken, Esq.,<br>St. George, Ont. | Star-Transcript,<br>Paris, Ont. | Did extra good work in campaign. |
| | | Burford Advance,<br>Burford, Ont. | |
| Brantford | W. Raymond, M. P.,<br>Brantford, Ont. | The Expositor,<br>Brantford, Ont. | Formerly Liberal. Two years ago absorbed the Tory Courier. Now claim to be absolutely neutral. Each Party paid for space in campaign. T.H.Preston & Sons, Publishers. |
| Bruce North | James Malcolm, M.P.,<br>Kincardine, Ont. | Kincardine Reporter,<br>Kincardine, Ont. | A.B.Hunt, Editor. Deserving of special recognition - gave very marked assistance in campaign. |
| Bruce South | | | |
| Carleton | J.Bower Lyon, Esq.,<br>22 Citizen Building,<br>Ottawa, Ont. | The J. Bower Lyon Advertising Agency. | An Agency for the writing and distribution of copy. |
| | | The Westender,<br>22 Citizen Bldg.,<br>Ottawa. | A local paper. |
| Dufferin | W.Logan Craig,<br>Grand Valley, Ont. | The Star & Vidette,<br>Grand Valley, Ont. | |
| Dundas | | | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Durham | W.T.R.Preston, Box 327, Port Hope. | The Guide, Port Hope, Ont. | Geo. Wilson & Son, Editor. |
| | | The Statesman, Bowmanville, Ont. | M. A. James & Son, Editor. |
| | | The Miror, Millbrook, Ont. | C. E. Richards, Editor, |
| Elgin East | | | |
| Elgin West | | | |
| Essex North | Hon. W.C.Kennedy, Ottawa, Ont. | The Border Cities Star, Windsor, Ont. | |
| | | The London Advertiser, London, Ont. | |
| Essex South | Hon. Geo.P.Graham, Ottawa, Ont. | The Post, Leamington, Ont. | |
| | | The Herald, Comber, Ont. | |
| | | The Reporter, Kingsville, Ont. | |
| | | The Free Press, Essex. | |
| | | The Times, Tilsbury, Ont. | |
| | | The Journal, Wheatley, Ont. | |
| | | The Echo, Amherstburg, Ont. | |
| Ft. William & Rainy River | R. J. Byrnes, Barrister &c., Fort William,Ont. | Daily Times Journal, Fort William, Ont. | These papers are all independent, but have given us fair play, therefore should be put on list. |
| | | Times and Rainy Lake Herald, Fort Francis, Ont. | |
| | | Rainy River Record, Rainy River, Ont. | |
| Frontenac | | | |
| Glengarry & Stormont. | | | |
| Grenville | | | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93911

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grey North | W.P.Telford, K.C., Owen Sound, Ont. | Owen Sound Sun-Times, Owen Sound, Ont. | |
| | | The Express, Meaford, Ont. | |
| | | The Review-Herald, Thornbury, Ont. | |
| Grey's East | Walter Hastie, Esq., R.R.#2, Holstein. | Dundalk Herald, Dundalk, Ont. | Should receive some work. |
| | | Chesley Enterprise, Chesley, Ont. | |
| Haldimand | D. Z. Gibson, Esq., Caledonia, Ont. | Haldimand Advocate, Cayuga, Ont. | |
| | | The Reform Press, Drumville, Ont. | |
| Halton | W. F. Fisher, Esq., Burlington, Ont. | The Milton Reformer, Milton, Ont. | Very deserving. |
| | | The Star, Oakville, Ont. | |
| | | Burlington Gazette, Burlington, Ont. | |
| | | Acton Free Press, Acton, Ont. | |
| Hamilton E. | Jno. Newlands, Esq., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper here. |
| Hamilton W. | Wm. Ainslie, Esq., 49 Main St. E., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper here. |
| Hastings E. | J. V. Walsh, Esq., Marysville, Ont. | The Deseronto Post & East Hastings' Leader, Deseronto, Ont. | Harry M. Moore, Prop. |
| | | Tweed Advocate, Tweed, Ont. | May be considered |
| Hastings W. | | | |
| Huron North | W. H. Fraser, M.P.P., Blueva/le, Ont. | Goderich Signal, Goderich, Ont. | Deserves all possible favors. |
| | | Wingham Times, Wingham, Ont. | |
| | | Brussells Post, Brussells, Ont. | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93912

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Huron South | Thos. M. McMillan, R.R. #2, Seaforth. | Seaforth Expositor, Seaforth, Ont. | |
| | | Clinton New Era, Clinton, Ont. | |
| | | Exeter Times, Exeter, Ont. | |
| | | Goderich Signal, Goderich, Ont. | |
| Kent | Hon.Jas. Murdock,M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | Chatham News, Chatham, Ont. | |
| | | Ridgetown Plain Dealer, Ridgetwon, Ont. | |
| | | Blenheim Tribune, Blenheim, Ont. | |
| Kingston | J.M.Campbell, Esq., Kingston, Ont. | The British Whig, Daily Kingston, Ont. | |
| | | The Canadian Freemen, Weekly Kingston, Ont. | |
| Lambton E. | Senator F.F.Pardee, K.C., Sarnia, Ont. | Forest Free Press, Forest, Ont. | Pure Grit, H.P.Pettypiece, Editor. |
| Lambton W. | Senator Pardee, K. C., Sarnia, Ont. | Sarnia Canadian Observer, Sarnia, Ont. | Strictly non-partisan. Would be a good idea to give them some printing. |
| Lanark | Peter McCallum, Esq., Almonte, Ont. | Carleton Place Herald, Carleton,Place, Ont. | W.H.Allen, Proprietor. |
| | | Perth Courier, Perth, Ont. | |
| Leeds | | | |
| Lennox & Addington | W.A.Martin, Esq., Yarker, Ont. | Napanee Express, Napanee, Ont. | |
| Lincoln | | | |
| London | | | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93913

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Middlesex E. | | | |
| Middlesex W. | | | |
| Muskoka | | | |
| Nippissing | | | |
| Norfolk | James Ross, Esq., Waterford, Ont. | Waterford Star, Waterford, Ont. | P. Gee. Pearce, Editor - only real Liberal paper in Norfolk. |
| Northumberland | C. W. Kerr, Esq., Barrister &c., Lumsden Building, Toronto, Ont. | Cobourg World, Cobourg, Ont.<br>Cobourg Post, Cobourg, Ont. | Deserves recognition<br>Independent, but deserves some recognition |
| Ontario North | M. H. Keeler, Esq., Uxbridge, Ont. | Uxbridge Journal, Uxbridge, Ont. | |
| Ontario South | | | |
| Ottawa | E.R.E. Chevrier, M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | Le Courier Federal, Ottawa, Ont.<br>The Capital, Ottawa, Ont. | |
| Oxford N. | Dr. D.J.Sinclair, M.P., Woodstock, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper. |
| Oxford S. | M. G. Dean, Esq., Tillsonburg, Ont. | Tillsonburg,News, Tillsonburg, Ont.<br>Norwich Gazette, Norwich, Ont.<br>Ingersoll Tribune, Ingersoll, Ont. | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93914

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parkdale | Wm. Douglas, Esq., Barrister, 17 Queen St. E., Toronto, Ont. | ---------- | No Liberal paper. |
| Parry Sound | Dr. W. R. Mason, Parry Sound. | The North Star, Parry Sound. | Half hearted Lib. supporter. Some of the shareholders are Liberal. |
| Peel | W. J. Lowe, Esq., Snelgrove, Ont. | The Banner & Times, Brampton, Ont.<br>The Bolton Enterprise, Bolton, Ont. | |
| Perth N. | Dr. J.P.Rankin, M.P., Strathroy, Ont. | Stratford Daily Beacon, Stratford, Ont. | |
| Perth S. | Wm. Forrester, M.P., Mitchell, Ont. | The Tavistock Gazette. | |
| Peterboro W. | G. N. Gordon, M.P., Peterboro, Ont. | The Examiner, Peterboro, Ont.<br>The Standard, Havelock, Ont.<br>The Register, Norwood, Ont.<br>The News, Lakefield, Ont.<br>The Reporter, Millbrook, Ont. | |
| Peterboro E. | Jno. H. Dewart, Esq., Indian River, Ont. | Norwood Register, Norwood, Ont. | Published outside riding, but have large circulation in Peterboro. |
| Port Arthur & Kenora. | J.A.McComber, Esq., Port Arthur, Ont. | The Kenora Examiner, Kenora, Ont. | Supported Liberal candidate in last election. |
| Prescott | | | |

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C 93915

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prince Edward | H. H. Horsey, Esq., Ottawa, Ont. | Picton Times, Picton, Ont. | |
| Renfrew North | Dr. M. McKay, M.P., Pembroke, Ont. | The Pembroke Observer, Pembroke, Ont. | |
| | | The Eganville Leader, Eganville, Ont. | |
| Renfrew South | Hon. T. A. Low, M.P., Woodstock, Ont. | The Renfrew Mercury, Renfrew, Ont. | |
| Russell | Hom. Chas. Murphy, K.C., Ottawa, Ont. | Russell Leader, | Duncan McArthur, Editor. |
| Simcoe E. | Manley Chew, M. P., Midland, Ont. | The Herald, Penetang, Ont. | |
| | | The Free Press, Midland, Ont. | |
| | | News Letter and Orillia Times, Orillia, Ont. | |
| Simcoe Nor. | | | |
| Sincoe S. | | | |
| Temiskaming | Donald McEachrem, Esq., Cobalt, Ont. | North Land Post, Cochrane, Ont. | |
| Toronto Centre | N. McEachren, Esq., Royal Bank Building, Toronto, Ont. | Atwell Fleming Printing Co. - Cor. Pearl & Duncan Sts., Toronto. | Should get printing. |
| Toronto E. | | | |
| Toronto N. | Brig.Gen. Wm. Rennie, Hampton Court, Toronto. | The Globe, Toronto, Ont. | Entitled to every recognition. |
| | | The Star, Toronto, Ont. | do. |
| Toronto S. | | | |
| Toronto W. | | | |

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PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Victoria & Halburton. | | | |
| Waterloo Nor. | W. D. Euler, M.P., Kitchener, Ont. | The Daily Record, Kitchener, Ont. | |
| | | Ontario Journal, Kitchener, Ont. | Weekly. |
| | A. W. Hilborn, Esq., Galt, Ont. | The Telegraph, Kitchener, Ont. | |
| | | The News Record, Kitchener, Ont. | |
| Waterloo S. | A. W. Hilborn, Esq., Galt, Ont. | The Ayr News, Ayr, Ont. | Small circulation; does not amount to much. |
| Welland | W. M. German, M.P., Barrister, Welland, Ont. | Niagara Falls Review, Niagara Falls, Ont. | Liberal, though not very enthusiastic. |
| | | The Thorold Post, Thorold, Ont. | |
| Wellington N. | J. H. Shannon, Barrister, Harrison, Ont. | The Express, Clifford, Ont. | |
| | | Confederate & Representative, Mount Forest, Ont. | - Independent; Proprietor and Editor always take active interest in Liberal Party. |
| Wellington S. | Samuel Carter, Esq., Guelph, Ont. | The Guelph Mercury, Guelph, Ont. | Clear cut Liberal Paper - J.I.McIntosh Proprietor. |
| Wentworth | Walter T. Evans, Barrister &c., Hamilton, Ont. | ---------- | No liberal paper here. |
| York East | A. F. Ross, Esq., Barrister, 511 McKinnon Bldg., Toronto, Ont. | Beachers Ratepayers, 1860 Queen St. E., Toronto, Ont. | Weekly |
| York Nor. | W.H.S. Cane, Esq., Newmarket, Ont. | Newmarket Era, Newmarket, Ont. | Absolutely Liberal, deserves every recognition. |
| | | Aurora Review, Aurora, Ont. | Originally Liberal; at present not supporting Lib. cause without pay. Have idea they were paid by Lennox for working in interest of local House. |
| | | Stouffville Tribune, Stouffville, Ont. | |

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C 93917

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| York South | Alex. MacGregor, K.C. | The Economist & Sun, Markham, Ont.<br><br>The Liberal, Richmond Hill, Ont.<br><br>Weekly Times, Earlscourt, Ont. | |
| York West | Major J.E.L. Streight, Islington, Ont. | The Record Press & Publishing Company, New Toronto, Ont. | This paper was established by Major Streight for the campaign and is still being carried on. All possible assistance will be much appreciated by Maj.Streight |

NOTE: To be added to Lambton East -

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| W. R. Stephenson, Petrolia, Ont. | Alvinston Free Press, Alvinston, Ont.<br><br>Bothwell Times, Bothwell, Ont. | D.J.McLean, Publisher. |

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C 93918

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Argentruil | | | |
| Bagot | | | |
| Beauce | Hon. Dr. Beland, M.P., Minister of S. C. R., Ottawa, Ont. | L'Eclaireur, Beauceville, P.Q. | |
| Beauharnois | L. J. Papineau, M.P., Valleyfield, P. Q. | Le Progress De Valleyfield) Valleyfield, P. Q. | The Proprietor refused the late Govt's business during last election. |
| Bellechasse | C. A. Fournier, M.P., St. Chas.de Bellechasse, P. Q. | | No paper in this constituency, but recommends Le Soleil and Daily Telegraph of Quebec, P. Q. |
| Berthier | | | |
| Bonaventure | Hon. Chas. Mercil, M.P., Montreal, P. Q. | (The Telegraph and Le Soleil of (Quebec and Le Canada of Montreal. | No paper here but recommends The Graphic of Campbellton, N.B.; |
| Brome | Andrew McMaster, M.P., Montreal, P. Q. | H.F.Smith Co., Knowlton, P. Q. | Printers only but highly recommended, also The Waterloo Advertiser and Le Journal de Waterloo of Waterlo |
| Chambly-Vercheres | | | |
| Champlain | | | |
| Charlevoix Montmorency | | | |

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Province of Quebec - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chateauguay<br>Huntingdon | Hon. J.A.Robb, M.P.,<br>Minister of Trade &<br>Commerce, Ottawa. | Huntingdon Gleaner,<br>Valleyfield, P. Q.<br><br>Ormstown Bulletin,<br>Ormstown, P. Q.<br><br>Le Progress de Valleyfield,<br>Valleyfield, P. Q. | (Only one in this<br>(constituency). |
| Chicoutimi<br>Saguenay | | | |
| Compton | A. B. Hunt, M. P.,<br>Bury, P. Q. | | No paper in this constituency. |
| Dorchester | Lucien Cannon, M.P.,<br>Quebec, P. Q. | | No paper in this constituency, but recommends strongly L'ECAIREUR of Beauceville, P. Q., circulating there. |
| Drummond<br>Arhhabaska | N.K.Laflamme, M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | L'Union des Cantons<br>de L'Est,<br>Arthabaska, P. Q. | |
| Gaspe | Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P.<br>Ottawa, Ont. | | No paper to recommend in his cons., but recommends LE SOLEIL of Quebec. |
| George Etienne<br>Cartier | S.W.Jacobs, K.C.,M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | Le Canada,<br>Le Bulletin,<br>L'Autorite,<br>Jewish Daily Eagle,<br>all of Montreal, P.Q. | |
| Hochelaga | | | |
| Hull | Dr.J.E.Fontaine, M.P.,<br>Hull, P. Q. | Le Spectateur,<br>Hull, P. Q. | |
| Jacques Cartier | D.A.Lafortune, M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | | No paper here. |
| Joliette | J.J.Denis, K.C., M.P.,<br>Joliette, P. Q. | L'Etoile Du Nord,<br>Joliette, P. Q. | |
| Kamouraska | A. Stein, K.C., M.P.,<br>Riviere-du-Loup,P.Q. | Le St. Laurent,<br>Riviere-du-Loup,P.Q. | Weekly Paper. |
| Labelle | | | |
| Laprairie<br>Napierville. | | | |

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C 93920

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| L'Assomption Montcalm | | | |
| Laurier Outremont | Hon.Sir Lomer Gouin, Minister of Justice, Ottawa, Ont. | Le Canada, Montreal, P.Q.<br>Le Bulletin, Montreal, P.Q.<br>The Herald, Montreal, P.Q. | |
| Laval Two Mountains | J.A.C.Ethier,K.C.,M.P. Ste.Scholastique, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends L'Avenir du Nord of St. Jerome, P. Q. J.E.Prevost,M.P., proprietor. |
| Levis | Thos. Vien, K.C.,M.P., Quebec, P. Q. | Le Quotidien, Levis, P. Q. | |
| L'Islet | | | |
| Lotbiniere | Thos. Vien, K.C.,M.P., Quebec, P. Q. | | No paper here but recommends Le Soleil, The Daily Telegraph, both of Quebec, P. Q., and Le Quotidien of Levis, P. Q. |
| Maisonneuve | | | |
| Maskinonge | Eug. Desrochers, M.P., St. Didace, P. Q. | L'Echo de St.Justin, St. Justin, P. Q. | |
| Matane | F.J.Pelletier, M.P., Matane, P. Q. | | No paper here but recommends Le St. Laurent of Riviere-du-Loup, which circulates in his district. |
| Megantic | Lucien Pacaud, M.P., Thetford Mines, P. Q. | Canadien, Thetford Mines, P.Q.,<br>Cie. d'Impressions de Plessisville, P.Q. | |
| Missisquoi | W. F. Kay, M.P., Philipsburg, P.Q. | | No paper here but recommends La Tribune and Sherbrooke Record of Sherbrooke, P.Q. |

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C 93921

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Montmagny | A. M. Dechene, M.P., Montmagny? P. Q. | LeCourier De Montmagny, Montmagny, P. Q. | |
| Nicolet | | | |
| Pontiac | | | |
| Protneuf | | | |
| Quebec County | H. E. Lavigueur, M.P., Quebec P. Q. | Le Soleil, Daily Telegraph, Quebec, P. Q. | |
| Quebec East | Hon. E. Lapointe,M.P., Minister of Marine, Ottawa, Ont. | Le Soleil, Quebec, P.Q.<br>L'Evenement, " "<br>Daily Telegraph, " "<br>L'Eclaireur, Beauceville, P.Q.<br>Le St. Laurent, Riv-du-Loup, P.Q. | |
| Quebec West | Geo. Parent, M.P., Quebec, P. Q. | Le Soleil, Quebec, P.Q.<br>Daily Telegraph, Quebec, P.Q. | |
| Quebec South | C. G. Power, M.P., Quebec, P. Q. | Le Soleil<br>L'Evenement<br>Daily Telegraph<br>all of Quebec, P.Q. | |
| Richelieu | P.J.A.Cardin, M.P., Sorel, P. Q. | Le Courrier de Sorel, Sorel, P. Q. | |
| Richmond & Wolfe | E. W. Tobin, M.P., Bromptonville, P.Q. | Times Guardian, Richmond, P. Q. | |
| Rimouski | | | |
| St. Anns Div. Montreal. | | | |
| St. Antoine Div. Montreal | | | |
| St. Denis Div. Montreal | | | |
| St. Hyacinthe-Rouville | Rene Morin, M.P., St. Hyacinthe,P.Q. | Le Clairon, St. Hyacinthe, P.Q. | |

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PROVINCE OF QUEBEC - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| St. James Div.<br>MONTREAL, P. Q. | Fernand Rinfret, M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | Le Canada,<br>73 James St.,<br>Montreal, P.Q.<br><br>Le Bulletin,<br>109 Ontario St.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | |
| St. Jean Iberville | | | |
| St. Lawrence-<br>St. George | H. M. Marler, M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | The Herald Printing & Publish, Montreal.<br>J. McCallum & Son, Printers, "<br>J. E. Roy, Printers, "<br>Rothchild Press, Printers, "<br>A 1 Printing Co., " "<br>Canadian Railroader," " | |
| St. Mary Div.<br>Montreal, P.Q. | | | |
| Shefford | | | |
| Sherbrooke | F. N. McCrea, M.P.,<br>Sherbrooke, P. Q. | La Tribune, Sherbrooke, P.Q.<br>Sherbrooke Daily Record,<br>Sherbrooke, P. Q. | This paper pretends to be neutral but leans toward the Conservative Party. |
| Stanstead | W.B.Baldwin, M.P.,<br>Baldwin Mills, P.Q. | The Stanstead Journal,<br>Rock Island, P. Q.<br><br>Coaticook Observer,<br>Coaticook, P. Q. | |
| Temiscouata | C. A. Gauvreau, M.P.,<br>Riv.-du-Loup, P. Q. | Le St. Laurent,<br>Riv.-du-Loup, P. Q. | |
| Terrebonne | J.E.Prevost, M.P.,<br>St. Jerome, P. Q. | L'Avenir du Nord,<br>St. Jerome, P. Q. | |
| Three Rivers &<br>St. Maurice. | Hon. Jacques Bureau,<br>Minister of Customs,<br>Ottawa, Ont. | L'Echo du St. Maurice,<br>Shawinigan Falls, P.Q.<br><br>St. Maurice Valley Chronicle,<br>Three Rivers, P. Q. | |
| Vaudreuil -<br>Soulanges | Gustave Boyer, M.P.,<br>Ottawa, Ont. | The Tribune,<br>Hudson, P. Q. | Also recommends LE MONITEUR of Hawkesbury, Ont. |
| Westmount<br>St. Henry | Paul Mercier, M.P.,<br>Montreal, P. Q. | Le St. Henri<br>1884 Notre Dame O.<br>Montreal, P.Q. | Has greatly helped this man during campaign without remuneration. |
| Wright | | | |
| Yamaska | | | |

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C 93923

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| King's | J. J. Hughes, M.P. Souris East. | The Patriot, Charlottetown, P.E.I. | |
| Prince | Jno. E. Sinclair, Emerald, P.E.I., and A. E. McLean, M. P., Summerside, P.E.I. | The Pioneer<br>The Island Farmer | Both these papers are published by The Pioneer Publishing Co., and should get every recognition. |
| Queens | D.A.Mackinnon, M. P., Charlottetown, P.E.I. | The Patriot, Charlottetown. | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93924

NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING OR ADVERTISING - As reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| CHARLOTTE | W. F. Todd, Esq., St. Stephen, N.B. | | No Liberal Paper here. |
| GLOUCESTER | O. Turgeon, M.P. Bathurst, N. B. | Gloucester Northern Light, Bathurst, NB. | Entitled to all possible advertising. |
| | | L'Acadien, Moncton, N. B. | |
| KENT | A. T. Leger, M.P. Rickibuctou, N. B. | The Transcript, Moncton, N. B. | |
| NORTHUMBERLAND | John Morrissey, M.P. Newcastle, N. B. | North Shore Leader, Newcastle, N. B. | |
| RESTIGOUCHE & MADAWASKA | Pius Michaud, M. P., Edmundston, N. B. | The Graphic, Campbellton, N. B. | |
| | | Le Madawaska, Edmundston, N. B. | |
| ROYAL | Dr. D.H.McAllister, Sussex, N. B. | King's County Record, Sussex, N. B. | |
| ST. JOHN CITY COUNTIES OF ST. JOHN & ALBERT. | Wm. D. Broderick, 6 Germain St., St. John, N. B. | St. John Globe, St. John, N. B. | |
| | | St. John Times, St. John, N. B. | |
| | | St. John Telegraph, St. John, N. B. | |
| | | The New Freeman, St. John, N. B. | |
| VICTORIA & CARLETON. | | | |
| WESTMORELAND | T. W. Quayle, Esq., Sec'y to Hon. Mr. Copp. | The Transcript, Moncton, N. B. | Daily and semi-weekly. |
| YORK SUNBURY | Col. W. J. Osborne, Fredericton, N. B. | The Daily Mail, Fredericton, N.B., by The Mail Publishing Co. | Should get all possible assistance. |

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY FOR PRINTING AND ADVERTISING - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Canditate for each constituency, as the case may be:-

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Antigonish & Guysboro' | Hon.C.F.McIsaac, M.P. Antigonish, N.S. | Antigonish Casket, Antigonish, N.S. | Non partisan, but should be recognized. |
| | | The Canso Breeze, Canso, N. S. | |
| Cape Breton N. and Victoria | Hon.D.D.McKenzie,M.P. Ottawa, Ont. | Sydney Record, Sydney, N. S. | Principal Liberal paper. |
| Cape Breton S. and Richmond. | | | |
| Colchester | Harold Putnam, M.P. Box 488, Truro, N.S. | The Wesleyan, Truro, N. S. | Weekly - absolutely neutral safe for advertising. Do not give them any business until further advised. |
| Cumberland | | | |
| Digby and Annapolis | Dr.L.J.Lovett, M.P. Bear River, N. S. | The Weekly Courier, Digby, N. S. | |
| | | The Weekly Monitor, Bridgetown, N.S. | |
| | | The Middleton Outlook, Middleton, N.S. | |
| Halifax, | Dr.E.Blackadder, M.P. Halifax, N.S. | Acadian Recorder, Halifax, N. S. | |
| | | Morning Chronicle, Halifax, N.S. | |
| Hants | L. H. Martell, M.P. Barrister, Windsor, N. S. | The Hants Journal, Windsor, N.S. | Weekly,entitled to good recognition. H.S.Anslow, Proprietor. |
| Inverness | | | |
| Kings | Ernest Robinson, M.P. | Western Chronicle, Kentville, N.S. | |
| | | Berwick Register, Berwick, N. S. | |

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C 93926

NEWSPAPERS IN NOVA SCOTIA continued

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lunenburg | Wm. Duff, M. P.<br>Lunenburg, N.S. | Newton Gazette,<br>The Walogash News. | Mr. Duff wishes to have these papers added to the list. |
| | | NOTE: Mr. Duff wants The Bridgewater Bulletin, the Weekly News and The Daily News of Lunenburg, taken off the patronage list in all the Departments so that in future they will not get any advertising or printing. | |
| Pictou | E.M.Macdonald, M.P. | Eastern Chronicle,<br>New Glasgow, N.S. | |
| | | Pictou Advocate,<br>Pictou, N. S. | |
| Shelbourne & Queens | Hon.W.S.Fielding, M.P. | The Liverpool Advance,<br>Liverpool, N. S. | Weekly. |
| Yarmouth & Claire | P.L.Hatfield, M.P. | Yarmouth Herald,<br>Yarmouth, N. S. | |
| | | Yarmouth Telegram,<br>Yarmouth, N. S. | |

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C 93927

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY, - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| BRANDON | | | |
| DAUPHIN | | | |
| LISGAR | | | |
| MACDONALD | | | |
| MARQUETTE | | | |
| NEEPAWA | | | |
| PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE | | | |
| PROVENCHER | | | |
| SELKIRK | | | |
| SOURIS | | | |
| SPRINGFIELD | Thos. B. Molloy, Esq., Ste. Anne, Man. | TRANSCONA ADVERTISER, Transcona, Man. | |
| WINNIPEG CENTRE. | | | |
| WINNIPEG NORTH. | | | |
| WINNIPEG SOUTH. | | | |

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY, - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| ASSINIBOIA | | | |
| BATTLEFORD | | | |
| HUMBOLDT | O. F. Meilicke, Esq.,, Dandrum, Sask. | THE VISCOUNT SUN, Viscount, Sask.<br>THE HUMBOLDT HERALD, Humboldt, Sask.<br>ST. PETERS BOTE, Muster, Sask.<br>QUILL LAKE RECORD, Quill Lake, Sask.<br>BRUNO LEADER, Bruno, Sask.<br>THE YOUNG JOURNAL, Young, Sask.<br>THE COLANSAY JOURNAL, Colansay, Sask.<br>THE ALLEN TRIBUNE, Allan, Sask. | |
| KINDERSLEY | | | |
| LAST MOUNTAIN | W. A. McFarlane, Nokomis, Sask. | THE PRAIRIE NEWS, Govan, Sask.<br>THE IMPERIAL REVIEW, Imperial Sask. | |
| MACKENZIE | Geo. W. McPhee, Esq., Barrister, Yorkton, Sask. | YORKTON PRESS, Yorkton, Sask. | |
| MAPLE CREEK | | | |
| MOOSEJAW | | | |
| NORTH BATTLEFORD | | | |

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C 93929

PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| PRINCE ALBERT | | | |
| QU'APPELLE | | | |
| REGINA | Hon. W.R.Motherwell, Ottawa, Ont. | THE LEADER Regina, Sask. | Should be recognized for printing & advtg. |
| | | SASKATCHEWAN COURIER, Regina, Sask. | This paper is friendly to us and should be recognized for any work of foreign nature |
| | | LUMSDEN NEWS, Lumsden, Sask. | This paper should be recognized for advertising only. |
| SALTCOATS | | | |
| SASKATOON | | | |
| SWIFT CURRENT | | | |
| WEYBRUN | | | |

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 93930

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA WHICH ARE DESERVING OF RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY - as reported by the Member of Parliament or Defeated Candidate in each constituency, as the case may be.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| BATTLE RIVER | | | |
| BOW RIVER | | | |
| CALGARY EAST | | | |
| CALGARY WENT | E. F. Ryan, Esq., Barrister, Calgary, Alta. | CALGARY DAILY HERALD, Calgary, Alta. | Has been pretty fair with us - would give them some work, |
| EDMONTON EAST | Jos. A. Clarke, Esq., Barrister, &c., McLeod Building, Edmonton, Alberta. | THE EDMONTON BULLETIN, Edmonton, Alberta. | |
| EDMONTON WEST | | | |
| LETHBRIDGE | Dr. J. E. Lovering, Lethbridge, Alta. | COALHURST SUN, Coalhurst, Alta. | |
| | | CANADIAN ADVOCATE, Lethbridge, Alta. | J. B. Davies, Editor. |
| | | CARDSTON GLOBE, Cardston, Alta. | F. Burton, Editor. |
| | | BOW ISLAND REVIEW, Bow Island, Alta. | C. Avery, Editor. |
| | | TABER TIMES, Taber, Alta. | T. Green, Editor. |
| | | LETHBRIDGE HERALD, Lethbridge, Alta. | W. A. Buchanan, Editor. |
| | | NOTE:- Any possible business should be divided equally among the above newspapers in Lethbridge. | |
| | | RAYMOND RECORDER, Raymond, Alta. | D.C.Paterson, Editor. |
| MACLEOD | | | |

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C 93931

PROVINCE OF ALBERTA - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Paper | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| MEDICINE HAT | | | |
| RED DEER | | | |
| STRATHCONA | | | |
| VICTORIA | W. H. White, Esq., Ft. Sask, Alta. | CAMROSE CANADIAN, Camrose, Alta.<br>VEGREVILLE OBSERVER, Vegreville, Alta. | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93932

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY AS REPORTED BY THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OR DEFEATED CANDIDATE IN EACH CONSTITUENCY - AS THE CASE MAY BE:--

| Constituency | Recommended by | Papers | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| BURRARD | | | |
| CARIBO | Wm. Somerton, Esq., Box 234, Prince George, B. C. | The Leader, Prince George. | Shareholders all Liberal - only straight Liberal paper in Riding. |
| COMOX-ALBERNI | | | |
| KOOTENAY EAST | | | |
| KOOTENAY WEST | | | |
| FRASER VALLEY | E. A. Munro, M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | CHILLICWACK PROGRESS, Chilliwack, B. C. | Not Liberal, but would recommend that they get some work. |
| | | FRASER VALLEY RECORD, Mission City, B. C. | Might be given some patronage. |
| NANAIMO | Thos. B. Booth, Esq., Nanaimo, B. C. | NANAIMO FREE PRESS, Nanaimo, B. C. | |
| NEW WESTMINSTER | John Reid, Esq., P. O. Box 85, New Westminister, B.C. | JACKSON PRINTING CO., Columbia Str et, New Westminister, B.C. | |
| | | PACIFIC CANADIAN PRINTING Co., Carnarvon Street, New Westminster, B. C. | NOTE: Above firms in New Westminster do printing only. |
| SKEENA | Fred Stork, M. P., Ottawa, Ont. | DAILY NEWS, Prince Rupert, B. C. | |
| | | INTERIOR NEWS, Smithers, B. C. | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 93933

PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Papers | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| VANCOUVER CENTRE | | | |
| VANCOUVER SOUTH | V. W. Odlum, Esq., Rogers Bldg., Vancouver, B. C. | THE WORLD, Vancouver, B.C. | |
| | | THE SUN, Vancouver, B.C. | |
| VICTORIA CITY | Wm. Ival, Esq., 1200 Douglas St., Victoria, B. C. | VICTORIA DAILY TIMES, Victoria, B. C. | Not Liberal but it might be well to try them. |
| | | VANCOUVER ISLAND, MAGAZINE, Vancouver, B. C. | Monthly - a very good friend of ours. |
| | | B.C.ORPHAN WEEKLY, Victoria, B. C. | A church paper always friendly would be well to advertise. |
| YALE | | | |
| YUKON TERRITORY | Fred T. Congdon, Esq., Barrister, Vancouver, B. C. | THE WHITE HORSE STAR, White Horse, Y. T. | Should get preference. |
| | | DAWSON DAILY TIMES, Dawson City. Y. T. | Usually with the government. |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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C 93934

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA WHICH ARE ENTITLED TO RECOGNITION BY THE LIBERAL PARTY AS REPORTED BY THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OR DEFEATED CANDIDATE IN EACH CONSTITUENCY - AS THE CASE MAY BE:--

| Constituency | Recommended by | Papers | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| BURRARD | | | |
| CARIBO | Wm. Somerton, Esq., Box 234, Prince George, B. C. | The Leader, Prince George. | Shareholders all Liberal - only straight Liberal paper in Riding. |
| COMOX-ALBERNI | | | |
| KOOTENAY EAST | | | |
| KOOTENAY WEST | | | |
| FRASER VALLEY | E. A. Munro, M.P., Ottawa, Ont. | CHILLICWACK PROGRESS, Chilliwack, B. C. | Not Liberal, but would recommend that they get some work. |
| | | FRASER VALLEY RECORD, Mission City, B. C. | Might be given some patronage. |
| NANAIMO | Thos. B. Booth, Esq., Nanaimo, B. C. | NANAIMO FREE PRESS, Nanaimo, B. C. | |
| NEW WESTMINSTER | John Reid, Esq., P. O. Box 85, New Westminister, B.C. | JACKSON PRINTING CO. Columbia Street, New Westminister, B.C. | |
| | | PACIFIC CANADIAN PRINTING Co., Carnarvon Street, New Westminster, B. C. | NOTE: Above firms in New Westminster do printing only. |
| SKEENA | Fred Stork, M. P., Ottawa, Ont. | DAILY NEWS, Prince Rupert, B. C. | |
| | | INTERIOR NEWS, Smithers, B. C. | |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93935

PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA - continued.

| Constituency | Recommended by | Papers | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| VANCOUVER CENTRE | | | |
| VANCOUVER SOUTH | V. W. Odlum, Esq., Rogers Bldg., Vancouver, B. C. | THE WORLD, Vancouver, B.C. | |
| | | THE SUN, Vancouver, B.C. | |
| VICTORIA CITY | Wm. Ival, Esq., 1200 Douglas St., Victoria, B. C. | VICTORIA DAILY TIMES, Victoria, B. C. | Not Liberal but it might be well to try them. |
| | | VANCOUVER ISLAND, MAGAZINE, Vancouver, B. C. | Monthly - a very good friend of ours. |
| | | B.C.ORPHAN WEEKLY, Victoria, B. C. | A church paper always friendly would be well to advertise. |
| YALE | | | |
| YUKON TERRITORY | Fred T. Congdon, Esq., Barrister, Vancouver, B. C. | THE WHITE HORSE STAR, White Horse, Y. T. | Should get preference. |
| | | DAWSON DAILY TIMES, Dawson City. Y. T. | Usually with the government. |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93936

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday,
January 17, 1923.

MR. KING:

Mr. A. E. Bradwin, of Arnprior, has called about half a dozen times within the last few months. Each time I have avoided an interview.

He was in today and asked definitely if he could see you if he came to Ottawa on Tuesday or Wednesday next.

When I asked him what he wished to take up with you, he said the general newspaper situation throughout the country; ~~that~~ many papers, he claims, hitherto liberal, have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Shall I arrange for the appointment?

McG.

don't think it is a question can give much time to
Next week very busy
much rather he take up with me now

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Press ✓
Lord Beaverbrook ✓
Press - The Globe ✓ (2)

C 93937

To W.L.M.K.

re NEWSPAPERS.

Lord Beaverbrook last Spring made every effort to see in London a Canadian visiting London, who dodged his Lordship as long as he could. When finally Beaverbrook got hold of him he disclosed his plan of desiring to lead the Conservative Party in Canada and his plan was based upon the acquisition of newspapers. It was he who employed Killam to buy the Mail & Empire and he immediately tried to get other papers, particularly one at Vancouver. He did not get anything going fast enough for the Tory Convention, but he still keeps working at the game and it may be that presently he will ally himself with Bennett on the understanding that Beaverbrook may become the Canadian High Commissioner to London, for as I think I represented before in a certain state of facts which I sent out to you, that Beaverbrook may be a Lord, but he is not a big Canadian in England. Winfield Sifton said the other day that Beaverbrook's aim now is to come back to Canada some day as Governor General. My information about the newspaper situation does not come from Winfield Sifton. Privately, it came from E.R.Peacock, to whom the Canadian visiting London gave his confidences.

You know I suppose the story in connection with the Saskatchewan newspapers into which the Southams sought to obtain an interest. That has gone by and the Saskatchewan newspapers are held for the present at least firmly in our interest.

Winfield Sifton also told me the other day that they themselves were approached by people who wanted to buy the Free Press and $5,000,000 was offered and was refused. Harry Gundy, Sifton says, got in touch with Jaffray for the purchase of the Globe. Jaffray came to the Siftons. They raised Gundy's offer by $1,000,000. Jaffray then went back to see if Gundy would raise that. This at least is Winfield Sifton's statement, to which he attached the expressions that they did not have much friendship for Gundy and that they believed Gundy was being backed by Holt in buying the Globe. Their view is Killam cannot make the Mail & Empire pay and that it has been failing since he bought it. That if Gunday can pay the high price expected that the Globe cannot pay and that they, the Siftons, will rig up a deal with Atkinson to turn out a Morning edition of the Star.

Otherwise throughout the Country I gather generally that there is a determined idea on the part of the Tories to get as much Press control as they possibly can and it may well be that Bennett and Beaverbrook are getting into the same bed.

Ottawa, 15th December, 1927.

[Andrew Haydon?]

POOR
COPY

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CANADA

ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93938

Byfle.

PRIVY COUNCIL MEMORANDUM

Date of meeting: February 19th, 1927

Subject: Re Competition by Toronto Newspapers by reason of special newspaper train.
Representations from Mr. M. W. Rossie, of "The London Advertiser", letter Dec. 23, 1926; referred to Hon. J. C. Elliott and Hon. Jas. Malcolm.

Action taken by Council: Discussed but not settled till data secured. Feb. 4th.

Further action necessary:

C 93939

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Miss Drysdale:

Will you please supply to Laurier House a copy of "Glimpses of Parliament" by Charlie Bishop, from the Citizen of April 10.
Please do not forget it.

WHM

April 13, 1929

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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✓ Mr. King - Personal
✓ Prime Minister's Office

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM C 93940

Miss Drysdale:

Will you please send to me at Laurier House all the clippings you have or will have concerning Mr. King's speech over the radio on Thursday night last. I would like these unpasted.

Do not send the clippings from the ~~local~~ Ottawa papers.

WHM

April 27, 1929

Mr. King - Personal
Prime Minister's Office

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM C 93941

Miss Drysdale:

Will you please let me have for fyle at Laurier House, clippings from some out-of-town papers relating to the breakfast at Laurier House on July 1, in honour of H.R.H. Prince Henry. The clippings in the local papers were not accurate.

WHM

July 8, 1929.

C 93942

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

July 9/29

Mr. Meeuwes,

Your note of July 8th re Prince Henry breakfast menu & condensed notes. No more accurate report given in papers than that of Montreal Star of July 4/1 one of the 2 copies of which was sent to you on July 5. Have anything but C.P. Report -

D. E. D.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 93943
(2)

Memorandum for the Prime Minister: 27th July,1929

June 26

I am returning Senator Lewis's letter. I have not been able to ascertain whether you wish to choose the "Manchester Guardian" to make a statement of policy. If not, it is difficult to see how you can give any very definite information. Attached is a tentative draft.

(O.B. O.B. Skelton? Or ?)
(JC)

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93943
(2)

Memorandum for the Prime Minister: 27th July, 1929

June 26

I am returning Senator Lewis's letter. I have not been able to ascertain whether you wish to choose the "Manchester Guardian" to make a statement of policy. If not, it is difficult to see how you can give any very definite information. Attached is a tentative draft.

(O.D. Skelton?)
(JC)

BTC
Loan Expenses
26-VII-29

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93944 Prime Ministers Office
Mr King - Personal

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM August 22, 1929

Mr Henry:

Mr. King today thought it might be well not to have any more press clippings, except those of the most important nature, sent to him, until he has opportunity to go over the mass of them now at Kingsmere or until he asks for them.

E A Pickering

C 93945 Prime Ministers Office
Mr King - Personal

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER
TO Mr Henry

The Prime Minister does not want to have his time taken up just at present with press clippings

(E.A. Pickering)

8/28/29

Received August 29/29

C 93946 1621

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

Prime Ministers Office
Mr King - Personal

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Rec'd. September 20/29

Mr Buchanan & Typing says
Don't bother
sending out
clippings for next
few weeks.

Wm.

19 a 29

SEP 20 '29

Miss Grysdale.

Preserve as documentary
evidence

H.S.

94

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 93947

Prime Ministers Office
Mr King - Personal

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Received November 18, 1929

Recd Nov. 18/29

J.A. MacKay-Hyn

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Haines 405

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Henry.

Please save me set of clippings of papers sent to be mounted on special small size paper for some sort of Laurier House booklet of the kind which he evidently keeps of each town.

E. G. P.

Pickering

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93947

Prime Minister's Office
Mr King - Personal

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Received November 18, 1929

Rec'd Nov. 18/29

J.A. MacKay - Hyn

Haines 407

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Henry.

Please save one set of clippings of papers sent to be mounted on special small size paper for some sort of Laurier House booklet of the kind which he evidently keeps of each tour.

E. C. P.

Pickering

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CANADA

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93948 King - Personal
Prime Ministers Office

Miss Drysdale:

Mr. King would like collected all the editorial opinion concerning the Natural Resources transfer, with a view to bringing it to Mr. King's attention in brief form.

Please note the despatch by Tom King, Washington, which appears on the front page of the Saturday, December 14, "Globe," with reference to the further delay in consideration of the Tariff Bill. This despatch does not appear to have been used by our two local papers, but is of importance in connection with the forthcoming discussions in parliament on this subject.

WHM
Measures

December 16, 1929

Rec'd. December 17, 1929

C 93949 Press

PRIVY COUNCIL MEMORANDUM

Date of meeting: January 31, 1930

Subject: Publication of a National Weekly.

Letter from Newton McConnell, January 13, 1936.

Action taken by Council:

Further action necessary:

C 93950

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

O - 1505 - g

Monday
May 19
1930

MR. KING:

You wish to speak to the Ontario Ministers to call on Mr. Jaffray, of The Globe, at such times as they may be in Toronto.

H.R.L.H.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93951

Friday
Sept. 12
1930

MR. KING:

Mr. C. A. Bowman has spoken to me of Mr. Bennett's uncomplimentary references to the press on Tuesday in his speech on the Address, and says that the leader in the Citizen, criticising Mr. Bennett, is to be followed up in various cities throughout Canada. The newspapermen are up in arms over Mr. Bennett's remarks and Mr. Bowman suggests that Mr. Woods, of Calgary, is going to protest strongly.

In his remarks, as you will see from the attached extract from Hansard, Mr. Bennett includes you, by implication, in the condemnation of the press, and Mr. Bowman feels that as Mr. Bennett will almost certainly have to make a statement in the House in an endeavour to recover his position with the press, it would be well for you to anticipate him on a question of privilege at the first opportunity and make it clear that you are not to be associated with Mr. Bennett in his statement.

H.R.L.H.

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CANADA

C 93952

Unrevised Hansard
Sept. 9/30

p. 44.

Hon. R. B. Bennett - Speech on the Address.

I shall not attempt to traverse what has been said by the right hon. gentleman, but I wish to make one further observation. All of us have realized how frequently figures are improperly reported in newspapers during an election campaign. I would be the last man who would hold the right hon. gentleman responsible for some of the reports of his speeches which I have read. Some of the errors in the press were so palpable as not to call for comment. I shall not traverse them this afternoon because it would be a useless waste of this country's time. This I will say, however, that wherever there were any questions involving matters of vital importance touching the observations or promises I may have made, I endeavoured to reduce them to writing and to hand them to the press. The Winnipeg speech was written and in the main it was read. Some of the speeches and addresses to which the right hon. gentleman referred were given to the press after they had been typewritten so that there could be no misunderstanding. For instance, in the city of Calgary the speech was inadequately reported. The next evening I took the trouble to reduce to writing my comments which had appeared in the press as nonsense. My remarks were then reported by the Canadian press and the other newspapers of the country. There is no hon. gentleman here who does not know how easy it is, when dealing with figures and matters of trade and commerce, for those who are unaccustomed to them and who are not shorthand writers, to make misstatements. It may be that the misstatements are not deliberate. I am sorry to say however, that in some instances misstatements are deliberate; there have been deliberate misstatements, as most of us know. Therefore it was with some satisfaction that we had the radio through which we were enabled to speak to so many people. They heard what was said and they knew that the reports in the newspapers were garbled accounts of what had transpired. I think that fact is well known to most of us, and these facts are so well known that there need be no time taken for further discussion.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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C 93953

T-1216-N.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF CANADA

BILL

AN ACT RESPECTING THE CANADIAN PRESS

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:-

1. This Act may be cited as The Canadian Press Amendment Act, 1923.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of Chapter of the Statutes of Canada, 1923, being "AN ACT RESPECTING THE CANADIAN PRESS LIMITED," and notwithstanding anything contained in the By-laws or Regulations of the Corporation thereby incorporated under the name of "The Canadian Press", any and all news, and news services, owned, controlled, collected or gathered in any manner whatsoever by or for the said Corporation, or its members, shall be available for the use of, or by any person owning, managing or proposing to own or manage any daily or weekly newspaper in Canada who may apply to the Corporation therefor.

3. Upon the expiration of two weeks after the filing of such application, the Corporation shall be bound forthwith to consent thereto upon the same terms of payment for such news and services as if the person so applying were a duly qualified member of the Corporation.

4. If the Corporation neglects or refuses within the time aforesaid to grant such application, the Corporation, its Directors and Trustees, shall be deemed to be a combine within the provisions of Section 26(a) of the Combines Investigation Act, 1923, and shall be liable for the penalties therein set forth.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Collateral - Na Press
1923.

MEMORANDUM C 93954

.....

The rate of newspaper postage for many years was one-quarter cent a pound. This was increased not so long ago to one-half cent a pound, and then abruptly increased again to one and a half cents a pound. It is claimed by the newspaper publishers that the rise was entirely too abrupt, and also excessive in its operative effect and penalizing on the business. No other line of business in the country experienced such a sharp advance.

A year ago a representative gathering from the Canadian Newspapers interviewed the Postmaster General and pointed out these facts to him but no action was taken. However, the Postmaster General has given the matter consideration in the meantime, and there is now prepared and ready for presentation to the House of Commons a resolution upon which a bill will be ~~passed~~, providing for the reduction of the postage to one cent a pound this year, with an increase of one-quarter cent a pound in 1924 and another quarter cent in 1925, when the present rate would be finally reverted to.

While this would ensure a sort of temporary relief, it is submitted that it is not of a substantial character or satisfactory to the newspapers of national circulation. They are willing to pay what they consider to be a reasonable price, [redacted]. The proposed rate of one cent a pound is satisfactory. It will give the Department a substantial revenue in excess of any cost of transportation. It is suggested that the Act be made to read that the rate be reduced to one cent a pound and thereafter increased at such time and to such extent as the Government, by Order-in-Council, on the recommendation of the Postmaster General may decide. rather than reverting automatically.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93955

CANADIAN PRESS, LIMITED------Officers for 1922-1923

| | |
|---|---|
| President | E.Norman Smith, Ottawa Journal |
| 1st V.P. | E.H.Macklin, Manitoba Free Press, Winnipeg. |
| 2nd V.P. | G.Fred Pearson, Halifax Chronicle |

Directors

| | |
|---|---|
| Maritime provinces | G.Fred Pearson, Halifax Chronicle<br>F.B.Ellis, St.John Globe |
| Ontario and Quebec | H.Gagnon, Quebec Soleil;<br>John Scott, Montreal Gazette<br>E.J.Archibald, Montreal Star<br>E.Norman Smith, Ottawa Journal<br>W.J.Wilkinson, Toronto Mail and Empire<br>Irving E.Robertson, Toronto Telegram<br>W.J.McNair, Hamilton Herald<br>T.H.Preston, Brantford Expositor |
| Manitoba | E.H.Macklin, Manitoba Free Press,<br>Vernon Knowles, Winnipeg Tribune |
| Saskatchewan | Burford Hooke, Regina Leader. |
| Alberta | J.H.Woods, Calgary Herald |
| British Columbia | F.J.Burd, Vancouver Province. |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 93956

Dear Blank:

As you are no doubt aware, the Liberal Party has been without newspaper support in Ottawa, Ont.

The party has long felt that something should be done to overcome this disadvantage. After a considerable period, members of the Government have succeeded in interesting capital and experience in this newspaper proposition.

Before anything further can be done, however, it is necessary to secure a Canadian Press membership for which application has already been made by Andrew Hayden I am writing to ask you if you will lend your influence in securing the needed membership. I feel certain that if a Canadian Press membership can be secured, that there will be launched in Ottawa a high class Liberal paper that will not only be of inestimable advantage to the party, but a general credit to the newspaper profession in Canada.

Your support in this matter will be very deeply appreciated. May I hope to hear from you in this connection? and you to kindly let me have an early reply.

Yours sincerely,

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 93957 E-1201-L

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

MK - for return in due course

Saturday,
January 27, 1923

MR. KING:

To save an interview, I have gotten Mr. J.F.B.Livesay and Mr. Norman Smith, of the Canadian Press, to submit the attached memorandum. They had heard rumours that the Government might consider a reduction in their annual grant of $50,000, and have put their case as briefly as possible. I had a talk yesterday with Mr. Livesay on the subject.

McG.

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CANADA

C 93958

E. N[illegible]MAN SMITH, *President*
V[illegible]President The Journal,
Ottawa, Ont.

E. H. MACKLIN, *First Vice-President*
President and General Manager
Manitoba Free Press,
Winnipeg, Man.

G. FRED PEARSON, *Second Vice-President*
Managing Director The Chronicle,
Halifax, N.S.

# CANADIAN PRESS LIMITED

DIRECTORS

F. B. ELLIS, St. John Globe.
H. GAGNON, Quebec Soleil.
JOHN SCOTT, Montreal Gazette.
E. J. ARCHIBALD, Montreal Star.
W. J. WILKINSON, Toronto Mail and Empire.
W. J. MCNAIR, Hamilton Herald.
T. H. PRESTON, Brantford Expositor.
A. R. FORD, London Free Press.
BURFORD HOOKE, Regina Leader.
J. H. WOODS, Calgary Herald.
F. J. BURD, Vancouver Province.

J. F. B. LIVESAY, *General Manager.*

*Office of the President,*
The Journal Building, OTTAWA, CANADA

January 27, 1923.

Press ✓
Press - Canadian ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE PRIME MINISTER.

A. $50,000 Grant for Canadian Press Leased Wires.

1. Canadian Press Limited is the cooperative non-profit making association of all the daily newspapers of Canada. It was incorporated in 1911 purely as a holding company for the Canadian rights of the Associated Press of New York, then, as now, the basic foreign news service of Canadian daily newspapers. Up to that time news services in Canada were in the hands of the two commercial telegraph companies.

2. At the outset of its existence under contract with the Associated Press all foreign news was brought in as follows: For the Maritime Provinces from Maine; for Ontario and Quebec from New York; for the Prairie Provinces from St. Paul; and for British Columbia from Seattle. This bulk service was supplemented by a small interchange of Canadian news between these territorial sections.

3. Prior to the war the Western section leased a

JAN 27 Rec'd

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

night wire between Ottawa and Winnipeg with the object of getting more news from Eastern Canada, particularly parliamentary reports, and of getting a better foreign service from the Associated Press at New York than was available at St. Paul. British Columbia morning papers leased a night wire from Calgary to Vancouver, thus carrying through the service. These Canadian transcontinental wires could not be duplicated by day because of the prohibitive cost of day leased wires, and evening papers of the Prairie and the Coast still got their news direct from the United States.

4. Under heavy costs brought about by the war it became a question whether Western members could even maintain their night wire from Ottawa. At their suggestion a general meeting of Canadian Press members was held at Ottawa in January,1917, when the Western section asked support of Eastern members in a request to the Dominion Government that it place at disposal of Canadian Press free of cost leased wire mileage between Ottawa and Winnipeg and Calgary and Vancouver.

5. A delegation subsequently waited upon the Prime Minister and after pointing out the national benefits to be derived from an all-Canadian news service, asked that this be done. The Government suggested that the similar disability of the Maritime newspapers be taken into consideration at the same time, and offered to defray cost of bridging the three natural and unproductive geographical

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gaps, Montreal-St.John, Ottawa-Winnipeg, and Calgary-Vancouver, with the result that an annual grant of $50,000 -- the actual cost of the lease of this wire mileage -- was made for this specific purpose.

6. The object of the grant and the effect of its withdrawal has been recently summed up by Mr. J. W. Dafoe of the Manitoba Free Press as follows:

> "The grant is, of course, a subsidty, but not a subsidy in the sense that it is a gift from the treasury to meet an outlay which otherwise the newspapers would have to meet themselves. It was a grant by the government to enable the newspapers to do a national service which otherwise they could not perform. The Canadian press, in the event of the withdrawal of the subsidy, could -- and probably would be obliged to -- fall back upon the pre-subsidy arrangements. We should then have the British Columbia newspapers getting their news services by leased wire from Seattle; the prairie provinces going to Minneapolis; Ontario and Quebec to New York; and the Maritime provinces to Portland, Maine. Canadian interprovincial news would be transmitted over the commercial wires at commercial rates; it would amount perhaps to twenty per cent of the volume now carried. We should revert to the old argument of getting American news by leased wire and Canadian news by a word rate. This was a state of affairs which a former Government thought highly detrimental to the national interests; and they agreed to make a grant sufficient to pay the mileage rates for the leased wire over the three "gaps" which divide Canada into four newspaper districts -- between the Maritime provinces and Quebec, between the East and Winnipeg, and between Calgary and Vancouver. I should say that no money ever expended for purposes of furthering national interests has had such beneficial results. Thanks to the national leased wire which operates over the whole of Canada, night and day, the Canadians in the various provinces are really beginning to know something about one another; and it would be a very serious matter for Canada if some one were to take an axe and chop our national system of news distribution into its four original sections."

7. By aid of these transcontinental wires there is now a free interchange of news from Coast to Coast, news

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services of Canadian press being both comprehensive and impartial. During the last Dominion elections its staff correspondents accompanied political leaders with the result that for the first time an accurate and non-partisan review of the campaign was placed at disposal of every Canadian paper. It collected with speed and accuracy the actual election returns. It covers through its trained correspondents every form of national activity, including absolutely impartial reports of the proceedings of the Dominion Parliament and Provincial Assemblies. Its most recent development has been the supply over leased wire of a service in the French language to the French evening newspapers of the Province of Quebec.

8. Its growth has been accompanied by increased expenditures and during the current year its budget, inclusive of the $50,000 Government grant, will approximate half a million dollars. Loss of such grant will bear most heavily on the smaller papers of the Maritime Provinces and the West, with the result that Canadian Press Limited as now constituted must disintegrate. This, it is submitted, will not be a loss so much to Canadian newspapers as to the public of Canada.

B. [redacted] $8,000 Grant for Cable Service.

1. This grant was made originally to the Canadian Associated Press, with the provision that the latter must send an equal amount to earn it. With formation of a national association in 1917, Canadian Press took over this service,

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CANADA

which was confined to cable from London bearing directly on Canadian domestic affairs, and operated it, receiving the grant direct from the Government.

2. In order to meet the charge that the foreign service supplied by the Associated Press was American in character, Canadian Press, aided by this grant, and in collaboration with Reuters, is building up a comprehensive cable service from London of British and foreign news. Thus during the recent British election campaign, Canadian Press carried verbatim speeches of some of the political leaders and furnished full and detailed election returns.

3. During the current year Canaddan Press is spending $22,000 on this cable service in addition to the Government grant. It is a service of increasing usefulness for the people of Canada. All of which is respectfully submitted.

Norman Smith
PRESIDENT.

D J S Rivers
SECRETARY AND GENERAL MANAGER

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C 93963 E -120/-4

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

MR. KING:

E. Norman Smith, representing Canadian Press, has asked to see you, in company with Mr. Livesay, the General Manager, who will be in Ottawa. I have told Mr. Smith it will be necessary for him to submit a memorandum indicating what he wants. He understands you made an inquiry of one of the reporters recently concerning the grant to Canadian Press.

McG.

MR. McGREGOR:

Mr. King said: Tell Mr.Smith I will speak to him at the Club some time.

Jan.30 WHM

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E. W. GRANGE

C 93964

E-1201-L

JUNE 22 (1923)

v Pres-Canadien
v Press
Haydon, Andrew

MEMORANDUM RE CANADIAN PRESS VOTE OF $50,000.

Opposition to this vote has arisen largely from the action of the Directors of the Canadian Press Limited at their meeting on April 30th. last, in refusing application made by Mr. Andrew Haydon, acting on behalf of the Liberal Party, for a new evening paper membership for Ottawa. The application was refused on the ground that the applicant had not complied with the by-law of the Canadian Press, declaring that "such applications shall not be granted except under conditions which, in the opinion of the Board of Directors are assential to commercial success, and lacking which, no real, adequate, permanent and satisfactory service can be rendered to the public". At the meeting of the Board of Directors Mr. Haydon was asked to produce any data which might show that the application was a carefully considered one and that there was some chance of the proposed new newspaper becoming commercially self-supporting. Mr. Haydon replied that he had not had any specific instructions in regard to this from Mr. W. F. Herman, who was behind the enterprise.

The facts in regard to the application seem to be that Mr. Herman had promised to start a paper, after some general conversation with members of the Government; that after looking the field over carefully, he had come to the conclusion in his own mind, that it would be commercially a losing venture and that although he knew from experience, the necessary procedure in making application for a Franchise, he took no steps at all to instruct Mr. Haydon accordingly. Among newspaper men who know the situation intimately, there is a well founded suspicion thst the application for a Franchise was merely a gesture on Mr. Herman's part. The Board of Directors which considered the application, went to the meeting prepared to grant the Franchise if any prima facia, case could at all be made out in accordance with the by-law of the Association. The application was considered by a sub-committee composed of

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C 93965

Press-Canadian
Liberal Party & the Press

MEMORANDUM

SPEAK TO MR. FIELDING.

WITHDRAWAL OF VOTE OF $50,000
TO CANADIAN PRESS LIMITED NEXT YEAR.

Mr. Fielding's P.Sec says
"Mr Fielding has
attended to this".

7-VII-23

Ottawa, July 5, 1923. 19

MEMORANDUM

C 93966

Mr. King:

Can. Press Subsidy:

You may wish
to have this before
you when Estimates
are under
consideration.

Ottawa, 7-5-24. 19

Memo. re Canadian Press vote -#2.

Messrs G. Fred Pearson, T. H. Preston and John Scott - two Liberals and one Conservative. Their adverse report was unanimously adopted, Mr. Gagnon of LeSoleil dissenting for reasons privately given to the meeting, but in reality, concurring with the decision. The majority of the directors were Editors of Liberal papers.

~~The fact of~~ Cutting out the vote of $50,000 this year, or ~~of~~ very considerably reducing it as proposed, will practically disrupt the whole present Canadian Press service to the Maritime Provinces and to Western Canada, as pointed out in a memorandum presented by Mr. J. W. Dafoe in part as follows:-

> "The Canadian Press, in the event of the withdrawal of the subsidy, could - and probably would be obliged to - fall back upon the pre-subsidy arrangements. We should then have the British Columbia newspapers getting their news service by leased wire from Seattle; the Prairie Provinces going to Minneapolis; Ontario and Quebec to New York; and the Maritime Provinces to Portland Maine. Canadian inter-provincial news would be transmitted over the Commercial wires at commercial rates; it would amount to perhaps, twenty percent of the volume now carried. We should revert to the old argument of getting American news by leased wire and Canadian news by a word rate. This was the state of affairs which a former Government thought highly detrimental to the National interests; and they agreed to make a grant sufficient to pay the ~~mileage~~ mileage rates for the leased wires over the three 'gaps' which divide Canada into four newspaper districts, - between the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, between the East and Winnipeg, and between Calgary and Vancouver. I should say that no money ever expended for the purpose of furthering National interests has had such beneficial results. Thanks to the National leased wire which operates over the whole of Canada, night and day, the Canadians in the various Provinces are really beginning to know something about one another; and it would be a very serious matter for Canada if someone were to take an axe and chop our National system of news distribution into its four original sections."

The withdrawal of the grant would not be opposed by the larger papers in Montreal and Toronto who are in the position to pay for special tolls and who would rather welcome the shutting out of their competitors in the smaller cities whose news service would be extremely Limited were the present Canadian Press service deprived of its coast to coast facilities and of its special cable connections. What would really happen would be that the Maritime Provinces' papers and the Western papers would be practically isolated in regard to a general Canadian news service and while the large and wealthy

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dailies of Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver would have a practical newspaper monopoly.

It is further to be noted that the imposition of 6% sales tax on news print this year will cost Canadian newspapers approximately $600,000.

In my opinion the elimination of the vote, particularly under conditions this year would result in accentuating the alleged monopoly now complained of and would create a very bad feeling towards the Government by all present members of the Canadian Press Association - would ~~virtually~~ vitally affect the desirable interchange of news and the expression of public opinion as between the East and the West - would be politically a fatal blunder and would accentuate rather than remedy the condition now complained of in regard to alleged monopolistic tendencies.

I would strongly urge that the grant be continued this year on the understanding that it be reduced next year and each succeeding year by $10,000 until the Association becomes self-sustaining. I understand this would be satisfactory to the Canadian Press.

E.W. Grange

E.W. GRANGE

Ottawa June 22 (1923)
J.C.

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"At no time has the press of this country been so under the control of special privilege"

Mr. King declared, in expressing the view that there was an effort to suppress rather than reveal facts which the people should know.

(Canadian Press report of remarks at Chateau Laurier to Liberal Association of Ontario, November 18, 1932)

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C 93970

"O"

HOTELS OF DISTINCTION

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

219
O-1505




(1928)

FROM CHATEAU LAURIER OTTAWA — OTTAWA, ONT.

Operating Loss

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1923 | — | $ 158,466.28 |
| 1924 | — | 133.645.75 |
| 1925 | — | 89,660.15 |
| 1926 | — | 96,055.56 |
| 1927 | — | 68,158.96 |
| 1928 | — | 51.894.65 |
| 1929 | — | 62.308.60 |
| Total | | $ 660.189.95 |

Kyle Confidential
"London Advertiser"

Rossi - 7,30

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CANADA

C 93971 Message for Y-1201
Montreal Herald -
Original handed by
P. M. to Mr. Morton -
Dec. 20/24.

CANADA'S NATIONHOOD

Canadians are proud of the new national status which the energy of her pioneers, the valour of her soldiers, the foresight of the statesmen of the past, have won for their country these latter days.

They are proud of the place they hold in the world's industry. The largest foreign trade per head of any country, the finest wheat the world grows, the greatest railway and hydro-electric systems, a steady expansion in the range and magnitude of manufacturing industry, these are achievements of which a young people may well be proud.

But the question remains, what are we making of these opportunities? Are we developing a national civilisation, a distinctive culture, to correspond? Political status is but the form, economic achievement is but the foundation; the important question is the quality of the life which gives worth and content to this form, the value and distinctiveness of the civilisation we build on this foundation.

In this Canadian civilization, we must strive to keep all that is most worthy in the traditions of the two great peoples from whom we are chiefly sprung, and to add something of our own, something that will mark out our Northland from all other lands, some contribution in our turn to the common pool of mankind's inheritance.

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C 93972



Only the few among us will be able to create, to fathom some deep mystery of science, to work out a new treatment for an old disease, to write a poem that will live in the people's hearts, to carve a statue that will forever imprison and immortalize a mood. But the rest of us can give the encouragement and recognition that genius deserves, and provide as far as we may favouring conditions under which it may work.

Only the few can create, but we should all be able to enjoy and make our own the best that has been said and done before us. The average man and woman must be enabled to enter more fully into their spiritual heritage. Not only " a chicken in the pot for Sunday," but a growing bookshelf on the wall, should be a nation's aim. It is for this reason that the achievements of our writers and our men of science, the steadily rising standards of our schools and colleges, the wider appreciation of what is sound and beautiful in art and architecture, the increasing effectiveness of the press in bringing before us day by day and week by week the most significant of the happenings among our fellowmen, these and the other signs of a fuller and richer national life are a better index of nationhood than constitutional powers or industrial achievement.

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C 93973

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Moyer: New Year's Message

The attached for your consideration re Herald, of which I know nothing and for passing on to Mr. King. I also asked Mr. Doughty for something but have heard nothing further; it may have come to you or to Mr. King direct.

G. Dec.20 [1924]

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C 93974 Y-1201

IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO

..... AND QUOTE

FILE No. .....

DEPARTMENT OF
TRADE AND COMMERCE

CANADA

# DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS

GENERAL STATISTICS BRANCH

OTTAWA

SAC/KH

Dec. 20th, 1924.

Dear Mr.Giddens:-

In reply to your memo of December 15th I enclose two copies of a suggested New Year message. If it is not thought desirable to use this for this purpose, you might turn it over to Mr.McGregor, who on December 9th consulted me regarding an appropriate message for publication in the special number of the Montreal Herald, which I have not as yet found time to prepare.

Yours very truly,

S.A. Cudmore.

S.A.Cudmore, Chief,
General Statistics Branch

Mr.F.Giddens,
Prime Minister's Office,
Parliament Buildings,
OTTAWA, Canada.

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C 93975

# THE PROSPECTS FOR 1925.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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C 93976

THE PROSPECTS FOR 1925.

The historian of the future will unquestionably record it as the crowning achievement of the year 1924 that in that year the world as a whole and Europe in particular decisively turned its back upon the futile national hatreds and resentments which were naturally enough the aftermath of the world war, and set its face toward the constructive ideals of international co-operation and international peace.

This fundamental change in the world situation was symbolized by the result of the French elections, and by the friendly meeting of the prime ministers of Great Britain, France and Germany in London, as well as by the cordial acceptance by the countries concerned of the Dawes report as the basis of the settlement of the reparations question. To-day we find that the new British Government has both endorsed the foreign policy of its predecessor, and has also signed a trade treaty with Germany, based upon the "most favoured nation" principle, and providing that any disputes as to interpretation shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Thus the equitable machinery of the World Court instead of the old appeal to the sword is evoked to settle differences between the victors and the vanquished. The old principle of "Woe to the vanquished" has gone by the board.

Canada, both from the social and from the economic points of view, hails with delight the advent of the new era, and, with

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CANADA

C 93977

deep thankfulness in her heart, at this sacred season, joins the civilized world to

"Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace."

Canada, from the economic point of view, stands to gain enormously from this reconciliation of European differences and the reconstruction of Europe. This country, among all the nations of the world except New Zealand, has the largest per capita exports, these exports consisting very largely of food commodities, of which we produce far more than we can conceivably consume. Thus, with one-two hundredth of the population of the world, we produced in 1923 one-eighth of the wheat of the world, but could not find a remunerative market for our stupendous surplus, because of the self-inflicted poverty of the nations of the European continent. Now, with the diversion of their energies from internecine feuds to production and to constructive enterprises, a hundred million Europeans who ate wheat before the war, are once more getting into a position where they can purchase this chief cereal grain at prices remunerative to the producers, thus assisting us in Canada to restore something like the pre-war balance of prices as between agricultural and manufactured commodities. As a result, our economic ship of state is for the first time since the war sailing on an even keel with the natural consequence of steadier and more rapid progress. This New Year of 1925, as compared with any other since before the war, opens before us with better prospects of peace abroad and prosperity and progress and contentment at home.

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CANADA

C 93978 E - 1302-3
Printed
35

Working of the Treaty
Imperial Conference of 1923

Wednesday
June 12
1924

Mr. McGregor:

Mr. Charles A. Bowman, the editorial writer on the Citizen, with whom I frequently travel on the street car, asked me if we had a printed copy of the Minutes of the Imperial Conference.

He said that after the former Imperial Conference Mr. Meighen invited him over, and either lent or permitted him to peruse the Minutes, in order to enlighten him confidentially as to the new Prime Minister's attitude on certain questions. Mr. Bowman made neither request nor complaint, but spoke of the difficulty of writing intelligently on the Prime Minister's attitude without that knowledge, which he states, was made available under the former administration.

As I see Mr. Bowman almost daily, will you let me know if Mr. King would consider having a chat with him, or permitting him to have access to our record of the Minutes?

R.O. WHEATLEY.

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**MEMORANDUM**

**Prime Minister's Office,** C 93979

**Ottawa,**.....

Mr. King said he would have Mr.Bowman come up to Laurier House some night and show him some of these papers. Mr. Bowman was on the train from New York to Ottawa June 20 and had quite a long talk with Mr.King.

WHM

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93980

1922-23

SUGGESTED

PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE FOR
THE TORONTO GLOBE

I venture to predict that the year which has just closed will stand out as a distinct turning point in Canada's economic history. While the world at large is still suffering acutely from post-war depression, our Dominion has experienced during the past months a pronounced convalescence. It is perhaps too early to regard our recovery as an accomplished fact, but confidence has certainly been restored and the signs indicate that we are on the threshold of an era of sound prosperity and well-being.

Within a year the Canadian dollar has emounted from a heavy discount rate to par and better. With over one hundred foreign countries as customers for our goods, we are today the fourth exporting country in the world and we lead the world in the per capita volume of our exports. Our 1922 wheat yield was second only to that of the United States. Building activity has been the greatest in our history, with the exception of 1914. Bank clearings and deposits have been most encouraging. We have suffered during the year less unemployment and less industrial unrest than any of the participants in the late war, and the cost

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

of living has been slowly but surely declining. Hand in hand with an increasing monthly public revenue has gone a decrease in public expenditure. The present healthy tone of our National Loans and the generous response to the recent Conversion Loan appeal attest the soudness of the general credit of the country.

A gratifying restoration of business confidence has marked the year just gone. This renewed faith has manifested itself in the generous response to the Government's recent Conversion Loan appeal, in the healthy increase in trade. These national satisfactions have had their counterpart, too, in the evident improvement of the material condition of the individual members of this northern commonwealth.

It will be the earnest desire of every Canadian citizen, as it will be mine, that in the coming twelve months there will be a continuance, a heightening of that confidence in the home, the market place and the seats of Government, that thrift, enterprise, a courageous individualism and a sober patriotism will continue to be the outstanding Canadian traits. These in abundance make taxes and government needless.

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C 93982

Suggested -

PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE FOR
THE TORONTO GLOBE.

I venture to predict that the year which has just closed will stand out as a distinct turning point in Canada's economic history. While the world at large is still suffering acutely from post-war depression, our Dominion has experienced during the past months a pronounced convalescence. It is perhaps too early to regard our recovery as an accomplished fact, but confidence has certainly been restored and the signs indicate that we are on the threshold of an era of sound prosperity and well-being.

Within a year the Canadian dollar has mounted from a heavy discount rate to par and better. With over one hundred foreign countries as customers for our goods, we are to-day the fourth exporting country in the world and we lead the world in the per capita volume of our exports. Our 1922 wheat yield was second only to that of the United States. Building activity has been the greatest in our history, with the exception of 1914. Bank clearings and deposits have been most encouraging. We have suffered during the year less unemployment and less industrial unrest than any of the participants in the late war, and the cost

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CANADA

C 93983



of living has been slowly but surely declining. Hand in hand with an increasing monthly public revenue has gone a decrease in public expenditure. The present healthy tone of our National Loans and the generous response to the recent Conversion Loan appeal attest the soundness of the general credit of the country.

Concluded with reference to Future.

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A gratifying restoration of business confidence has marked the year just gone.This renewed faith has manifested itself in the generous response to the Government's recent Conversion Loan appeal,in the healthy increase in ~~exports~~ trade ~~and in the notable decrease in imports~~.These nationalx satisfactions have had their counter-part,too,in the evident improvement of the material condition of the individual members of this northern commonwealth.

It will be the earnest desire of every Canadian citizen,as it will be mine,that in the comming twelve months there will be a continuance,a heightening of that confidence in the home,the market place and the seats of government,that thrift,enterprise,a courageous indivdualism and a sober patriotism will continue to be the outstanding Canadian traits.These in abundance make taxes and government needless.

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C 93985 ✓ Mr King - Personal ✓ Prime Minister's Office

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Rec'd. January 7, 1929

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

also Keith Drysdale's Article of Interview of Nov. 22/28 Jan 8

Miss Drysdale:

Please look up the Toronto Star of December 18, and see if there is a report containing an interview that Wayling had with the Prime Minister at Laurier House on Mr. King's birthday, December 17.

I want to get several copies of this. Would you be good enough to take it in hand and send me four copies at Laurier House.

WHM

WLMK (Memorandum)

January 5, 1929.

"Star" of 8 & 10 never rec'd.

Please also be on the look out for pictures in Star of meeting and me standing taken together on her press day.

WLMK

Done Jan 28/29 C. L. D.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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Newspaper & Affiliations

C 93986

WHITE STAR LINE.

S.S. _____

The Times. Support of Government.
J. J. Astor, M.P., and John Waller

The Telegraph. Conservative. Hector Bolitho 1685
Viscount Burnham, C.H. 13 Montague Sq. W.1. Paddington 3907

The Morning Post. Conservative.
Duke of Northumberland, Sir Percy Bates, and several members of their right wing Conservative Party.

The Daily Mail } Lord Rothermere.
The Evening News } Independent.
The Weekly Despatch }

The Daily Express } Lord Beaverbrook
The Evening Standard } Conservative.
The Sunday Express } "Imperial Free Trade."

The Westminster Gazette. Lord Cowdray Liberal.

The Chronicle. Lloyd George Party Fund.
Lloyd George Liberal.

The Daily News. The Cadbury family
The Evening Star. Liberal.

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C 93987

The Graphic (Daily Pictures and the Sunday Times. Sir William Berry. Conservative

The Observer. (Sunday) owned by Lord Astor. Conducted by J.L. Garvin. Conservative.

The Daily Mirror } Pictures.
The Daily Sketch } Rothermere interests.

The News of the World. Lord Riddell. Liberal.
Sunday.

The Herald. Labour Party.
Trade Union Cong.
Labour.

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C 93988

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Thursday,
June 21,
1928

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I have made every effort in a number of directions to discover the date of the issue of the Baltimore Sun in which the Stevenson attack on the Governor General is to be found. Apparently the paper is not taken in at the House of Commons or by the local newspapers or the Carnegie Library. I therefore propose writing privately from my own address to the Editor of the paper, asking for copies, and enclosing a Money Order to cover charges. Do you approve?

H.R.L.H.

Secretary.

Where does the Washington Legation come in. They were asked a fortnight ago to get it

File

C 93989 Lg -1000-N
1928

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Friday
June 22
1928

MR. KING:

My instructions in the matter of the Baltimore Sun I understood to come from you and to be given in view of the fact that the Legation at Washington had not met your request of some time ago. I now understand from Dr. Skelton, however, that the papers are expected to arrive any day.

H.R.L.H.

C 93990

OFFICE OF THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

MEMORANDUM

For Mr. King:

The attached is a draft of the letter to be sent out in connection with the Deachman chart on prices.

Will you kindly approve or suggest changes. I have already made one or two minor changes in Mr. Deachman's draft.

H. R. L. H.

Ottawa, January 10, 1931.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93991

Draft

Dear Mr.

I have asked the National Liberal Committee to send you a chart dealing with price changes during the past year.

The facts revealed in it are startling. You will notice that grain prices have been more than cut in two, and that farm products in every line show a marked decline. The price of other products remains very high in comparison.

Under the circumstances, the "Home Market" has been dealt a heavy blow. Purchasing power is gone. Trade figures reveal the decline in exports. November exports are far below the level of recent years and there is little indication of any change for the better.

May I suggest that this is an opportune time to present these facts to the public through the medium of public meetings in your own and adjacent constituencies?

The people of Canada must realize as never before the futility of the present Tory policy. The facts can be driven home now with telling force, and the presentation of the case at the present time cannot fail to impress the country. I hope you will be able to take full advantage of the present situation.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 93992



The approaching session will arouse interest in politics. The Prime Minister has had the chance to present his views without restraint or criticism. It seems then to be an opportune occasion for a general advance - a splendid time to make a clear statement of the economic needs of the country.

May I add that I anticipate a fighting session in the fullest sense of the word - a session in which ~~we may~~ all should take part. It would be hard to imagine a situation with the facts more entirely in our favour. I trust you will be able to use the information which is being sent to you many times before the opening of the House and that you will be prepared to take an important part in the work of the session.

Yours sincerely,

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93993

My Dear Mr.

I have asked the National Liberal Committee to send you a chart dealing with price changes during the past year. You will notice that

The facts revealed in it are startling. Grain prices have been more than cut in two and that farm products in every line show a marked decline. The price of other products remains very high in comparison.

Under the circumstances, the "Home Market" has been dealt a heavy blow. Purchasing power is gone. Trade figures reveal the decline in exports. November exports are far below the level of recent years and there is ~~small~~ little indication of any change for the better.

May I suggest that this is an opportune time to present these facts to the public through the medium of public meetings in your own and adjacent constituencies?

The people of Canada must realize as never before the futility of the present Tory policy. The facts can be driven home ~~at the moment~~ now with telling force, and the ~~case~~ presented ~~now~~ as it is at the present time cannot fail to impress the country. I hope you will be able to take full advantage of the present situation.

The approaching session will arouse interest in politics. The Prime Minister has had the chance to present his views without restraint or criticism. It seems then to be an opportune occasion for a general advance - a splendid time to make a clear statement of the economic needs of the country.

May I add that I anticipate a fighting session in the fullest sense of the word - a session in which we may all take part. It would be hard to imagine a situation with the facts more entirely in our favour. I trust you will be able to use the information which is being sent forward to you many times before the opening of the House and that you will be prepared to take an important part in the work of the session.

Yours Sincerely ~~yours~~,

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CANADA

C 93994

## GOVERNMENT HOUSE

| | |
|---|---|
| Switchboard | 3-4021 |
| After 8 P.M. | 3-5050 |

| | Off. | Res. |
|---|---|---|
| **Secretaries:** | | |
| Letson, Maj-Gen.H.F.G. | 3-4021 | 4-6414 |
| Delaute, J.F. (Asst.) | 3-4021 | 4-0921 |
| **A.D.C.'s:** | | |
| Sherwood, Capt. Edson | 3-4021 | 5-2493 |
| Chichester, Major the Hon. Desmond | 3-4021 | |
| Chichester-Clark, Capt.J. | 3-4021 | |
| Sherlock, Flt.Lt.A.A. | 3-4021 | |
| **Comptroller of the Household:** | | |
| Milbank, Major Mark | 3-4021 | 3-6552 |

## U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER
(Earnscliffe)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hon. Sir Alexander Clutterbuck | |
| Office | 2-4278 |
| Residence | 3-9077 |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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CANADA

C 93995

327 Kingsmill
35353

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers

Memoranda & Notes

# PUBLIC ARCHIVES

# ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES

## CANADA

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 93996

## MISCELLANEOUS TELEPHONE NUMBERS

| | |
|---|---|
| BARBER - Paul Tasse - Chateau Laurier | 2-6411 |
| Residence - 356 St. Patrick | 5-7165 |
| CANADIAN PRESS | 2-5371 |
| H of C (During Session) | 9-4516 |
| CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS | 5-7211 |
| CANADIAN PACIFIC TELEGRAPHS | 2-1511 |
| CHATEAU LAURIER | 2-6411 |
| CIVIC HOSPITAL | 5-3392 |
| OTTAWA GENERAL HOSP - 26451 | |
| COUNTRY CLUB | 2-4867 |
| DUNNE, H.J. (Kingsmere) | 3-2946 |
| ERSKINE, SMITH & CO. | 3-1106 |
| FEDERAL DISTRICT COMMISSION | 8-1150 |
| GATINEAU POWER COMPANY | 2-5711 |
| Hull Office - 117 Main Street | 2-4291 |
| JARMAN, FRANK (Mr. Hills, Mgr.) | 2-5874 |
| KELLY, FRANK (Kingsmere) | 2-4000 |
| LORD ELGIN HOTEL | 5-3333 |
| MACMILLAN, J.P. (Jeweler) | 2-5447 |
| MITCHELL, DR. C.A. | 3-6741 |
| (Residence) | 3-4223 |
| MOHR, DR. | 4-2103 |
| [illegible], DR. CAMPBELL | 4-3565 |

(Continued - 2)



| | |
|---|---|
| MULVIHILL, John (Breckenridge) | 5-9592 |
| O'NEIL, R[illegible] (Old Chelsea) | 3-2022 |
| PATTESON, Godfroy B. | 2-8563 |
| (Kingsmere) | 5-6645 |
| SCRIMS (Florist) | 2-1733 |
| (Residence) | 3-3152 |
| TI[illegible]T, Miss Elise | 2-4368 |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 93998

## OFFICE TELEPHONE NUMBERS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Laurier House** | - Private - | 2-6000 |
| | Office - | 2-1525 |
| | Pantry - | 2-1526 |
| **Kingsmere** | - Private - | 2-4000 |

| **Secretaries** | **Residence** | **Office** |
|---|---|---|
| Handy, J.E. | 8-7115 | 2-1525 |
| Breen, Miss L. | ~~3-1965~~ 84666W | 2-1525 |
| Lafleur, R.O. | ~~3-7507~~ 84682W | 2-1525 |
| Lay, Robert | 4-7578 | 9-4715 |
| **Prime Minister** | 5-3476 | 2-4244 |
| **Secretary of State for External Affairs** | | |
| Hon. L.B. Pearson | 2-5287 | 9-5074 |
| **Privy Council** | | |
| Robertson, N.A. | 3-5353 | 9-6294 |
| **Public Archives** | | |
| Lamb, Dr. W.K. | | 9-2473 |
| Gibson, F.W. | | 9-5524 or 9-2562 9-7445 |
| **Civil Service Commission** | | |
| Bland, C.H. | | 9-2788 |
| **JAMES**, Dr. F. Cyril Principal and Vice-Chancellor, McGill | Lancaster 9752 | Marquette 9181 |
| Sharpe, Geo. | 5-2744 | |
| Nicol, J.S. | 8-4650-J | |

C 93999 B-1000

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

SIR WILFRID LAURIER

Reference in "Parliamentary Guide" of 1916:

"On the defeat of the Tupper Ministry at g.e., June 3, 1896, was called on by Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General, to form a Ministry, July 8, 1896, on which date Sir Charles Tupper resigned. Sworn as Pres. of the Privy Council, July 11, 1896, and formed his Ministry July 13, 1896."

SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Reference in "Parliamentary Guide" of 1921:

"Re-elec. for Halifax at g.e. of 1911. . . . Upon the resignation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Cabinet on Oct. 6, 1911, following the defeat of the Liberal party at the polls at the general elections September 21st, 1921, Sir Robert Borden was sent for by His Excellency Earl Grey, and entrusted with the task of forming a Cabinet, assuming office as President of the Council, October 10, 1911. After assuming office re-elected by acclamation, as also all the members of his Cabinet."

C 94000

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN:

Reference in "Parliamentary Guide" of 1921:

"Sworn in as Prime Minister of Canada and Secretary of State for External Affairs, July 10, 1920 . ."

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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Beaudry,L.
Assistant Under-Secretary: Consular,Treaty, Passport,Radio, Western Europe.

Read, J.
Legal Adviser: Legal questions
International Joint Commission.

Christie,L.
Counsellor: British Empire,except Commercial.
Defence,aviation,wireless,etc.

Robertson,N.A.
Second Secretary: United Kingdom and United States commercial relations.
General economic and financial questions

Macdonald,J.S.
Second Secretary: Commercial relations except United Kingdom and United States.
League of Nations.

Allard,H.
Third Secretary: Immigration and deportation.
Japan and China.

Feaver,H.F.
Third Secretary(temporary): Assisting Mr.Read.

Mayrand,L.
Third Secretary(temporary): Assists in international law.
Eastern and Middle Europe.

Ritchie,C.
Third Secretary(temporary): Assists in commercial questions.
Latin America.

Measures,H.(Acting Assistant
Private Secretary): Protocol, clippings.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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C 94002

Persons and Sources to Assist in Obtaining Material.

Government House.

Archives -

Sir Arthur Doughty.

Library of Parliament.

Bureau of Statistics -

R. H. Coats,

S. A. Cudmore.

External Affairs -

Dr. Skelton and staff.

National Liberal Federation -

Mr. Norman Lambert.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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C 94003

MEMORANDUM

Mr. King spoke to Mr. J. G. Ramsden over the long distance telephone this morning, and informed him that as the opening of Parliament would, in all probability, take place about the time of the proposed banquet, he will be unable to accept.

F. A. McG.

*Ottawa,* January 25, 1922

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 94004

Annual List of Books for Prime Minister's Office

1922

1 Montreal Directory, 1922

1 Toronto Directory, 1922

1 Ottawa Directory 1922

1 Quebec Directory 1922

1 Halifax Directory 1922

1 Winnipeg Directory 1922

2 Canadian Almanacs 1922

1 Who's Who 1922

1 Hazell's Almanac 1922

1 Statesman's Year Book 1922

1 Who's Who and Why 1922

3 Calendar Pads (to sample) single leaf

1 Daily Journal 1922,No. 517,published by Copp Clark

1 Kelly's Handbook to the Titled Landed and Official Classes,to by had from Kelly's Directories, 186 Strand, London,W.C.2.

2 Parliamentary Guides, 1922

1 Heaton's Annual 1922.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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CANADA

Collaterne - Parliament.

C 94005

DOMINION ADMINISTRATIONS SINCE 1867

| No. | Premier | Date of taking office | Date of resignation | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st | Macdonald | July 1, 1867 - | November 6, 1873 | 6 yrs. 5 mths |
| 2nd | Mackenzie | November 7, 1873 - | October 16, 1878 | 5 yrs. |
| 3rd | Macdonald | October 17, 1878 - | June 15, 1891 | 12 yrs. 8 mths. |
| 4th | Abbott | June 16, 1891 - | December 5, 1892 | 1 yr. 6 mths. |
| 5th | Thompson | December 5, 1892 - | December 20, 1894 | 2 yrs. |
| 6th | Bowell | December 21, 1894 - | January 14, 1896 | 1 yr. 1 mth. |
| 7th | Tupper | January 15, 1896 - | July 10, 1896 | 6 mths. |
| 8th | Laurier | July 11, 1896 - | October 9, 1911 | 15 yrs. 3 mths. |
| 9th | Borden | October 10, 1911 - | July 9, 1920 | 8 yrs. 9 mths. |
| 10th | Meighen | July 10, 1920 - | December 28, 1921 | 1 yr. 5 mths. |
| 11th | King | December 29, 1921 - | | (1 yr. 4 mths.) |

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CANADA

X-1601
C 94006

Ottawa, January 19, 1922

Members of the Prime Minister's staff to be admitted to building after office hours.

F.A. McGregor
Laurent Beaudry
W.H. Measures
C.H. Talbot
Miss M. Cameron
Miss A. Walker
Miss D. Malcolm
Miss M. Burns
Miss F. Moore
Miss M. Beaudet
J.S. Nicol
J.C. Smith
J. Brown.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94007

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

MR. McGREGOR:

Mr. Stevens, M.P. wants correspondence between "R.M." Rombough & Mr King ~~carried~~ which took place in 1921 before Mr. King took office as Prime Minister. We have on fyle a letter from Mr. M.B. Rombough dated September 6, 1921 and Mr. King's reply of September 15th, 1921.

Sir Joseph Pope does not consider that the House can order the production of correspondence of members of the Government before they took office.

WHM (3)

Feb. 22.

C 94008

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Friday
March 3, 1922

MR. KING:

Mr. Haydon says he thinks it would be well for Mr. King to be present at the opening of the National Committee meeting at any rate, at two o'clock. He hopes it may be possible for Mr. King to stay an hour or so.

McG,

MEMORANDUM X1005-46 B.A. Sept. 22

Prime Minister's Office,

377

C 94010 Ottawa, September 12, 1922.

Tell Mr. Chevrier Dr. Beland took that up in Council and Mr. Bureau will se e Mr. Saunders.

I have not been able to get in touch with Mr. Chevrier, to tell him.

L.B. Sept 15. 1922

not at home nor at either Telephoned Mr. Chevrier giving above message. D.M. 3.10.22.

(19)

C 94009

MEMORANDUM X-1001

Prime Minister's Office,

Ottawa, Mar. 4.

Mr. King said he wanted to know how much time he would have to spend at the meeting.
Mr.McGregor tells me that Mr.Haydon is of opinion that Mr.King should be there at commencement (2.00 o'clock) and spend an hour at meeting.

WHM

for Mr. King to decide.
1½ perhaps

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94011 E-1301.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

27

MR. KING:

Mr. Robb asked me to let you know that he is making all arrangements for his trip to Australia; that he will leave Ottawa on the 12th of October, sailing from Vancouver October 20th; & that he has cabled Mr. Fielding regarding tariff matters connected with the trip.

Mr. Robb said he is going home tomorrow, Saturday and will be back in Ottawa Monday noon. If Mr. King so desires, Mr. Robb will return to Ottawa to be here Monday morning first thing.

WHM.
W.H. MEASURES.

Sept.29.(1922)

Freight Rates - C 94012
Grain - Wheat Policy -

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Tuesday,
October 31, 1922

MR. KING:

When I told Mr. Euler that Mr. King would be prevented, on account of an important interview with the British Ambassador, from meeting the delegation of millers from Waterloo County with the Hon.George P. Graham, Mr. Euler said that the delegation had come to Ottawa to see Mr. King and would be very disappointed if they couldn't see Mr.King.

Mr. Euler stated that it would be "bad business" not to see the delegation.

Mr. Euler mentioned that ~~one~~ or some of Mr.King's constituents and former constituents were included in the delegation.

WHM

W.H. MEASURES.

(Prime Minister's Office) J.C.

(1923)

C 94013

## CONTENTS OF CASES

| Box | Contents | Disposition |
|---|---|---|
| No. 1. | Stationery | Hold |
| No. 2. | Stationery | Hold |
| No. 3. | Stationery | Hold |
| No. 4. | Reference Books | Cabin 288 |
| No. 5. | Mr. King's Books<br>Stationery | Hold |
| No. 6. | Mr. Coat's Books | Hold |
| No. 7. | Correspondence | Cabin 101 |
| No. 8. | Correspondence | Cabin 332 |
| Black Box Square | Mr. Kings material, books obtained at the last minute, and sundry items. | Cabin 61U |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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C 94014

LIST OF STATIONERY IN

BOX No. 1.

ENVELOPES : Prime Minister's Office:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 250 - | 10½ x 4½ | - | Red Crest. |
| 1,000 - | 9 x 4 | - | " " |
| 250 - | 9 x 4 | - | Blind Embossed. |
| 50 - | 9 x 4 | - | Red Crest - - - French. |
| 50 - | 8¼ x 5¼ | - | " " |
| 50 - | 5¾ x 4½ | - | " " |
| 50 - | " x " | - | Blind Embossed. |
| 500 - | 5¼ x 4¼ | - | Red Crest. |
| 250 - | " x " | - | Blind Embossed. |
| 500 - | " x " | - | " " - Crest Only. |
| 250 - | " x " | - | Plain. |

Privy Council:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 25 - | 9 x 4 | - | English. |
| 25 - | " x " | - | French . |
| 25 - | 5¼ x 4¼ | - | English. |
| 25 - | 5¼ x 4¼ | - | French . |

PAPER:

1,500 - Lettersize Onion Skin - Glazed.
750 - " Red Crest

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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LIST OF STATIONERY IN

BOX No. 2

**PAPER:**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Foolscap size:** | 2,000 - | Onion Skin | - Glazed |
| | 500 - | Chaldean Vellum | - Plain |
| | 250 - | " " | - Blind Embossed |
| | 250 - | " " | - Red Crest |
| | 250 - | " " | - " " - French. |
| | 500 - | Azure | - Plain |
| **Letter size :** | 500 - | Chaldean Vellum | - Blind Embossed |
| | 500 - | " " | - " " - Crest Only. |
| | 500 - | " " | - Plain |
| | 250 - | Azure | - " |
| | 750 - | Chaldean Vellum | - " - Punched 3 holes. |
| | 500 - | Onion Skin | - Glazed - " " " |
| | 50 - | Privy Council | - English. |
| | 50 - | " " | - French |
| | 50 - | " " | - Second sheets. |
| | 50 - | Secretary of State for External Affairs. | |
| | 50 - | do. | - Second sheets. |
| | 1,000 - | Clipping sheets. | |
| **Note :** | 125 - | Chaldean Vellum | - Red Crest. |
| | 375 - | " " | - Blind Embossed. |
| | 500 - | " " | - " " - Crest Only. |
| | 500 - | " " | - Plain. |
| | 25 - | Envelopes, $8\frac{1}{4}$ x $6\frac{3}{4}$ | - Red Crest. |
| | 50 - | " | - Strong linen. |
| | 50 - | Blotters. | |
| | 36 - | Small Memorandum Pads. | |
| | 10 - | Large " " | |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 94016

LIST OF STATIONERY IN

BOX No. 3

1,000 - Azure Note (With Mr. Mackenzie King's Compliments).

1,000 - Cards - W. L. Mackenzie King, Laurier House, Ottawa.
300 - " - W. L. Mackenzie King - (only)
300 - " - Prime Minister of Canada-----English
100 - " - " " " " -----French.

40 - Correspondence Guides.
12 - Dockets.
24 - Foolscap Folders.
12 - Filing Pockets - 1¾" Expansion.
12 - " " - 3 " "
12 - Pairs Foolscap size Covers.
24 - Pairs Blue Clipping Covers.

20 - Large Memorandum Pads.
4 - Foolscap Pads - ruled.
6 - Lettersize Pads- plain.

1 - 6 x 4 Filing Cabinet, with alphabetical index.
500 - 6 x 4 Cards.

24 - Pencils - Venus H.B.
2 - Sticks Sealing Wax.
6 - Typewriters erasers.
6 - Pencil erasers.
6 - Typewriter Ribbons - light inked.
1 - Shannon Punch.
1 - Hand Punch.
2 - Scissors.
2 - Cico Paste.
2 - Balls of Twine.
20 - Boxes Paper Clips - Large.
10 - " " " - Small.
9 - " Star Paper Fasteners.
1 - Box Paper Clamps.
2 - Boxes Rubber Bands - long thin; strong.
3 - Boxes Pen nibs.
1 - Box Refills for Eversharp Pencils.
2 Doz. - Laces - long.
2 " - " - short.
1 Pkge - Blank Gummed Index Tabs.
Adhesive Strips - Blue, Buff, and yellow.
200 - Memo Cards.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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C 94017

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF BOOKS

In

BOX No. 4.

| | No. of Copies. |
|---|---|
| Au Canada | 1 |
| Agricultural Staples and the Tariff | 1 |
| Annals of the American Acadamey of Political and Social Science, May 1923. | 1 |
| British Commonwealth of Nations by Sir R. Borden | 2 |
| Bentley's Complete Phrase Code with Appendix | 1 |
| British Dominions Year Book 1923. | 1 |
| Canada and the Navy | 6 |
| Canada and Foreign Wars - Ewart's | 4 |
| Canada as a Field for British Branch Industries | 2 |
| Canada Year Books : 1914; 1916-17; 1918; 1921. | 4 |
| Canada's War Effort 1914-1918 | 1 |
| Canada and the Peace | 1 |
| Canada at War | 1 |
| Canada, The Future of | 1 |
| Canada - The Customs Tariff 1907 and Amendments with Index - July 1, 1922. | 1 |
| Canada Estimates for the Fiscal year ending Mar. 31/24. | 1 |
| Canada Descriptive Atlas | 1 |
| Canada, Dominion of | 1 |
| Canada | 1 |
| Canada, 5,000 Facts about | 1 |
| Canada, Commerce and Natural Resources | 1 |
| Canada, Map of : British Empire Forestry Conference | 1 |
| Canadian Almanac, 1923. | 1 |
| Canadian Club Addresses, 1917-18. | 1 |
| Canadian Historical Review, Vol.3, No.1, March 1922 | 1 |
| Canadian Bank of Commerce Year Book, Vol. 3, 1922 | 1 |
| Colonial Conference, 1902, June to August | 1 |
| Colonial Conference, Papers laid before the - 1907 | 1 |
| Colonial Conference, Minutes of Proceedings - 1907 | 1 |
| Colonial and Imperial Conferences, 1887-1911 | 1 |
| Conference, Papers laid before the | 1 |
| Conference on the Limitation of Armament held at Washington November 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922. | 1 |
| Conference of Prime Ministers and Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, held in June, July and August, 1921 | 1 |
| Colonial Tariff Policies, Introductory Survey of | 1 |

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Box No. 4 Cont'd.

| | No. of Copies |
|---|---|
| Contemporary Review, June 1923 | 1 |
| Conference with Representatives of the Self-Governing Dominions on the Naval and Military Defence of the Empire 1909 | 1 |
| Commercial, Industrial and Financial Situation in Japan, 1922 and up to June 30, 1923 | 1 |
| Dodd's Parliamentary Companion | 1 |
| Foreign Affairs, March 15, 1923 | 1 |
| Foreign Affairs, December 15, 1922 | 1 |
| Genoa Conference | 12 |
| Halibut Treaty Correspondence | 3 |
| Houses of Parliament, Ottawa, Canada | 1 |
| House of Commons Debates, Ottawa, May 20, 1921 | 1 |
| House of Commons Debates, 1922 Edition | 1 |
| Immigration Problem in the United States | 1 |
| Imperial War Conference, 1917. Extracts from Minutes of Proceedings and Papers laid before the Conference 1918. | 1 |
| Imperial War Cabinet - 1917; 1918. | 2 |
| Imperial Meetings - 1921, Vol. 1 and 2 | 2 |
| Imperial Copyright Conference - 1910 | 1 |
| Imperial Conference, Further Correspondence relating to the | 1 |
| Imperial Conference, Minutes of Proceedings - 1911 | 1 |
| Imperial Conference, Correspondence relating to - 1911 | 1 |
| Imperial Conference, Papers laid before the; Naval and Military Defence | 1 |
| Imperial Conference, Precis of the Proceedings | 1 |
| Independence Papers, Ottawa 1921 | 1 |
| Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1923, April 1923. | 2 |
| Liberal Year Books for 1916 and 1917. | 2 |
| Liberal Party and the Tariff | 1 |
| Liberals and the Tariff | 1 |
| Liberal Party, The Tariff Record of | 1 |
| Message of Liberalism | 15 |
| Members of the Senate and House of Commons | 2 |
| Monetary Times, 1923 | 1 |
| Ottawa Telephone Directory | 1 |
| Parliamentary Guide, 1923 | 1 |
| Publications of the Natural Resources Intelligence Service | 1 |
| Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, June 12, 1923 | 1 |
| Public Accounts for Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1922 | 1 |
| Pomp of Power | 1 |
| Parliamentary Debates, August 2nd, 1923 | 1 |
| " " " 4, 1923 | 1 |
| Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization for Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1922 | 1 |
| Report of the Secretary of State for External Affairs for the Year ending March 31, 1922, 1921, 1920 | 1 |

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Box No. 4 Cont'd.

| | No. of Copies |
|---|---|
| Report of the Department of Naval Service for Fiscal Year ended March 31, 1922, 1921, 1920 | 3 |
| Report of the United States Tariff Commission, 1922 | 1 |
| Report on Foreign Affairs for months of May & June, 1923 | 2 |
| Round Table, June 1923 | 1 |
| Relation of the Tariff on Sugar to the Rise in Price of February and April, 1923 | 2 |
| Reciprocity with Canada, A Study of the Arrangement of 1911 | 1 |
| Relations between France and Germany. A Report by Henri Lichtenberger | 1 |
| Speech, Budget - by Hon. W. S. Fielding, House of Commons, June 12, 1923 | 1 |
| Spirit of the Saar Statute and the Execution of the same by the Governing Commission | 1 |
| Statesmanís Year Book, 1923 | 1 |
| Scientific and Industrial Research, Set of Pamphlets | 2 |
| Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany | 1 |
| Treaty of Peace with Turkey and the Instruments signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923 | 1 |
| Tariff Information Surveys on the Articles in Para. 322 of the Tariff Act of 1913 | 1 |
| The Principal Subjects investigated and reported upon by the United States Tariff Commission | 1 |
| Who's Who - English, 1923 | 1 |
| Who's Who in Canada, 1922 | 1 |
| Who's Who Year Book, 1917 | 1 |
| Kingdom Papers | 1 |
| British Empire and World Peace,- by Hon. N.W.Rowell | 1 |

POOR
COPY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94020

# LIST OF MATERIAL

in

## BOX No. 5

**Stationery:**

150 - Manilla Folders
50 - Large Brown Envelopes
2 - 4 Ring Binders for Minutes of Conference
3 - Concertina Folders
2 - Monthly Sets of Correspondence Guides.

| Books: | No. of Copies |
|---|---|
| Australia, Commonwealth of - Offical Year Book 1922 | 1 |
| Development of the British Empire | 1 |
| Dominions Royal Commission Final Report | 1 |
| Four Parties to Industry | 12 |
| Germany's Capacity to Pay | 1 |
| Industry and Humanity | 6 |
| Life of William Lyon Mackenzie | 2 |
| League of Nations | 3 |
| Nerves and Personal Power | 4 |
| New Zealand Official Year Book, 1921-22 | 1 |
| Pomp of Power | 1 |
| Sea Power in the Pacific | 1 |
| The Battle with Tuberculosis | 2 |
| The Making of a Premier | 6 |
| The Secret of Heroism | 3 |
| Union of South Africa, Official Year Book 1910-21 | 1 |

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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CANADA

C 94021

BOX NO. 6.

Filled with Material for

Mr. R. H. COATS.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

LIST OF FYLES IN BOX NO. 7

E-1106 Naturalization
Naturalization of Married Women
National Council of Women (Dept. of External Affairs)

E-1106 Naturalization
Naturalization in the Dominions
I-1001-0 - Naturalization of Orientals
Exhibit "A" - Statement of Winston Churchill (Book from Dept. of Sec.of State Library)
Exhibit "B" - Copies of Imperial & Canadian Naturalization Acts
Exhibit "C" - Resolution at Imperial War Conference 1917
Exhibit "D" - Resolution Mr. Massey - Imperial War Conference 1918
Exhibit "E" - Nationality of children of British subjects born abroad
Exhibit "F" - Copy of amendments Canadian Naturalization Act of Session of 1922-23
Exhibit "G" - Notes of Conference, Home Office 3rd August, 1922
Exhibit "H" - Letters re revocation of Certificates of Naturalization
Exhibit "I" - Edvind Haugerud - naturalization of
Exhibit "J" - Registration of the child of Peter Dimitry
Exhibit "K" - Status of Greeks naturalized in Canada
Exhibit "L" - Revocation of Certificates of Naturalization
Exhibit "M" - List of Revocations of Naturalization Certificates
Exhibit "N" - Naturalization Acts and Regulations thereunder
Naturalization Regulations U.S.(No.346)

E-1300 External Affairs
Parliamentary control of Foreign Policy

E-1301-1 Wireless Telegraph Commission
Radio Telegraph Convention 1912

E-1301-1 Wireless Telegraph Commission
Wireless Telegraphy Commission in London

E-1301-1 Wireless Telegraph Commission
Memorandum - Radio Branch, Department of Marine & Fisheries

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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C 94023



E-1302-1-A Washington
Appointment of Sir Robert Borden

E-1302-1-C Washington
Under Conservative Regime

E-1302-1-L Washington
Last communications and despatches

E-1302-1-L Washington
Washington Conference under Liberal Regime

E-1302-1 Washington
"C" Mandates - Australia
U.S."C" Mandates

E-1302-1 Washington
Right to publish secret correspondence

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Conference Prime Ministers 1921

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Memo. Lucien Pacaud
International Postal Union
Seniority of Privy Councillors
Cost of former Prime Ministers' Conferences
Official Despatches re Transportation

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Common basis Income Tax Assessments
Miscellaneous - Imperial Conference
Fred Cook
Imperial & Economic Conferences - Hansard References
Marriage between British subjects and Foreigners
Miscellaneous - No. 11,1911 - Laws of Marriage
Foreign Countries

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Main Fyle

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Agenda - Committee of Imperial Defence (2)
Imperial Conference Agenda

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Canadian Representation

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Press Representative
Confidential Fyle - Press Correspondent

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Good wishes - eve of departure

E-1302-3 Imperial Conference
Naval Base - Singapore

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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E-1302-4 International Labour Organization
International Labour Conference 1923

E-1302-14 International Postal Conference

E-1302-16 Imperial Economic Conference
Main Fyle

E-1302-16 Imperial Economic Conference
Press Representative
Request for appointments
Confidential fyle - Seniority Privy Councillors
Suggested Committee of expert advisers
Enquiry attitude on questions

E-1302-16 Imperial Economic Conference
Canadian Representation

E-1302-16 Imperial Economic Conference - Agenda
Reciprocal enforcements of judgements
Imperial Statistics
Commercial Intelligence
Workmen's Compensation Laws - extension to Seamen
Mineral Resources
Stabilization of Inter-Empire Exchange
Confidential Memo. on Agenda
Preferential Tariff
Copyright
Import duty on Catalogues
Report Colwyn Committees - Taxation
Memorandum from Bureau of Statistics
Agenda

E-1303-2 British Empire Exhibition
Main Fyle

E-1304 League of Nations
Limitation of expenditure on Armaments
Canadian Delegation to
Paul Mantoux re activity of League of Nations
Lord Robert Cecil's report 25th Session
Requesting information re appointment of Delegates to

E-1305-1 Near East War Situation
Statement to Press, Sept.3, 1922
Exchange of Important Despatches
Private Fyle
Near East Crisis Vol. I
" " " " II

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

E-1305-2 Opinions re Canada's Participation
Canada's Participation

E-1305-4 Treaty of Sevres
Treaty Series No. 16, 1923 (Booklet)

E-1306 Wrangel Island
Noel J. Ogilvie - enclosing complete set of 6 maps
Arctic Flight Route
Relief to Wrangel Island Party
Wrangel Island - ownership of
Copies - Departmental Correspondence
Hon. Chas. Stewart - Private Fyle

E-1309 Reparations
Ruhr Occupation
Despatches re - Ruhr Occupation
Clippings re

E-1309 Reparations
Saar Valley Commission

E-1310 Treaties
Loring Christie re Treaties
References to Peace Treaty in House of Commons - 1919

E-1400 British Empire
Shipping
Memo. re Shipping Industry
Marine Insurance (4 memos. re.)
Resolutions - Council of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom
Memo. of the Imperial Shipping Committee
Memo. for the Prime Minister "Carriage of goods by Sea"
Relations to the several parts of the British Empire

E-1450 Great Britain
Removal of Passports
John Lewis enclosing quotation Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy

E-1452-1 Applications for Appointments
Application for appointments to High Commissioner's Office

E-1452-6 Secretary and Staff
Appointment of Colonel Reid Hyde

E-1454 The Press
Situation of Reuteurs Office in London

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

E-1455 Finance
Dollar Bond transaction
Foreign Debt Refunding Bill

E-1456 Emigration
Empire Settlement Policy

E-1457 Tariff
Trade relations within the Empire
British Preference on Musical Instruments
Preferential Tariffs within the Empire
Federation of British Industries

E-1458 Imperial Defence
Summary of record of National & Imperial Defence Committee
Hansard - House of Lords - Vol. 54 (57 & 42)
Hansard - House of Commons - Vol. 163 (49 Vol.166 No.100)

E-1601 Deputation to Canada
Visit of Siviswamy Aiyer to Canada
Dinner to Mr. Sastri
E-1601 Visit of Mr. Sastri to Canada
E-1800, South Africa
Indians in Kenya

E-1650 Ireland
Representative of Irish Free State
Cattle Embargo - effect on
Irish Free State of the removal of
Irish Free State Constitution, Despatches re
" " " " Bill

E-1651 Trade negotiations with Ireland

E-1800 South Africa
Indians in Kenya (charged to envelope E-1601)

E-1825 British West Africa
Trade with west of Africa
West Africa and its opportunities for Canadian trade (Booklet)

E-1850 West Indies
Increase in Cable rates
Merchant Marine route between Canada and West Indies

E-4000 France
Presentation of Porcelain Vase

E-9000 United States
Visit to Vancouver by Pres.Harding (Manitoba Free Press)

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 34027



E-9000 United States (Cont'd.)
W-1006 - International Joint Commission
Migratory birds Conventions Oct. (2 copies)
E-1302-14 - International Postal Convention

E-9001 Canadian Representation at Washington
Can. Representation at Washington - American Views

E-9002 Alcoholic Liquors
Smuggling of spirits between Sweden and Norway
Liquor in Territorial Waters

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 94028

LIST OF FYLES IN BOX NO. 8

E-9007 Rush Bagot Agreement.
Naval Vessels on the Great Lakes.
Rush Bagot Official
Rush Bagot Confidential Fyle re.

E-9008 Fishing Relations with the United States
Fishing relations between Canada and the United States.

H-1101 Archives
Moncton Papers
Sir William Schooling - Hudson Bay Co's Records

I-1001 Oriental Immigration
Naturalization of Orientals (charged to Envelope E-1106)

M-1000 Marines and Fisheries
Halibut Treaty
" " Press Comments
" " Copy Tabled March 16, 1923.

M-1100 National Defence
Asking Canada to suggest immediate disarmament at Imp.Conf.

N-1101 Forests
Forests of Canada (Booklet on, issued by Department of Interi
or(

N-1103 Mines
J. Murray Clark.

N-1300 National Status
Canada's Relation within the Empire.
Canada's Right to sign Treaties.
Clipping on National Status
E-1310 - L.C. Christie's memo' re conclusion of Treaties.
9 fyles or memos on Canada's Status as a Nation.

N-1300 Docket labelled"Canadian Status",participation in war"(a) Near East (b) General - 28 enclosures, clippings, etc.

N-1301 B.N.A. Act and Amendments to
Extra Territorial Rights of Canada.
Confidential Series No. 38
General Register 231, Department of External Affairs,
Name - Colonial Secretary, London,
Subject - Extra Territorial Legislation.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

P-1100 Parliamentary Work
E-1305-1 - Near East War situation - Official communications and Private
Secret Documents re Imperial Conference - Not laid on table
Publication of messages - Confidential fyle

P-1100 Parliamentary Work
Correspondence re official Correspondence & publication thereof

P-1101 Speech from the Throne
References - Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Speech in reply to Speech from the Throne 1907-8-9-10-11

P-1300 The Press
Having Mr. Brothers remain in London

P-1602 Parliament Buildings
Houseman - invitation to visit foundry

R-1103 G.T.R.Acquisition
G.T.R. Conf. Sir J. Flavelle
G.W.Yates printing of document "Reply to Overseas Criticism"
Claims of G.T.P. 4% Debenture Shareholders
Claims of G.T.R. Company of Canada Shareholders
G.T.R. Replies - 5 copies of each

R-1111 Railway Management
Financial arrangements for C.N.R. - Conf. Fyle

S-1103 Pensions
Mrs. L.C.S.Amery - reduction of Pension of Mary A.Dow

T-1000 Tariff
Hon.Chas. Murphy enclosing "The Tariff Record of the Liberal Party"
Removal duty on New Zealand Honey
Preferential Trade within the Empire
British Preferential - Acetic Acid
British Preferential Tariff - Canadian Manufacturers' Association
Liberal Platform on Tariff - 1919

T-1200 Trade and Commerce

T-1205 Foreign Trade
Status of Canadian Trade Commissioners

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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C 94030



W-1005 Georgian Bay Canal
Sir Robert Perks

W-1006 International Joint Commission
" " " See Folder E-9000

W-1102 Canadian Battlefields' Memorial Commission
Memorial Arch on the Menin Road
Unveiling of Monument - St.Julien

Y-1600 Interviews
Leighton McCarthy - requesting interview

Y-2100 Photographs

YY-1708 Alberta
Lawrence E. Jones

Z-1200 Congratulations received
Major Frederick Lassore

Z-1700 Private
Mrs. Bidwell
Mr. Norman W. Trenholme
Aneurin Williams re Armenian Immigration
Robert Smillie - requesting position

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94031

LIST OF MATERIAL IN BOX NO. 8

Personal Fyles -(Mr. Measures' Drawer)

Laurier House
Conferring of Degrees - Mr. King
Travelling Expenses
Form Letters
Personal Letters
Petty Cash

Two dozen Charge-out Cards

Subject and Personal Index Cards to correspondence

7 Packages of Photographs

Material collected by Mr. Giddens

Departmental Fyles

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94032

SQUARE BLACK BOX

Annual Report of the Ottawa and Ottawa Valley Branch of the Canadian Red Cross Society - Speech by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, page 37.
Canada and British Countries - by John S. Ewart, K.C.
Canada and the United States - by W. R. Riddell
Catalogue of Pamphlets, Reports and Journals.
Conference of Prime Ministers and Representatives of United Kingdom, Dominions and India - June, July and August, 1921.
Edinburgh Review - July 1923.
Engagement Book Refills - Book 104
Cash refills.
Fortnightly Review - July, 1923.
Empire Review - June, 1923.
Empire Review - March 1923.
Imperial Meetings - 1921. Notes of meetings Nos. E 1 - E 4. June 20 - August 25, 1921. With Subject Index. Vol II - only.
Imperial Meetings - 1921. Minutes of meetings of sub-committees Nos. E(R) 1 and 2, E(D) 1 and 2 and E(Sc) 1 to 7.
Imperial Meetings - 1921, with subject index.
Industrialism Vs. Militarism - by W. L. Mackenzie King.
Industrial Representation Plans.
An International Experiment - by Lawrence J. Burpee.
International Joint Commission - Waterways Problems.
Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire. Vol 4 - No. 3, July, 1923
Mr. McGregor's Address Books.
Liberal Pamphlets 1912 - 15, Publications 1 - 31.
Naval Question.
Notes of Speeches - Mackenzie King.
Memoranda E series. Papers E 1 - E 56, with subject index.
Round Table - 1923.
Round Table, Vol. 1. November, 1910 to August, 1911.
Treaties and Agreements affecting Canada, in force between His Majesty and the United States of America, with subsiduary documents - 1814 - 1913.
Labour Legislation in Canada, - 1920 - 1921 - 1922.
Mr. King's two Concertinas.

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94033

LIST OF BOOKS TAKEN BY A.G. DOUGHTY.

1. A permanent League of Nations - Sir Geo. Paish
2. A Short History of the Great War, - A.F. Pollard
3. League of War - Irving Fisher
4. Canadian Almanac - 1923
5. Whittaker Almanac - 1923
6. History of Canada - Wrong
7. Canadian Constitutional Studies - Borden
8. British Empire and World's Peace - Rowell
9. Industrial and Commercial History of England - Rogers
10. Canada's Future - Victor

---

11. Canada Year Book 1921
12. Sixth Census of Canada
13. Constitution of Canada - Kennedy
14. How Canada is governed - Bourinot
15. The Friends of England - Peel
16. Self Government in Canada - Bradshaw
17. Canadian Constitutional Development - Egerton & Grant
18. Federation and Union within the British Empire - Egerton
19. Documents of the Canadian Constitution 1759-1915 - Kennedy
20. Political annals of Canada - Cockburn
21. History of North America - Munro
22. Progress of Canada in the 19th Century
23. British Supremacy and Canadian Self Government - Morrison
24. Annual Review
25. Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy (To be obtained in London)
26. A complete set of the Publications of the Natural Resources Intelligence Service (Sent to England)
27. 5 Vols. of Public Speeches
28. The Real Canadian
29. Where there is no Peace
30. Canadian Cities of Romance
31. The Prime Ministers of Britain
32. A History of European Nations
33. A Revision of the Treaty
34. Labrador
35. The Safety of the Nation
36. Things New and Old 6
    " " 5
    " " 4
37. Modern Studies
38. Douglas Present Discontents
39. The League of Nations - Grey
40. League of Nations and Labour

---

Set of Canada and its Provinces arranged for in England, also Fulford's County Families and Debrett.

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CANADA

C 94034

Annual List of Books for Prime Minister's Office

1923

1 Ottawa Directory, 1923

4 Canadian Almanacs, 1923

1 Hazell's Almanac , 1923

1 Statesman's Year Book, 1923

3 Calendar Pads (to sample) single leaf

1 Daily Journal, 1923, No 517, published by Copp Clark

4 Parliamentary Guides, 1923

1 Heaton's Annual, 1923.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94035

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

16

Miss McCloskey:

I am directed by the Prime Minister to have the Department furnished with one copy of the following book:

"Burwash Memorial Lectures"
by Hon. N. W. Rowell.

I shall be obliged if you will have the necessary action taken to give effect to the Prime Minister's wish.

January 3rd.,
1923

Rec'd. 16-1-23.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94036 1/9/43

CLIPPING SERVICE

In future newspapers will be distributed as follows:

Miss Cameron: Those not mentioned below.

Mr. Giddens: Ottawa Citizen
Montreal Star
Toronto Mail and Empire
Farmer's Sun
Christian Science Monitor
Manitoba Free Press.

Mr. Mayer: Regina Leader
Saskatoon Star
Montreal Gazette
Toronto Star
Toronto World (Sunday)
Constituency of North York (5)
London Times.
Border Cities Star

Mr. Wheatley:

Saturday Night
Toronto Telegram
Round Table
Financial Post
Citizen
Journal
Border Cities Star
Montreal Herald
Quebec Telegraph
Halifax Herald
New Statesman
Literary Digest
Foreign Affairs
Current History.

G's request 19/1/43

POOR
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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94037 X-1601

Ottawa, February 6, 1923

T. H. Holmes, Esq.,
Manager,
Canadian Pacific Railway Telegraphs,
O t t a w a.

Dear Mr. Holmes:

For the information of your office in case of the receipt of telegrams addressed to the Prime Minister, which may have to be communicated by telephone, I am sending you the following list of names and telephone numbers of the Prime Minister's secretarial staff. In the case of evening or Sunday calls, if I cannot be reached, will you kindly instruct your staff to get in touch with Mr. Moyer, Mr. Measures, or Mr. Wheatley.

| | East Block. | House of Commons. | Residence. |
|---|---|---|---|
| F.A. McGregor, | Q-6400 L-643 | Q-6400 L-50 | Q-8240 |
| L.C. Moyer | Q-6400 L-640 | Q-6400 L-49 | Q-4406 |
| R.O. Wheatley, | Q-6400 L-641 | | R-4473-W |
| W.H. Measures, | Q-6400 L-480 | | R-4247 |

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

ROW/W

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Memoranda & Notes

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

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COPY

C 94038

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Thursday
June 19, (1923).

MR. KING:

Mr. G. N. Gordon called at the office this morning. He said Mr. Hartley Dewart was in the City and would like to see Mr. King on a rather important matter. He spoke, at first, of getting a car and motoring up to Kingsmere, with Mr. Dewart, but I think he abandoned this idea.

Mr. Dewart telephoned this morning and enquired for Mr. McGregor. He will telephone Mr. McGregor at his home this evening, or at the office at 8 pm

WHM

C 94039

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

B7.
Aug. 8
Aug. 22

MAJOR BELL:

At Mr. Kennedy's request, the following documents are submitted for his attention. Would you be good enough to return them to this office when they have served Mr. Kennedy's purpose.

1. Telegram Hon.Chas.Murphy to Prime Minister of July 19.
2. Letter from The Schuster Co.Ltd.,Belleville of July 24 to Prime Minister and reply of July 25.
3. Letter from James White July 20 enclosing memo. re anthracite & reply of July 20.
4. Letter(8 pages) from Mr.Marler to Prime Minister of July 21 enclosing Canada Gazette. Prime Minister's reply of July 26; Mr.Marler's letter of July 31.
5. Letter from S.J.Cook, Chief,Mining Metallurgical & Chemical Branch, Bureau of Statistics of July 26th enclosing statistics 1920 & 1921 and April 1922 report of coal statistics.

August 3rd.
1.00pm

POOR COPY

PUBLIC ARCHIVES CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES CANADA

X-1000
C 94040

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Saturday,
August 18,1923

Confidential Memo re organization matters

dated Wednesday, August 15, 1923.

Messrs. Macdonald, Graham, Stewart, Murphy and member from Province of Quebec to be appointed by members of that Province, named Sub-Committee of Cabinet to deal with matters pertaining to Organization. Mr. Macdonald, Chairman.

Following appointed Members of Government Contracts Supervising Committee (see Order in Council): Robb, Chairman, Low, Stewart, King and Beland.

Committee to supervise Government publications: Murdock, Chairman, Low and Copp.

OR.

(O. Robitaille)

C 94041 P-1204-2
Y-1600-2

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Monday,
August 20, 1923

MR. KING:

You mentioned your wish to see Mr. Lewis when in Toronto on Friday next. Do you wish me to arrange for him to come to the station Friday morning? You have a half hour between the arrival of the train from Ottawa and the departure of the one for Newmarket.

McG.

Wire him to Toronto Tuesday night

C 94042 X-1601

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Thursday,
September
13
1923

MISS CAMERON:
MISS FERGUSON:
MESSENGERS:

In view of the pressure of work, due to Mr. King's departure, Mr. McGregor desires that the office hours be extended to 6 P.M. daily.

Will you please inform all concerned.

It may be necessary to call for a certain amount of night work, should the emergency arise.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

X-1601
C 94043

# S T A F F

| Name | Telephone | Address |
|---|---|---|
| Beaudet, Miss M. | Q.3230W | 215 Gilmour Street |
| Cameron, Miss M. | C. 744 | 122 Argyle Avenue |
| Campney, R.O. | R.6840 | Clovelly Apartments, 199 Chapel Street. |
| Coutlee, Miss G. | Q.1902 | 136 Bay Street. |
| Cudmore, S. A. | C.1782 | 245 Powell Avenue. |
| Drysdale, Miss S.E. | Q. 34 | 184 Lisgar Street. |
| Ferguson, Miss H. | Q.6041 | 510 Gilmour Street. |
| Garage: | Day - Hunter 723<br>Night-Q.6694 | |
| Allan, Clifford | C.5892 | 80 Strathcona Avenue. |
| Giddens, F. | R. 907 | 310 Blackburn Avenue. |
| Measures, W.H. | C.3816 | 114 Carling Avenue. |
| Moore, Miss F. | R.3109 | 138 Osgoode Street. |
| Moss, Miss L.K. | Q.7832W | 353 Lyon Street. |
| Moyer, L.C. | C. 972 | 314 First Avenue. |
| Nicol, J.S. | S.3533W | 606½ Gladstone Avenue. |
| Robitaille, O. | R.1997 | 187 Friel Street. |
| Schryer, Miss I.B. | Q.5282 | 470 Albert Street. |
| Skelton, O.D. | R. 723 | 247 Buena Vista Road |
| Tunwell, A. | C.4231 | 959 Bronson Avenue. |
| Urquhart, Col. H.M. | Q. 930 | Victoria Chambers. |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 94044



S T A F F

| Name | Telephone | Address |
|---|---|---|
| Walker, Miss A. | C.1193W | 115 Sunnyside Avenue |
| Whitman, R. A. | S. 453 | 330 Bronson Avenue. |
| Zavitske, Miss L.F. | C.1596W | 486 Kent Street. |

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

C 94045

Mr. Moyer:

Newspapers---Clipping service, etc.

1. As you are aware, when I came to this office on loan from the Department of Labour in September, Mr. McGregor asked me if I would give a hand in catching up with the marking of the newspapers which had got behind in the rush of work connected with the Imperial Conference. I brought the newspapers up to date so far as reading and marking was concerned and when I went back to the Department Mr. Wheatley had a Miss Ray continue the work. On my return here the first week of October, after a talk with Mr. Wheatley, I undertook to take on the newspapers again for a time at least, as I wanted to make some examination of the number and nature of the papers, clipping service, files, etc.

2. I have now had opportunity of looking into some matters and wish to suggest an arrangement which will relieve me of the burden of reading the bulk of the papers and permit me to devote more time to other and more useful work on lines indicated by Mr. King, and which at the same time will give me enough of the papers to enable me to keep informed regarding current events and opinions.

3. I should suggest that from the present list, (about 40,so far as papers have passed through my hands, though I note the typed list shows about 65---some weeklies and monthlies, however,---) about 10 or 15 of the more important newspapers be selected and that these be divided amongst the secretaries, the balance to be turned over to some bright girl or girls already acquainted with file subjects, with instructions to catch useful editorials and local political news, secretaries to be relied on for front page and big story stuff. Under this system there would, of course, be some duplication, but this would be caught by the secretary who edits the clippings before they are mounted. A little overlapping might be useful as a check and frequently duplicates are required. This method as a matter of fact, would be simply an extension of the present practice, as I understand secretaries now read a few of the more important papers. I should suggest also that this selected list be given right of way messengers cutting newspapers and that after being edited and mounted these clippings be passed to different secretaries for closer perusal and note-taking before being filed.

4. I am not suggesting a selected list here, as this no doubt could be better done by Mr. Wheatley or yourself from your

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C 94046



experience as to what papers have proven most useful for the purposes of this office, but I should suggest the following as newspapers which would be useful to me and which apparently would not duplicate those at present being read by other secretaries, except perhaps the Ottawa Citizen, but as I read the file copy this would not matter:

Ottawa Citizen
Montreal Star
Toronto Mail and Empire
Farmer's Sun
Christian Science Monitor
Manitoba Free Press

5. I should be glad to have some such arrangement as that here suggested put into effect at once, as in order to look after such matters as material for Mr. Patteson and political and other business I shall not be able to devote to newspaper reading more time than indicated in paragraph 4.

Ottawa.
October 17, 1923

David Eddie

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C 94047

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday,
December 5, 1923

MR. KING:

Mr. J. G. Ramsden of Toronto called this morning. He wants, of course, to see you, and I have told him it would be impossible today.

He tells me that Toronto Liberals are counting definitely on your being in Toronto on December 19th; that the "Star" had a big head-line announcing the date in last night's paper. I presume Mr. Low's word yesterday afternoon was too late to have the announcement cancelled, but he left last night with the definite understanding that the Toronto

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C 94048

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

meeting would have to be held some time in January. Mr. Low knows that you have an engagement in Newmarket on December the 19th.

McG.

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Memoranda & Notes

C 94049

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Friday,
December 14,
1923

MR. KING:

Mr. Justice Robson of Winnipeg telephoned from Montreal at 4.30 about the appointment for tomorrow. In view of Mr. Robb's desire to leave Ottawa tomorrow morning he suggested it might be deferred till Monday, if this would be equally satisfactory to you. It would suit their purposes to have one interview with Mr. Robb and yourself rather than two separate interviews.

I inquired if a meeting tomorrow noon after the arrival of the Montreal train would be satisfactory and he agreed. I thought Mr. Robb might be persuaded to stay over until the 3.30 train tomorrow.

I promised to wire Mr. Justice Robson at the Windsor Hotel, Montreal, as soon as a decision is reached.

H.A.

12.30 Satd.

McG. adovsd by phone. Confirmed. L.King.
6.30 P.M.
14-xii-23.

P.M. advd. Mr. Robb to 6.30 PM. 14-xii-23. L.King.

MEMORANDUM
Prime Minister's Office,
Ottawa,.....

C 94050

Mr. Cullen says Mr. Robb will speak to Mr. King about being present at the interview tomorrow, when he comes to Mr. King's office to meet Mr.Murdock's delegation to-day.

WHM

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C 94051

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

MR. McGREGOR:

I telephoned Mr. Cullen that Mr. King has arranged to meet Mr. W.R.Allen and Judge Robson at three o'clock tomorrow and that Mr. King would like Mr. Robb to be present at the interview.

Mr. Cullen says Mr. Allen and Judge Robson have asked for an interview with Mr. Robb at 3.30 tomorrow afternoon, and thinks this is an indication that they don't wish Mr. Robb to be present at the interview with the Prime Minister.

In any case, Mr. Robb is anxious to get away tomorrow and is planning to leave Ottawa tomorrow morning at eight o'clock.

WHM

Dec. 14.

Letter regarding Montreal Tax matter needed at 4 o'clock.

C 94052 J-1201-G.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Ottawa
December 24
1923

Mr. King:

Mr. Sladen has just telephoned to say that His Excellency thinks it would be quite proper and quite right for you to telegraph messages to the King and Queen, and the Prince of Wales, through Lord Stamfordham and Sir Godfrey Thomas.

The customary New Year's message which the Governor General sends will be submitted to you before its despatch.

Mr. Sladen thinks the following addresses will be sufficient for your cablegrams:

Lord Stamfordham,
Buckingham Palace, London,

Sir Godfrey Thomas,
St. James's Palace, London.

McG.

X-1602

C 94053

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS and PUBLICATIONS FOR THE

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1924.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **ALBERTA:** | | | |
| Calgary | The Albertan | - 1 | The U.F.A., Calgary. |
| | ✓Farm & Ranch Review | - 1 | |
| | ✓The Westerner | - 1 | |
| Edmonton | The Bulletin | - 1 | |
| **BRITISH COLUMBIA:** | | | |
| Vancouver | Vancouver World | - 1 | |
| | Vancouver Sun | - 1 | |
| Victoria | The Colonist | - 1 | |
| **MANITOBA:** | | | |
| Winnipeg | Manitoba Free Press | - 1 | |
| | ✓Grain Growers' Guide | - 1 | |
| **NEW BRUNSWICK:** | | | |
| St. John | The Telegraph-Journal | - 1 | |
| **NOVA SCOTIA:** | | | |
| Halifax | The Chronicle | - 1 | |
| | The Herald | - 1 | |
| Sydney | The Post | - 1 | |
| **ONTARIO:** | | | |
| Aurora | The Banner Press | - 1 | Ottawa: The Canadian Watchman. |
| London | The Advertiser | - 1 | |
| Newmarket | Newmarket Era | - 1 | |
| Ottawa | The Citizen - Morning | - 3 | Ottawa: The Military Gazette |
| " | -- The Morning Journal | - 1 | |
| " | - The Evening Journal | - 2 | |
| Hamilton | The Spectator | - 1 | |
| Stouffville | The Tribune | - 1 | |
| Port Hope | The Times | - 1 | |
| Westboro | The Westender | - 1 | |
| Windsor | The Border Cities Star | - 1 | |

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ONTARIO (Cont'd):

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Toronto - | The Saturday Night | - | 2 |
| | The Orange Sentinel | - | 1 |
| | Canadian Manufacturer | - | 1 |
| | Catholic Register | - | 1 |
| | The Globe | - | 2 |
| | Mail & Empire | - | 1 |
| | The Star | - | 1 |
| | Sunday World | - | 1 |
| | Canadian Forum | - | 1 |
| | Farmers' Sun | - | 1 |
| | Evening Telegram | - | 1 |
| | Bulletin Service of the Citizens Research Institute of Canada | - | 1 |
| | The Round Table | - | 1 |
| | Canadian Magazine | - | 1 |
| | The Maple Leaf | - | 1 |
| | Financial Post | - | 1 |
| | Canadian Historical Review | - | 1 |
| | MacLean's Magazine | - | 1 |

QUEBEC:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Montreal - | L'Action Populaire | - | 1 |
| | L'Amerigue Latine | - | 1 |
| | Le Canada | - | 1 |
| | Le Devoir | - | 1 |
| | The Gazette | - | 2 |
| | The Herald | - | 1 |
| | La Patrie | - | 1 |
| | The Star | - | 1 |
| | La Presse | - | 1 |
| | Le Matin | - | 1 |
| | √The Review | - | 1 |
| | √Montreal Witness and Canadian Homestead | - | 1 |
| | L'Eclaireur | - | 1 |
| | Le Courier Federal | - | 1 |
| Quebec - | The Telegraph | - | 2 |
| | L'Evenement | - | 1 |
| | Le Soleil | - | 1 |
| Richmond - | Times Guardian | - | 1 |

Montreal: The Teachers magazine
" Listening Post.

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PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND:

Charlottetown: - The Patriot - 1

ENGLAND:

London
- ✓ New Statesman - 1 ~~London Eng:~~ Financial
- ✓ Manchester Guardian - 1 Financial News.
- ✓ London Times - 1 Co. Partnership.
- ✓ Overseas League - 1 The Landmark
- 1
- 1
- 1

UNITED STATES:

New York
- Literary Digest - 1 ~~New York:~~ The New America (bi-monthly)
- New York Times (Daily and Sunday) - 1 American Industries (monthly).
- Foreign Affairs - 1
- Current History - 1

Boston - Christian Science Monitor - 1

Honolulu, T.H. - The Mid-Pacific Magazine - (monthly)

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C 94056

# List of PUBLICATIONS for the PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE. YEAR - 1 9 2 4

| Province | City | Paper | Politics | Copies |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prince Edward Island, | Charlottetown | The Patriot | Liberal | 1 |
| Nova Scotia | Halifax | The Chronicle | Liberal | 1 |
| | | Halifax Herald | Cons. | 1 |
| New Brunswick | St. John | Telegraph Journal | Liberal | 1 |
| Quebec | Montreal | La Canada | Liberal | 1 |
| | | Le Devoir | | 1 |
| | | The Gazette | Cons. | 2 |
| | | The Herald | | 1 |
| | | La Patrie | | 1 |
| | | The Star | Cons. | 1 |
| | | La Presse | Liberal | 1 |
| | | Le Matin | | 1 |
| | | Montreal Witness & Canadian Homestead | | 1 |
| | Richmond | Times Guardian | | 1 |
| | Quebec | The Telegraph | | 1 |
| | | L'Evenement | Cons. | 1 |
| | | Le Soleil | Liberal | 1 |
| Ontario | Toronto | The Globe | Liberal | 2 |
| | | Mail and Empire | Cons. | 1 |
| | | The Star | Liberal | 1 |
| | | Farmers' Sun | Prog. | 1 |
| | | Telegram | Cons. | 1 |
| | Hamilton | The Spectator | Liberal | 1 |
| | Ottawa | Morning Citizen | Liberal | 3 |
| | | Evening Journal | Cons. | 2 |
| | | Morning Journal | Cons. | 1 |
| | Westboro | The Westender | | 1 |
| | London | The Advertiser | Liberal | 1 |
| | | The Free Press | Cons. | 1 |

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# LIST of weekly & monthly PUBLICATIONS for the PRIME MINISTER'S office for the year 1924

| Province | City | Periodical | Politics | Copies |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ontario | Toronto | Saturday Night | | 1 |
| | | Canadian Manufacturer | | 1 |
| | | Catholic Register | | 1 |
| | | Canadian Forum | | 1 |
| | | Sunday World | | 1 |
| | | Citizen's Research Institute (Bulletin Service) | | 1 |
| | | Canadian Magazine | | 1 |
| | | The Maple Leaf | | 1 |
| | | Financial Post | | 1 |
| | | Canadian Historical Review | | 1 |
| | | MacLean's Magazine | | 1 |
| Manitoba | Winnipeg | Grain Growers Guide | | 1 |
| Alberta | Calgary | The Farm and Ranch Review | | 1 |
| England | London | New Statesman | | 1 |
| | | Overseas League | | 1 |
| United States | New York | Literary Digest | | 1 |
| | | Foreign Affairs | | 1 |
| | | Current History | | 1 |

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| Province | City | Paper | Politics | Copies |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ontario (Contd) | Windsor | Border Cities Star | Lib. | 1 |
| | Newmarket | Newmarket Era | Lib. | 1 |
| | Aurora | The Banner Press | Lib. | 1 |
| | Stourfville | Stouffville Tribune | | 1 |
| Manitoba | Winnipeg | Manitoba Free Press | Liberal | 1 |
| Saskatchewan | Regina | The Leader | | 1 |
| | Saskatoon | Saskatoon Star | | 1 |
| Alberta | Calgary | The Albertan | Indp | 1 |
| | | The Westerner | | 1 |
| | Edmonton | The Bulletin | Lib. | 1 |
| British Columbia | Vancouver | Vancouver World | | 1 |
| | | Vancouver Sun | | 1 |
| | Victoria | The Colonist | Cons. | 1 |
| England | London | London Times | Cons. | 1 |
| | Manchester | Manchester Guardian | Lib. | 1 |
| United States | New York | New York Times (daily and Sunday) | | 1 |

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C 94059

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Jan 31 1924.

MR. KING:

I have received word from Sir Clifford Sifton, to say that he will be in Ottawa on Sunday the 10th and will be at the Chateau Laurier Sunday evening and Monday, until the afternoon, and unengaged. He suggests that it would probably be less trouble all-round if your colleagues were to see him there.

If this is satisfactory, Sir Clifford asks if you would wire him.

McG.

C 94060

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday
January 9
1924

MR. KING:

Sir Henry Thornton is planning to come to Ottawa on Tuesday morning, next, arriving at noon. He enquires if it will be possible to see you that morning.

You will recall that you are leaving the same evening for Toronto.

McG

Mr. King said:
"I'll try to see him for a minute or two".

7.30 p.m.
9-1-24.

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C 94061

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

MR. KING:

Mr. Graham's secretary has telephoned that Mr. Graham will attend the conference at 11.00 and luncheon next Monday at Laurier House.

WHM

Feb. 6. 1924.
2.50 pm

will leave to close 10.45. lunch at 12.30

C 94062

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Thursday,
February 7, 1924.

MR. KING:

Mr. Robb telephones to say that he is counting on meeting Sir Clifford Sifton Sunday evening at the Chateau.

McG.

C 94063

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Monday,
March 17,
1924

MR. KING:

Mr. W. G. Raymond, M.P., inquires if the postponed meeting with a delegation from Brantford can be arranged for Thursday or Friday of this week. The deputation would represent the Board of Trade, Trades and Labour Council, and the City Council, and might be joined by others from Paris, Galt, and possibly Kitchener. Would you see such a delegation at eleven o'clock either Thursday or Friday.

McG.

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C 94064

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Monday
March 17
(1924.)

MR. KING:

I have arranged with Mr. Raymond for the deputation from Brantford to come here on Friday next, at 11 a.m. Would you kindly indicate on the attached list which of the Ministers you would like to have present.

Mr. Raymond has suggested you might think it desirable to invite Mr. Forke, and some of the Progressives. He leaves this, however, entirely to your own judgment.

McG.

C 94065

THE MINISTRY—According to precedence

The Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, Sec. of State for External Affairs and Pres. of the P.C.

The Right Honourable William Stevens Fielding, Minister of Finance and Receiver General.

The Honourable George Perry Graham, Minister of Railways and Canals.

The Honourable Charles Murphy, Postmaster General

The Honourable Raoul Dandurand, Minister without Portfolio.

The Honourable Henri Severin Beland, Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment and Health.

The Honourable Jacques Bureau, Minister of Customs and Excise.

The Honourable Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice and Attorney General.

The Honourable James Alexander Robb, Minister of Immigration and Colonization.

The Honourable Thomas Andrew Low, Minister of Trade and Commerce.

The Honourable Arthur Bliss Copp, Secretary of State.

The Honourable Charles Stewart, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Mines and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

The Honourable William Richard Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture.

The Honourable James Murdock, Minister of Labour.

The Honourable John Ewen Sinclair, Minister without Portfolio.

The Honourable James Horace King, Minister of Public Works.

The Honourable Edward Mortimer Macdonald, Minister of National Defence.

The Honourable Edward James McMurray, Solicitor General.

The Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

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C 94066

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Tuesday,
March 18,
1924

MR. KING:

Mr. E. R. Cameron is out of the city today, but I have left word for him that you would be glad to attend the dinner to Sir William Mulock on Friday evening next. I mentioned that you would prefer not to be called upon to speak.

McG.

Mr. Mulock 19. 9.00 pm.

C 94067

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Thursday,
March 27,
1924

MR. KING:

Standing Committee on Mines, Forests and Waters

Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations.

Mr. Kyte has been in communication with the Conservative and Progressive Whips both of whom have told him that they cannot have ready for three o'clock today lists of personnel of above Committees.

Mr. Kyte suggests that membership of merged Committee on Mines, Forests and Water be 37, but wishes Prime Minister to indicate desired size of new Committee on Industrial and International Relations.

LCM.

C 94068

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

12

Friday,
March 28, 1924

MR. KING:

I have just been speaking with Senator Dandurand over long distance telephone. He says that Mr.F.H.Clergue, of the Canada Car Company, is leaving N.Y. on Tuesday for London and Moscow. He has prospects of big export business with Russia and India, and would like to have a quiet talk with you before he goes , about what he can do for Canada on this trip. Senator Dandurand urges that you give him this opportunity, by inviting him, if you could, to luncheon tomorrow, Sunday or Monday - or otherwise arrange for him some time

R. Ilsley

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C 94069

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

when you could be free for conversation with him. I told him you made no engagements Sunday. He would have to leave by Monday afternoon's train at the latest to catch his boat in New York.

When in London, Mr. Clergue will wish to see Mr. Larkin and certain of the British authorities, including representatives of the India Office.

McG.

Senator Dandurand asked me to phone back to him this afternoon. He will be at Uptown 868.

C 94070

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Saturday
March 29, 1924.

FOR FILE:

I telephoned Mr. Haydon tonight and let him know confidentially that the Government hoped to have the Budget down just before the Easter Recess.

McG.

C 94071

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Monday
March 31, 1924.

FOR FILE:

Mr. Haydon had a long conversation with Mr. King today, particularly on the subject of the attached letter of March 29th.

McG.

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JY-1708-B
Peace R. Deputn.
C 94072

House of Commons
Canada

APR 24 1924

MR. KING:

The representatives from the Peace River country - Wagar and Innes - ask if they can have a few minutes with you before you see Premier Oliver. They want to discuss with you certain political considerations, which can be made to turn to the advantage of the Party both Provincial and Federal.

McG.

F.A. McGREGOR.

See Mr

P-1603
C 94073

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM for file:

Friday,
April 25,
1924

Mr. McKinnon of the "Globe" inquired this evening as to whether there was anything in the report of the attached telegram, I reached Mr. King at Laurier House on the telephone and by his direction, told McKinnon that the Prime Minister had been much surprised to read the reports of his reply to the Toronto delegation. He had said that the Government would give their representations consideration and would take care of any pledges that were made. He did not intimate that there was any bargaining in the matter, but pointed out the difficulties the Government was having in putting their

C 94074

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

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estimates through. The "Globe" in its editorial comments itself is the only paper that has put in a wrong construction on his reply.

McG.

F.A. McGREGOR.

C 94075

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Thursday,
May 1,
1924

MR. KING:

Although this speech is dated May 6, 1922, it seems to me that it is the one you delivered last year. If that assumption is correct, the mistake of dating it incorrectly must have been made by one of the temporary clerks borrowed from another Department to complete the book of your Speeches in preparation for your trip overseas.

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~~X-1000-4~~
X-1700-4
C 94076

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday,
May 28,
1924

MR. KING:

Mr. Grange suggests that when you speak before the Women's Liberal Clubs next week it would be most helpful if you would say a word indicating that Miss Armstrong has some official standing in the organization work of the Party as Field Secretary, and in charge of publicity work.

McG.

C 94077

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Friday
June 6 (1924).

MR. KING:

Just before leaving for his train tonight Mr. J. H. Spence asked me to say for him that he is very anxious that a Cabinet Minister (Mr. Lapointe or Mr. Macdonald preferred) should attend and speak at a large picnic which has been arranged by the Mens and Womens Liberal Associations of Toronto, to be held at Scarboro Beach, Toronto, next Wednesday afternoon, June 11th.

Mr. Spence would appreciate a telegram tomorrow, Saturday, advising him of what may be possible.

L.C.M.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Monday,
June 9,
1924

MR. KING:

I have given Lady Taschereau your message to the effect that the matter of her son's appointment has again been taken up in the Cabinet, but that the members of the Government feel they could not have him named specially in the estimates; that it would only create trouble in the House and probably not get through in any case.

I have also 'phoned Dr. Roche who explains that it is impossible to arrange for a special qualifying examination. The Act



PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

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does not provide for any such thing as a qualifying examination. ~~He~~ M.T. would first have to try the Commission's competitive examinations for some vacant clerkship. If successful he could then be nominated by the Speaker as Assistant to the Sergeant-at-Arms and be eligible for the additional $500. a year.

I have told Lady Taschereau the results of my conversation with Dr. Roche.

McG.

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X-1304-17
C 94080

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday,
June the 25th, 1924.

MR. KING:

Colonel Bowie tells me that Mr. Lemieux thinks it would perhaps be better if he (Colonel Bowie) did not raise with Mr. Meighen the question of putting Taschereau's name in the Estimates. The Speaker thinks such a course would be more likely to occasion criticism when the Estimates were under discussion. As a rule, of course, the Speaker's Estimates have gone through with very little in the way of discussion.

McG.

C 94081

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Natural Resources
Taxation
Unemployment Policy

Wednesday,
July 30,1924

Mr. McGregor:

Kindly arrange conference with Mr. Greenfield re Natural Resources. This conference is to take place at the same time as a conference on taxation and a conference on unemployment. Mr. Murdock has already fixed the date on this last conference. Sept. 3 Mr. King would like you to find out how this matter stands.

OR.
O. ROBITAILLE

※ Dy. Minister of Finance does not know of any suggested date. Mr. Robb expected to be away about six weeks. (viz. to end of August). ※

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C 94082

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday,
September 17,
1 9 2 4

Mr. King wishes to be reminded to speak to Mr. Graham about the "National Liberal Bureau, Women's Division".

In this connection reference may be made to the letterhead bearing this heading.

WHM.

C 94083 X-1915

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Monday,
September 22,
1 9 2 4

MR. KING:

Honourable Chas. Stewart is anxious for you to shake hands with Mrs. Reilly, a very prominent Liberal worker in Alberta, whose husband is the President of the Liberal Club in Calgary. Mrs. Reilly is at present a patient in St. Luke's hospital, but is able to get out occasionally. Mr. Stewart suggests that you might see her in her car just for a minute today or any day before you leave for the West.

McG.

F.A. McGREGOR

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C 94084 E-1309
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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Friday,
Sept. 26,
1924

MR. MOYER:

Mr. King suggested to Senator Belcourt that he should see Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Graham and Mr. Robb. Senator Belcourt now asks if this office can arrange for an early conference with two or three of these Ministers.

Can you take it in hand?

FAM.

Phoned Miss Shenitt. 12.45 P
26-IX-24 My.

C 94085 P-1300-C (9)

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Friday,
Sept. 26,
1924

MR. KING:

Senator Haydon says it is most important before you leave Monday night to see that some action is taken on the Pacific Mills matter in which Cromie is interested. He says he has not been able to get any assurances from either Mr. Robb or Mr. Bureau. I have noted it as a subject for Council Monday.

McG.

Try & get Mr Bureau to know re matter to come up Saturday — Tell him it is important to my leaving Mtl

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94086

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Friday,
November 28, 1924 (J.C.)

MR. KING: (2)

I understand you were not able to see Mr. Houghton of the Office Specialty Company yesterday. Do you wish to have any word from him before you see Dr. King at the meeting this afternoon. Dr. King's office was inquiring about the furniture matter yesterday - I asked that action still be withheld until you had a chance to speak with Dr. King. This is being done.

McG.

Jos Tolmie 2-2-30
How allocated at L.H. 01
2. K

R. 834

X-1205-T

C 94087

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Liberal Organization - Ottawa

MEMORANDUM

Monday,
December 1,
1924

MR. KING:

Mr. Theo. E. Young called today and I had a talk with him about the Toronto situation. He is particularly disappointed about the way the McEachren-O'Reilly faction have been treated. He said he would have a further talk with Senator Haydon.

McG.
F.A. McGREGOR.

MEMORANDUM C 94089

Prime Minister's Office,

Ottawa,.....

Mr. Stewart thinks the attached draft reply is quite suitable.

WHM

X-1308-16

C 94088

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday,
December 3,
1924

MR. KING:

I have sent to Mr. Stewart the letter received this morning from the Grand Prairie Liberal Association referring to the nomination of Mr. W. A. Rae. I have asked Mr. Stewart if he would return it to you with any comment he may have to make.

Mr. Stewart mentioned on the 'phone that both Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Fisher (the Provincial Organizer) agreed that such a message should be sent to Mr. Rae if he were nominated.

McG.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

WLMK TO W.J.C. MOYER JAN. 1925

Prime Ministers Office
Mr King - Personal C 94090

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

MEMORANDUM
Prime Minister's Office
Ottawa, ... Jan 17 1925

Mr Boyer - Please ask all members of this Staff - in thanking her Lemaire, to be on lookout for items of this kind and have them very promptly brought to my notice. Personal also attaches this from Senator Bourque. - Especially

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94091

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Tuesday,
February 3,
1925

HON. ANDREW HAYDON:

The Prime Minister would be obliged if you would suggest an appropriate reply to the attached letter. Do you think it advisable to show the letter to the Solicitor General?

Fabre Geiger
Private Secretary.

Dear Fred
The answer to this letter should not be given hard & fast. I wish I could meet with Stewart and McMurray at the Premiers suggestion because the 3 prairie Provinces are concerned in various ways Ogdh.

C 94092

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Leonard Cody

Tuesday,
March 17,1925

MR. KING:

Col. Biggar informed me by 'phone this morning that he saw Mr. Stewart a few days ago and has completed his report which is now in the hands of the copyists and will be ready tomorrow (Wednesday)

LCM.

Rec'd to-day

Col Biggar report just ~~made~~ to hand. It discloses need of further conference on ~~three~~ points it raises upon which ~~action~~ can be introduced. Will be glad to arrange for conference any time after Easter recess. ~~I think~~ ~~I doubt~~ if possible to have ~~all~~ information

MAR 17 Recd

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

C 94093

MEMORANDUM

1926 lost telephone

Telegram re - Sendeen Hesseyfron
Miss Mitchell Hepburn
Hide George Boivin

X-1302-9

C 94094

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Tuesday,
Jan. 5,
1926

MR. KING:

You wished to be reminded to speak to Senator Copp during the present week.

LCM

He is now at the Chateau with Mrs Copp. Leave.

C 94095

Speaker's Office of Woodstock & Carleton
Sentinel
2,000 raised
2,000 & the rest } to control
Hurst
Caldwell &c.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94096

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Tuesday,
March 16,
1926

Memorandum on Old Age Pensions
and Unemployment, removed
from file.

R. O. C.

C 94097

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

(11)

Tuesday,
March 23,
1926

MR. KING:

11 55

Dr. Magill says he is
now prepared to give you an answer.
He will be in his room at the Chateau
from 3:00 o'clock on this afternoon,
and can come over to the House of
Commons at any time that he may be
summoned.

LCM.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

X C 130-10
C 94098

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

(2)

Tuesday,
March 23,
1926

MR. KING:

1/30

The Honourable C. Vincent Massey 'phoned me from Toronto to say he expects to be in Ottawa tomorrow, Wednesday, and hopes that you will be able to see him. He would like to have a conversation with you alone, and then subsequently see you for a few minutes with Mr. Eric Brown, of the National Gallery.

LCM.

C 94099
MEMORANDUM.

Two copy of
letter typewritten
Friends of 5 June.
Available. Will this
have been asked for
education copies.

B

Ottawa, 6 May 1926

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94100 P-1202

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Thursday,
May 27,
1926

MR. KING:

Mr. E. J. Young, M.P., (Weyburn) and a couple of other Saskatchewan Members, have asked to see the Prime Minister for a few minutes this afternoon.

Saw Mr King May 28

LCM.

Mr. King saw May 27 & he is matter up in Council May 27. Mr. King wishes to see Mr. Pott and Mr. Graham re this matter.

C 94101 R-2000-L

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Tuesday,
February 8,
1927

MR. MEASURES:

I have been asked to request an interview with the Prime Minister for the following delegation of Ottawa Liberals:

Hon. Senator Haydon,
Mr. Gordon Edwards, M.P.,
Mr. Norman Wilson,
Mr. Lyle Reid,
Mr. Thomas Ahearn,
Mr. Jos. McDougall,
Mr. Geo. Higgerty,
Mr. A. J. Major,
Dr. Parent,
Mr. Raoul Mercier.

They hope that an hour can be fixed during the present week.

LCM.

C 94102

Thursday,
February 10,1927

Mr. MacdonaldF

First thing in the morning will you please look carefully through the unrevised Hansard of the previous day and bring to my attention before the meeting of the Cabinet at noon any matters which, on the face of them, should be brought to my attention, particularly look at questions asked on the Orders of the Day.

In the Hansard of yesterday, February 9th, page 175, on the Orders of the Day, Mr. Guthrie asked for copies of all Orders-in-Council which have been passed within the last twelve months in respect to the Carillon Falls power development on the Ottawa River near Hawkesbury. Mr. Lapointe replied that ym he would bring the matter to my attention and that I would bring an answer.

I knew nothing of this until Mr. Guthrie asked concerning the papers in the House to-day.

Will you please see that the papers in question are secured and given to me to take to Council tomorrow.

POOR
COPY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Similarly on the Orders of the Day, Mr. Guthrie asked for certain information regarding correspondence between the Governor General and myself. This has not been brought to my attention.

It should be followed up with securing copies of the correspondence and also the cabling to Lord Byng that may be necessary as mentioned in my reply in the House to-day.

W. L. M. K.

POOR
COPY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

MEMORANDUM C 94105

Prime Minister's Office

Ottawa,.....

Done 9/6/27 WLM

Tell him given up all work to concentrate on Confederation, on account of the number of matters in connection with the celebrations. Would be glad if he would leave over until after Diamond Jubilee.

Mr. Cane understands & will leave it over until ~~July~~ July. WLM

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE C 94104 B7 July 5

MEMORANDUM

Friday,
June 10, 1927

Mr. KING:

Your message was conveyed to Mr. Howard Cane in connection with his request for an interview at an early date.

Mr. Cane fully understands and will leave the matter over until after the Diamond Jubilee celebrations.

WHM.

POOR COPY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94106

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday,
June 15,
1927

MR. KING:

The attached documents which have been referred to you in the usual routine way are of particular interest just now in connection with the recent utterance of Bishop Fallon.

WHM.

C 94107

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Wednesday,
June 15,
1927.

MR. KING:

Mr. Nelson Parliament called yesterday regarding the proposed monster picnic in the Hamilton area. The date now suggested is August 20, and your presence is earnestly desired.

I explained that you could hardly be expected to give a definite answer now, suggesting that plans be made with the Ontario Ministers and that later on, if you found you could attend, you would, no doubt, endeavour to do so.

HRLH.

OK
K

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94108

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Sept. 9, 1927

Memorandum for Fyle:

Dr. Skelton returned to me on August 20th, just prior to his departure for Geneva, Mr.. Amery's communication of March 22, 1927, and Mr. Larkin's letter of March 24, 1927. These papers were sent to Dr. Skelton for his consideration on April 5th.

In view of Mr. King's letter to Mr. Amery on March 22, 1927, and the conversations and correspondence which Mr. King and Mr. Larkin have had together, I presume that the papers returned by Dr. Skelton have been finally dealt with.

WHM.

W. H. MEASURES

C 94109

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

For Fyle: 8-15-00-M

Blue pamphlet by Hon. Chas. Murphy re Mr. King's Anti-Catholic Aliance. with Mr. Rogers.

Information received from Mr. Robitaille

I.B.S.

Oct. 20, 1927

C 94110
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

M-1200-B
R-3466-B

MEMORANDUM

Tuesday,
January 3,
1928

Water power - Bantamoo

Senator McDougald just telephoned to ask if the Prime Minister will see Mr. E. R. Wood this evening for a few minutes between 7.30 and 10.00 o'clock.

The Senator has asked for an immediate reply so that he may advise Mr. Wood, who is in Montreal, in time to take the train for Ottawa.

H.

Secretary.
HARRY BALDWIN

Sorry I cannot tonight
Shall be entertaining
Meech

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94111

To WLMK

Ottawa, January 5, 1928

I telephoned to Mr. L. M. Barron, (Adelaide 776, Toronto). Mr. Barron apparently found great difficulty in hearing or understanding me over the telephone, therefore some one else spoke for him. I gave the Prime Minister's message to the effect that he would like Mr. Barron to call on him here in Ottawa at twelve o'clock to-morrow (Friday). I received a reply that Mr. Barron would like to have the invitation in writing. I said that in the circumstances Mr. King preferred to send a telephone invitation. I was then told, after the speaker had evidently consulted Mr. Barron, that Mr. Barron could not come to Ottawa without first consulting his Government. This he agreed to do, and to communicate with me later in the day.

H Baldwin

Secretary.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94112

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

A card for the Speaker's Gallery is being sent this afternoon to Mr. and Mrs. G. B. Patteson by His Honour the Speaker of the House of Commons.

WHM

Jan. 24, 1928

C 94113

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Baldwin:

I am uncertain whether this correspondence should be considered personal. I am sending it to you for decision.

WHM

March 29, 1928.

Enclosed Sat. Evening Post articles. I threw away

C 94114

NH.

Memorandum to Mr. Baldwin.

re Filing System, Prime Minister's Office.

At your request I visited your Filing Section with the object of ascertaining if the system of filing in operation were efficient and for the purpose of making any suggestions with a view to improvement.

Circumstances have permitted a casual survey only, insufficient to make a detailed and comprehensive report, such as would be satisfying both to you and to myself. Such a report as I would like to furnish you would require several days close attendance at least.

The system in use in your Department consists for the most part of Subject or Topical Filing. It is the only system that could be used to adequately handle the class of material to be filed. I inspected the Subject Index and found the subjects well defined. I also glanced over the headings of the sub-divisions, but did not have time to carefully examine the files themselves. Everything appeared to be in good order and I was particularly struck with the neatness of the files, indexes and equipment.

In conversation with Miss Ferguson and Miss Schryer, I deduced that their chief difficulty lay in the subdivision of the main files. This, of course, constitutes the main difficulty in every subject filing system. It would not be competent, however, for an outsider to give any advise in this connection, as this work can only be done by someone familiar with the needs of the Prime Minister through actual experience in handling his papers.

In my opinion, the system of filing is excellent in every respect, and is mechanical enough to permit of any qualified File Clerk picking it up in a very short time.

In Miss Ferguson and Miss Schryer, I consider you have two well qualified and conscientious clerks, and with two average assistants, they should be able to carry on efficiently.

G. A. Brown.
Civil Service Commission

27. H. 28.

POOR
COPY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94115 2

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

Mrs Baldwin

Mrs Bacon has delighted me beyond words. I have been hoping for 7 years that I should be adopted in my Office

23/6/28 K

Ottawa, June 23, 1928

Rec'd. July 12, 1928.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94116 I

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

## NEWSPAPER CLIPPING

Following papers to be read and clipped for editorial, political and general news:

| | |
|---|---|
| Toronto Globe | (Mr. Baldwin) |
| " Star | " " |
| " Mail and Empire | |
| " Telegram | |
| Montreal Gazette | (Mr. Baldwin) |
| " Star | |
| Ottawa Citizen | |
| " Journal | |
| Manitoba Free Press. | (Mr. Henry) |

Following papers to be read and clipped for local political news bearing on party organization, addresses of Cabinet Ministers, and editorial comment on Government policies:

| | |
|---|---|
| St. John Telegraph Journal | (Mr. Rogers) |
| Halifax Herald | (Mr. Rogers) |
| " Chronicle | (Mr. Rogers) |
| Regina Leader | |
| Calgary Albertan | |
| Vancouver Sun | |
| " Province | |
| Charlottetown Guardian | |
| " Patriot | |
| Prince Albert Herald. | |
| French papers. | (Mr. Robitaille) |

POOR COPY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94117

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING.

Following papers are to be read and clipped for editorial, political and general news

Toronto Globe
" Star
" Mail and Empire
" Telegram
Montreal Gazette
" Star
Ottawa Citizen
" Journal
Manitoba Free Press.

Pr. Albert Herald

Following papers are to be read and clipped for local political news bearing on party organization, Addresses of Cabinet Ministers, and editorial comment on Government policies:

St. John Telegraph Journal
Halifax Herald
" Chronicle
Regina Leader
Calgary Albertan
Vancouver Sun
" Province
Charlottetown Guardian
" Patriot.

POOR
COPY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

C 94118

# THE EVOLUTION OF A CLIPPING

1. Reading the Item and marking

2. Clipping the Item

3. Mounting of the Clipping

4. Classification of the Clipping

5. Making of the Folder - Heading and sub-heading

6. Numbering of the Folder and Index Card

7. Fyling of the Card and Folder whose numbers correspond.

.... .... .... .... .... ....

Hudson Bay Railway taken as a case in point

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PUBLIC ARCHIVES CANADA
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES CANADA
W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

Department External Affairs
Branch Prime Minister's Office
Location East Block
(Town) (Building or Street)

# CLASSIFICATION CARD

SPACE RESERVED FOR USE OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

C 94119

Name

Present Annual { Salary / Bonus

Classification

COMMENTS BY C. S. C. INVESTIGATOR

| DESCRIPTION OF WORK BY EMPLOYEE<br>Describe your work. Paragraph your duties. Make your statements as detailed as space will permit. Show amount of time spent on each duty in column on right. If additional space is required attach a separate sheet. | Hours per Day | Days per Month |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Assembling of Material for Speeches and Sessional programmes.<br>2. Marking Newspapers items.<br>3. Marking ~~Books~~, Articles in books, pamphlets and Magazines.<br>4. Supervision of:-<br>(a) Library and Records Branch<br>(b) Clipping and Mounting of newspaper cuttings<br>(c) Clipping and Mounting of items from books, magazines and pamphlets.<br>(d) Classifying and Card-assigning of newspaper Clippings.<br>(e) Classifying of books, pamphlets and magazines received.<br>(f) Carding of special books, Magazines and pamphlets.<br>(g) Card-indexing and fyling of clippings.<br>(h) Care of sessional papers, Hansards, etc.<br>(i) Cutting of the Clippings done by two clerks - Miss Beaudet and Miss Boyce.<br>(j) The Mounting of the clippings done by three messengers. | | |
| SPECIAL OR OCCASIONAL WORK | | |

Immediate Superior: Name W. L. C. Mayes
Title Private Secretary to Prime Minister.

If responsible for the work of others, give total number, titles or occupations of employees supervised, the number of each kind and if space permits, their names.

1. Miss Beaudet... 2 Miss Shields
3. 3 Messengers (Mounting of Newspaper & Magazine Clippings).

The above has constituted my work since December 1924.

Date Investigator

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94120

## RECORD OF EMPLOYMENT

In the spaces provided below enter in chronological order the positions you have occupied while in the Civil Service of Canada, giving titles, dates, salary changes, and all other data called for by the column headings. Show your first position first and your present position last. If you have held any one position both as a temporary and permanent employee use two lines.

| DEPARTMENT | TITLE OF POSITION WITH RANK OR OCCUPATION | APPOINTMENT SECURED BY (a) Examination (b) Promotion (c) Permanent Appointment (d) Transfer (e) Temporary Appointment | DATE STARTED | DATE OF TERMINATION | APPOINTMENT TERMINATED BY State Reasons (a) Promotion (b) Exchange (c) Transfer (d) Discharge (e) Resignation (f) Other Reasons | SALARY RATE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Starting Rate | Finishing Rate |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

Is your present position full time, part time, or occasional? _____ give details _____

Do you hold any other position (yes or no)? _____ If so give title and department _____

Do you work standard hours, that is, 9 a.m.-12.30 p.m. and 2 p.m.-5 p.m. on week days and 9 a.m.-1 p.m. on Saturdays? _____

If not, give details _____

Do you receive any remuneration or allowance in addition to your salary and bonus (yes or no)? _____ If so state kind and amount _____

Do you receive uniform or clothing (yes or no)? _____ If so, what _____

What is the average number of hours of overtime you work per month? _____ During what months? _____

Are you paid for overtime (yes or no)? _____ If so, at what rate _____

Date of birth (day, month, year) _____ Male or female _____ Married or single _____

I hereby certify that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all my answers on both sides of this card are correct in all respects.

Date _____ Signed _____

SPACE BELOW THIS LINE RESERVED FOR BRANCH AND DEPARTMENTAL HEADS

COMMENTS BY BRANCH HEAD

Are these answers a correct and full description of duties and responsibilities? If not, please state in what respects it is incomplete or incorrect.

Date _____ Signature _____

COMMENTS BY DEPARTMENTAL HEAD

WHAT SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS SHOULD THE INCUMBENT OF THIS POSITION POSSESS

(a) As to education _____

(b) As to experience _____

(c) As to personal characteristics _____

Date _____ Signature _____

1,500—C.S.C. No. 140 A.—12-25

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES DU CANADA
W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

Department External Affairs
Branch Prime Ministers Office
Location East Block
(Town) (Building or Street)

# CLASSIFICATION CARD

SPACE RESERVED FOR USE OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
C 34121

Name
Present Annual { Salary / Bonus
Classification

COMMENTS BY C. S. C. INVESTIGATOR

| DESCRIPTION OF WORK BY EMPLOYEE<br>Describe your work. Paragraph your duties. Make your statements as detailed as space will permit. Show amount of time spent on each duty in column on right. If additional space is required attach a separate sheet. | Hours per Day | Days per Month |
|---|---|---|
| Supervision of:- | | |
| 1. Library and Records Section | | |
| 2. Marking and clipping of newspaper cuttings. | | |
| 3. Marking and clipping of books, pamphlets and magazines. | | |
| 4. Classifying and card-accoping of newspaper cuttings. | | |
| 5. Classifying of books, pamphlets and magazines recd. | | |
| 6. Carding of special books, magazines & pamphlets. | | |
| 7. Card-indexing and typing of clippings. | | |
| 8. Assembling of material for speeches etc., | | |
| 9. Care of Sessional Papers - Hansards, Votes and Proceedings etc. 2 | | |
| 10. Cutting and mounting of clippings done by three messengers; assistance is lent by Special Registry as required. | | |
| ~~SPECIAL OR OCCASIONAL WORK~~ | | |
| 11. Assembling of material for Sessional Programme. | | |

Immediate Superior: Name Mr. Moyer
Title Private Secy to Prime Minister.

If responsible for the work of others, give total number, titles or occupations of employees supervised, the number of each kind and if space permits, their names.

1. Miss Beaudet
2. Miss Giddens
3. Three Messengers (for newspaper clipping and mounting).

The above has constituted my work since November 1924. March 1917

Date Investigator

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

C 94122

## RECORD OF EMPLOYMENT

In the spaces provided below enter in chronological order the positions you have occupied while in the Civil Service of Canada, giving titles, dates, salary changes, and all other data called for by the column headings. Show your first position first and your present position last. If you have held any one position both as a temporary and permanent employee use two lines.

| DEPARTMENT | TITLE OF POSITION WITH RANK OR OCCUPATION | APPOINTMENT SECURED BY (a) Examination (b) Promotion (c) Permanent Appointment (d) Transfer (e) Temporary Appointment | DATE STARTED | DATE OF TERMINATION | APPOINTMENT TERMINATED BY State Reasons (a) Promotion (b) Exchange (c) Transfer (d) Discharge (e) Resignation (f) Other Reasons | SALARY RATE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Starting Rate | Finishing Rate |
| External Affairs | Filing Clerk | Temporary Appt. | March 1917 | Nov. 16, 1924 | Transfer | $850 | $1140 |
| " | Chief of Records and Library Section | Transfer | Nov. 18, 1924 | | | $1320 | $1680 |

Is your present position full time, part time, or occasional? Full give details

Do you hold any other position (yes or no)? No If so give title and department

Do you work standard hours, that is, 9 a.m.-12.30 p.m. and 2 p.m.-5 p.m. on week days and 9 a.m.-1 p.m. on Saturdays? Yes

If not, give details

Do you receive any remuneration or allowance in addition to your salary and bonus (yes or no)? No If so state kind and amount

Do you receive uniform or clothing (yes or no)? No If so, what

What is the average number of hours of overtime you work per month? During what months?

Are you paid for overtime (yes or no)? If so, at what rate

Date of birth (day, month, year) Male or female Female Married or single Single

I hereby certify that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all my answers on both sides of this card are correct in all respects.

Date June 12. 1925 Signed D.C. Drysdale

SPACE BELOW THIS LINE RESERVED FOR BRANCH AND DEPARTMENTAL HEADS

**COMMENTS BY BRANCH HEAD**

Are these answers a correct and full description of duties and responsibilities? If not, please state in what respects it is incomplete or incorrect.

Date Signature

**COMMENTS BY DEPARTMENTAL HEAD**

**WHAT SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS SHOULD THE INCUMBENT OF THIS POSITION POSSESS**

(a) As to education

(b) As to experience

(c) As to personal characteristics

Date Signature

1,000—C.S.C. No. 140 A.—5-25.

Prime Minister's Office – 3
Mr. King – Personal C 94123

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Rec'd. July 7, 1928.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

Mr Baldwin:

re Newspaper Cartoons

Mr S.W. Jacobs M.P. sent a letter enclosing a cartoon re "equality of states for the Indians".

Mr King said he did not see many of the cartoons which appear in the newspapers and would therefore like to have sent to him at Laurier House all the newspaper & magazine cartoons which are of interest.

WLMK (Memo made)
Kingsmere
July 6, 1928.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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Prime Minister's Office -
Mss. King - Personal C 94124 4

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Rec'd. July 11, 1928

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER
TO HB (Baldwin)

I · k · c

re d h

Waste of time and effort
to send clippings Newspapers

(Old Memorandum)

9/7/28

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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"T" C 94125

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL MANAGER OF TELEGRAPHS.

MONTREAL November 9th 1928.

AGENT - C. P. R. TELEGRAPHS.

This is authority for you to accept from Mr. Harry Baldwin, without prepayment, telegrams and cables, same to be checked PAID, the account for same to be directed to Mr. T. H. Holmes, Agent, C. P. R. Telegraphs, Ottawa, who will arrange collection of the tolls on the telegrams and cablegrams in question.

General Manager of Telegraphs.

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Prime Ministers Office
Mr. King - Personal

C 94126

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Received December 17, 1928

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

Mr Waldron:

I would like
the forces clothing
to be kept at the
Office. There might
be a folder in which
they could be placed
that I could look
over on Monday
Office - Special items
15/12/28 might be brought before
my attention - that I can
deal with them & Special orders in
connection with same - at same time I can
sign the pay & other important items

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C 94127 7

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

Prime Ministers Office re
Rt. Hon. King - Personal re

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Received December 27, 1928.

MEMORANDUM
Prime Minister's Office

Ottawa,.....

Clippings Dept.

I would suggest all cartoons be kept in one fyle.

Also personal editorials and all articles on subjects like Penny Postage etc. as well - in separate fyles under subjects.

I will send each with a tick as on attached those read over.

26/12/28 W.L.M.K.

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C 94127

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SUBJECT

Prime Ministers Office re
Mrs. King - Personal re

NAME AND DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Received December 27, 1928.

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

Will you kindly see
I should suggest
all cablegrams be kept
in one file.
Also personal cablegrams
& all articles on
myself this Army Portfolio
etc. as well - in separate
files under respective
I will send back the wire
a little as an illustration
where endorsed.

26/12/28

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C.N.T. 6450
12-25

PRINTED IN CANADA

C 94128

# CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

GREAT NORTH WESTERN TELEGRAPH COMPANY
CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPH COMPANY
GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC TELEGRAPH CO.

Ottawa, Ont. October 28th, 1929

Agents,
Canadian National Telegraphs.

This will be your authority to accept without payment of tolls, amy telegrams or cables, signed by the Honorable MacKenzie King or Mr. Harry Baldwin, Private Secretary. These messages should be checked and forwarded prepaid, and an account sent to me at Ottawa for collection. Credit for your office will be issued immediately upon receipt of this account here.

F D Boomer

B. MANAGER.

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C 94129

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 94130

PRIVY COUNCIL MEMORANDUM

Date of meeting: December 2, 1929

Subject: Flying Officer E. D. Dawson, Camp Borden.

Speak to Col. Ralston.

Action taken by Council:

Have spoken to Ralston
Dec 2. 29

Further action necessary:

C 94131

LAURIER HOUSE,
OTTAWA.

Mr. Baldwin:

In accordance with your request received through Pickering, I send to you "Pamphlets and Leaflets, 1928", published by the Liberal Publication Department, London, England.

WHM

January 24, 1930.

W.H. MEASURES

O - 110 C 94132

✓ Mr King's Leadership of the Liberal Party

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM 11/2/30

MR. BALDWIN: Harry Baldwin

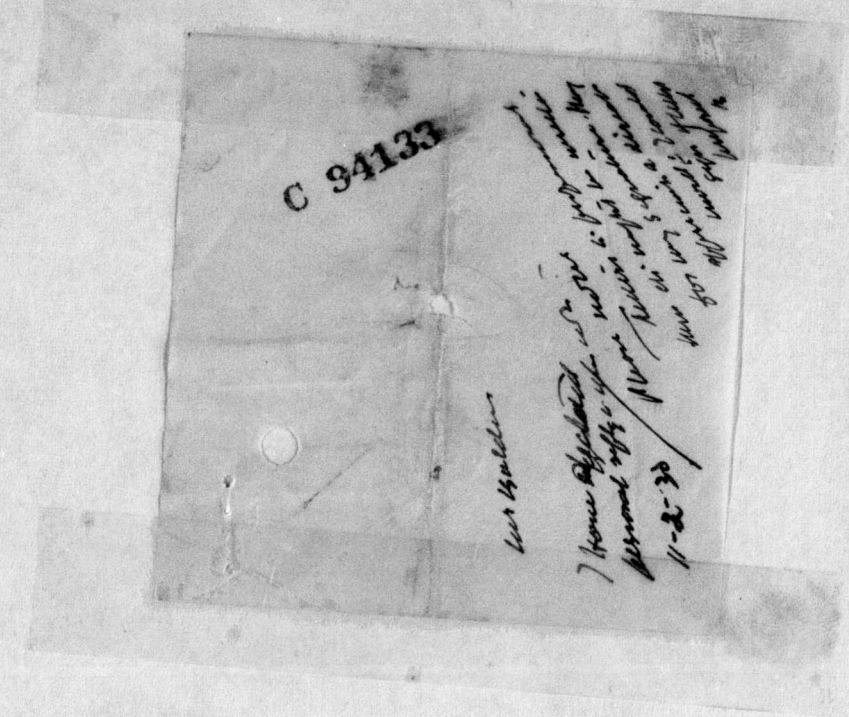
I have dictated personal reply to this note.

Please Notice: Letters to professional men, etc., might be written for my signature. They appreciate a direct word, and I could sign if letters prepared.

K.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 94134 E-1100 1930

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
CANADA

Ottawa, February 13, 1930

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STAFF:

In order to assist the work of the Fyle Room, will all persons taking dictation please note and initial the following:

1. The carbons of all letters, including those of the printed form letters, should always be initialled.

2. The phrase "copy of a letter" should be used in all correspondence when a copy of a letter, and not the original letter itself, is referred to. The words "copy of" should be struck out on the printed form letter used for forwarding communications to ministers, if the original letter, and not a copy of the letter, is being forwarded.

3. The carbons of all letters dealing with one communication should be clipped together. If, for example, a letter is sent to Mr. Brown, and in the same connection a letter is sent to two or three ministers, the carbons of each of the letters sent to the ministers and the carbon of the letter sent to Mr. Brown should all be clipped together.

4. Where original letters are forwarded to ministers or departments, the name and address and subject matter of the letter should be noted on the carbon of the forwarding letter. If, for example, a letter from Mr. Jones of Toronto dealing with income tax is being sent to a minister, the carbon of the letter to the minister should be marked at the top: "Re: Income Tax, Mr. Jones, Toronto". This, of course, will be written on only the carbon of the letter to the minister, and will be put in the usual place for such headings at the top of the body of the letter.

Harry Baldwin
Secretary

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C 94135 P-2100-P

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

bgh

For the Prime Minister

Mr. Percy Parker asked me if any plans had been made for your visit to Toronto, because he had been approached by many persons who wished to meet you.

I told Mr. Parker that I understood your visit was to be of a purely private nature, other than your attendance at the Larkin Memorial Service. Will you please advise me if you wish me to take any further action?

W.L.M.K.

27-2-30
4.45p.m.

No. don't want to disclose whereabouts

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C 94136

Mr. King:

Senator Lewis is in town to-day. He is at the moment in my office. Senator Lewis is very anxious to have a word with the Prime Minister, and would stay over Saturday and Sunday if he could see Mr. King either to-day or to-morrow or Monday, but if there is no possibility of an interview, he would like to go back to Toronto to-night.

HB

March 15, 1930
11.50 a.m.

15-3-30

C 94137

M-2432

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

For the Prime Minister, in Council

Mr. Elliott, who is in his constituency, asks whether or not it is necessary that he should be in Ottawa tomorrow. He has several important matters to attend to in his constituency, and would be glad if his presence here were not required.

Mr. Elliott's secretary is asking if he can get a message which can be forwarded to Mr. Elliott as soon as possible.

Secretary

31-3-30

MAR 31 '30

Telephoned Harrell

No, we have more machinery

C 94138

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

For Mr. King

Re: Invitation by Viceroy of India

Attached are the only communications on file at Laurier House.

I telephoned Miss Mackenzie, who told me that Dr. Skelton has on his table, awaiting attention, the communications recently received by you. They are the letters you took to Government House one evening.

Shall I send to Dr. Skelton the attached letter of April 14th, which you received this morning?

Private Secretary

May 14, 1930

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Rotary Club luncheon
Brandon.



COMMUNITY AND COMMUNICATION

Public opinion, its formation and influence

Purpose of trip : To become acquainted
To exchange ideas

All civilization a matter of acquaintance.

Geographical isolation

Conquest of geography by human invention.

Early Civilizations:
On banks of rivers
The seas and seaboard
Across ocean

Canada - By rail connecting Maritime Provinces and Upper Canada.
Upper Canada and British Columbia

Communication accompanied by wider measures of self-govt. - opinion

British retain, French lose -empire
(Seeley's "Expansion of England")

Creation of provinces - local opinion





Need today, to widen circle of opinion

Agencies of communication:
Telegraph
Telephone
Wireless
Radio

Flying machine -
(Gov.of Ontario: Cochrane-James Bay
12 days in canoes
3 hours in aeroplane

Opinion within Empire
Debate in H.of C. in England
Able to answer at 5 what had been said between 3 and 5 in England

Opening of Wembley Exhibition - message of King

British Empire a community of free nations.

Proximity may increase dangers unless opinion creates community of interest

So, too, in Canada -

Dangers of East & West - a Canadian opinion needed.

Every organization and individual aiding in that is participating in the government of the country.

C 94141

BRANDON, MANITOBA

**Federal constituency**

Brandon - Robert Forke, M.P., Pipestone, Man.

**Provincial constituency**

Brandon City - Dr. J.H.Edmison (Independent)

**Municipal**

His Worship Mayor Harry W. Cater

---

Sir Clifford Sifton was elected by accl. for Brandon in 1896, 1900, 1904 & 1908.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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C 94142

E-1105-24
X-1307-10

# PRINCE ALBERT

NAME

Prince Albert was named in 1866 after the Prince Consort by Rev. James Nisbet who established a Presbyterian mission station in the locality in that year. Previously there were perhaps half a dozen settlers in the district, which was un-named or went by the general term of Saskatchewan River Settlement. A post office was opened on the 1st of January, 1879.

HISTORY & ENVIRONMENT

The most important city on the North Saskatchewan River is Prince Albert, which lies as the gateway between the vast prairie regions of the southland and the vaster forests of the north. Prince Albert, as the outfitting-point and the last link with civilization for traders, prospectors, or adventure-seekers who are bound for the wilds of the north, has a dash of the picturesque and the romantic that is not found in other prairie cities.

(Extract from "Beautiful Canada", Vernon Quinn, 1925.)

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C 94143

# Prince Albert Agricultural Society

POLICE STATION BUILDING
PHONE 3086

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO MANAGER

PRINCE ALBERT, Sask.,

Chas A McIntosh Pres.
R Rae Manville 1st Vice Pres. (Pres R.A.C.A)
E. J. Bagshaw Treasurer
J. H. Conner Secretary
Geo Kiewel
J St. Strong
J St Lindsay
P W. Mahon
J W Sanderson
A S Wilkinson
Mark Musk
J B Kernaghan
G H Carr
Lobley Gamble
A E March
Jas Wood
W W Whelan
W J Murphy
S N. Davidson
S. Hett
H M Sibbald Mayor
R W Stein

Jas Blair
J C Davis
J G Diefenbaker now with Alberta 1936
J G Kelly
Andrew Knox
W B Muir

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Meeting of Striking Committee - P. A. Board of Trade - held in the Secretary's office on Monday, March 27th at 4 p.m.

Present: C.H. McIntosh, R.R. Manville, E.T. Bagshaw and the Secretary.

The following committees are recommended as the standing committees for the Board of Trade for 1933:-

Finance:- R.R. Manville (Chairman) - Geo. Kiewel (vice), E.T. Bagshaw, J.H. Strong, J.H. Lindsay, P.W. Mahon, J.W. Sanderson, A.I. Wilkinson, Mark Musk, J.B. Kernaghan, C.C. Gamble.

Publicity:- Geo. H. Carr (Chairman), E.N. Davis (Vice), A.C. March, J.A. Wood, W.J. Murphy, S.N. Davidson, W.W. Whelan, C.S. Lacroix, J.D.Ramsey, W. Williamson, S. Hett.

Entertainment:- C.C. Gamble (Chairman), S.N. Davidson (Vice), J.A. Blair, S. Hett, G.M. Salter, Geo. Kiewel, T.C. Davis, W.B. Muir, J.G. Diefenbaker, J.A. Wood, T.J. Morgan, J.H. Strong, W. Williamson, C.P.Erwin, N. Jutras.

Transportation:- P.W. Mahon (Chairman), R.W. Heim (Vice), R.R. Manville, J.G. Kelly, H.J. Millar, D. Venters, C.S. Lacroix, A.J. Chellew, Geo. H. Carr, W.W. Amos, H. Harradence, J.W. McDiarmid, J.A. Blair, Geo. Kiewel, Andrew Knox, J.B. Kernaghan, W.W. Whelan, Mark Musk, J.D. Ramsey, Dr. T. Robertson, A.I. Wilkinson, H.M. Sibbald, A.C. March, C.C. Young, F.W. Simpson, W.J. Christie.

Resolutions:- J.H. Lindsay (Chairman), J.G. Diefenbaker (Vice), A.C. March, G.M. Salter, A.I. Wilkinson.

Trade through Churchill:- A.I. Wilkinson (Chairman), A.C. March (vice), R.W. Heim, P.W. Mahon, W.W. Amos, B.L. Clemons, T.C. Davis, H.J. Millar, E.F. Connolly, Dr. T. Robertson, R.R. Manville, W.J. Murphy, D. Venters, F.W. Simpson, Andrew Knox.

Stock Yards:- Andrew Knox (Chairman), C.C. Young (Vice), E.T. Bagshaw, Allan McKenzie, W.E. Cutt, Geo. Milne, A.J. Chellew, C.S. Lacroix, W.B. Muir, J.B.Kernaghan, Ralph Miller, F.T. Graves, Thos. Bibby, T.W. McEwen, J.H. Kezar, O.A. Cooke.

Hydro:- R.W. Heim (Chairman), H.M. Sibbald (Vice), P.W.Mahon, R.R. Manville, J.G. Diefenbaker, T.C. Davis, J.W. Sanderson, G.H. Carr, Andrew Knox, C.S. Lacroix, J.G. Kelly.

Agricultural:- W.W. Whelan (Chairman), J.H. Strong (Vice), W.B. Muir, W.W. Amos, S.N. Davidson, J.H. Maduke, Arnold Paul, J.H. Lindsay, C.C. Young, T. Bibby, F.T. Graves, J.W. McDiarmid, H. Harradence, S. Hett, J.A. Blair, A.S.Peterson, J.W. Sanderson, Allan McKenzie, E.T. Bagshaw, A.E. Delamere, J. McDonald, L.F. McIntosh, M.V. Smith.

National Park:- J.B. Kernaghan (Chairman), J.W.McDiarmid (Vice), J.W. Sanderson, H.J. Fraser, S.N. Davidson, J.A. Wood, T.C. Davis, J.G. Diefenbaker, S.Hett, G.M. Salter, C.P. Erwin, T.J. Morgan, R.R. Manville, C.C. Gamble, A.C. March, W. Schon.

Industrial:- W.J. Murphy (Chairman), J.A.Blair (Vice), Geo. Leeson, A.S. Peterson, A.J. Chellew, E.F. Connolly, G. Kiewel, Allan McKenzie, J.D. Ramsey, Dr. T. Robertson, B.L. Clemons, H. Harradence, E.N. Davis, Ralph Miller, S.N. Davidson, R. Laurie (CNR), H.M. Sibbald, F.W. Simpson, A.E. Delamere, J.C.McDonald, T.W.McEwen, H.G.Palmer.

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**Retailers:-** A.J. Chellew (Chairman), T.J. Morgan (Vice), J.D. Ramsey, Ralph Miller, J. Goody, C.P. Erwin, R.R. Manville, J.B. Kernaghan, H. Harradence, J.W. Horton, Alex Duncan, J. Gabel, De.Levine.

**Wholesalers Section of Transportation Committee:-** J.M. Bamford H.J. Millar (Chairman), J.G. Kelly, (Vice), J.G. Brown, A.S. Peterson, Mark Musk, J.W. McDiarmid, W.W. Amos, D. Venters, J.A.Blair, G. Kiewel, R.W. Hein, O. Sharp, W.J. Christie.

**Aviation:-** J.W. Sanderson (Chairman), J.A. Wood (Vice), G.H. Carr, Dr. T. Robertson, A.C.March, W.K. McNaughton, P.W.Mahon, A.S.Peterson, Ken Brooks, M.P. Hayes, A.E. Manville, Dr. C.F. Bennett, H. Glazebrook, J.B.Frame, E.F. Ellis, H. Grosspieg (Regal Ag't.)

**Civics:-** C.S. Lacroix (Chairman), E.T. Bagshaw (Vice), S. Hatt, A.I. Wilkinson, J.G. Diefenbaker, E.N. Davis, T.C.Davis, R.R. Manville, P.W.Mahon, J.H. Lindsay, S.N. Davidson, J.G. Kelly, H.J. Millar, D. Venters, J.H. Strong, T.W.McEwen.

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**Retailers:-** A.J. Chellew (Chairman), T.J. Morgan (Vice), J.D. Ramsey, Ralph Miller, J. Goody, C.P. Erwin, R.R. Manville, J.B. Kernaghan, H. Harradence, J.W. Horton, Alex Duncan, J. Gabel, Ds.Levine.

**Wholesalers Section of Transportation Committee:-** J.M. Bamford (Chairman), J.G. Kelly, (Vice), J.G. Brown, A.S. Peterson, Mark Musk, J.W. McDiarmid, W.W. Amos, D. Venters, J.A.Blair, G. Kiewel, R.W. Hein, O. Sharp, W.J. Christie.

**Aviation:-** J.W. Sanderson (Chairman), J.A. Wood (Vice), G.H. Carr, Dr. T. Robertson, A.C.March, W.K. McNaughton, P.W.Mahon, A.S.Peterson, Ken Brooks, M.P. Hayes, A.E. Manville, Dr. C.F. Bennett, H. Glazebrook, J.B.Frame, E.F. Ellis, H. Grossplag (Regal Ag't.)

**Civics:-** C.S. Lacroix (Chairman), E.T. Bagshaw (Vice), S. Hett, A.I. Wilkinson, J.G. Diefenbaker, E.N. Davis, T.C.Davis, R.R. Manville, P.W.Mahon, J.H. Lindsay, S.N. Davidson, J.G. Kelly, H.J. Millar, D. Venters, J.H. Strong, T.W.McEwen.

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CANADA

To The Honourable William Lyon McKenzie King.

Our Premier.

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to have the honour and privilege to welcome you to our Village on behalf of the people of Hague and District. I can assure you that we feel very highly honoured that it has pleased you to visit us here at Hague, as not nearly all the people of this our fair and great Dominion have so far had this privilege.

Let me in behalf of the people of Hague and District assure you of our deep loyalty to our King, our great Dominion of Canada and to you as our first citizen. I can assure you that we very highly and deeply appreciate the great work that you and your government are doing in building up a great and united Canada. You and your government are building further on that solid foundation laid by our Fathers of Confederation and we have no doubt that if you and your government will hold onto the reigns of government, of which I have no doubt you will for a long time yet, you and we will make this not only the greatest Dominion in our British Empire, but the greatest land of peace, prosperity and good will in the whole world.

Let me again extend to you therefore a hearty welcome to Hague, a place that harbours people loyal to its King and country.

I thank you.

A. H. Klassen

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C 94147

To the Right Honourable W.L.MacKenzie King.

Mr Chairman,Ladies and Gentlemen:

Upon hearing of your decision,to visit our locality a week ago,this unexpected honor,which you have arranged for whole of this constituency of Prince Albert,brought us to great enthusiasm and joy. This visit suggests to us not only your social position but your sincere simplicity with which you visit masses of people not forgetting the duty of a Christian and with your brotherly regard to all of the minority living in Canada.

We feel that this is an example to other people which establishes love and brotherhood on the land.Once again it shows to the masses of people of true form of selfgovernment that Canada has employed for so long and to the whole world at large,shows the way to peace prosperity and brotherhood,In what the universe of to-day needs more than anything else.

We Doukhobors for generations have been trying to obtain and realize these great ideals and having lived in Canada for nearly thirty years came to conclusion that Canada being under the administration of wise and human&government is really one of the most liberal and peaceable country in the world.Although we understand very ## little of world politics but we believe that we are right in what we have said above. Also we feel certain that the Government of Canada in future will have the tendency to have its policy of governing for welfare and peace of mankind not only in theory but in reality and practical way.

With due respect we greatly honor and being very ~~gratified~~

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C 94148

Gratefull to the people and Government of Canada and its represen
tative the Right Honourable W.L. MacKenzie King.

Doukhobors of Blaine Lake District.

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Mesdames et Messieurs;

Je ne sais comment vous remercier pour l'accueuil si franc et si chaleureux que vous venez de me faire, pour les belles paroles que vous venez de m'adresser et pour l'appui généreux que vous m'avez accordé par le passé. C'est toujours pour moi une source de chagrin que je ~~xxx~~ ne connaisse pas mieux votre langue si belle, que malheureusement mes occupations multiples ne me permettent pas de cultiver comme je le désirerais.

Je dois donc me contenter de vous remercier ~~de tout mon coeur~~ bien sincerement pour ce que vous avez fait pour moi par le passé et pour votre dévouement sincère à la cause que j'ai l'honneur de ~~xxxxxxxx~~ représenter. Je suis fier de mon Comté, et fier de me trouver aujourd'hui dans ce grand chateaufort libéral, la paroisse d'Albertville. Je suis heureux de vous féliciter sur le succès qui a couronné vos efforts après des années de lutte et de sacrifices. Vaillants ~~colonisateurs~~ pionniers, fils d'une race courageuse et fière, vous avez remporté la victoire en demeurant fidèles à vos principes, et vous allez continuer a perpétuer dans notre beau pays les traditions si nobles de vos ancêtres.

Je regrette qu'il me soit impossible de séjourner plus longtemps parmi vous, mais le devoir ~~xxxxxx~~ m'appelle ailleurs. J'aurai l'occasion, j'espère, de vous rencontrer encore dans un avenir prochain, et en attendant je vous prie de croire en ma profonde reconnaissance et en mon entier dévouement.

Merci, Mesdames et Messieurs.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 94150

POOR
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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

C 94151

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,

Prime Minister of Canada :

Your Constituents of Rosthern greet you on your third visit to our Town and District.

We welcome you as Prime Minister of Canada. We welcome you as our own particular representative. Most of all, we welcome you as a Canadian, with the high ideals, and statesmanship, required by our young Country, to carry on the great work of a Sir John A MacDonald -- a Sir Wilfred Laurier.

We are glad that your visit is at a time when you can see the crop about to be harvested,- the wealth on which the prosperity of all Canada depends,- about to be put on the market of the world.

God has been kind to this farming Country this year. We are about to garner the best crop ever produced by the west.

The pioneers you see about you today, Sir, changed the wilderness of waste prairie, into the well cultivated, productive farms, and happy homes, you have passed in coming here.

To show the work done, and progress made, the wealth created as if by magic, we would remind you, that since you headed the first Labour Department, at Ottawa, under Sir Wilfred Laurier, this transformation has taken place, from the bleak bare prairie, to completed farm lands. In this connection we would like to call your attention in particular, to the homes of our settlers. They have made real homes. About their buildings you have seen gardens, fruit trees, and ornamental trees. The trees and groves about our houses show

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we have made our homes here. Our farmers are not land miners, or birds of passage. Our rich fields and abundant crops have amply repaid, us for our faith in Rosthern.

The farmers of Western Canada, have by their co-operative marketing overcome the handicap of tariff walls, and educated the farming world, in grain marketing.

We are proud, Sir, to have the Prime Minister of Canada as our own particular representative. The whole West is honored, in having a Western Premier.

The North of the Province is an Empire just now becoming known, to the world. This vast territory will within the next quarter of a century furnish homes for countless thousands of the worlds homeless. Rich in timber,minerals,waterpower, and agricultural land, it also has the advantages of handy access to ocean traffic, by the Hudson Bay.

Allow us, Sir, to thank you for your successful endeavours, in the completion of the Hudson Bay Road. You promised us to complete the road. It is being completed.

We would like to have you spend a week here and see the South half of your Constituency,- the banner wheat growing district of the world. As your duties to the Empire prevent this, allow us to express the hope that you will again visit us, at an early date. You are assured of a hearty welcome from your Constituents.

Signed on behalf of the Town of Rosthern,

Geo. Braden

Mayor.

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C 94153

## Prince Albert Matters

Correspondence re:

1. Unemployment of single homeless men at Prince Albert National Park.
   (Minister agreed to proposal to keep men on during summer months).

2. Hudson Bay Railway.
   (Prince Albert Board of Trade asking that administrative offices of Railway should be in Saskatchewan).

3. Tent Houses in Prince Albert National Park.
   (Minister agreed to proposal to authorize use of shack tents in Park under certain conditions).

4. Cottages of Dr. E. R. Trippe and Mr. C. M. Smith.
   (Lease renewed owing to present economic conditions).

5. Closing of Prince Albert Income Tax Office.

6. Beer and Wine store, Prince Albert National Park.
   (Decision to permit establishment of beer and wine store in the Park reached before your protest to Minister).

7. Radio Station 10.B.1 at Prince Albert.
   (Radio Commission not making any change in existing situation in Saskatchewan until its policy fully determined.

8. Re Russia.
   (Letters from Reverend David Toews and Mr. Gerhard Ehns and Mr. A. C. March, regarding conditions in Russia and trade with that country).

9. Rosthern Experimental Station.
   (Nothing definite decided with respect to closing station).

10. Albert L. Page, Pension.
    (Rexamined but nothing will be done, except to be kept on list for further examination at end of 6 mos. Correspondence with A. C. March, Esq., and Bishop Prudhomme.

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C .94154 .

TO THE HONOURABLE ROBERT WEIR
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE,
OTTAWA, CANADA,

WHEREAS the Rosthern, Experimental Station has now been in operation in the Rosthern District for over 24 years and during that time your petitioners feel that it has made a very substantial contribution to the successful Agricultural development of Northern Saskatchewan particularily,

It has by its demonstrations and experiments worked out and promoted better and more successful farming methods in the District served by it and its work along these lines has been increasingly valuable to and valued by the Community

It has developed one of the best dairy herds u in Western Canada and by example and the distribution of valuable stock throughout the Province, has stimulated and promoted very materially the Dairy industry in the Province . The same applies to Poultry Industry where it has likewise taken part in building up a better class of poultry in Saskatchewan.

The horticultural experiments and development of suitable fruit trees for our climate carried on at the Station in the past years are being watched and followed with great interest and if permitted to continue will doubtless prove of great value to ths Province and

WHEREAS it is apparently proposed to curtail the activities presently carried on at the said Station and WHEREAS the undersigned feel that in these times of terrible depression in our basic industry Agriculture it is expedient to render it more assistance than ever to cope with the almost overwhelming difficulties by promoting and assisting in developing better and more efficient farming methods, by the breeding of better livestock, by the improvement of the dairy herds and poultry flocks and the most effective way of doing so is to extend the work of our Experimental Stations throughout Canada.

THEREFORE your Petitioners respectfully ask that the splendid work hitherto carried on by the Rosthern Experimental Station along the lines mentioned be at least continued as formerly if it it is not feasible to expand it at the present time.

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C 94157

PRINCE ALBERT.

The city of Prince Albert is in central Saskatchewan, 542 miles northwest of Winnipeg by rail and 329 miles east of Edmonton, on the North Saskatchewan River. It is served by four lines of the C.N.Railway, connecting it with Big River, Regina, Winnipeg and North Battleford.

The city has shown the rapid rate of growth characteristic of western communities, its population having increased from 1,785 in 1901 to 6,254 in 1911 and 7,558/- in 1921 the growth being thus far greater in the first decade of the twentieth century than in the second.

Of the 7,558 people in 1921, 5,596 were of British stock, including 2,835 English, 1,702 Scotch, 970 Irish and 89 other British. Of the remainder, persons of French origin numbered 659, of German origin 222, Hebrews 109, Norwegians 109, Dutch 107, Ukranians 98, Polish 96, Austrians 94, and various others with smaller numbers.

By religions Anglicans led in 1921 with 2,393, closely followed by Presbyterians with 2,252; Roman Catholics were third with 1,557 and Methodists fourth with 588, Baptists 297, Jews 109, Greek Church 105 and Lutherans 96.

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C 94158

Trade:-

Prince Albert is an important centre for the marketing of live stock. A provincial government co-operative live stock yard is situated at Prince Albert. Receipts at the stock yard during the past five years were as follows; 1925 showing considerable increases in receipts of cattle and calves:

| | Cattle | Calves | Hogs | Sheep & Lambs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1921 | 3,006 | 382 | 7,317 | 459 |
| 1922 | 4,856 | 490 | 7,562 | 750 |
| 1923 | 3,955 | 425 | 12,794 | 199 |
| 1924 | 3,738 | 571 | 20,807 | 224 |
| 1925 | 5,869 | 889 | 15,748 | 542 |

The exports of Prince Albert to other countries are under our system recorded at the port where these goods left the country, but the imports through the customs port of Prince Albert were $251,969 in the fiscal year ended 1923, $242,956 in 1924 and $305,924 in 1925, showing growth of trade in the latest year. Of course, most of the non-Canadian goods consumed in the Prince Albert district are entered for consumption long before they reach Prince Albert.

The amount of business transacted at Prince Albert is in recent months showing a satisfactory increase. The total of cheques charged to banking accounts at the banks of the city during the last quarter of 1925 was $7,519,120, as compared with $6,570,580 in the last quarter of 1924.

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Manufactures.-

The manufactures of Prince Albert, like the city itself, have grown greatly in the past quarter of a century. In 1900 the total gross production of manufactured goods was $123,600, in 1905 $487,547, in 1910 $815,898, in 1915 $1,092,032 in 1922 $1,801,379 and in 1924 $2,346,839.

In 1924 the manufacturing plants included 1 meat-packing plant, 2 creameries, 3 bakers and confectioners, 2 flour mills, 2 printing and publishing, 1 power and light plant, 1 planing mill, 1 aerated waters, 1 foundry, 1 marble and granite works, 1 box factory, 1 tannery. Details for recent years follow:-

Manufactures.

| | Establishments. | Capital | Employees | Salaries and Wages | Value of Products |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | $ | No. | $ | $ |
| 1922 | 18 | 1,408,527 | 250 | 356,700 | 1,801,379 |
| 1923 | 19 | 1,306,218 | 256 | 311,562 | 1,791,895 |
| 1924 | 18 | 1,276,803 | 260 | 335,370 | 2,346,839 |

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C 94160

Education:-

A college for the training of native helpers for the Church of England was opened in Prince Albert by Bishop McLean in 1879. Bishop McLean's College, called Emmanuel College, led to a public demand for the establishment of a Saskatchewan University which was incorporated by a Dominion Act in 1883, (46, Vic., c.47, "An Act to incorporate the University of Saskatchewan and to authorize the establishment of Colleges within the limits of the Diocese of Saskatchewan"), although the final act for its establishment was not passed until 1907. Emmanuel College was transferred to Saskatoon in 1909 as a Theological College in affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan.

According to the latest report Prince Albert had 1,445 pupils in 34 departments of public schools, a separate school of 6 departments and 219 pupils; three private schools - St.Alban's college with 65 pupils, St.Patrick's orphanage with 76 pupils and the Academy of Our Lady of Sion with 77 pupils. The collegiate Institute had an enrolment of 333. A local normal school for the training of third class teachers is also in operation. Thus the total recorded enrolment in the educational institutions of Prince Albert is approximately 30 per cent of its population.

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C 94161

Historical:- As long ago as Nov.3,1879, the Saskatchewan Herald stated that a good many settlers had taken up land at Prince Albert and the census of 1881 showed 660 houses and 80 temporary shanties, 667 families and 3,236 persons resident in the Prince Albert district, among them 1,075 of Indian, 825 of French and 528 of English origin. Persons born in the Territories numbered 1,813, in Manitoba 924, and in Ontario 274, and in the British Isles 122. Prince Albert had become an electoral district of the N.W.T. in 1880 on account of having 1,000 adult inhabitants on 1,000 square miles.

Prince Albert was at this time far from a railway, and in 1882 the mere project of a railway increased the production of wheat "three hundredfold in a single year"! 1/ The introduction of Red Fife wheat in 1885 proved that wheat could be profitably grown if a market were provided, but in the meantime farmers had to devote themselves to stock-raising. In 1890 the town had 2 good schoolhouses, Emmanuel College, a high school in connection with the Presbyterian mission, two large flour-mills, three saw-mills, sash and door factories, a court-house and gaol, the R.N.W.M.P. barracks, two newspaper offices, several hotels, a bank and several churches.

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1/ Canada and its Provinces, Vol.XIX, p.171. Should not this be 300 per cent?

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C 94162

Under the active immigration policy of the Laurier administration, settlement in the Prince Albert district proceeded rapidly. Glen Mary became the centre of a Scandinavian settlement, the Hoodoo plains of American-German Catholics; Shellbrook of British immigrants, while by 1904 the Galician colony near Rosthern had increased to 5,000 souls.

In 1904 Prince Albert became a city and continued to increase from that time until 1911. This rapid progress led to inflated expectations of its continuance, and the collapse of the boom about 1913-14, followed almost immediately by the outbreak of war and the cessation of immigration, involved financial difficulties out of which the city, with the return of prosperity, is now steadily making its way. One of the good results of the great expectations of the boom was the reservation of 600 acres of land as public parks; only a few of the largest cities of Canada possess parks of so large an area.

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In historic Prince Albert on the mighty Saskatchewan, McKenzie-King has chosen for his constituency the oldest city in the West after Winnipeg.

He is not without precedent. In 1896 Sir Wilfrid Laurier ran in Prince Albert and was elected but, winning also in his Quebec riding, resigned his claim to the Prince of the North in favor of T.O. Davis, later Senator Davis,"The Whirlwind Orator of the Senate".

When Ottawa was a rough-and-tumble lumbering town in the middle of the last centnry, Prince Albert was a post of the Hudson Bay Company with a society of aristocrats and autocrats.

In the search for that dreamland of his,"the Countries of the Western Seas", La Verendrye made his camp-fire in the birch groves where the city now stands, on his voyage down the Saskatchewan in 1744; about 1750 Captain La Corne founded the fort of that name, forty miles down the river, now occupied by the Hudson Bay Comapny; in 1838 Sir John Franklin passed there on his way down the river to the Pas where he wintered, and where the brass sundial and the furniture in the Roman Catholic mission which his men made by hand in the long winter evenings, are still shown.

Lord Butler wintered below the town in 1872, and set out therefrom on that two thousand mile trip on foot by way of the grand canon of the Peace, which he describes in "The Great Lone Land".

In 1881 the Marquisof Lorne landed from the Hudson Bay Company's steamer,"Marquis", christened in his honour, and on her maiden voyage. He ascended the bank on a crimson carpet a hundred yards long imported from England by way of Hudson Bay, and received assurances of loyalty to Queen Victoria, his mother-in-law, on the same spot where, over a hundred years before, Captain La Corne, the representative of Louis xv of France, had camped.

Prince Albert was mamed in honour of the husband of Queen Victoria by the Reverend James Nesbitt of Perth, Ontario, who founded a Presbyterian mission there in 1863. In 1879 the first college in the North West Territories was opened, the Anglican Emmanuel College, a theological seminary, combined later with a boy's school where latin and greek were imbibed at a tender age after the pattern of the best old country, boy's schools.

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C 94164

In 1876, with the nearest railway at St.Paul, Minnesota, a thousand miles away, this place in the then northernmost hinterland saw such a boom as it has never seen since. The old Hudson Bay Northwestern Railway was surveyed making for Fort Churchill through Prince Albert.

Business men of Winnipeg sold out, mortgaged their future, and trekked the six hundred miles to the "Royal Town", their Red River carts squeaking over the prairie to the tune of "To the Bay". Lots sold as high as twenty thousand dollars, building went on apace, and money, chiefly old country, flowed in.

Nothing is more pitiful to the onlooker today than to observe the frail remnants of that trek, bent old men with wistful eyes, some of them now in poverty, still waiting for this railway of dreams bearing fortune on it's shining ways.

The rebellion of 1885 found Prince Albert the centre of the trouble and brought Louis Riel into the country, a pitiful figure at this late date, more or less of a cat's paw at any date.

At once the town became a strategic point. The old brick Presbyterian church and manse were fortified with two rows of cordwood ten feet high, and hundreds of non-combatants were in refuge behind the frail barrier. Men from Prince Albert were killed at the battle of Duck Lake and new-born babies and delicate women died in the fear and stress.

For some years after 1885 it remained a military post occupied by several hundred of the "Scarlet Riders of the Plains". At this period the force had a considerable sprinkling of younger sons, and sons not so young, who dropped their titles but retained their remittances. It was then Prince Albert's boast that they had more men with hereditary titles than all the rest of Canada together.

At this time Charles Mair, the author of Tecumsah and the father of Canadian poetry, made his home there, Maud Montgomery(L.M. Montgomery, beloved of our daughters)spent part of her childhood there with her father and with her stepmother who was a niece of Sir William McKenzies; Mary Markwell(Mrs Kate Hayes), the first western, woman journalist, now lecturer and writer for the C.P.R. in London, homesteaded east of Prince Albert in 1879,.

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C 94165

James Oliver Curwood loved it's pine woods, and staged many of the scenes of his stories there. Next to the homestead Of Andrew Knox, ex-M.P., there still resides an old lady, the last of the name, a descendant of Samuel Hearne, the great explorer.

Prince Albert is still seeking the solution of it's transportation problem.in the Hudson Bay Railway. In the last fifty years it has had experience of everything from the luxurious steamers on the Saskatchewan and the Red River carts and dog trains of the '80's , by no means improved in 1892 by the McKenzie and Mann railway service, to the limited use of flying machines.

They have never lost the dream of the ancient way, sailed by the partners of a prince, by Red Eric, Cabot, Cortereal, Frobisher, Hudson, Baffin, Fox, Henry Kelsey, Parry, Admiral Markham, William Falconer, Charles Konig and Sir John Franklin.

Also,although today it is ragged at the edges with the shacks of foreigners, unwanted and unacknowledged except on wash days,yet it has never quite acquired the atmosphere of a prairie town, too much old-fashioned family pride with much contentment of place, both of which McKenzie-King will understand, although deeply puzzled by many apparently incongrous crudities.

If the man who is more savant than politician, with the fine hands of the scholar, can call up the spirit of his patriot grandfather, whom he adores, to walk and talk with him, nott only will he understand Prince Albert and Prince Albert understand him, but a start will have been made towards the understanding between East and West which he hopes for, the lack of which is the undoubted cause of a decade's standstill in Canada, political and commercial.

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C 94166

PRINCE ALBERT

**Federal Liberal Association:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Pres. | Dr. Thomas Robertson |
| Sec. | H. J. Fraser |

**Woman's Liberal Association:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Hon. Pres. | Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King |
| Hon. Vice-Pres. | Hon. J. G. Gardiner |
| Pres. | Mrs. F. W. Holland |
| 1st Vice-Pres. | Mrs. W. R. McLeod (1st Ave. East) |
| 2nd " " | Mrs. T. C. Davis (671 -20th St. W.) |
| 3rd " " | Mrs. Thos.Robertson (Carlton Apts.) |
| Organizer | Mrs. R. W. Hutchmor (2125 - 6th Ave. W.) |
| Sec.-Treas. | Miss Laura M. Tyerman (105 - 10th St. E.) |

**Twentieth Century Liberal Association:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Hon. Pres. | Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King |
| Hon. 1st Vice-Pres. | Hon. J. G. Gardiner |
| Hon. 2nd " " | Mrs. J. G. Gardiner |
| Pres. | Russell Matheson (1521 - 1st Ave. W.) |
| 1st Vice-Pres. | Miss Laura M. Tyerman ( 105 - 10th St. E.) |
| 2nd " " | Malcolm Daisley (111 - 14th St. W.) |
| 3rd " " | Miss Thelma Stewart (127 - 18th St. E.) |
| Sec. | Jack Byers (49 - 10th St. E.) |
| Treas. | Wm. Kernaghan (53 - 18th St. E.) |

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C 94167

Prince Albert, Saskatchewan

Prince Albert was named in 1866 after the Prince Consort by Rev. James Nisbet (died 1874) who established a Presbyterian mission station in the locality in that period. Previously there were perhaps half a dozen settlers in the district which was unnamed or went by the general term "Saskatchewan River Settlement". A post office was opened here on January 1, 1879.

The Saskatchewan Herald for November 3, 1879 states that a good many settlers had taken land at Prince Albert during the previous year.

During the period about 1880, Prince Albert did not get its full share of the development of the territories which followed the extension of C.P.R. facilities. This was due to its location off the C.P.R. line. Yet the Board of Trade reports indicate progress. In 1882 wheat production increased three hundred fold due to the planning of a railway through the area but construction was not immediately started. Red Fife wheat, introduced in 1885, proved that wheat could be profitably raised if markets were found but the absence of markets diverted attention to stock raising. Agriculture and stock raising were not unprofitable in 1890 with only a local market.

At this time Prince Albert had two schools, Emmanuel College "founded 1879 by the Bishop of Saskatchewan for the education of missionaries and teachers", a high school connected with the Presbyterian mission, two large flour mills, three sawmills, court house, jail, R.C.M.P. barracks, newspaper offices, several hotels, a bank and several churches. There were three doctors, five lawyers, a judge, sheriff, Dominion Lands agent, Crown Timber agent, homestead inspector, brewers, bakers, merchants, telegraph and telephone systems and a steamship line.

Emmanuel College, already referred to, was the forerunner of Saskatchewan University which latter was incorporated in 1883. In 1909 Emmanuel College was transferred to Saskatoon where the new university was opened.

At the beginning of the World War, Prince Albert was credited with being the centre of the lumber industry for a large area. It had four large mills, one with a capacity of 50 million feet per annum connected with which was one of the largest planing mills in Canada. To perpetuate the industry afforestation was actively prosecuted at that time.

Prince Albert is situated on the North Saskatchewan river near its junction with the south branch and is the terminus of numerous local branches of the C.N.R. and several branches of the C.P.R. It is a natural distributing centre for Northern Saskatchewan and is often referred to as the gateway to the Mineral North and Prince Albert National Park. It is the most central city of the three Prairie Provinces lying south of the centre of the province of Saskatchewan--it is also the largest city in the northern portion of the province. It is the centre of an area abounding in lakes and

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rivers with promise of great wealth derived from its large store of natural resources. Not only is it strategically situated from a business standpoint but is contiguous to a land abounding in opportunities for sport and recreation.

The chief industries are meat packing, creameries, cattle raising, lumbering, fishing, mining, fur trading, milling and farming. The city contains eight churches, six banks, ample educational facilities, elevators, stock yards, packing plant, breweries and other industries necessary to its well being. Here also is a court house, land office, registry office, penitentiary and provincial jail. It is the See City of Anglican and Catholic bishops and district headquarters of the Hudson Bay Company, Revillon Freres and Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The water works, sewerage system and electric light and power plants are municipally owned.

The decennial census returns from 1901 are as follows:

| 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1785 | 6254 | 7558 | 9905 |

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C 94169

ROSTHERN.

The town of Rosthern is situated on the C.N.R. Regina-Prince Albert line 40 miles north of Saskatoon. Its population, which was 413 in 1901, grew to 1,172 in 1911, but under different conditions declined to 1,074 in 1921. Its present population is estimated in Heaton's Handbook at 1,500, so that it seems to have taken a new lease of life since 1921.

Rosthern is a town where the newer elements in our population predominate, there being 580 persons of Russian and 152 of German origin in the 1921 population. Persons of British origin numbered only 188 (105 English, 43 Scotch, 38 Irish, 2 other British), French 43, Austrians 35, Hebrews 30. The chief religions represented were: Mennonites 348, Lutherans 257, Roman Catholics 171, Presbyterians 76. Rosthern is the home of Seager Wheeler, champion wheat grower of the world.

While Rosthern is in the main a distributing centre for the surrounding country, it nevertheless has certain manufacturing industries. The statistics of these industries show satisfactory development since 1922. Between 1922 and 1924 production of manufactured commodities has increased from $68,400 to $125,500 and the wages and salaries from $8,474 to $19,943. The six manufacturing plants included in 1924 1 flour and grist mill, 1 stock foods, 1 bakery, 1 creamery, 1 electric power plant, 1 printing and publishing. Detailed statistics follow:

Manufactures.

| | Establishments | Capital | Employees | Salaries and Wages | Value of Products |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | $ | No. | $ | $ |
| 1922 | 4 | 86,710 | 8 | 8,474 | 68,401 |
| 1923 | 6 | 109,721 | 14 | 11,185 | 82,748 |
| 1924 1/ | 6 | 123,532 | 16 | 19,943 | 125,542 |

1/ Includes 1 flour and grist mill, 1 stock foods, 1 bakery, 1 creamery, 1 electric power plant, and 1 printing and publishing.

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The rural municipality of Rosthern had 4,039 people in 1921, of whom only 224 were of British stock - 110 English, 59 Irish, 52 Scotch, 3 other British. People of German stock numbered 1,723, Dutch,1,094, while other races represented were Austrians 365, Russians 308, French 158, Ukranians 121. By religions Mennonites numbered 2,363, (their peace-loving anti-conscription views are well known),Lutherans 577, Greek Church 474, Roman Catholics 274, Methodists 75, Presbyterians 68, Baptists 67, Anglicans 39. Thus the community is predominantly German-Russo-Dutch in race and over 58 per cent Mennonite or semi-Quaker in religion. The municipality had in 1921 1,115 persons of foreign birth. Out of 186,000 acres in occupied farms in 1921, 119,000 were improved, and 96,700 in field crops, two-thirds of which was in spring wheat and most of the remainder in oats.

As the municipality had 1,115 persons of foreign birth, its people were presumably advantaged by the amendment to the Naturalization Act in 1923, under which "the restriction by which persons of alien enemy birth were ineligible to receive certificates of naturalization for a period of ten years after the war was removed, and all aliens enabled to secure naturalization."

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C 94171
X-19N'

## PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.

**Federal Constituency** "Prince Albert"

Member: Andrew Knox; address Prince Albert (PROG.)
(First elected to House of Commons, 1917, as Liberal-Unionist)

Defeated Liberal candidate, 1921: Dr. W. Brigham

Liberal Association: Major James H. Lindsay, Pres.
John Assby, Sec.-Treas.

**Provincial Constituency** "Prince Albert"

Member: Chas. McDonald (LIB) Local druggist

**Municipal**

Mayor: T. C. Davis

**Liberal Women**

Mrs. J. H. Lindsay;
Mrs. W. R. McLeod
Mrs. J. W. Everett
Mrs. O. A. Saddlemeyer
Mrs. T. Murray
Mrs. L. E. Valode
Miss I. McDonald
Mrs. R. L. King
Mrs. J. J. Wilson
Mrs. W. Pennington
Mrs. F. W. Wright
Mrs. R. C. Bain
Mrs. Kelly

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Oct.8, (1924)

## Prince Albert

**Population** - 8,000 - 1921; 1800 - 1901.

**Mayor** - T.C. Davis

**Location** - On North Saskatchewan river, 542 miles north-west Winnipeg and 80 miles north of Saskatoon.

**Railways** - C.N.R., Main and four branch lines.

**Navigation** - Navigation on river in high water.

**Industrial** - Creameries, brickyard, flour mill, 2 cold storage plants, abattoir and packing plant; planing mills; tannery; marble and granite works; 5 wholesale houses; Provincial Government - co-operative stockyards.

**Institutions** - 2 cathedrals (Anglican and Roman Catholic); 5 churches; 5 public and 1 separate schools; Collegiate; boarding school and ladies College, 2 hospitals; Government Armory; Labor Temple; 8 banks; headquarters Royal Canadian Mounted Police; Daily press.

**Miscellaneous** - Centre of Judicial District; Provincial jail and penitentiary. Dominion Lands Office; Customs Office. Two large natural parks. Boating, bathing, fishing, shooting. 2,000 square miles spruce and poplar to north. Pottery clays and rich agricultural lands in this district.

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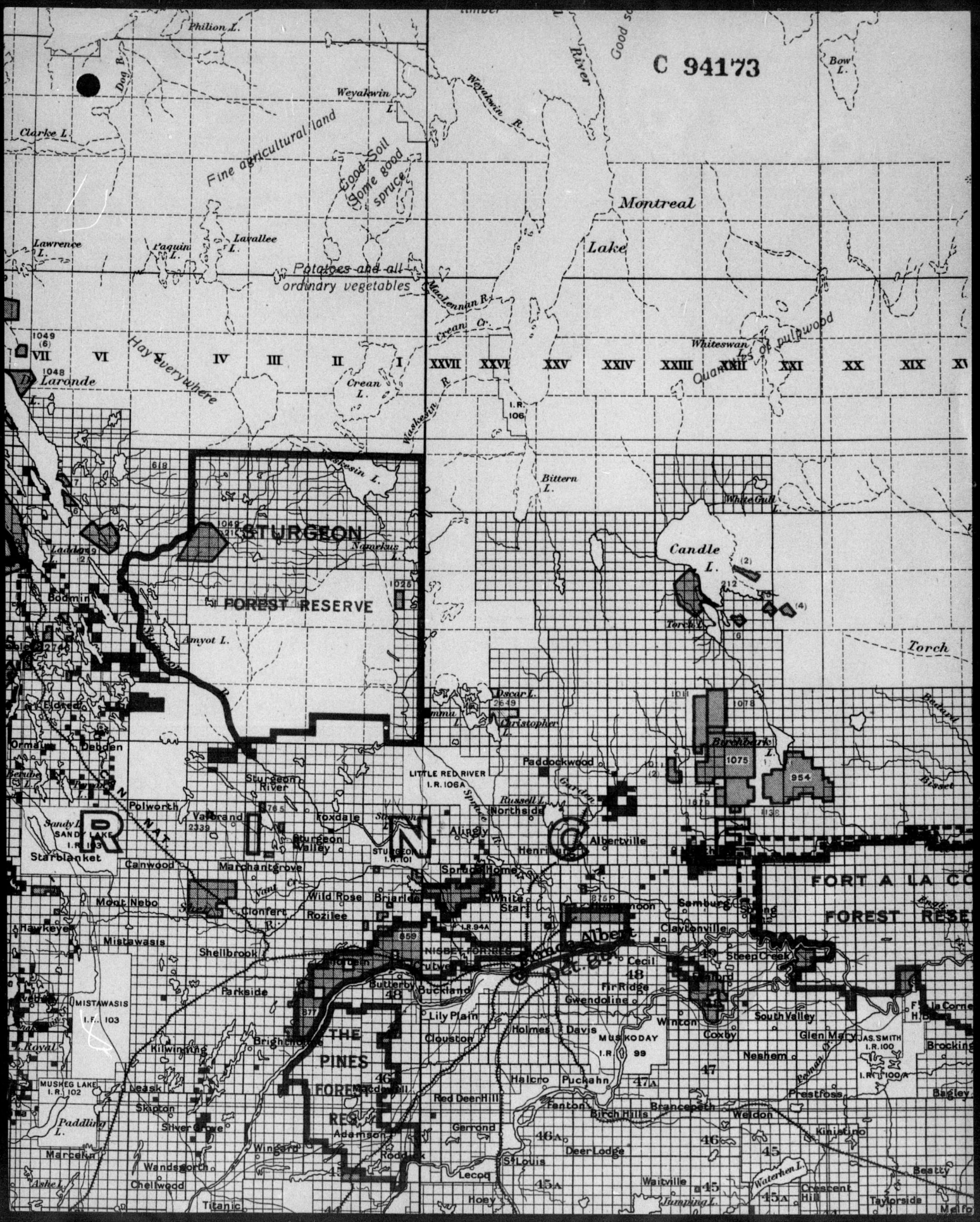
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bc P.A.

Inscription on Cairn on South Bank of
The Saskatchewan River at Prince Albert

At or near this spot in August 1866, 66 days after leaving the Lord Selkirk Colony on the Red River, the founders of Prince Albert made their first camp within what is now the city limits.

The members of the party were

Rev. James Nisbet

Mrs. Nisbet
Mary Nisbet (child)
Mrs. Flett
Wm. McBeth
John McKay
Mrs. McKay
Mary McKay (child)
C. Tina McKay (child)
Alex Polson

Erected by the Prince Albert
Historical Society

September 8, 1924

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P.C. 94175

# Electoral History

## Federal Riding of PRINCE ALBERT

In 1887, when the old Northwest Territories were first given representation in the House of Commons, four electoral districts were created, namely:

Assiniboia East
Assiniboia West
Alberta
Saskatchewan.

Under that division the present riding of Prince Albert was contained in the riding of Saskatchewan. Electoral record of the riding of Saskatchewan is as follows:

| | | | | Majority |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1887 | D. A. Macdowall | Conservative | - | 166 |
| 1891 | D. A. Macdowall | " | - | 283 |
| 1896 | Hon. Wilfrid Laurier | Liberal | - | 44 |
| 1900 | T. O. Davis | " | - | 741 |
| 1904 | J. H. Lamont | " | - | 836 |

Under the Redistribution Act of 1906-7 a new riding known as Prince Albert was first created. Its representation was as follows:

| | | | | Majority |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1908 | A. W. Rutan | Liberal | - | 129 |
| 1911 | James McKay | Conservative | - | 355 |
| 1917 | Andrew Knox | Unionist | - | 3,590 |
| 1921 | Andrew Knox | Progressive | - | 3,578 |

By the Redistribution Act of 1924 the old riding of Prince Albert was divided into two new ridings, one retaining the name of Prince Albert, the other known as Melfort. In the riding of Prince Albert thus constituted, the vote at the general election of 1925

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stood as follows:

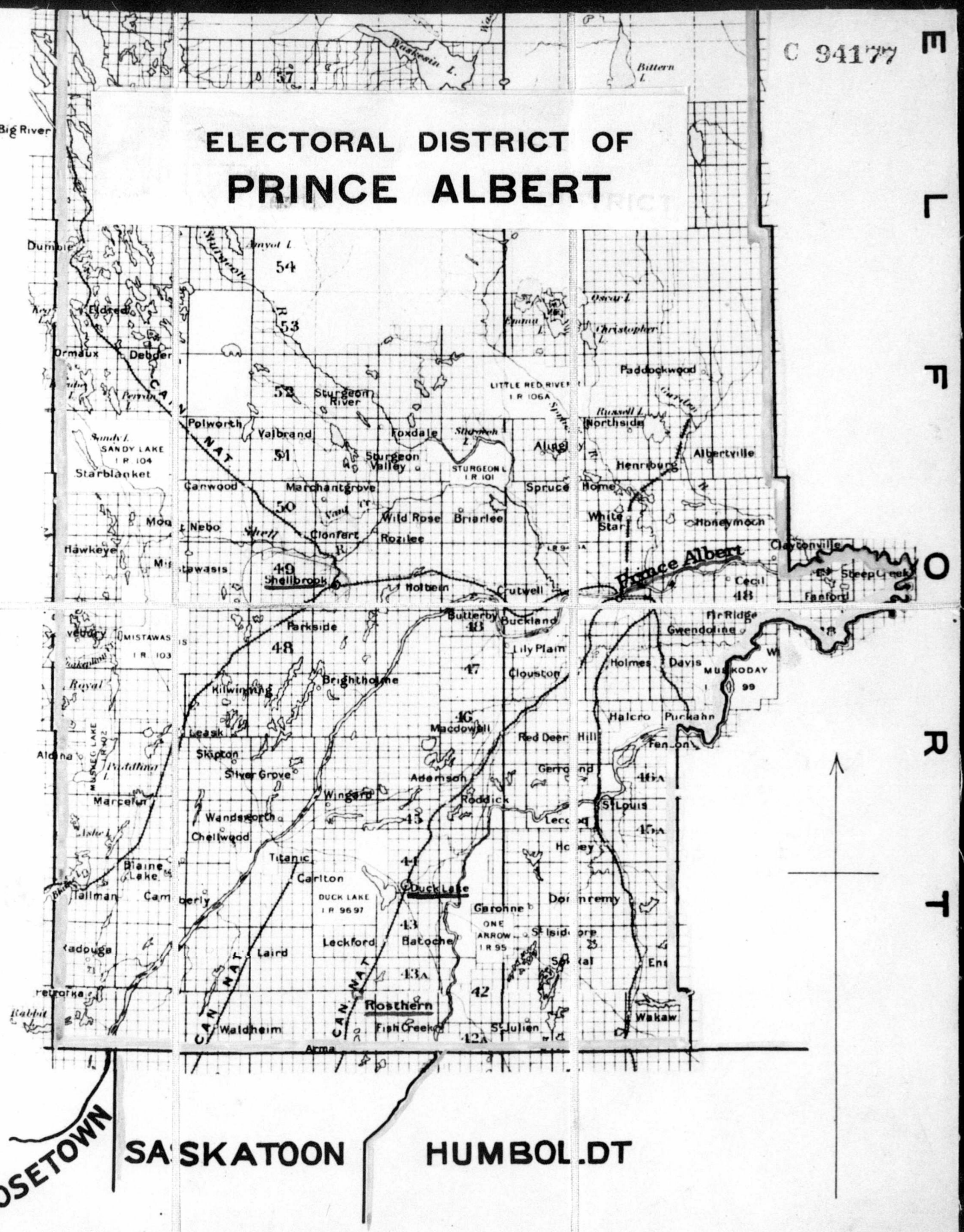
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Charles McDonald | - | Liberal | - 5,301 |
| Andrew Knox | - | Progressive | - 2,638 |
| J. D. Diefenbaker | - | Conservative | - 2,412 |

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# ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF PRINCE ALBERT

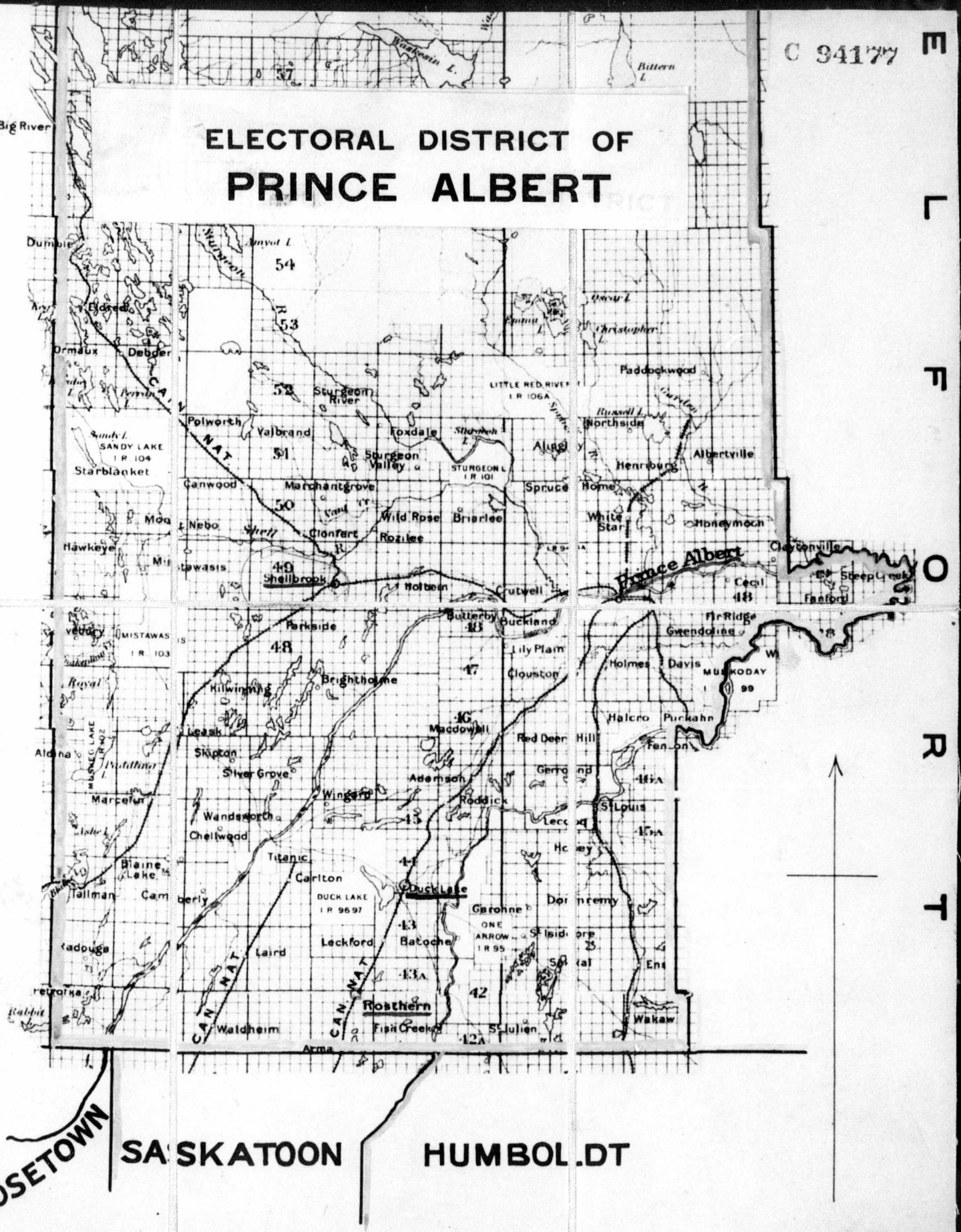



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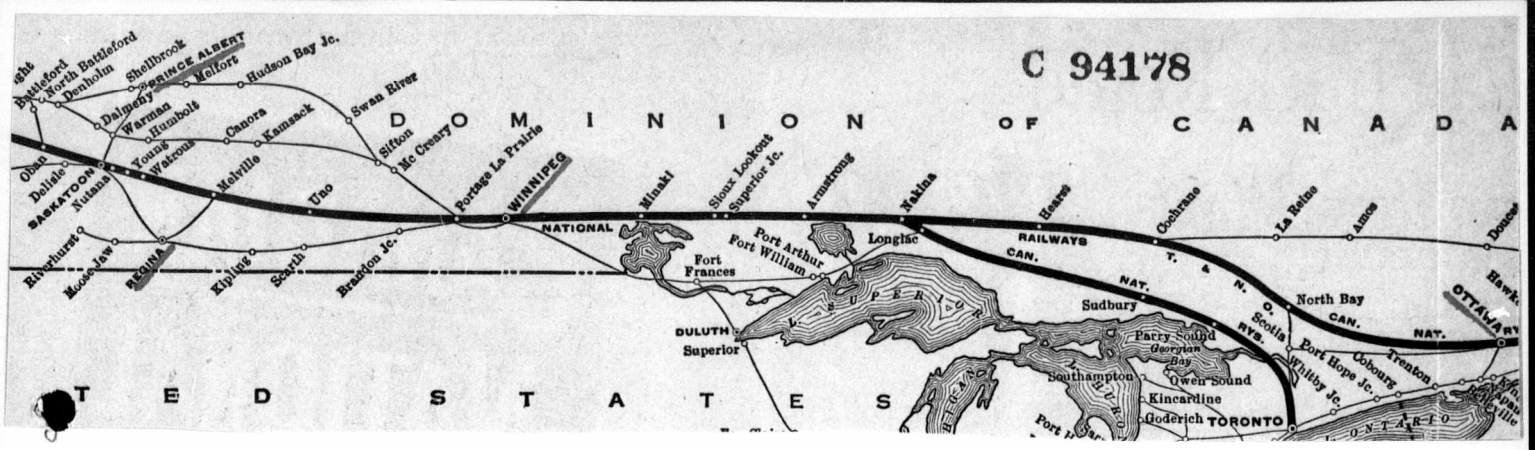
# ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF PRINCE ALBERT




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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lv. | OTTAWA | 1.35 am | Friday, January | 29, 1926 |
| Ar. | Winnipeg | 8.15 pm | Saturday, " | 30, |
| Lv. | Winnipeg | 9.30 pm | Saturday " | 30 |
| Ar. | Regina | 9.55 am | Sunday " | 31 |
| Lv. | Regina | 11.55 pm | Sunday " | 31 |
| Ar. | PRINCE ALBERT | 10.40 am | Monday February | 1 |

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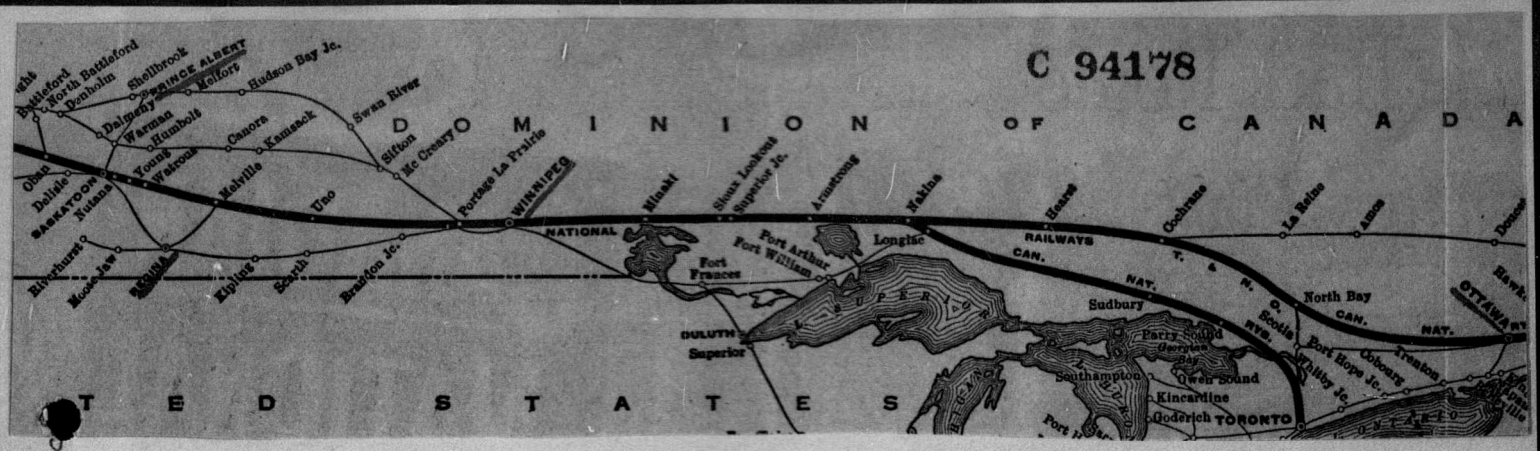
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nomination | 12 - 2 pm | Monday | February 1 |
| Public Meeting | Evening | Monday " | 1 |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lv. | PRINCE ALBERT | 8.35 am | Tuesday, February | 2 |
| Ar. | ROSTHERN | 10.21 am | Tuesday, " | 2 |
| | Public Meeting | 1.30 pm | Tuesday, " | 2 |
| Lv. | ROSTHERN | 3.35 pm | Tuesday, " | 2 |
| Ar. | Saskatoon | 4.50 pm | Tuesday, " | 2 |
| Lv. | Saskatoon | 6.55 pm | Tuesday, " | 2 |
| Ar. | Winnipeg | 10.30 am | Wednesday. " | 3 |
| Lv. | Winnipeg | 11.00 am | Wednesday, " | 3 |
| Ar. | OTTAWA | 6.15 am | Friday, " | 5 |

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| | | | | |
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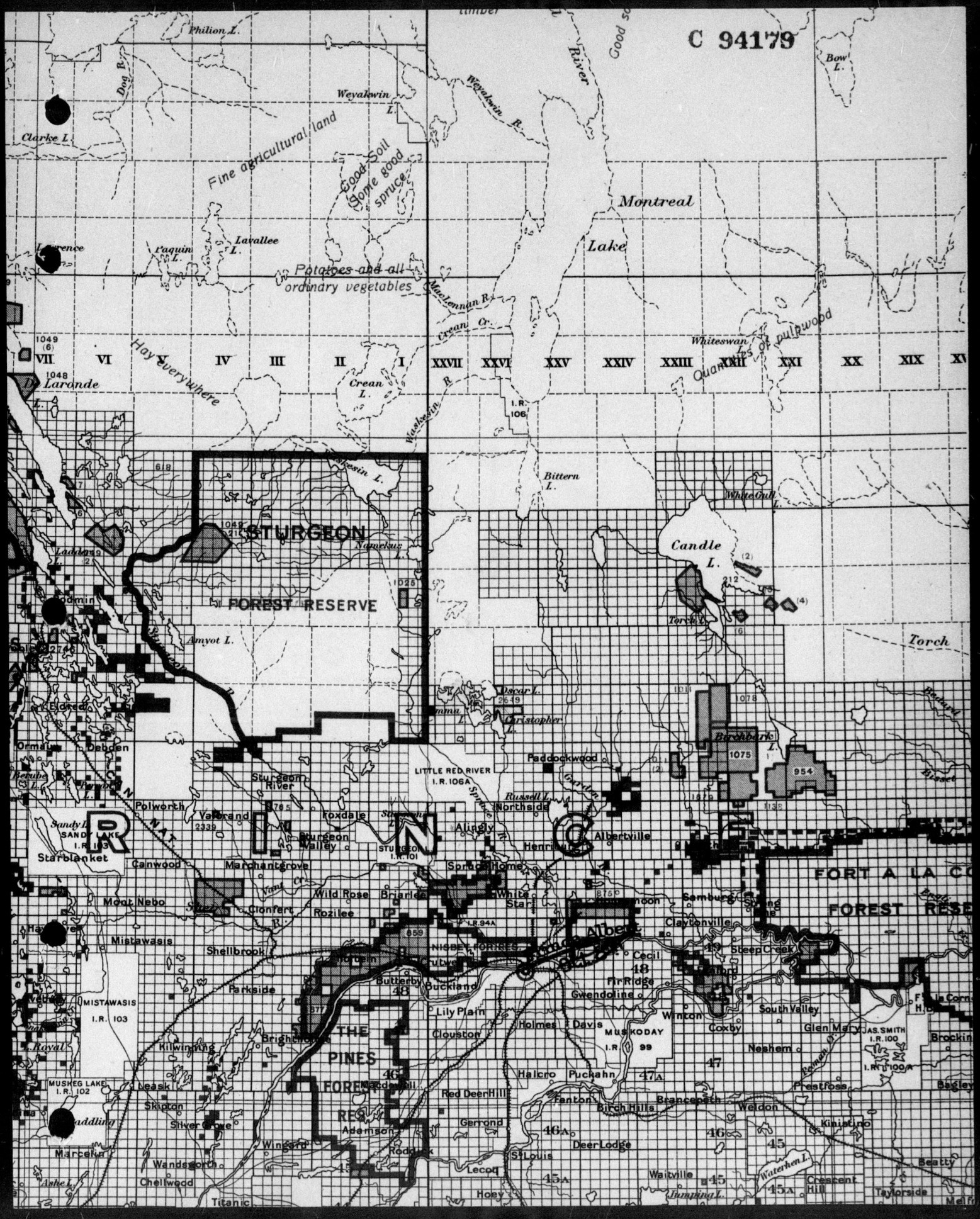
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| Ar. | Winnipeg | 10.30 am | Wednesday. " | 3 |
| Lv. | Winnipeg | 11.00 am | Wednesday, " | 3 |
| Ar. | OTTAWA | 6.15 am | Friday, " | 5 |

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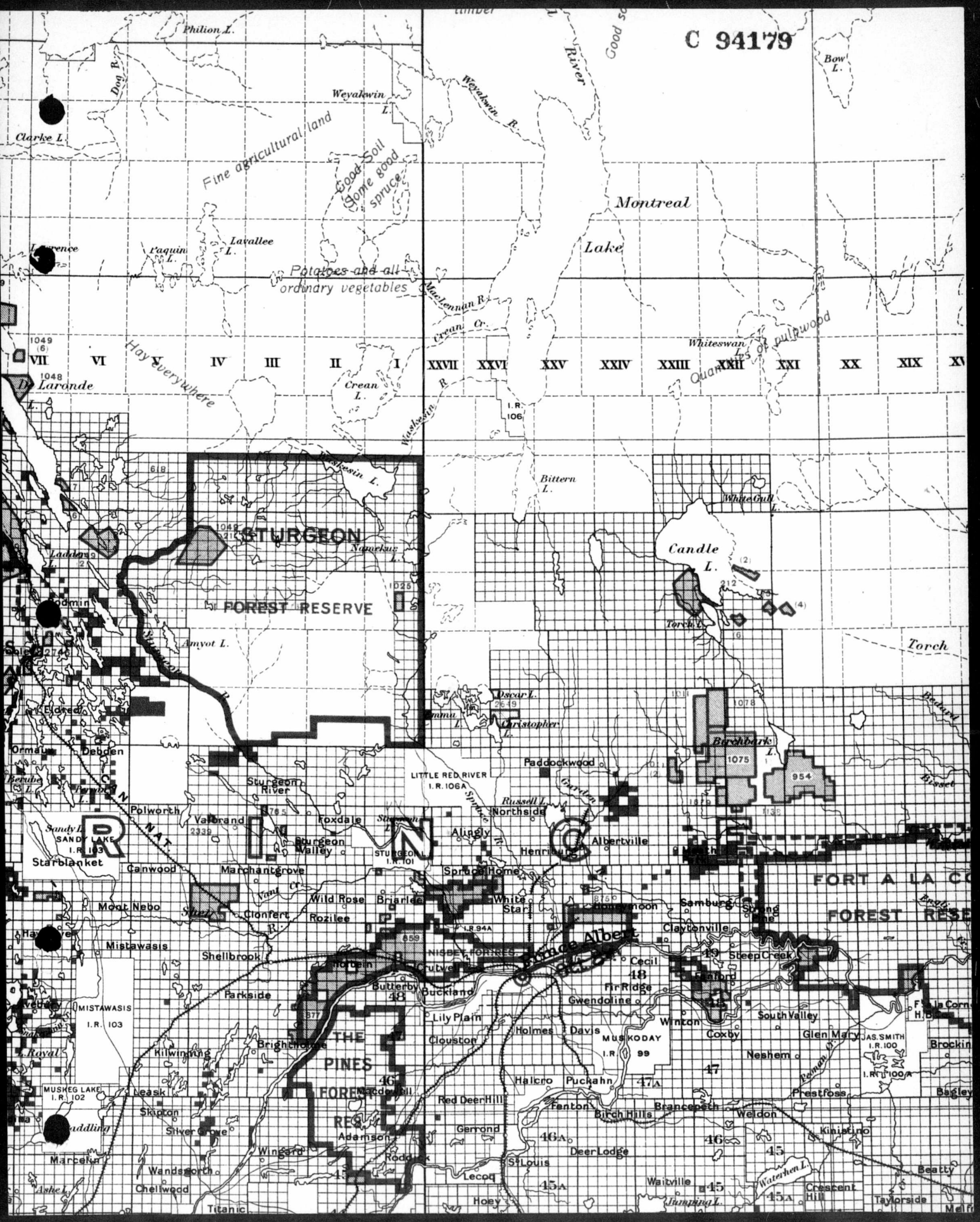
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C 94180

Oct.8,

## Prince Albert

**Population** - 8,000 - 1921; 1800 - 1901.

**Mayor** - ~~T.C. Davis~~ Branion

**Location** - On North Saskatchewan river, 542 miles north-west Winnipeg and 80 miles north of Saskatoon.

**Railways** - C.N.R., Main and four branch lines.

**Navigation** - Navigation on river in high water.

**Industrial** - Creameries, brickyard, flour mill, 2 cold storage plants, abattoir and packing plant; planing mills; tannery; marble and granite works; 5 wholesale houses; Provincial Government - co-operative stockyards.

**Institutions** - 2 cathedrals (Anglican and Roman Catholic); 5 churches; 5 public and 1 separate school; Collegiate; boarding school and ladies College, 2 hospitals; Government Armory; Labor Temple; 8 banks; headquarters Royal Canadian Mounted Police; Daily press.

**Miscellaneous** - Centre of Judicial District; Provincial jail and penitentiary. Dominion Lands Office; Customs Office. Two large natural parks. Boating, bathing, fishing, shooting. 2,000 square miles spruce and poplar to north. Pottery clays and rich agricultural lands in this district.

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# PRINCE ALBERT

NAME

Prince Albert was named in 1866 after the Prince Consort by Rev. James Nisbet who established a Presbyterian mission station in the locality in that year. Previously there were perhaps half a dozen settlers in the district, which was un-named or went by the general term of Saskatchewan River Settlement. A post office was opened on the 1st of January, 1879.

HISTORY & ENVIRONMENT

The most important city on the North Saskatchewan River is Prince Albert, which lies as the gateway between the vast prairie regions of the southland and the vaster forests of the north. Prince Albert, as the outfitting-point and the last link with civilization for traders, prospectors, or adventure-seekers who are bound for the Wilds of the north, has a dash of the picturesque and the romantic that is not found in other prairie cities.

(Extract from "Beautiful Canada", Vernon Quinn, 1925.)

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# - THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES -

That portion of the Dominion of Canada which lies between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains although having in the records of exploration a history of nearly two centuries, is, as a habitat of a civilized population, a country which began but yesterday. Its cities are, for the most part, equally young, for, although some, as Edmonton, have grown up around the old trading posts of Hudsons Bay Company, the great majority have arisen on sites undistinguished until the railway or the river steamer made them points of distribution for the new settlers of the surrounding district.

At Portage la Prairie, fifty six miles west of Winnipeg, we are on, or near older ground. Hereabouts the La Vérendryes founded Fort La Reine in 1736, about the same time as fort Rouge was built at Winnipeg. Fort La Reine was maintained for 20 years as the headquarters of the French in the Western Plains. From here Pierre and François de la Vérendrye set out in 1742 on that expedition which brought them on New Years Day 1743, in sight of the Rockies. They were the first white men north of Mexico to view that backbone of the continent.

From Fort La Reine, also, La Vérendrye's successor, Legardeur de St. Pierre, in 1753, sent out an expedition which built Fort La Jonquière on the upper waters of the Saskatchewan, apparently near the foot hills of the Rockies,

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and possibly near Edmonton. The only exploring expedition sent into the country of the plains by the Hudsons Bay Company in those days when the French were taking possession was that of Anthony Hendry, who set out from York Factory on Hudsons Bay in 1754, reached the Saskatchewan river and pushing westward wintered in the country of the Blackfeet Indians between Calgary and Edmonton. The British conquest of Canada in 1760 involved the downfall of the French posts in the West. But within a few years British traders from Montreal were pushing afresh into this territory and became greater rivals of the Hudsons Bay Company than the French had been.

In 1768 Thos. Curry and James Finlay penetrated as far as the Saskatchewan river. The Saksatchewan soon became the great highway to the far West and the North for the traders of Canada.

In 1772 Joseph Frobisher established a trading post at Sturgeon lake, a strategic point on the lower Saskatchewan.

All through the West, even in the Athabasca and Peace river country the Montreal traders were building their posts.

In 1787 Alexander MacKenzie was placed in charge of the Athabasca District, from here in 1789 he proceeded to Slave Lake and descended the MacKenzie river to the Arctic ocean; and in 1793 crossed the Rocky Mountains and reached the Pacific ocean, being in each case the first white man to accomplish the transcontinental journey from Eastern North America.

The Hudsons Bay Company took up the challenge. In 1773

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Samuel Hearne set out from York Factory and in 1774 built Cumberland House, a little below Frobisher's fort at Sturgeon Lake, long to be one of the most important trading posts of the West.

Other posts were established, amongst them, Brandon House on the Assiniboine river, in 1794, about 17 miles below the present city of Brandon; and Edmonton House, in 1795 where the city of Edmonton now stands.

Posts on the Assiniboine were established by the Canadians about this time, particularly Portage la Prairie and Qu'Appelle.

The history of the West during the next half century has yet to be told. It is in the settlement of the Red River that we shall find a story full of human interest, in which the women played a noble part.

But it is after the country passed to Canadian control that we witness that marvellous development of the West which has given a romantic touch to our history. Portage la Prairie was for a long time considered the western limit of civilization, and in 1872 the "last house" was only ten miles beyond it.

Fifty years in the life of a nation is only a brief spell, but the fifty years which have just closed over western expansion, must always be regarded as a magnificent interval of indomitable courage and marvellous achievement.

As in a dream, the lonely hut on yon distant horizon is suddenly transformed into a goodly city. City succeeds city,

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province is united to province until the whole field within our vision is pulsating with vigorous life.

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Mayor Jos Bradin

Honored Sir:

On behalf of the citizens of the Town of Rosthern it gives me great pleasure to have the honor to welcome you, the Prime Minister of Canada to our Town and District. This is your first visit to our Town. If it were Summer we could drive you over good roads through the Rosthern District and show you the best wheat fields on the American Continent. Within three miles of the Town you would see the farm of Doctor Seager Wheeler, the Champion Wheat Grower of the world.

Now that you are our Federal ~~Representative~~ Candidate we have reason to hope that we may in the near future, show you over our District.

You may assure the Eastern Daily papers, on your return home, that the Prince Albert Constituency is far from the shadow of the North Pole; and that while we need and expect the Hudson Bay Railway to be completed, there is now accomodation for comfortable travel.

On your reception committee today there are individual farmers who have shipped this season wheat, that would make a train load of forty cars - and the production of grain in this constituency will exceed 10,000,000 bushels. This is only one branch of the agricultural industry carried on here. In 1924 the Creamery and cold storage plant which you saw over behind your car at the station this morning, gave to the farmers of this District, returns equal to the value of one-half of their grain sales through the numerous local elevators.

Rosthern, before the necessary building of the branch lines east and west of here, was the largest local grain shipping point in the world.

We trust that you will carry away with you pleasant memories of your visit to Rosthern and the Prince Albert constituency, and we hope that after the session is over and during the Summer or Fall you will find it possible to come again to us.

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when we will be pleased to show you the wonders and beauties of this new country so little known to many of our Eastern Canadians.

On behalf of the Citizens of Rosthern.

To The Right Honourable W. L. MacKenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada.

Rosthern, Saskatchewan,
February 2, 1926.

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# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES SINCE CONFEDERATION

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# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES SINCE CONFEDERATION

At Confederation the great Northwest of Canada, except for the little Red River settlement, was a vast expanse of territory with a scattered population of Indians and half-breeds, whose only contribution to the production of the world was made by hunting and trapping, the products of which were marketed through the Hudson Bay forts which were established at great intervals throughout the length and breadth of the country. Otherwise these vast territories were of practically no use to mankind, ~~yet~~ although their potential capacities were even then ~~commencing~~ beginning to be ~~recognized~~ realized * as in the well-known poem by William Cullen Bryant, The Prairies, and in such a volume as Butler's Great Lone Land, describing the travels of the late Lieutenant-General Butler as a young Lieutenant at the time of the Red River expedition of 1870, and his subsequent journey to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.

## Growth in Population of the Prairie Provinces

At the first census of the Dominion, taken on April 2, 1871, only the four original provinces were enumerated. However, with the admission of Manitoba as the fifth province of the Dominion, a census of the Red River settlement had been taken in November, 1870, whem the population was found to be 12,228, to which were

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added some 13,000 Indians estimated as living within the wider confines of the province as in 1871. Thus the population of the province in 1871 is set down as 25,228. In the same year, an estimated 48,000 Indians and half-breeds inhabited the vast areas extending from the boundaries of Manitoba west to the Rocky Mountains and north to the Arctic ocean, a total population of 73,000, mainly Indians and half-breeds, in the great central plains of Canada. From this small beginning, the population of these areas increased to 118,000 in 1881 and 251,000 in 1891, but even in 1891 a very large part of this population was composed of aborigines.

In 1901 figures become available for the population of the three prairie provinces as they exist today. In that year, the total population of the three quarters of a million square miles included in these three provinces was 419,512. Thereafter settlement was much more rapid, and the aggregate rose to 808,646 in 1906, to 1,328,121 in 1911, to 1,698,137 in 1916, 1,956,082 in 1921 and 2,067,378 in 1926. Thus the population of the prairie provinces as a whole has increased nearly five-fold in the first quarter of the twentieth century, while Saskatchewan in the same period increased nine-fold and Alberta eight-fold. Probably no such large areas anywhere else in the world have shown such extraordinary relative gains in population

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during the same period.

The growth of the population of the prairie provinces since 1871 is summed up in the following table:-

Population of the Prairie Provinces, 1871-1926

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| 1871 | 25,228 | 48,000 | | 73,228 |
| 1881 | 62,260 | 56,000 | | 118,260 |
| 1891 | 152,506 | 98,967 | | 251,473 |
| 1901 | 255,211 | 91,279 | 73,022 | 419,512 |
| 1906 | 365,688 | 257,763 | 185,195 | 808,646 |
| 1911 | 461,394 | 492,432 | 374,295 | 1,328,121 |
| 1916 | 553,860 | 647,835 | 496,442 | 1,698,137 |
| 1921 | 610,118 | 757,510 | 588,454 | 1,956,082 |
| 1926 | 639,056 | 820,738 | 607,584 | 2,067,378 |

Rapid as has been the increase of the prairie provinces as a whole, even more rapid has been the growth of their cities and towns and their aggregate urban population. Winnipeg, the metropolis of the prairie provinces, grew from 241 people in 1871 to 42,340 in 1901 and 191,998 in 1926. Calgary had only 4,392 people as late as 1901 and 65,513 in 1926. Edmonton had 4,176 people in 1901 and 65,163 in 1926. Regina had only 2,249 people in 1901 and 37,329 in 1926, while Saskatoon showed an even more amazing growth from 113 people in 1901 to 31,234 in 1926, and, relatively speaking, these records of growth could be equalled or even outstripped by many smaller places.

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Altogether the urban population of Manitoba increased from 70,436 in 1901 to 278,858 in 1926, that of Saskatchewan from 14,266 in 1901 to 242,532 in 1926, and that of Alberta from 18,533 in 1901 to 233,848 in 1926. While the total population of the prairie provinces increased about five-fold, the urban population has increased, in the last quarter century, from 103,245 to 753,697, or over seven-fold.

Relative Growth in Population and Parliamentary Representation.

Considered in relation to the total population of Canada, the whole of the great Northwest had in 1871 less than 2 per cent of the grand total. In 1901, the first year for which we have a figure for the three prairie provinces with their present boundaries, these provinces had 7.81 p.c. of the population of the Dominion. Twenty years later this proportion had almost trebled, being 22.26 p.c. of the grand total of the Dominion, or 2 persons out of every 9. As naturally happens in a democratic country, the parliamentary representation of the prairie provinces has increased with their growth in population. Whereas in 1874 their total representation of the Great Northwest in the Dominion House of Commons was 4 out of 206, in 1904 it had risen to 20 in a House of 214, and at the present time it is 54 in a House of 245. Thus the representatives of the prairie provinces in the Canadian House of Commons have

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have increased from 4 to 54, while the representatives of all the rest of Canada (including Eastern Canada and British Columbia) have diminished from 202 in 1874 and 194 in 1904 to 191 at the present time. Taking the five provinces of Eastern Canada alone, their total representation in the House of Commons was 196 in 1874 after Prince Edward Island had entered Confederation, 186 in 1904 and 176 at the present time. The reason for this actual decline in representation is, of course, that the other provinces of Eastern Canada are not growing as rapidly as Quebec, whose population determines the unit of representation.

Immigration to the Prairie Provinces

While the increase in the population of the prairie provinces between 1921 and 1926 was disappointing, it must be remembered that during a great part of that time the great agricultural industry of the prairies was in a state of depression following upon the great boom of 1915 to 1920. Naturally enough, during this period the immigration destined for the prairie provinces was comparatively small, totalling for all three provinces about 23,000 in the fiscal year 1923, when the situation was particularly unsatisfactory. Since 1926 the situation in this respect has greatly improved. The fiscal year 1927 shows 73,000 immigrants and the fiscal year

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1928 over 74,000 immigrants to the prairie provinces, which are thus getting about one half of the total immigration to Canada, so far as can be ascertained from the declarations of immigrants when entering the country. The total population of the prairie provinces is as yet less than three to the square mile of their land area so that there is abundant room for immigrants for the next generation. The total number of immigrants to Canada, giving their destination as the prairie provinces, during the last six fiscal years is as follows:-

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| 1923 | 6,037 | 8,186 | 8,798 | 23,021 |
| 1924 | 21,451 | 13,200 | 10,430 | 45,081 |
| 1925 | 11,772 | 14,041 | 10,952 | 36,765 |
| 1926 | 19,079 | 13,816 | 12,540 | 45,435 |
| 1927 | 36,739 | 20,085 | 16,367 | 73,191 |
| 1928 | 43,596 | 15,331 | 15,473 | 74,400 |

Gross Production of the Prairie Provinces

Together with the increase in the population of the prairie provinces has gone their increase in production; in fact, thanks to the improvements in agricultural and other machinery, growth of production has far outstripped the growth of population. As recently as 1921, the total gross value of production in the prairie provinces was $762,000,000, but in 1925 it rose to

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$1,114,000,000, Manitoba's contribution being $232,000,000 and $290,000,000 respectively, while Saskatchewan's was $306,000,000 and $468,000,000. The figures are as follows:-

Gross Value of Production of the Prairie Provinces, 1921-25

| Provinces | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 | 1924 | 1925 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Manitoba | 232,239,386 | 236,682,048 | 202,478,428 | 279,328,851 | 290,363,258 |
| Saskatchewan | 306,409,889 | 375,362,337 | 336,458,857 | 330,903,240 | 467,632,165 |
| Alberta | 223,648,964 | 221,929,251 | 301,105,188 | 298,589,566 | 356,165,710 |
| Total | 762,298,239 | 838,973,636 | 840,042,473 | 908,821,657 | 1,114,161,133 |

Agriculture in the Prairie Provinces

The growth of agriculture in the prairie provinces, especially since the commencement of the present century, has been one of the outstanding phenomena in the recent agricultural history of the world, as is shown by the fact that Canada is now the world's largest exporter of wheat. In the forty years between 1886 and 1926 the area of improved land on the farms of the prairie provinces expanded from 950,000 acres to 49,264,000 acres or by over 50-fold. During the same 40-year period, the area under crop increased from 718,000 acres in 1886 to 35,000,000 acres in 1926. The details by provinces are given in the two following tables.

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Number of Acres of Improved Land in the Prairie Provinces

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres |
| 1881 | 250,416 | | | 250,416[1] |
| 1886 | 752,571 | 195,985[2] | | 948,556 |
| 1891 | 1,232,111 | 196,773[2] | | 1,428,884 |
| 1901 | 3,995,305 | 1,122,602 | 474,694 | 5,592,601 |
| 1911 | 6,746,169 | 11,871,907 | 4,351,698 | 22,969,774 |
| 1916 | 7,187,737 | 19,632,206 | 7,510,303 | 34,330,246 |
| 1921 | 8,057,823 | 25,037,401 | 11,768,042 | 44,863,266 |
| 1926 | 8,346,021 | 27,714,490 | 13,204,114 | 49,264,625 |

Number of Acres Under Crop in the Prairie Provinces, 1886 - 1926

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres |
| 1886 | 593,991 | 123,794[2] | | 717,785 |
| 1891 | 1,229,041 | 151,987 | 38,371 | 1,419,399 |
| 1901 | 2,756,106 | 655,537 | 188,476 | 3,600,119 |
| 1906 | 4,220,161 | 3,271,436 | 916,100 | 8,407,697 |
| 1911 | 5,161,858 | 9,136,868 | 3,378,365 | 17,677,091 |
| 1916 | 5,116,661 | 13,973,382 | 5,505,872 | 24,595,915 |
| 1921 | 5,857,635 | 17,822,481 | 8,523,190 | 32,203,306 |
| 1926 | 6,261,417 | 19,558,964 | 9,166,700 | 34,987,081 |

[1]Manitoba only. [2]Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Agricultural Production of the Prairie Provinces

In the production of the prairie provinces, agriculture, as everyone knows, bulks most largely, though in all the provinces manufactures are rapidly increasing, and, in Manitoba especially,

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have risen to be an important factor in the total. The estimated gross annual agricultural production of the prairie provinces has risen from $476,000,000 in 1921 to $801,000,000 in 1927, an increase of 68 per cent in six years. The figures are as follows:-

Estimated Gross Annual Agricultural Revenue of the Prairie Provinces, 1921-27 (ooo's ommitted)

| | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 | 1924 | 1925 | 1926 | 1927 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | $ | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Manitoba | 96,562 | 124,842 | 89,306 | 163,154 | 121,437 | 139,913 | 115,074 |
| Saskatchewan | 258,265 | 343,009 | 309,661 | 286,024 | 421,799 | 359,333 | 360,686 |
| Alberta | 120,762 | 137,068 | 137,068 | 204,365 | 210,688 | 249,384 | 325,251 |
| Total | 475,589 | 604,919 | 591,546 | 653,543 | 753,924 | 748,630 | 801,011 |

The greatest factor in the agricultural production of the prairie provinces is, of course, the wheat production which has grown from 1,150,000 bushels in 1880 to 17,884,000 bushels in 1890, 23,456,000 in 1900, 110,000,000 in 1906, 208,000,000 bushels in 1916, 242,000,000 in 1916, 280,000,000 in 1921 and 415,000,000 bushels in 1927. These most impressive figures are as follows:-

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Production of Wheat in the Prairie Provinces, 1880-1927

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | bu. | bu. | bu. | bu. |
| 1880 | 1,033,673 | | 119,655[1] | 1,153,328 |
| 1890 | 16,092,220 | | 1,792,409[1] | 17,884,629 |
| 1900 | 18,352,929 | 4,306,091 | 797,839 | 23,456,859 |
| 1906 | 54,472,198 | 50,182,359 | 5,932,267 | 110,586,824 |
| 1911 | 62,689,000 | 109,075,000 | 36,602,000 | 208,366,000 |
| 1916 | 29,667,000 | 147,559,000 | 65,008,000 | 242,234,000 |
| 1921 | 39,054,000 | 188,000,000 | 53,044,000 | 280,098,000 |
| 1922 | 60,051,000 | 250,167,000 | 64,976,000 | 375,194,000 |
| 1923 | 35,804,000 | 271,622,000 | 144,834,000 | 452,260,000 |
| 1924 | 41,464,000 | 132,918,000 | 61,312,000 | 235,694,000 |
| 1925 | 33,624,000 | 235,472,000 | 97,962,000 | 367,058,000 |
| 1926 | 47,133,000 | 219,646,000 | 113,986,000 | 380,765,000 |
| 1927 | 30,773,000 | 212,860,000 | 171,286,000 | 414,919,000 |

[1]Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Manufacturing in the Prairie Provinces

Though agriculture is the predominant industry in the prairie provinces, it is far from being the only one, and since the commencement of the present century, manufacturing has shown great gains, especially in Manitoba, where the gross value of manufacturing has increased from $13,000,000 in 1900 to $132,700,000 in 1926, or over ten-fold. The grand total for all three provinces has risen in the same period from $14,900-000 to $263,000,000, or nearly eighteen times. As is naturally the case, the manufactures of the prairie provinces are mainly concerned with the working up of the agricultural commodities

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produced in such enormous quantities. The figures showing the growth of manufacturing production on the prairies are given in the following table, in which we may specially note the increase from $186,000,000 in 1923 to $263,000,000 in 1926.

Gross Manufacturing Production of the Prairie Provinces, 1880-1926

| | Manitoba | The Territories | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | | $ |
| 1880 | 3,413,026 | 195,938 | | 3,608,964 |
| 1890 | 10,155,182 | 1,827,310 | | 11,982,492 |
| | | Saskatchewan and Alberta | | |
| 1900* | 12,927,439 | 1,964,987 | | 14,892,426 |
| 1905* | 27,857,396 | 2,443,801 | 4,979,932 | 35,281,129 |
| 1910* | 53,673,609 | 6,332,132 | 18,788,825 | 78,794,566 |
| 1915* | 60,481,446 | 13,355,206 | 29,416,221 | 103,252,873 |
| 1920 | 158,221,908 | 59,549,634 | 88,606,074 | 306,377,616 |
| 1921 | 106,027,860 | 40,681,740 | 60,064,778 | 206,774,378 |
| 1922 | 95,957,084 | 38,807,532 | 53,119,486 | 187,884,102 |
| 1923 | 97,334,531 | 34,337,811 | 54,337,801 | 186,010,143 |
| 1924 | 102,252,013 | 36,313,931 | 65,245,361 | 203,811,305 |
| 1925 | 124,145,763 | 40,093,273 | 75,113,517 | 239,352,553 |
| 1926 | 132,718,452 | 47,108,097 | 83,425,631 | 263,252,180 |

*Only the products of establishments with 5 hands and over are included in the figures for 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915.

New Construction in the Prairie Provinces

For recent years the value of construction contracts awarded in Canada is available from the MacLean Building Reports, Limited. The figures for the prairie provinces for the years

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1922 to 1927 and the first half of 1928 are given in the following table, in which may be noted the increase from $19,000,000 in 1924 to nearly $49,000,000 in 1927 and to over $33,000,000 in the first half of 1928.

Construction Contracts Awarded in the Prairie Provinces, 1921-1928
(from MacLean Building Reports Ltd.)

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| 1922 | 9,365,800 | 5,034,400 | 8,903,500 | 23,303,700 |
| 1923 | 9,984,000 | 5,793,300 | 7,066,400 | 22,843,700 |
| 1924 | 6,492,500 | 5,857,800 | 6,600,400 | 18,950,700 |
| 1925 | 13,093,200 | 4,923,100 | 3,867,500 | 21,883,800 |
| 1926 | 19,186,600 | 14,251,500 | 10,058,400 | 43,496,500 |
| 1927 | 29,939,900 | 11,337,600 | 7,507,300 | 48,784,800 |
| 1928 (half Yr.) | 12,912,500 | 8,972,500 | 11,334,900 | 33,219,900 |

Transportation in the Prairie Provinces

The transportation facilities of the prairie provinces have been developed with the growth of production. The following table shows that over 10,000 miles of new steam railways have been constructed in the prairie provinces since 1906.

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Railway Mileage in the Prairie Provinces 1906-27

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Miles | Miles | Miles | Miles |
| 1906 | 2,780 | 1,951 | 1,235 | 5,966 |
| 1911 | 3,466 | 3,121 | 1,494 | 8,081 |
| 1916 | 4,310 | 5,378 | 3,894 | 13,582 |
| 1921 | 4,418 | 6,296 | 4,557 | 15,271 |
| 1926 | 4,296 | 7,267 | 5,048 | 16,611 |
| 1927 | 4,293 | 7,358 | 5,139 | 16,790 |

Motor Vehicles in the Prairie Provinces

The isolation which was at one time the lot of the prairie farmer has been greatly relieved in the past twenty years by the introduction of the automobile, which has come to be regarded as a necessity of life among the farmers of the West. Whereas in 1908 there were only 551 automobiles registered in the three prairie provinces, the number had increased to 20,000 by 1914, 135,000 by 1920, and 244,334 by 1927, of which Manitoba had 63,905, Saskatchewan 106,599 and Alberta 73,830. The automobiles in the prairie provinces numbered in 1927, 116 to every 1,000 population, or a car to every nine people.

Telephones in the Prairie Provinces

Another great factor in conquering the isolation of the country districts has been the extension of the telephones. Between 1911, the earliest date for which the figures are available,

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and 1926 the number of telephones in the prairie provinces increased from 57,000 to 245,000. Details by quinquennial periods are as follows:-

Number of Telephones in the Prairie Provinces, 1911-1926

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| 1911 | 33,881 | 9,052 | 14,424 | 57,357 |
| 1916 | 47,903 | 30,220 | 35,026 | 113,149 |
| 1921 | 68,463 | 96,239 | 64,383 | 229,085 |
| 1926 | 71,272 | 102,894 | 70,996 | 245,162 |

Banking in the Prairie Provinces

The great period of growth in the prairie provinces since the beginning of the century has naturally been accompanied by a remarkable increase in banking facilities. About the commencement of the century in 1902, the total number of branches of chartered banks in the territory which is now included in the prairie provinces was 82, of which 52 were in Manitoba. By 1905 another 100 branches had been established, while in 1916 the total in the three provinces was 860. At the end of last year they numbered 943.

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Branches of Chartered Banks in Prairie Provinces, 1902 - 1927

| | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| 1902 | 52 | 30 | | 82 |
| 1905 | 95 | 87 | | 182 |
| 1916 | 200 | 413 | 247 | 860 |
| 1927 | 227 | 436 | 280 | 943 |

Development of Education in the Prairie Provinces

In spite of their vast natural resources, the greatest asset of the prairie provinces is their youth, the native-born whose child lips have learned to call the prairie land "home". From the early times of the Red River Settlement, the greatest sacrifices have been made to provide the benefits of education for the children of sparsely settled areas, and these sacrifices are still going on. Among the results have been the noteworthy increase in the school enrolment in the State-controlled schools from an aggregate of 50,783 in 1896 to 512,209 in 1926 - a more than ten-fold increase in thirty years. As for higher education, there are now the three great provincial universities, Manitoba dating from 1877, while the Universities of Alberta and Saskatchewan date from 1906 and 1907 respectively, and already, as a consequence of the munificence of the legislatures

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and people, rank among the leading universities of the continent. The University of Manitoba had in 1926 a registration of 2,428 students, besides a large number in summer schools, Saskatchewan had 2,134 students, besides 14,359 in short and extension courses throughout the province. In the same year the University of Alberta numbered 1,257 registered students.

Enrolment in the Government-controlled Schools of the Prairie Provinces, 1896-1926

| | Manitoba | Territories | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | | No. |
| 1896 | 37,987 | 12,796 | | 50,783 |
| | | Saskatchewan | Alberta | |
| 1905 | 63,287 | 25,191 | 24,254 | 112,732 |
| 1915 | 100,963 | 122,862 | 97,286 | 321,111 |
| 1926 | 148,279 | 213,404 | 150,526 | 512,209 |

Conclusion

The above are only a few of the most salient facts illustrading the unrivalled development in the past fifty years and especially in the past twenty-five years in the great central plains of Canada, which constitute the prairie provinces. It is safe to say that nowhere in the world can be found a community which has made more rapid progress in the same period of time. It is only some twenty years ago that, in the heat of

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the Chamberlain campaign for tariff reform in England, free traders asked how Great Britain's millions could ever be fed from Canada. In the crop year ended July 31, 1926, thanks to the prairie provinces, Canadian exports of wheat and wheat flour, expressed as wheat, were greater than the whole imports of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, together with those of Germany and Belgium combined. And as yet we are far from having attained to the full measure of our capacities as producers and exporters of the white man's staple food, the food which traditionally symbolizes a high standard of living and prosperity. But this is only one of many ways in which the highly efficient and educated population of the prairie provinces will more and more make their influence felt throughout the entire economic world, and contribute to the welfare of the whole human race.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
CANADA

DEPUTY MINISTER'S OFFICE
OTTAWA
June 27, 1928.

S/M

Dear Mr. MacKenzie King:-

I am including herewith two copies of a memorandum which gives some information in regard to the Fairs at Prince Albert, Lloydminster and North Battleford, and which you may find useful in connection with the addresses you will no doubt be called upon to make when these Fairs are opened.

The Minister asked me to get this material into shape for you and, if there is anything further I can do for you in this regard, or any particular point upon which you require more information, I shall be glad to supply it if you will advise me.

Yours very truly,

J.H.Grisdale
Deputy Minister

The Rt.Hon. W.L.MacKenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a.

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The work being done by the fairs at Prince Albert, Lloydminster and North Battleford is of very great value to agriculture generally, and, of course, to live stock interests, especially in the more northerly parts of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The very good prices offered for different classes of horses, cattle, sheep, swine and poultry are indicated by the amounts offered these various classes at all three fairs, as below:-

| Prince Albert | | Lloydminster | | North Battleford | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Horses | $1,553.00 | Horses | $1,745.00 | Horses | $ 939.00 |
| Cattle | 4,353.00 | Cattle | 2,732.00 | Cattle | 1,724.00 |
| Sheep | 1,097.00 | Sheep | 837.00 | Sheep | 408.00 |
| Swine | 700.00 | Swine | 522.00 | Swine | 311.00 |
| Poultry | 371.25 | Poultry | 14.00 | Poultry | 88.00 |

We have also had usually our Western Exhibits at Prince Albert, and this year our Experimental Farm Exhibit is going to put up a very special display, including exhibits from the various Branches of the Department, as Live Stock, Health of Animals, Fruit and Entomological.

Grants to these fairs in the last few years from this Department have been as follows:

| Prince Albert | | Lloydminster | | North Battleford | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1921 | $3,432.88 | 1921 | $3,140.50 | 1921 | $2,770.00 |
| 1922 | 2,556.08 | 1922 | 2,912.81 | 1923 | 3,750.00 |
| 1923 | 2,556.08 | 1923 | 2,912.81 | 1924 | 3,750.00 |
| 1924 | 2,556.08 | 1924 | 2,912.81 | 1925 | 3,750.00 |
| 1925 | 2,556.08 | 1925 | 2,912.81 | 1926 | 1,500.00 |
| 1926 | 1,500.00 | 1926 | 1,500.00 | 1927 | 1,500.00 |
| 1927 | 1,500.00 | 1927 | 1,500.00 | | |

In the areas feeding the Prince Albert Fair, namely, Shellbrook, Rosthern, Prince Albert and Kinistino the output of live stock in 1927 totalled approximately 15,000 cattle, 42,000 hogs, 2,000 calves and 1,600 sheep and lambs. These amounts are comparatively speaking, a very good out-turn for districts in the Province of Saskatchewan and the quality above the average. The hogs showed the same strong improvement in type and feeding

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quality that has been noticeable in the Province of Saskatchewan in the past few years and the percentage of selects showed as being progressively higher. The condition of the stock now coming out shows that the dry fed volume is about exhausted and their place is being taken by grass stock. At this time of the year grass stock is never in very good condition but for the season is as good as might be expected.

The weather conditions have been very favourable for both wheat and coarse grains and growth is quite rapid in germination and colour, and wheat has seldom looked better than at the present time. The rooting system is said to be exceptionally good and argues well for resistance against possible drought later on. Pastures are generally in good condition and all stock seems to be doing fairly well.

Turtleford, Lloydminster, Cutknife, Jackfish Lake, the Battlefords, Biggar, Alexandra and Vermillion districts are the areas from which the Lloydminster and Battleford Fairs both draw for their live stock classes. During 1927 these districts marketed between them, 35,000 head of cattle. Of that comparatively liberal volume, the quality compared very favourably with that of the average for the Province of Saskatchewan as a whole, and for that portion of Alberta in which the latter two districts are situated. Approximately 5,000 head of calves were marketed and about half classified as of good to choice quality. Between 34,000 and 35,000 hogs were turned out during the year and the grading showed a very good average of quality, in most cases indicating a comparatively strong percentage of select bacon. The movement of sheep was rather light, not totalling more than 1500 to 2000 head. The quality of the cattle now coming out of the districts compare favourably with the movements from other parts of the Province of Saskatchewan, all dry fed cattle having been marketed and grassers in fair condition, along with the female butcher stock, now make up the bulk

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of the offerings. Crop conditions indicated that everything is coming along nicely and the general situation is about as good as might be wished for at the present time. There has been plenty of moisture and recently this has been added to by some very generous showers. The rains came after an exceptionally favourable seeding time, affording the crops a very good start. Grazing is very good generally and live stock is doing well. There are indications of a very good crop of hay at the present time. In Lloydminster district and some other districts in north-west Saskatchewan, it is reported that there has been a plague of tent caterpillars and these have practically stripped the poplar and willow trees of their foliage.

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# SASKATCHEWAN---A GENERAL SKETCH.

## Physical Features

Province of Saskatchewan has total area 251,700 sq. m. of which 8,319 sq. m. represent the water area, principally confined to large lakes in northern half of province. It extends north to the 60th parallel, a distance of 760 miles, with an average breadth of 320 miles, the 49th parallel base line being 393 miles long.

Geological structure shows entire province to be underlaid by crystalline, mineral-bearing rocks of Archaean age, referable to the Laurentian and Huronian systems, which are exposed in the northern portion over an area of about 50,000 sq. m. Upon this floor of primitive rocks there rests unconformably a succession of stratified sedimentary formations, ranging from palæozoic sandstones through glacial deposits, to post-glacial quaternary loam, peat and lake sands. This last deposit constitutes the fertile prairie soils of the province.

The soil is extremely fertile, a rich loam from eight to twenty inches deep, resting upon a dark clay subsoil, which retains moisture and accounts for luxuriant crops even in dry seasons.

The surface for the most part consists of open, treeless, rolling prairie, situated on the western part of the second prairie steppe and the eastern part of the third. This average altitude of 1500 feet above sea level is a factor in producing a climate most favourable to plant and animal growth. The atmosphere is generally clear and bracing, with abundance of sunshine.

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The province is divided into four natural zones:

(1) Prairie Zone, comprising the most southerly portion, extending as far north as Saskatoon, an open prairie country producing magnificent crops; (2) Prairie and Woodland Zone, the "park lands," extending from Saskatoon to Prince Albert and the southern edge of the Northern Forest, a mixed prairie and woodland adapted to farming and stock-raising; (3) The Forest Zone, covered with spruce, tamarack, jack-pine poplar and birch, bounded on the south by a line passing from the Swan river in a north-westerly direction through Prince Albert, and on the north by a line drawn from the northern part of Reindeer lake to the south shore of lake Athabaska; (4) Sparse Forest Zone, lying in the extreme north adjacent to the 60th parallel, not densely wooded with black spruce, Banksian pine and poplar.

## RESOURCES

### Agriculture

Canada ranks fourth among the nations of the world in acreage sown to wheat, with great possibilities of future development. Saskatchewan lies in the midst of one of the world's greatest wheat-growing regions. Less than 50 per cent of the total area cultivable in the province has been brought under cultivation, and yet the province produces more than 50 per cent of all the wheat grown in Canada. Saskatchewan oats are exceptionally large and heavy and at world exhibitions have always won the championship. Flax, barley, rye, and other small grains are cultivated with great success. The nature of the soil, a beneficent climate, and the abundant sunshine

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of a northern latitude, all combine to favour the agricultural advantages of this province. The value of the wheat crop grown in Saskatchewan in 1925 exceeded the total value of all the gold produced in the Yukon from 1885 to 1925 by more than $100,000,000.

The cattle industry in Saskatchewan is of national importance. Native grasses of the highest nutriment support large herds of cattle, numbering in 1926, nearly 1,500,000 cattle. The value of dairy products in 1926 was nearly $21,000,000.

Dominion Government Experimental farms are established at Indian Head, Rosthern, Scott, and Swift Current and the Provincial Government maintains an extensive experimental farm in connection with the University of Saskatoon.

Minerals. The whole of the southern portion of the Province is underlain by lignite coal, the reserves of which are estimated at 59,000 million tons. The clay deposits are abundant and of inestimable value, and building stone is found in quantity and in accessible locations. Although the annual mineral production now exceeds $1,000,000, the mineral-bearing rocks of the northern and eastern portions of the province have as yet received but little attention.

Forests, lying north of Prince Albert, constitute one of the Province's greatest assets and are estimated to contain a total of 17,600,000 thousand cu. ft. much of the timber cut is used for local construction purposes. For the preservation of these forest areas and to ensure a permanent supply of water, the Dominion Government has set aside a number of large areas as forest reserves, and

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forest nurseries are maintained at Indian Head and Sutherland for the supply of trees to settlers.

Water Powers Although there has been as yet no water power development in the province, it is estimated that there is a total possible development at ordinary minimum flow of 513,481 h.p. These water power sites are located on the Churchill, Red Deer, Saskatchewan, Black and Sturgeon-weir rivers, and constitute important reserve resources.

Rivers. The name Saskatchewan signifies "rushing water" and admirably describes the great river systems of the province. The North and South Branches rising in the Rocky Mts. and uniting a little below Prince Albert, form the Saskatchewan river flowing 1200 miles across the plain to lake Winnipeg. The noble Churchill river, 1100 miles long, with its numerous branches, drains an area of 115,500 sq. m. The Qu'appelle river (270 m. long) and the Souris (450 m. long), tributaries of the Assiniboine, drain the southern part of the province. All these navigable rivers have been nature's highways for the early explorers, fur-traders, and migrating settler. The province lies, as it were, upon the summit of Canada, its rivers flowing into the Arctic, the Atlantic, and the Gulf of Mexico.

Fisheries. The lakes of the province cover an area of 8,318 sq. m. With the exception of a few small lakes in the southern part containing mineral salts of great curative properties, all these lakes may be said to abound in fish, the whitefish, pike, sturgeon, and great lake trout; providing food for millions. The fisheries of the province during the past five years have more than doubled in value until in 1926 they were valued at $480,000, employing nearly

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1000 persons. These resources, however, may be said to have been barely touched, the great waters of northern Saskatchewan being practically unexploited. With the increase of population many of the lakes contiguous to cities will become popular resorts in summer. The Dominion Government has already established a National Park within easy distance of Prince Albert which includes numerous lakes abounding in fish and is surrounded by dense forests.

Furs. Saskatchewan has been the centre of the fur-trading industry for two hundred years and its forests still shelter valuable fur-bearing animals. Across its great plains the fur-trader followed the numerous river-highways and trails, north, south and west. // The four main routes of the fur-traders across Saskatchewan were as follows:

(a). From Cumberland House on Cumberland lake, north through Namew, Amisk and Miron lakes to Frog Portage, to the Churchill river, through Isle à la Crosse, Buffalo, and Methye lakes to the famous 12 mile Methye Portage, down the Clearwater and Athabaska rivers to Athabaska lake. Peter Pond had first travelled this route in 1778 and established the first fortified post near the outlet of the Athabaska river. Frobisher had built the first post on Cumberland lake in 1772 for the interests of the North West Company and Samuel Hearne 1774 constructed Cumberland House for the Hudson's Bay Co. and so named it in honour of Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland, first governor of the Company.

(b). From Cumberland House ascending the Saskatchewan passing

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fort a la Corne, the old French historic fort built originally by la Verendrye in 1748 and called at first fort St. Louis, and ascending the north branch of the Saskatchewan, past Prince Albert, Battleford, and Fort Pitt to Edmonton.

(c). From fort a la Corne, taking the South Branch and Red Deer river, past Chesterfield House established in 1791, to the Indians of Southern Saskatchewan and Alberta.

(d). Ascending the Assiniboine and Qu'appelle rivers for the southern trade. This natural resource still produces an annual income of nearly $2,000,000, and the most highly prized furs are obtained from northern Saskatchewan, such as the beaver, mink, ermine and marten.

Population of Saskatchewan in 1926 was 820,738, an increase in five years of 53,228 or 8¼ per cent. Of this total 578,206 or 70 per cent represent the rural population. This predominance of rural over urban dwellers would naturally be expected in an agricultural province and the present day movement from farm to city does not seem to have affected Saskatchewan as elsewhere. In racial origin, 80 per cent, or 648,128 are of British and north European origin, more than 50 per cent being of British origin.

## HISTORY

Boundaries, Originally all of the territory now included within the boundaries of Saskatchewan, excepting the northwest corner, north and west of Cree and Wolleston lakes, and a narrow strip adjacent to the international boundary line, formed part of Rupert's Land. A narrow strip running north and south from the 49th parallel along the present western boundary of Manitoba was included in the Selkirk grant, of 1811. The southern boundary (49°N) was established by

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Treaties of 1818 and 1842. The territory of the Selkirk grant became known as Assiniboia and in 1882 four Provisional Districts were created, two of which, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, occupied the southern half of the present province of Saskatchewan. At that time (1882) the northern half of the province was included in the North-west Territory of 1869, and the District of Saskatchewan extended eastwardly beyond the present eastern boundary of the province to lake Winnipeg. In 1895 the District of Athabaska was extended eastwardly to the 100th meridian and thus included the northern half of the present province of Saskatchewan. In 1905 the District of Saskatchewan, which included the border District of Assiniboia, was extended north to the 60th parallel, absorbing the eastern portion of the District of Athabaska, and was elevated into the Province of Saskatchewan.

Government. Until 1870 the administration of affairs in all the territory of Rupert's Land and in the Indian country, which in 1869 was organized into the North West Territory and had been previously held under lease for trading purposes by the Hudson's Bay Co., was vested in the Hudson's Bay Co., Saskatchewan was accordingly included under that administration until the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada in 1870. The possession of Assiniboia in fee-simple remained in the Selkirk family until 1835 and in the Hudson's Bay Co., thereafter until the transfer in 1870. From 1870 to 1876 the North-West Territories were governed by lieutenant-governors who were at the same time lieutenant-governors of Manitoba, under direction at first by the Secretary of State for the Provinces and after 1873 by the Minister of the Interior. A

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North-West council was appointed by the Dominion government to assist in the administration of the territories. In 1875 the lieutenant-governor became resident and the council partly elective. This Council, which held its sessions from 1877 to 1887 constituted practically a crown colony in government. The country was policed by the Royal North-West Mounted Police from 1873 to 1920 when the headquarters of this constabulary was removed to Ottawa. The R.N.W.M.P. were stationed at first at fort Walsh near the border under Commissioner French a member of the North-West Council, afterwards at Fort Saskatchewan, Regina and other places. In 1888 the District of Saskatchewan (which together with Alberta, Athabaska and Assiniboia was called the North-West Territories with capital at Regina) was given local responsible government under a legislative assembly, and the old North-West Council was replaced by the Northwest Legislature, which existed until 1905, when the Province of Saskatchewan was formed with government similar to the other Provinces. In 1887 Saskatchewan, with the other Districts, was allowed two senators and four elected representatives in the Dominion parliament. During the whole period of the existence of the territories, the assembly was limited in its powers of legislation. The assets of the territories were vested in the Dominion Government upon which the Assembly was dependent for its revenue. In accordance with the North-West Territories Act of 1875, the first three electoral districts were created in the neighbourhood of Prince Albert, Qu'appelle and Regina. The centres of settlement were Prince Albert, Battleford, and along the Canadian Pacific Railway. The erection of these electoral districts soon resulted in the incorporation of municipalities.

The first lieutenant-governor of the North-West

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Territories was Adams G. Archibald, appointed May 20, 1870. Col. John S. Dennis, surveyor-general, who had originally the system of surveys of the north-west, was placed in charge the Dominion lands in 1871 and the issue of patents began in 1873. The members of the first North-West Council were the Hon. Francis G. Johnson, Donald A. Smith and Pascal Breland, taking office October 22, 1870. In December following, their number was increased to the legal seven.

The second lieutenant-governor was Alexander Morris who was appointed on Dec. 2nd, 1872. On Oct. 7th, 1876 David Laird, who had been Minister of the Interior, was appointed lieutenant-governor of the territories, the first resident governor. By him the North-West Council was established. The tasks of this Council were of great importance in laying foundations for future development: they included the organization of the country, the development of local self-government, the establishment of schools, municipalities and judicial courts, and, in general, the guarding of the settlers' interests. The North-West Council had repeatedly laid the claims of the half-breeds before the Dominion Government and cannot justly be censured for the second rebellion of 1885. In 1873 the affairs of the territories were entrusted to the Department of the Interior. The first three lieutenant-governors of Manitoba, Adams G. Archibald, Francis G. Johnson, and Alexander Morris, were responsible also for the administration of the territories until, on October 7, 1876, David Laird was appointed separate lieutenant-governor of the territories. Amédée E. Forget, who had been clerk of North-West Council under lieutenant-governor Laird and himself lieutenant-governor of the territories since 1898, was appointed the first lieutenant-governor of the new Province

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of Saskatchewan, taking office on August 25, 1905.

## CITIES AND TOWNS IN SASKATCHEWAN

**In general** When Saskatchewan was erected into a province on September 1, 1905, it contained three cities (Regina, Moose Jaw and Prince Albert), and sixteen towns of which Battleford (1904) was one. There were also 40 villages, of which three had been established in 1894, two in 1898, seven in 1903, fourteen in 1904, and fourteen in 1905. It now contains 7 cities, 80 towns and 362 villages.

**Battleford** in 1876 was the first selection for Capital of the Province. It was situated on the main line of travel between Winnipeg and Calgary and for many years had been an important centre of the fur trade. About 1805 both the North-West Co. and the Hudson's Bay Co. had established posts in the vicinity. Battleford was located on the projected route of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Buildings were constructed for the government and sessions of the North-West Council were held there in 1878-1879 and 1881. The rapid settlement of the country along the C.P.R'y induced the government in 1882 to select Regina for the capital (at that time consisting of a few tents pitched on the open prairie and the barracks of the R.N.W.M.P), and the seat of government was formally changed accordingly in 1883. Battleford, so called because of many wars between Indian tribes in that vicinity, was the centre of disaffection in the rebellion of 1885, Poundmaker residing in the region. The town was sacked by the Indians for weeks before arrival of troops. The old fort was attacked and the stores plundered.

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North Battleford (clerk, H.W. Dixon Esq.) on the left bank of the Saskatchewan river, opposite the old town of Battleford, and the site of the historic Hudson's Bay Co. post, owes its inception to the advent of the railway in 1905. The population in 1906 was given in the census returns as only 824. Twenty years later (1926) the population was 4,787. The town is a divisional point on the main line from Winnipeg to Edmonton and it is also the terminus of several branch lines. It is entirely a new town, and illustrates the remarkable growth of settlement on the prairies. Many of the inhabitants of Battleford moved across the river to North Battleford when the railway was opened.

Prince Albert, (clerk, L.W. Andrew, Esq.) on the south bank of the North Saskatchewan river ranks fourth among the cities of the province with a population of nearly 8,000 as shown by the census of 1926. Prince Albert is one of the cities of Saskatchewan whose history goes back nearly 200 years as one of the very early trading posts. Soon after the establishment of Fort a la Corne (St. Louis) by Vérendrye in 1748, a post was established by him on one of the islands at the present Prince Albert as an outpost of the larger fort, 30 miles down stream. For a hundred years or more the place was merely a trading post and headquarters for the Indians, but though the beginnings were small, its history has been continuous. In 1866 the Reverend James Nesbit Presbyterian missionary to the Crees founded here the mission of Prince Albert and in 1879 Bishop McLean opened Emmanuel College for training native helpers for the Church of England.

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The existence of Emmanuel College together with a school established by Mr. Nesbit was the nucleus from which grew the large University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon incorporated in 1883. Soon after Manitoba was wlevated to a province, settlers began to penetrate as far west as Prince Albert and Battleford. The district around Prince Albert was the first to possess a population of 1000 inhabitants of afult age within an area of 1000 square miles. It was especially after the railway reached Prince Albert that rapid development began, although a line of steamers had previously connected the settlement with the east and south. In 1901 the population numbered 1,785. Since that time each quinquennial census has recorded a steady increase. Prince Albert is now a railway centre of importance with branches radiating in all directions. It contains two Cathedrals, many churches, schools, hospitals and other public buildings. Its industrial activity is marked; it is the distributing point of a rich farming and stock-raising district, and, being situated at the beginning of the great northern forests, it is the centre of the lumbering industry. //

Saskatoon, (City Commissioner A. Leslie, Esq.; Board of Trade Commissioner, J. H. Holmes Esq.), the second largest city of Saskatchewan is illustrative of the phenomenal growth of settlements in this prairie province. No other city represents a higher rate of increase in population. In 1901 there were but 113 souls in the little settlement; in 1926 there were 31,234, ~~or a per cent increase of over 275.~~ In 1879 there was a diminutive settlement which obtained its supplies from Moose Jaw by means of the Red River cart following the old trail up the Qu'appelle river valley. It was not until the arrival of the railway that

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settlement on a satisfactory basis could be made. From the date of the arrival of the first locomotive, May 15, 1890, Saskatoon may be said to have begun. In fifteen years the population increased from about 100 to 3,000. A large influx of English colonists in 1903, organized by the Rev. I. M. Barr and known as the "Barr Colonists," was the first serious development of Saskatoon and the surrounding country. Situated in the heart of an exceedingly fertile and extensive hard-wheat area, and in the centre of the province, its location makes it the strategic centre and point of distribution in an area of 45,000 sq. m. The city is built upon modern plans and enjoys all the advantages of a modern progressive city. It is the seat of the great University of Saskatchewan occupying 1333 acres of agricultural land and containing a thousand pupils.

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Lloydminster (Secretary John C. Davies) is situated 200 m. west of Saskatoon on the border line of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Its present population is 1247 (Census 1926). The town was founded in 1903 by settlers of the Barr Colony and named after the Rev. G.E. Lloyd of the Colonial and Continental Church Society who was instrumental in founding the settlement. Lacking transportation facilities, the settlers at first passed through a period of privation and pioneering, but upon the advent of the Canadian Northern Railway better times dawned for the colonists and those who had persevered now began to reap material advantages. The town is situated in the midst of a good grain-growing and mixed farming district on the main line of the C.N.R'y.

Davidson (Clerk, A.J. Robertson) is situated on the eastern part of the third prairie steppe with an altitude of 2030 feet and is the centre of a magnificent wheat district. The town, which now has a population of 600 (by the census 1926) was founded by the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company in 1903 and is another example of the remarkable growth of the prairie settlements. Its economic basis is agriculture which ensures its permanence. It contains a Dominion Lands office and an Immigration building.

Brandon, Manitoba. (Municipal Secretary-Treasurer G.F. Sykes, Esq.; Secretary Board of Trade H.L. Crawford, Esq.), the second city of the Province of Manitoba, is situated on the Assiniboine river at its junction with the Little Saskatchewan river, 133m. west of Winnipeg. In 1891 the population was 3,778. In 1926 it had increased nearly five fold to 16,443. The history of Brandon dates back to the early fur-trading activities of the eighteenth century. Situated near the mouth of the Souris river it became a centre of trade with the Indians to the south as far as the Mandan villages on the Missouri river. It commanded also the trade from the north by the long Assiniboine valley, and from the west by the Qu'Appelle river. In 1794 there were five different trading posts in this locality. The North-West Co. built near the present city of Brandon in 1794, and the same year the Hudson's Bay Co. built Brandon House on the south side of the Assiniboine river, two miles above the mouth of

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the Souris river and about 17 m. below the present city of Brandon. This fort was the chief post of the Hudson's Bay Co. in that region for 60 years. The country was famous for quantities of beaver and countless herds of Buffalo. Brandon was near the centre of the territory granted to Lord Selkirk and after the troubles of the Selkirk colony disappeared and the Districts of Manitoba and Assiniboia were established, settlers and half-breeds began to take up land near the old fur-trading posts. Access was through American territory by the Red river and the Assiniboine, until by the building of the C.P.Ry. the road lay open to foreign immigrants. The land throughout that southern section of Manitoba was early recognized as phenomenally rich and it became the first great wheat-growing district in Canada. Brandon is noted for its beauty. It is the distributing point and clearing house for the extensive radius of fertile prairie. It is an important railway centre and is famous for great shipments of wheat. The Government Experimental Farm, established about 1890, has been of great benefit to farmers. Brandon College and several excellent educational institutions are located in the city and there are numerous churches, hospitals and other public buildings.

Dauphin, Manitoba. (Town Clerk, J.W. Johnson, Esq.) is situated on the Vermilion river and about 10 miles west of lake Dauphin. It lies at the foot of the first prairie steppe at the edge of the glacial lake Agassiz. To the south extends the Riding Mt. Forest Reserve of about 1500 sq. m. The region about Dauphin is fraught with historic interest as the famous hunting ground of the trapper and fur-trader for more than a century. One of the oldest trading posts of the west known as Fort Dauphin was built by the sons of Vérendrye in 1741 not far from the outlet of lake Dauphin. On the north shore of the lake itself, Peter Pond erected his fort in 1775. This fort was afterwards operated by the North West Co. The first Hudson's Bay Co. fortwas built on the outlet of lake Dauphin about 1785. This fort with change of location was maintained by the Company for nearly 100 years. To the north lies the historic ground of Swan lake and river, the portage route to the

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Assiniboine river and to the chain of forts in that valley, and a region famous to the trapper. The settlement at Dauphin was established about 1895 and took its name from the historic fort of the French. The population in 1901 was 1,135 and in 1926 it numbered 3,580. Dauphin is a divisional point, the line to Prince Albert diverging here to the north. It is an important distributing centre and lies in a noted agricultural section.

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The Dominion of Canada, not less than the Province of Saskatchewan, is to be congratulated upon the creation of the Prince Albert National Park, the formal opening of which is about to take place. In the truest sense of the word, the new National Park is an asset of real worth to the men and women of to-day; it is certain to prove of ever-increasing value to future generations.

In a world that has lost much of its primitive life and natural beauty, it is a noble service to mankind to preserve in their original state vast park areas replete with the resources of Nature as they have come to man from the hand of the Creator.

As the Member for Prince Albert in the Parliament of Canada, I feel it the rarest of privileges to have had an opportunity of being associated with others of the constituency and of Parliament in bringing into being the new Park which bears the name of the constituency I have the honour to represent. I shall follow its progress and development with an abiding interest and pride.

W. L. Mackenzie King

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Ottawa, July 31, 1928

F. C. C. Lynch, Esq.,
Director,
Natural Resources Intelligence Service,
Department of the Interior,
O t t a w a.

Dear Mr. Lynch:

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for the memorandum which accompanied your letter of the 18th instant, giving the history and resources of Saskatchewan, together with brief notes on the historical background, resources and population of the selected cities and towns mentioned in the itinerary. Mr. King wishes me to say that this material will be of great assistance to him.

Yours faithfully,

Secretary to
President of the Privy Council.

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NATURAL RESOURCES INTELLIGENCE SERVICE
OTTAWA

, 18th July, 1928.

Dear Mr. Rogers,

In accordance with your request of July 10th, I am sending you herewith a sketch of the history and resources of Saskatchewan together with brief notes on the historical background, resources, and population of the selected cities and towns named in your letter.

This brochure has been prepared with a view of supplying such information as may be serviceable for the purpose indicated and I trust that it will be found satisfactory.

Yours very truly,

F. C. C. Lynch,
Director.

Norman McL. Rogers, Esq.,
Secretary to
President of the
Privy Council.

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Notes on the Province of Saskatchewan and the Constituency of Prince Albert - for Public Addresses in England.

SASKATCHEWAN.

Physical Features.

The Province of Saskatchewan has a total area of 251,700 sq. m. of which 8,318 sq. m. represent the water area, principally confined to large lakes in northern half of the province. It extends north to the 60th parallel, a distance of 760 miles, with an average breadth of 320 miles.

The Soil is extremely fertile, a rich loam from eight to twenty inches deep, resting upon a dark clay subsoil, which retains moisture and accounts for luxuriant crops even in dry seasons.

The surface for the most part consists of open, treeless, rolling prairie, situated on the western part of the second prairie steppe and the eastern part of the third. This average altitude of 1500 feet above sea level is a factor in producing a climate most favourable to plant and animal growth. The atmosphere is generally clear and bracing, with abundance of sunshine.

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Agriculture.

Canada ranks fourth among the nations of the world in acreage sown to wheat, with great possibilities of future development. Saskatchewan lies in the midst of one of the world's greatest wheat-growing regions. Less than 50 per cent of the total area cultivable in the provinces has been brought under cultivation, and yet the province produces more than 50 per cent of all the wheat grown in Canada. Saskatchewan oats are exceptionally large and heavy and at world exhibitions have always won the championship. Flax, barley, rye, and other small grains are cultivated with great success. The nature of the soil, a beneficent climate, and the abundant sunshine of a northern latitude, all combine to favour the agricultural advantages of this province. The value of the wheat crop grown in Saskatchewan in 1925 exceeded the total value of all the gold produced in the Yukon from 1885 to 1925 by more than $100,000,000.

The cattle industry in Saskatchewan is of national importance. Native grasses of the highest nutriment support large herds of cattle, numbering in 1926, nearly, 1,500,000 cattle. The value of dairy products in 1926 was nearly $21,000,000.

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Provincial Government maintains an extensive experimental farm in connection with the University of Saskatoon.

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Forests, lying north of Prince Albert, constitute one of the province's greatest assets. Much of the timber cut is used for local construction purposes. For the preservation of these forest areas and to ensure a permanent supply of water, the Dominion Government has set aside a number of large areas as forest reserves, and forest nurseries are maintained at Indian Head and Sutherland for the supply of trees to settlers.

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Water Powers.

Although there has been as yet no water power development in the province, it is estimated that there is a total possible development at ordinary minimum flow of 513,481 h.p. These water power sites are located on the Churchill, Red Deer, Saskatchewan, Black and Sturgeon-weir rivers, and constitute important reserve resources.

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Fisheries.

The lakes of the province cover an area of 8,318 sq. m. With the exception of a few small lakes in the southern part containing mineral salts of great curative properties, all these lakes may be said to abound in fish, the whitefish, pike, sturgeon, and great lake trout; providing food for millions. The fisheries of the province during the past five years have more than doubled in value until in 1926 they were valued at $480,000, employing nearly 1,000 persons. These resources, however, may be said to have been barely touched, the great waters of northern Saskatchewan being practically unexploited. With the increase of population many of the lakes contiguous to cities will become popular resorts in summer. The Dominion Government has already established a National Park within easy distance of Prince Albert which includes numerous lakes abounding in fish and is surrounded by dense forests.

Furs.

Saskatchewan has been the centre of the fur-trading industry for two hundred years and its forests still shelter valuable fur-bearing animals. Across its great plains the fur-trader followed the numerous river highways and trails, north, south and west.

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Population.

The population of Saskatchewan in 1926 was 820,738, an increase in five years of 63,228 or 8¼ per cent. Of this total 578,206 or 70 per cent represent the rural population. This predominance of rural over urban dwellers would naturally be expected in an agricultural province and the present day movement from farm to city does not seem to have affected Saskatchewan as elsewhere. In racial origin, 80 per cent, or 648,128 are of British and north European origin, more than 50 per cent being of British origin.

## HISTORY

Boundaries.

Originally all of the territory now included within the boundaries of Saskatchewan, excepting the north-west corner, north and west of Cree and Wolleston Lakes, and a narrow strip adjacent to the international boundary line, formed part of Rupert's land. A narrow strip running north and south from the 49th parallel along the present western boundary of Manitoba was included in the Selkirk grant, of 1811. The southern boundary (49°N) was established by Treaties of 1818 and 1842. The territory of the Selkirk grant became known as Assiniboia and in 1882 four Provisional

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Districts were created, two of which, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, occupied the southern half of the present province of Saskatchewan. At that time (1882) the northern half of the province was included in the North-west Territory of 1869, and the District of Saskatchewan extended eastwardly beyond the present eastern boundary of the province to Lake Winnipeg. In 1895 the District of Athabaska was extended eastwardly to the 100th meridian and thus included the northern half of the present province of Saskatchewan. In 1905 the District of Saskatchewan, which included the border District of Assiniboia, was extended north to the 60th parallel, absorbing the eastern portion of the District of Athabaska, and was elevated into the Province of Saskatchewan.

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## THE CONSTITUENCY OF PRINCE ALBERT

The constituency of Prince Albert is one of the most northern of Canadian constituencies. Its total area is approximately 28,620 square miles. In other words, it is considerably larger than the combined area of Belgium and Holland.

### The City of Prince Albert

Prince Albert, on the south bank of the North Saskatchewan River, ranks fourth among the cities of the Province, with a population of nearly 8,000, as shown by the census of 1926.

Prince Albert is one of the cities of Saskatchewan whose history goes back nearly 200 years as one of the very early trading posts. Soon after the establishment of Fort a la Corne (St. Louis) by Verendrye in 1748, a post was established by him on one of the islands at the present Prince Albert as an outpost of the larger fort, 30 miles down stream. For a hundred years or more the place was merely a trading post and headquarters for the Indians, but though the beginnings were small, its history has been continuous. In 1866 the

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Reverend James Nesbit, Presbyterian missionary to the Crees, founded here the mission of Prince Albert, and in 1879 Bishop McLean opened Emmanuel College for training native helpers for the Church of England. The existence of Emmanuel College, together with a school established by Mr. Nesbit, was the nucleus from which grew the large University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon incorporated in 1883.

Soon after Manitoba was elevated to a province, settlers began to penetrate as far west as Prince Albert and Battleford. The district around Prince Albert was the first to possess a population of 1,000 inhabitants of adult age within an area of 1,000 square miles. It was especially after the railway reached Prince Albert that rapid development began, although a line of steamers had previously connected the settlement with the east and south. In 1901 the population number 1,785. Since that time each quinquennial census has recorded a steady increase. Prince Albert is now a railway centre of importance, with branches radiating in all directions. It contains two cathedrals, many churches, schools, hospitals and other public buildings. Its industrial activity is marked; it is the distributing point of a rich farming and stock-raising district, and, being situated at the beginning of the great northern forests, it is the centre of the lumbering industry.

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# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES SINCE CONFEDERATION.

Digest of material prepared by Cudmore.

At Confederation the great Northwest of Canada, except for the little Red River settlement, was a vast expanse of territory with a scattered population of Indians and half-breeds, whose only contribution to the production of the world was made by hunting and trapping, the products of which were marketed through the Hudson Bay forts which were established at great intervals throughout the length and breadth of the country. Otherwise, these vast territories were of practically no use to mankind, although their potential capacities were even then beginning to be realized.

## Growth in Population of the Prairie Provinces.

At the first census of the Dominion, taken on April 2, 1871, only the four original provinces were enumerated. However, with the admission of Manitoba as the fifth province of the Dominion, a census of the Red River settlement had been taken in November, 1870, when the population was found to be 12,228, to which were added some 13,000 Indians estimated as living within the wider confines of the province as in 1871. Thus the population of the province in 1871 is set down as 25,228. In the same year, an estimated 48,000 Indians and half-breeds inhabited the vast areas extending from the

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boundaries of Manitoba west to the Rocky Mountains and north to the Arctic ocean, a total population of 73,000, mainly Indians and half-breeds, in the great central plains of Canada. From this small beginning, the population of these areas increased to:

118,000 in 1881, and

251,000 in 1891,

but even in 1891 a very large part of this population was composed of aborigines.

In 1901 figures become available for the population of the three prairie provinces as they exist today. In that year, the total population of the three quarters of a million square miles included in these three provinces was 419,512. Thereafter settlement was much more rapid, and the aggregate rose to:

808,646 in 1906,

1,328,121 in 1911,

1,698,137 in 1916,

1,956,082 in 1921

2,067,378 in 1926.

Thus the population of the prairie provinces as a whole has increased nearly five-fold in the first quarter of the twentieth centry, while Saskatchewan in the same period increased nine-fold and Alberta eight-fold. Probably no such large areas anywhere

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else in the world have shown such extraordinary relative gains in population during the same period.

The growth of the population of the prairie provinces since 1871 is summed up in the following table:-

Population of the Prairie Provinces, 1871-1926.

| Year | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1871 | 25,228 | 48,000 | | 73,228 |
| 1881 | 62,260 | 56,000 | | 118,260 |
| 1891 | 152,506 | 98,967 | | 251,473 |
| 1901 | 255,211 | 91,279 | 73,022 | 419,512 |
| 1906 | 365,688 | 257,763 | 185,195 | 808,646 |
| 1911 | 461,394 | 492,432 | 374,295 | 1,328,121 |
| 1916 | 553,860 | 647,835 | 496,442 | 1,698,137 |
| 1921 | 610,118 | 757,510 | 588,454 | 1,956,082 |
| 1926 | 639,056 | 820,738 | 607,584 | 2,067,378 |

Rapid as has been the increase of the prairie provinces as a whole, even more rapid has been the growth of their cities and towns and their aggregate urban population. WINNIPEG, the metropolis of the prairie provinces, grew from:

241 people in 1871 to
42,340 " 1901 and
191,998 " 1926.

CALGARY had only 4,392 people as late as 1901, and 65,413 in 1926.
EDMONTON had 4,176 " in 1901, " 65,163 " "
REGINA had only 2,249 " in 1901 " 37,329 " " ,

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while Saskatoon showed an even more amazing growth from

113 people in 1901 to

31,234 in 1926,

and, relatively speaking, these records of growth could be equalled or even outstripped by many smaller places. Altogether the urban population of Manitoba increased from:

70,436 in 1901 to

278,858 in 1926,

that of Saskatchewan from:

14,266 in 1901 to

242,532 in 1926,

and that of Alberta from:

18,533 in 1901 to

233,848 in 1926.

While the total population of the prairie provinces increased about five-fold, the urban population has increased, in the last quarter century, from 103,245 to 753,697, or over seven-fold.

Relative Growth in Population and Parliamentary Representation.

As naturally happens in a democractic country, the parliamentary representation of the prairie provinces has increased with their growth in population. Whereas in 1874 their total representation of the Great Northwest in the Dominion

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House of Commons was 4 out of 206, in 1904 it had risen to 20 in a House of 214, and at the present time it is 54 in a House of 245. Thus the representatives of the prairie provinces in the Canadian House of Commons have increased from 4 to 54, while the representatives of all the rest of Canada (including Eastern Canada and British Columbia) have diminished from 202 in 1874 and 194 in 1904 to 191 at the present time. Taking the five provinces of Eastern Canada alone, their total representation in the House of Commons was 196 in 1874, after Prince Edward Island had entered Confederation, 186 in 1904, and 176 at the present time. The reason for this actual decline in representation is, of course, that the other provinces of Eastern Canada are not growing as rapidly as Quebec, whose population determines the unit of representation.

Immigration to the Prairie Provinces.

While the increase in the population of the prairie provinces between 1921 and 1926 was disappointing, it must be remembered that during a great part of that time the great agricultural industry of the prairies was in a state of depression following upon the great boom of 1915 to 1920. Naturally enough, during this period the immigration destined for the prairie provinces was comparatively small,

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totalling for all three provinces about 23,000 in the fiscal year 1923, when the situation was particularly unsatisfactory. Since 1926 the situation in this respect has greatly improved. The fiscal year 1927 shows 73,000 immigrants and the fiscal year 1928 over 74,000 immigrants to the prairie provinces, which are thus getting about one half of the total immigration to Canada, so far as can be ascertained from the declarations of immigrants when entering the country. The total population of the prairie provinces is as yet less than three to the square mile of their land area so that there is abundant room for immigrants for the next generation. The total number of immigrants to Canada, giving their destination as the prairie provinces, during the last six fiscal years, is as follows:-

| Year | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1923 | 6,037 | 8,186 | 8,798 | 23,021 |
| 1924 | 21,451 | 13,200 | 10,430 | 45,081 |
| 1925 | 11,772 | 14,041 | 10,952 | 36,765 |
| 1926 | 19,079 | 13,816 | 12,540 | 45,435 |
| 1927 | 36,739 | 20,085 | 16,367 | 73,191 |
| 1928 | 43,596 | 15,331 | 15,473 | 74,400 |

Gross Production of the Prairie Provinces

Together with the increase in the population of the prairie provinces has gone their increase in production; in fact, thanks to the improvements in agricultural and other

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machinery, growth of production has far outstripped the growth of population. As recently as 1921, the total gross value of production in the prairie provinces was $762,000,000, but in 1925 it rose to $1,114,000,000, Manitoba's contribution being $232,000,000 and $290,000,000 respectively, while Saskatchewan's was $306,000,000 and $468,000,000. The figures are as follows:-

Gross Value of Production of the Prairie Provinces 1921-25.

| Provinces | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 | 1924 | 1925 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| Manitoba | 232,239,386 | 236,682,048 | 202,478,428 | 279,328,851 | 290,363,258 |
| Saskatchewan | 306,409,889 | 375,362,337 | 336,458,857 | 330,903,240 | 467,632,165 |
| Alberta | 223,648,964 | 221,929,251 | 301,105,188 | 298,589,566 | 356,165,710 |
| TOTAL | 762,298,239 | 838,973,636 | 840,042,473 | 908,821,657 | 1,114,161,133 |

Agriculture in the Prairie Provinces.

The growth of agriculture in the prairie provinces, especially since the commencement of the present century, has been one of the outstanding phenomena in the recent agricultural history of the world, as is shown by the fact that Canada is now the world's largest exporter of wheat. In the forty years between 1886 and 1926 the area of improved land on the farms of the prairie provinces expanded from 950,000 acres to 49,264,000

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acres or by over fifty-fold. During the same forty-year period, the area under crop increased from 718,000 acres in 1886 to 35,000,000 acres in 1926. The details by provinces are given in the two following tables:-

Number of Acres of Improved Land in the Prairie Provinces

| Year | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres |
| 1881 | 250,416 | | | 250,416[1] |
| 1886 | 752,571 | 195,985[2] | | 948,556 |
| 1891 | 1,232,111 | 196,773[2] | | 1,428,884 |
| 1901 | 3,995,305 | 1,122,602 | 474,694 | 5,592,601 |
| 1911 | 6,746,169 | 11,871,907 | 4,351,698 | 22,969,774 |
| 1916 | 7,187,737 | 19,632,206 | 7,510,303 | 34,330,246 |
| 1921 | 8,057,823 | 25,037,401 | 11,768,042 | 44,863,266 |
| 1926 | 8,346,021 | 27,714,490 | 13,204,114 | 49,264,625 |

Number of Acres Under Crop in the Prairie Provinces, 1886 - 1926.

| Year | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres |
| 1886 | 593,991 | 123,794[2] | | 717,785 |
| 1891 | 1,229,041 | 151,987 | 38,371 | 1,419,399 |
| 1901 | 2,756,106 | 655,537 | 188,476 | 3,600,119 |
| 1906 | 4,220,161 | 3,271,436 | 916,100 | 8,407,697 |
| 1911 | 5,161,858 | 9,136,868 | 3,378,365 | 17,677,091 |
| 1916 | 5,116,661 | 13,973,382 | 5,505,872 | 24,595,915 |
| 1921 | 5,857,635 | 17,822,481 | 8,523,190 | 32,203,306 |
| 1926 | 6,261,417 | 19,558,964 | 9,166,700 | 34,987,081 |

[1]Manitoba only. [2]Saskatchewan and Alberta.

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Agricultural Production of the Prairie Provinces.

In the production of the prairie provinces, agriculture, as everyone knows, bulks most largely, though in all the provinces manufactures are rapidly increasing, and, in Manitoba especially, have risen to be an important factor in the total. The estimated gross annual agricultural production of the prairie provinces has risen from $476,000,000 in 1921 to $801,000,000 in 1927, and increase of 68 per cent in six years. The figures are as follows:-

Estimated Gross Annual Agricultural Revenue of the Prairie Provinces - 1921-27.

| Year | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| 1921 | 96,562,000 | 258,265,000 | 120,762,000 | 475,589,000 |
| 1922 | 124,842,000 | 343,009,000 | 137,068,000 | 604,919,000 |
| 1923 | 89,306,000 | 309,661,000 | 137,068,000 | 591,546,000 |
| 1924 | 163,154,000 | 286,024,000 | 204,365,000 | 653,543,000 |
| 1925 | 121,437,000 | 421,799,000 | 210,688,000 | 753,924,000 |
| 1926 | 139,913,000 | 359,333,000 | 249,384,000 | 748,630,000 |
| 1927 | 115,074,000 | 360,686,000 | 325,251,000 | 801,011,000 |

The greatest factor in the agricultural production of the prairie provinces is, of course, the wheat production which has grown from 1,150,000 bushels in 1880 to 17,884,000 bushels in 1890, 23,456,000 in 1900, 110,000,000 in 1906, 208,000,000 bushels in 1916, 242,000,000 in 1916, 280,000,000 in 1921, and 415,000,000 bushels in 1927. These most impressive figures are as follows:-

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Production of Wheat in the Prairie Provinces
1900 - 1927.

| Year | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | bu. | bu. | bu. | bu. |
| 1900 | 18,352,929 | 4,306,091 | 797,839 | 23,456,859 |
| 1921 | 39,054,000 | 188,000,000 | 53,044,000 | 280,098,000 |
| 1927 | 30,773,000 | 212,860,000 | 171,286,000 | 414,919,000 |

Manufacturing in the Prairie Provinces.

Though agriculture is the predominant industry in the prairie provinces, it is far from being the only one, and since the commencement of the present century, manufacturing has shown great gains, especially in Manitoba, where the gross value of manufacturing has increased from:

$13,000,000 in 1900

to $132,700,000 in 1926,

or over ten-fold. The grand total for all three provinces has risen in the same period from:

$14,900,000 to $263,000,000,

or nearly eighteen times. As is naturally the case, the manufactures of the prairie provinces are mainly concerned with the working up of the agricultural commodities produced in such enormous quantities. The figures showing the growth

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of manufacturing production on the prairies are given in the following table, in which we may specially note the increase from $186,000,000 in 1923 to $263,000,000 in 1926.

Gross Manufacturing Production of the Prairie Provinces
1880 - 1926.

| Year | Total |
|---|---|
| 1880 | $ 3,608,964 |
| 1900 | 14,892,426 |
| 1915 | 103,252,873 |
| 1926 | 263,252,180 |

New Construction in the Prairie Provinces.

For recent years the value of construction contracts awarded in Canada is available from the MacLean Building Reports, Limited. The figures for the prairie provinces for the years 1922 to 1927 and the first half of 1928 are given in the following table, in which may be noted the increase from $19,000,000 in 1924 to nearly $49,000,000 in 1927 and to over $33,000,000 in the first half of 1928.

Construction Contracts awarded in the Prairie Provinces
1921 - 1928
(from MacLean Building Reports Ltd.)

| Year | Manitoba | Saskatchewan | Alberta | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | $ | $ |
| 1922 | 9,365,800 | 5,034,400 | 8,903,500 | 23,303,700 |
| 1923 | 9,984,000 | 5,793,300 | 7,066,400 | 22,843,700 |
| 1924 | 6,492,500 | 5,857,800 | 6,600,400 | 18,950,700 |
| 1925 | 13,093,200 | 4,923,100 | 3,867,500 | 21,883,800 |
| 1926 | 19,186,600 | 14,251,500 | 10,058,400 | 43,496,500 |
| 1927 | 29,939,900 | 11,337,600 | 7,507,300 | 48,784,800 |
| 1928 (half year) | 12,912,500 | 8,972,500 | 11,334,900 | 33,219,900 |

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**Conclusion.**

The above are only a few of the most salient facts illustrating the unrivalled development in the past fifty years and especially in the past twenty-five years in the great central plains of Canada, which constitute the prairie provinces. It is safe to say that nowhere in the world can be found a community which has made more rapid progress in the same period of time. It is only some twenty years ago that, in the heat of the Chamberlain campaign for tariff reform in England, free traders asked how Great Britain's millions could ever be fed from Canada. In the crop year ended July 31, 1926, thanks to the prairie provinces, Canadian exports of wheat and wheat flour, expressed as wheat, were greater than the whole imports of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, together with those of Germany and Belgium combined. And as yet we are far from having attained to the full measure of our capacities as producers and exporters of the white man's staple food, the food which traditionally symbolizes a high standard of living and prosperity. But this is only one of many ways in which the highly efficient and educated population of the prairie provinces will more and more make their influence felt throughout the entire economic world, and contribute to the welfare of the whole human race.

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Resolutions presented by the Young Liberals of Long Lake constituency to the Prime Minister, the Right Honorable McKenzie King, upon the occasion of his visit to the constituency at Etter's Beach, Aug. 7, 1928.

The ~~Members of~~ Young Liberals of Long Lake unite in welcoming to this constituency the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honorable McKenzie King.

We wish to express our admiration of his scholarly qualities, his matchless leadership, and his skill in parliamentary debate.

His work at the last Imperial Conference is worthy of honored mention. There he acted as mediator between the conflicting views of Empire as entertained and expressed by statesmen of the other Dominions.

We are happy that the result has not only been a clearer definition of Canada's position in the Empire, but one more link uniting us in still closer union with the British Commonwealth

Canada; and

To encourage a broad spirit of nationality within the British Empire.

Presented on behalf of the Women's Liberal Association of Long Lake constituency by

Signed by Elizabeth G. Cameron
President

Signed by Rose B. Stewart
Secretary

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of Nations.

We are grateful because of the genuinely Liberal legislation enacted at Ottawa in the interests of the people of Canada and look forward with confidence to a continuation of the implementing of those Liberal policies.

We wish to reaffirm fearlessly:-

Our loyalty to Canada;
Our belief that the interests of Canada can best be served by a close connection with the mother country.
Our confidence that the application of the principles of Liberalism will best tend to promote the welfare of Canada.

And finally; we wish to express our confidence in the present Member, for this constituency, Mr. Johnston, and pledge our loyalty and support to the Liberal party and its distinguished leader, the Right Honorable Mc Kenzie King.

Signed: Roland E Foote
W Lewis
J. Johnston

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AT WESTERN BOND & PAPER MADE IN CANADA



RESOLUTION presented to the RIGHT HONORABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Prime Minister of Canada, from the Women's Liberal Association of Long Lake Constituency, at Etter's Beach, 7th. August 1928.

WHEREAS in the course of a tour to the West it has pleased the Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, to visit the Federal constituency of Long Lake, in the Province of Saskatchewan:

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the Women Liberals of Long Lake constituency, in meeting assembled at Etter's Beach, Stalwart, Saskatchewan, on this seventh day of August, nineteen hundred and twenty eight, duly organised in accordance and in affiliation with the National Federation of Women's Liberal Clubs in Canada, do hereby present to the Right Honorable Prime Minister our assurance of loyalty to the principles of Canadian Liberalism, and in particular to our distinguished Liberal leader, Mr. Mackenzie King, affirming that it will be our constant endeavour:

To encourage the organisation of Liberal women in Long Lake constituency;

To uphold the cause of Liberalism;

To raise the status and advance the political education of women;

To aid in securing and maintaining good government in Canada; and

To encourage a broad spirit of nationality within the British Empire.

Presented on behalf of the Women's Liberal Association of Long Lake constituency by

Signed by Elizabeth G. Cameron.
President

Signed by Rose B. Stewart
Secretary

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VILLAGE OF SHELLBROOK.

RURAL MUNICIPALITY OF SEHLLBROOK No.493.

SHELLBROOK, SASKATCHEWAN.
August 8th.1928.

Rt.Hon.W.L.MacKenzie King C.M.G. M.A. LL.D.
Premier of Canada.

Dear Mr MacKenzie King:-

On behalf of the residents of Shellbrook and the surrounding communities which form a large part of your constituency the Councils of the Village of Shellbrook and the Rural Municipality of Shellbrook No.493 unite in extending to you, both as Premier of Canada, the Member for this constituency in the Parliament of Canada, and more particularly yourself personally a very cordial welcome to our midst.

We appreciate the honour which is ours in having for our representative the leader of the Government, we realise something of the tremendous field of national and international affairs with which he has to deal, and the unceasing demand upon his energies and time, and in view of these facts, we appreciate very keenly the manner in which you have given attention to the needs and requirements of your own constituency.

May we express the hope that you will enjoy this visit among the people you represent and find an opportunity in the near future of returning, so as to become still better acquainted with us and partaking of that welcome which will always be extended to you.

Signed on behalf of our respective Councils.

George Stasiuk
Overseer. Village of Shellbrook.

Geo. S. Canfield per J.H.R.
Reeve.R.M.of Shellbrook No.493.

Lt. Col. Romer
Shellbrook.
Sask.

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The Christian ~~Society of Independent~~ Brotherhood of Dukhobors of Blaine Lake District expresses its heartiest appreciation for the visit of our esteemed guest and leader of present gov. of Canada.

We express our acknowledgment of gratitude to the present Liberal Government and we heartily appreciate its achievements made in the lines of agriculture, manufacturing, trade, education and progress of building railways.

Having been persecuted in Russia for our Christian pacifistic principles we have adapted Canada as our home country which granted us land and religious freedom of worship.

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After many years of adversity and primitive hardships in this country we have honestly and peacefully toiled to adjust ourselves to the new order of things to make Canada shining gem amongst the countries of the world.

Having liberty to express our thoughts we unwaveringly believe that peace is one of the chief factors to enrich the country with wealth, health and happiness, in the same time elevating citizens to a higher moral scale of life.

Since Christianity is not only to benefit any particular community but the whole world, we firmly believe that time will come when all nations of the world will live peacefully ruled by the divine principles

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of our Great Instructor and Saviour and that war and its relics will be remembered as past, wild, ~~barbaric~~ barbaric actions of folly started and enraged by unscrupulous advocates of war, fought by common people, and its destructive, demoralizing results borne by innocent unparticipants of future generations.

Time will come when war the last morbid enterprise managed on a stupendous scale with the most outstanding destructive military arts and inventions of our modern times will be the events of past. As we do wonder at past historical event of human slavery so the future generations will be amazed at the fierceness and intolerance of our times towards the weaknesses of our neighbours

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which could be settled peaceefully through prudent arbitration.

Victor Hugo says: "A day will come when the only battlefield will be the markets open to commerce and the minds open to new ideas. A day will come when the cannon will be exhibited in public museums just as an instrument of torture is exhibited now and the people will wonder then how such a thing could have been used as we are wondering now how the instruments of torture could have been used in the past"

Any pacifistic step promoting future peace and good will amongst nations made by the Liberal Government of Canada will be highly appreciated and honoured, and the heroes of such movement will be revered not only by our

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C 94260

society, but we believe by all common citizens of Canada.

We humbly beg our esteemed guest, Hon McKenzie King to accept this souvenir as a token of recognizance for the visit to Blaine Lake District from Christian Brotherhood of ~~Independent~~ Doukhobors.

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C 94261

Mr. Le Berry,
Mr. Moore Lebel
Ainsworth

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C 94262

Mr. King -

The Women's Liberal Club of Shellbrook cannot let this opportunity pass, of expressing to you the gratitude of your constituents for your able representation in Parliament, and our great pleasure at having you in our midst even if for so short a time.

The constituency of Prince Albert with the other Northern ridings of the West, will in the next few years be the scene of the greatest development this country has known. To-day it is the most romantic, the most appealing, and the most challenging part of Canada. And as has always been the case with an area that is rapidly developing and opening up it will be impossible for public improvements to keep pace with private enterprise. Therefore the representatives of these ridings have a perplexing and trying role to fill. You have satisfied our most hopeful, most exacting expectations, You have so completely entered into the spirit of the West that you have become in fact a part of the West, and have interpreted the aspirations of your constituents both in Parliament and throughout the country in a manner entirely to our liking, and we take this opportunity of telling you that we are pleased.

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I have therefore the great honor to move this resolution of confidence in you our Member for Prince Albert, and in you also as Prime Minister of Canada, and leader of a truly liberal government.

RESOLVED that the constituents of Prince Albert riding assembled in Shellbrook this 8th day of August, 1928, to do honor to the member of Parliament for Prince Albert, the Right Honorable W. L. MacKenzie King, Prime Minister, take this opportunity to express to him their thanks and appreciation for his able and statesmanlike representation in Parliament.

Moved by Mrs. C. W. Clinch, secretary Shellbrook Women's Liberal Club,

Seconded by Mrs. A. J. Chambers, vice-president Shellbrook Women's Liberal Club.

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C 94264

1. Band will play: O. Canada.
2. Address of Welcome by
   Mr. James Moffat
3. Address of Welcome from
   Sub Lobors by Nick
   Opacho & read in Englis
4. Some address be read by John
   Bandoff in Russian
5. Address by Premier

6. Presentation of a book to
Right Hon Mackenzie-King by
   Miss Edith Zbeelnoff
   and address of presentation
will be read.
. Blair Lake -
   etc.

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John Bardrey - Blair Lake

Nick Osachy - Blair Lake

Alex. Vereschagin

Blair Lake

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C 94266

Office of the Secretary

# Village of Waldheim

Waldheim, Sask., Aug.9, 1928

Rt.Hon.W.L.McKenzie King,

On behalf of the citizens of Waldheim,and district,I extend to you a hearty welcome. Waldheim,interpreted from the German,means 'Forest Home', which was certainly correct at the time it was established years ago. Since then most of the bush and forests have been cleared away and now you see large open fields of grain. The first settlers arrived in the district in I892,these pioneers have passed away.The next year more arrived,among whom we have one in our midst nearly 85 years old.From then on untill I90I many more came untill the district was well settled. These early settlers were handicapped badly on account of far away markets,untill I907 this branch of the C.N.R. was built. Now we find fine farms with splendid buildings and improvements,and we have one of the finest districts between the two Saskatchewan rivers. We are told that the Dalmeny-Carlton branch C.N.R. holds the record for Saskatchewan in the shipment of dairy produce of any line of Railway of same length.

We have in our district a large number of immigrants from Europe,the first of whom arrived in July,I923,and these are now one of us,they have adapted themselves to this country and have found a home of which they are proud of.These are planning applying fro their Natuzalization papers and are anxiously awaiting the time when they can say they are citizens of this country,and they have asked me to express to you and your Government their sincere thanks for the stand taken in regard to the immigartion policy.

Also the ##### policy taken re Hudsons Bay Raiway,we look with anxiety for its early completion,as we feel confident it will effect this countryimmensely.

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C 94267

Office of the Secretary

# Village of Waldheim

Waldheim, Sask., ..... 192.....

We are indeed thanful for the short visit which you have honored us with, and we are proud of the fact of having the Prime Minister representing us, one of the finest districts in one of the best constituencies in the best Province in the Dominion, and should occasion arise for a visit here at some future date, we extend to you a cordial invitation for a longer visit.

P. J. Nicol

Overseer, Village of Waldheim.

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Au très Honorable W.L. MCKENZIE KING

Premier Ministre du Canada.

Monsieur le Premier Ministre,

Nous voudrions avoir une voix éclatante, tonnante, pour porter à tous les échos de nos bois le mot: Bienvenue! Bienvenue au Premier Ministre du Canada! Bienvenue à notre Premier Ministre!

C'est un grand jour pour Albertville que ce neuf d'août 1928 ou nous avons l'honneur de votre visite, Monsieur le Premier Ministre! Longtemps on en parlera! Longtemps on s'en souviendra!

Beaucoup avaient désiré vous voir, vous entendre qui craignaient ne pouvoir jamais satisfaire leur désir. Ce soir, tous nous pourrons dire: j'ai vu, j'ai entendu Monsieur le Premier Ministre du Canada. Voila bien une date historique dans notre vie. Aussi, laissez-nous vous dire notre très grande reconnaissance.

Vous ne pouviez donner que bien peu de jours à un immense district qui s'étends sur des centaines de milles de l'Est à l'Ouest et du Nord au Sud, où vous aviez beaucoup de centres interessants, populeux, pleins de vie sociale tous désireux et anxieux de vous voir, de vous entendre, de vous acclamer. Il vous fallait en choisir un petit nombre et vous avez choisi, pour l'honorer de votre visite, le petit village, la petite bourgade d'Albertville.

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Nous comprenons tout cela,nous réalisons l'honneur qui nous est fait et de tout notre coeur nous vous disons un grand merci.

Mais tout naturellement,nous nous demandons en quoi nous avons pu mériter cette distinction et cet honneur insignes? Pourquoi faites-vous,Monsieur le Premier Ministre, une longue randonnée jusqu'à nous, perdus au milieu de nos blés mûrissant et de nos bois silencieux?

Vous ne pouviez attendre de nous aucune réception grandiose,digne de votre rang le premier du Canada.Qu'êtes-vous donc venus voir à Albertville?Nous n'avons trouvé à cette question qu'une réponse.Vous êtes venu voir,vous êtes venu honorer des amis.Sans doute,vous avez beaucoup d'amis dans le district de Prince Albert par ce qu'il y a dans ce district beaucoup d'hommes et de femmes qui ont compris et qui ont senti l'honneur que vous leur avez fait de vouloir être leur Représentant officiel dans le Parlement du Canada.Mais nous croyons ne dire que la vérité et nous osons prétendre que vous n'avez pas dans Prince Albert d'amis plus chauds,plus sincéres et plus fidéles que ceux d'Albertville.

Nous avons été des amis fidéles dans le passé,nous le serons à l'avenir.Nous ne pouvons pas oublier que vous êtes le Grand Chef du grand parti au Canada.Depuis que le Canada fait son histoire,le parti libéral a été, plus qu'à son tour, à la tête dirigeante de ses brillantes destinées.C'est le parti des hommes francs et loyaux,des hommes droits et qui aiment les voies droites. C'est le parti qui libéralement rend justice à tous les mérites et reconnait tous les dévouements

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Tant que le parti libéral restera digne de son glorieux passé et fidéle à son idéal nous serons de coeur et d'âme avec lui.

Tant que le parti libéral aura comme chef le très Honorable Mackenzie King,il aura un chef digne de tous nos respects et de tous nos devouements.C'est pourquoi nous ne craignons pas de crier bien haut:

Vive notre Deputé!

Vive notre Premier Ministre!

Vive Sir Mackenzie King!

Le Comité libéral d'Albertville
par son Président
Aimé Pellerin. 9 août 1928.

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Le Comité libéral d'Albertville
par son Président
Aimé Pellerin. 9 août 1928.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. L. McKENZIE KING.

Fifty years ago to-day a pioneer crossed the Saskatchewan River to make his home in this new land. This pioneer has the honour on this anniversary to make this presentation and through him your constituents and the people of Saskatchewan welcome you cordially personally as their representative and as Prime Minister of Canada.

The constituents are pleased to manifest their welcome through this rustic cottage over-looking this beautiful Lake, the first habitation to be erected in the New Park. That the building has been completed in the short time since the plan was first conceived and undertaken is due to the efforts of capable workmen.

The logs were cut up the Lake on the horizon to the South-West, about a mile back from the shore. They were hauled to the Lake and rafted down to the bay back of this point. The field stone from which the fire-place and the chimneys were built were taken from the lake shore.

On one occasion a raft of logs was being towed by a small boat with an outboard motor when an adverse wind came up and it was not only impossible to make head-way, but the logs broke away. The men were helpless. When Lo! fate decreed the wind should change and a favourable breeze brought the logs to the beach where they were required.

The resolute determination of the men on the actual task is symbolical of the spirit which

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has made possible the conquest of this pioneer country and assures us of early realization of further possibilities.

The right-of-way coming through the Park and passing in front now cleared will soon be a highway replacing the winding improved Montreal Lake, fur trading trail, which has been and is now the only means of access to this National Park and in making the Park more accessible will make this cottage and others to be erected in the near future easier to reach then by the way which you came to-day. A road will also pass by the South side of the cottage.

As you will note different constituencies of the Province have been pleased to furnish the cottage, the rooms to be named after the places furnishing them, Melfort the Kitchen, Humboldt a bed-room, Regina the living-room, Saskatoon the verandah, Battlefords a bed-room and Moose Jaw the dining-room. The shortness of time has not enabled the furnishing of all the rooms to be completed as is intended. This is b eing done in the near future.

It is fitting indeed that this National play ground is approximately in the centre of the Province and we are pleased that from this site such a beautiful part of the Park can be so easily seen.

We recognize the need for yonr absence as our first citizen in the very near future where the affairs of nations are to be dealt with and are proud of the fact that this task falls upon a representative of the Province of Saskatchewan, but regret deeply that you cannot be longer with us on this occasion.

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With pleasure and affection on behalf of all those whose collective enterprise, thought, effort and endeavour have made this token of permanent welcome possible, I hand you this key, a symbol of your ownership and the right to enjoy, possess and to make such use and disposition of this rustic cottage and its contents as you may at any time deem advisable. I also hand you Insurance Policy and building permit. Lease for the Lot from the Department will be forwarded to you at an early date.

We trust that in the days ahead you may be able personally to avail yourselffrom time to time of the environment of this new National play ground, which we know you would greatly enjoy and which must inevitably contribute greatly to the lives of the people on these plains, and all others who will pass this way.

James Hislop Sanderson

Prince Albert National Park

August 10th, 1928.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

For the Prime Minister:

Attached you will find material on departmental activities in Prince Albert constituency since the 1st of February, 1926.

This material has been summarized by Mr. Lemire after being brought together from the following departments: Post Office, Immigration, Interior, Public Works and Agriculture. I understand Mr. Lemire is to receive the reports from the Departments of Marine and Railways to-morrow or Monday.

Mr. Pickering has been given the departmental papers so that he will be in a position to furnish any supplementary information you may wish to have regarding the items referred to in the memorandum.

H. R. L. H.

Ottawa, October 25, 1929.

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What has happened in the constituency of Prince Albert, since Feb. 1, 1926:

Post Office Department:

The following public buildings were erected in the constituency of Prince Albert:

Prince Albert: An addition to the Prince Albert public building was completed in 1928 to provide increased accommodation for the various Government Departments. The space in the addition allotted to the Post Office Department is occupied by the letter carriers.

Rosthern: A new public building has been erected at Rosthern and space provided therein for Postal purposes. The Post Office will be moved to the new building as soon as the lock boxes, wickets, etc., are installed.

New post offices have been opened at: Ormaux, Saskatchewan Forks, Stump Lake, Deer Ridge and Waskesiu Lake.

Mail services have been improved throughout the constituency. The frequency of the mail service to the following Post Offices has been increased in order to provide additional facilities for the receipt and despatch of mails: Ile-à-la Crosse, Valbrand and Marchantgrove, Clouston, Davis, Duck Lake, Forest Gate and Rosthern. A rural mail delivery route has been established from Domremy to serve a considerable district east and

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north of that town.

The most striking development of modern postal service is, of course, the air mail. The unceasing efforts of the Government to perfect postal communications within Canada have led to the authorization of trans-Prairie routes which will revolutionize the speed of mail transmission not only across the Prairies themselves but on the entire transcontinental movement. Experimental flights last December demonstrated that night flying was essential to the full success of the scheme and the task of lighting the routes has proved so enormous that it will be impossible to fly during the hours of darkness over a portion of the route until next spring.

However, the gains possible even under day flying may be gauged when it is pointed out that on the eastbound movement it will be possible for mail posted at Prince Albert at 2.00 o'clock in the afternoon to be delivered in Winnipeg eighteen hours earlier than that carried by the fastest mail train.

These present gains will be materially increased early next Spring when night flying will be made possible and the whole Prairie country will be linked up with the speediest mail service that human ingenuity can devise. This service will accomplish a clear gain of twenty-four hours on the transcontinental movement of mails and will in many cases effect still greater gains in delivery.

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Dept. of Immigration:

NEW IMMIGRATION HALL- PRINCE ALBERT.

In May 1926 the Sons of England Benefit Society of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, forwarded a Resolution to the Prime Minister to the effect that the Immigration Hall was not in a fit condition and was not suitable for incoming settlers. A request was made that a suitable building be provided with proper conveniences.

Investigation showed that:-

(a) East of Prince Albert there was a large area of land open for settlement and that some English-speaking people had already been located in that District;

(B) To the north of Prince Albert there was a large territory which would ultimately be open for homesteading;

(c) Prince Albert was the central distributing point for settlers destined to the districts mentioned;

(d) Accommodation was also required for continental and other immigrant farm help proceeding to Prince Albert District for placement.

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BRITISH IMMIGRATION.

Under the 3000 Family Scheme 215 British families or a total of 1214 souls have been settled in the Prince Albert District. Since 1926 an additional 128 British families have been brought forward under the Empire Settlement Agreement and placed as farm workers in the Prince Albert District and during the period 1926-28 inclusive 336 British single farm workers have been placed within the same area.

During the present year 1744 trainees were placed in Western Canada. Of this number 53 were placed in the Prince Albert District but six have already been returned to the Old Country. Of the total number of 3561 trainees who were brought forward this year there have so far been deported or returned to the Old Country 330 or 9.26%.

Arrangements have been made to bring forward 3000 trainees next year but greater care is to be taken in selection and the course of training will be for a period of three months.

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C 94279



Suggestions on Forestry

on

The Prime Minister's Address at Prince Albert

by Mr. Stewart.

Dept of the Interior.

One of the most important governmental activities in this northerly district is that of forest conservation. Many people are prone to consider Saskatchewan as a "prairie" province; but they overlook the fact that the northerly half of the province is essentially a forest growing country,- indeed large tracts of it are by nature adapted to that purpose only.

I feel sure that you have all seen evidence of the unfortunate fact that, in the earlier years, settlement was permitted on lands which were as a matter of fact utterly incapable of successful and continuous agriculture. Indeed, even within ten miles of this city there are glaring examples of this. In a rather precipitate endeavour to attract and establish new settlers, altogether too great freedom was allowed the homesteader in his selection of lands.

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I need hardly point out that if a settler fails to secure land which is actually capable of affording him a living, it is utterly out of the question for him ever to become a taxpayer. Such a settler, rather than becoming a substantial contributor to the up-building of the community, must either abondon his homestead and move to other regions, or he must become a derelict in the district.

Slowly but very consistently we have been adjusting the boundaries of the forest reserves (or, as I should prefer to call them, the national forests- for they are set aside for proper use, rather than reserved for a future generation); we have endeavoured to eliminate from such reserves those lands which had true agricultural value, for as a general policy, we in Canada with the large land areas at our disposal do not need to use agricultural land for the growing of timber. And we have from time to time set aside, as national forests,

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lands which were incapable of successful agriculture, but which afforded excellent opportunities for timber production.

My hearers will recall that in earlier years this district had two very large sawmills, one in Prince Albert, the other at the town of Big River, some 90 miles to the northwest of this City. So long as these mills were in operation, they contributed greatly to the hum of industrial activity at these two points. These splendid mills, however, disappeared long since.

However, the situation is not hopeless, let us look at the brighter side. Any of you who have taken occasion to enquire, will have discovered that scattered here and there throughout the district a considerable number of much smaller sawmills have developed, and that these mills are operating on the raw material supplied on a much more permanent basis from the national forests of the district.

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One of the main efforts of our Forest Service in this district has been to improve the means of fire detection and fire control. Three seasons ago a separate unit of air patrol operation was established in the lake country to the north of this City. I am glad to state that, although we have just passed through one of the most critical fire hazards in the history of Canada, it has been definitely found that these air operations are of tremendous assistance in detecting, and to a considerable extent in the suppression of forest fires. The development of machanical transport and fire fighting apparatus have revolutionized the methods of fighting forest fires.

I would emphasize, however, that our main forestry problem lies in the protection and proper administration of the natural forest; that is, in the aiding of nature to reproduce and take care of her own, rather than in resorting, wholesale, to artificial methods, which, after all, are in the long run by far the more expensive, if we will but face the forestry

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problem fairly and squarely, we cannot fail to realize that it is economic suicide to permit the splendid timber-growing lands, with which providence has endowed our fair country, to reach that stage od depletion where artificial methods will become necessary to restore the forest cover.

I must not fail to make reference to the splendid service being rendered by the Forest Service Tree Planting Stations at Indian Head and Sutherland, in this province. Perhaps you who enjoy the benefit of tree growth provided by a bountiful nature may not have had the same opportunity to view the results of this work. These stations distribute annually nearly nine million trees and cuttings. When one remembers the barren, uninviting appearance of the prairies of earlier days, and compares that with the conditions obtaining today, we may proudly claim that the tree planting work, conceived and initiated under the government of that great lover of trees and forests, Sir Wilfrid Laurier,

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has completely transformed the landscape of the wind-driven, treeless plains; and in so doing has rendered possible the production of the more delicate and nourishing vegetables and many varieties of fruits and berries which could not be propagated under the exposed conditions that previously obtained.

Let us remember clearly, that there is no true basis for conflict between agriculture and forestry, rather, the one is complementary to the other. We must recognize that, to be permanently productive, land must be assigned to that use for which it was by nature intended- for the production of agricultural crops, or for wood crops. Throughout the pioneering years we have given great attention to agriculture. Let us now grapple with the forest problem with the same energy, and with the same guiding principles.

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Department of Public Works:

The following statement shows the amount of money spent and buildings erected in the Constituency of Prince Albert, from the 1st of February 1926 to the 1st of October 1929:

Buildings:

| | |
|---|---|
| Prince Albert Armoury (Improvements) | 4, 292.88 |
| Prince Albert Post Office Addition: (A contract was awarded to Graham & Clunie in September 1928 for $65,000. for additions and alterations to this building. This work consists of addition 81'6" x 43' and 34' x 14' at the upper end of building, two storeys and basement in height and also an addition in Court 34' x 55', one storey and basement. This is for accommodation for Dominion Lands and Taxation and additional accommodation for Post Office) | 82, 460.60 |
| Prince Albert Immigration Building: (A contract was awarded for this building in September 1928 to A.W.Haynes for $36,940. The building is situated at the corner of 15th Street and First Avenue and is 90' x 35', two storeys and basement, brick construction with stone trimmings on concrete foundations) | 33, 852.49 |
| Rosthern Public Building: (A contract was awarded for the building to Messrs. Shoquist Bros. in October 1928 for $29,380. The building is situated on the corner of Peter and Eno Streets and is 40' x 47', two storeys and basement, brick structure with stone trimmings on concrete foundations. Accommodation is provided for Post Office on first floor and Caretaker's quarters on second floor) | 33, 773.56 |
| Heating, lighting and other maintenance of all existing buildings: | 49, 793.22 |
| Total buildings: | 204, 172.75 |

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(Brought Forward) 204, 172.75

Harbour Works

Prince Albert, reconstruction of protection works,..... 9, 956.20

Sturgeon River, (Dredging)..... 2, 746.09

12, 702.29

Grand Total: 216, 875.04

Department of Agriculture:

While a great deal has been accomplished by this Department for the benefit of Agriculture in the prairie provinces, the following items are of interest for Prince Albert constituents:

The continuance of class "B" Fair grants;

The extension of the Feeder Show Policy of the Government to include and establish, when desired, such an undertaking at Prince Albert.

POOR COPY

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Dept of the Interior (

C 94287

Suggestions on Forestry

on

The Prime Minister's Address at Prince Albert (by Mr. Grant)

One of the most important governmental activities in this northerly district is that of forest conservation. Many people are prone to consider Saskatchewan as a "prairie" province; but they overlook the fact that the northerly half of the province is essentially a forest growing country,- indeed large tracts of it are by nature adapted to that purpose only.

I feel sure that you have all seen evidence of the unfortunate fact that, in the earlier years, settlement was permitted on lands which were as a matter of fact utterly incapable of successful and continuous agriculture. Indeed, even within ten miles of this city there are glaring examples of this. In a rather precipitate endeavour to attract and establish new settlers, altogether too great freedom was allowed the homesteader in his selection of lands.

I need hardly point out that if a settler fails to secure land which is actually capable of affording him a living, it is utterly out of the question for him ever to become a taxpayer. Such a settler, rather than becoming a substantial contributor to the up-building of the community, must either abandon his homestead and move to other regions, or he must become a derelict in the district.

Slowly but very consistently we have been adjusting the boundaries of the forest reserves (or, as

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I should prefer to call them, the national forests - for they are set aside for proper use, rather than reserved for a future generation); we have endeavoured to eliminate from such reserves those lands which had true agricultural value, for as a general policy, we in Canada with the large land areas at our disposal do not need to use agricultural land for the growing of timber. And we have from time to time set aside, as national forests, lands which were incapable of successful agriculture, but which afforded excellent opportunities for timber production.

My hearers will recall that in earlier years this district had two very large sawmills, one in Prince Albert, the other at the town of Big River, some 90 miles to the northwest of this City. So long as these mills were in operation, they contributed greatly to the hum of industrial activity at these two points. These splendid mills, however, disappeared long since.

However, the situation is not hopeless, let us look at the brighter side. Any of you who have taken occasion to enquire, will have discovered that scattered here and there throughout the district a considerable number of much smaller sawmills have developed, and that these mills are operating on the raw material supplied on a much more permanent basis from the national forests of the district.

One of the main efforts of our Forest Service in this district has been to improve the means of fire detection and fire control. Three seasons ago a separate unit of air patrol operation was established

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in the lake country to the north of this City. I am glad to state that, although we have just passed through one of the most critical fire hazards in the history of Canada, it has been definitely found that these air operations are of tremendous assistance in detecting, and to a considerable extent in the suppression of forest fires. The development of mechanical transport and fire fighting apparatus have revolutionized the methods of fighting forest fires.

I would empahsize, however, that our main forestry problem lies in the protection and proper administration of the natural forest; that is, in the aiding of nature to reproduce and take care of her own, rather than in resorting, wholesale, to artificial methods, which, after all, are in the long run by far the more expensive. If we will but face the forestry problem fairly and squarely, we cannot fail to realize that it is economic suicide to permit the splendid timber-growing lands, with which providence has endowed our fair country, to reach that stage of depletion where artificial methods will become necessary to restore the forest cover.

I must not fail to make reference to the splendid service being rendered by the Forest Service Tree Planting Stations at Indian Head and Sutherland, in this province. Perhaps you who enjoy the benefit of tree growth provided by a bountiful nature may not have had the same opportunity to view the results of this work. These stations distribute annually nearly nine million

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trees and cuttings. When one remembers the barren, uninviting appearance of the prairies of earlier days, and compares that with the conditions obtaining today, we may proudly claim that the tree planting work, conceived and initiated under the government of that great lover of trees and forests, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, has completely transformed the landscape of the wind-driven, treeless plains; and in so doing has rendered possible the production of the more delicate and nourishing vegetables and many varieties of fruits and berries which could not be propagated under the exposed conditions that previously obtained.

Let us remember clearly, that there is no true basis for conflict between agriculture and forestry, rather, the one is complementary to the other. We must recognize that, to be permanently productive, land must be assigned to that use for which it was by nature intended - for the production of agricultural crops, or for wood crops. Throughout the pioneering years we have given great attention to agriculture. Let us now grapple with the forest problem with the same energy, and with the same guiding principles.

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Dept. of Immigration;

Ottawa, 12th October 1929.

~~MEMORANDUM:~~

S.T.

NEW IMMIGRATION HALL - PRINCE ALBERT.

In May 1926 the Sons of England Benefit Society of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, forwarded a Resolution to the Prime Minister to the effect that the Immigration Hall was not in a fit condition and was not suitable for incoming settlers. A request was made that a suitable building be provided with proper conveniences.

Investigation showed that:-

(a) East of Prince Albert there was a large area of land open for settlement and that some English-speaking people had already been located in that District;

(b) To the north of Prince Albert there was a large territory which would ultimately be open for homesteading;

(c) Prince Albert was the central distributing point for settlers destined to the districts mentioned;

(d) Accommodation was also required for continental and other immigrant farm help proceeding to the Prince Albert District for placement.

The new Hall has just been completed. It is a frame building of two storeys with basement. The ground floor

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provides accommodation for families and for houseworkers and is fully equipped with kitchen and cooking facilities. On the second floor are dormitories fully equipped for the reception of single immigrants who are destined to Prince Albert for general farm work.

The Hall is situated in the City of Prince Albert near the Canadian National Railways and has not yet been officially opened. It is considered that the above Building will meet the requirements of the Prince Albert District for some considerable time.

.....

S.T

BRITISH IMMIGRATION.

Under the 3000 Family Scheme 215 British families or a total of 1214 souls have been settled in the Prince Albert District. Since 1926 an additional 128 British families have been brought forward under the Empire Settlement Agreement and placed as farm workers in the Prince Albert District and during the period 1926-28 inclusive 336 British single farm workers have been placed within the same area.

During the present year 1744 trainees were placed in Western Canada. Of this number 53 were placed in the Prince Albert District but six have already been returned to the Old Country. Of the total number of 3561 trainees who were brought forward this year there have so far been deported or returned to the Old Country 330 or 9.26%.

Arrangements have been made to bring forward 3000 trainees next year but greater care is to be taken in selection

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and the course of training will be for a period of three months.

The Department of Immigration makes no contribution towards the passage of trainees.

'Teen Age Boys.

The Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization also approved of all previous efforts to promote and encourage 'teen age immigration from Great Britain and recommended that the age limit for boy immigrants be extended to boys 14 to 19 years of age, both inclusive.

The Department of Immigration invited Provincial Governments to co-operate in the reception, distribution and placement of British boys. These boys are selected by the Oversea Representatives of the Dominion or Provincial Governments and are brought forward to the Provincial reception and distributing centres which are under the direct supervision of the Provincial Governments.

Under date of the 3rd November 1928 arrangements were made with the Provincial Government to use the Agricultural College and equipment at Saskatoon as the reception and distributing centre for the Province of Saskatchewan. During the spring of 1929 57 boys were recruited by the Overseas Agents of the Department of Immigration and brought forward to the Agricultural College at Saskatoon for placement under the auspices of the Saskatchewan Government.

The following newspaper clipping appeared in the "Financial Times" of the 5th instant:-

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C 94294



"BRITISH BOYS FOR PRAIRIES.

Regina - The Province has decided to increase its quota of British boys under the Government aid scheme by which the Imperial, Federal and Provincial Governments each bear one-third of the cost, according to Hon. J. F. Bryant, Acting Premier, who pointed out that during the past year 100 boys have been absorbed under that scheme and that the coming year the quota would be doubled."

We have just received a telegram from the Deputy Minister of Railways, Labour and Industries, Regina, to the effect that for the present the Department proceed on the assumption that the Saskatchewan Government will require 100 British boys for 1930.

British Families - Placement.

This year 1036 British families were brought forward for placement. Of this number 112 families were brought by the Canadian National Railways and 450 by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Of the 450 British families brought forward by the C.P.R., many were without agricultural experience. The result was numerous complaints were received and many of these families have already been deported. As a result of these failures for 1929, arrangements have been made to give the reduced rate only to British families experienced in agricultural work. If either Railway Company desires to bring British families without agricultural experience for placement in cottages erected under an Agreement between the Company and the British Government, such families may be moved on passage assistance provided by the British Government and the Railways, provided that:-

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(a) The families are of a suitable type and are coming to farm employment for one year guaranteed by the Railway Company; and

(b) The number of families shall not exceed the number of such cottages available.

Houseworkers.

Between the 1st March and the 31st August last, 361 houseworkers were brought forward and placed in employment in Saskatchewan.

Under the proposed new Agreement houseworkers will continue to receive the reduced rate.

Preferred Countries.

At the Conference with the Railway Companies it was agreed that immigrants from non-preferred countries be brought forward under the same conditions as last year, viz., that such immigrants have sufficient money to maintain themselves until employment can be secured, that they can pass medical inspection and comply with the Passport Regulation.

Other Continental Countries.

Under an arrangement with the Railway Companies immigrants are brought forward from what are known as "non-preferred" countries, viz., Poland, Latvia, Roumania, Esthonia, Russia, Lithuania, Jugo-Slavia, Danzig, Hungary, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. During 1929 the movement under this arrangement was reduced from 34,000 to 11,000 and for 1930 it will be reduced to about 8,000. An arrangement has

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been made, however, whereby any Continental, farming in Western Canada, who wants to bring a relative or friend to help him on the land, will be able to do so by nomination. This removes the possibility of criticism on the ground that we refuse the foreign born who are farming in Canada to have their friends join them and assist them on the land.

This year there was a noticeable increase in the movement of Continental families for land settlement. Many of these families had little or no capital. The increase was, no doubt, due to the fact that we had shut off a lot of the single men movement. In order to control this, instructions have been issued that the Continental family, unless coming by special nomination which will be investigated beforehand, must in addition to paying their own way, have a minimum capital of $250 on arrival at destination.

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C 94297

# DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION
## Land Settlement Branch

## Settlement of Britishers in Prince Albert District

### 3,000 British Family Settlement Scheme.

The following families have been brought forward for settlement on the land under the 3,000 British Family Settlement Scheme since its inception in 1925:-

| Year | No of families |
|---|---|
| 1925 | 15 |
| 1926 | 76 |
| 1927 | 75 |
| 1928 | 24 |
| 1929 | 25 |
| Total number of families | 215 |
| Total number of souls | 1,214 |

### British Farm Workers. (Married)

Families brought forward for placement as Farm Workers under Empire Settlement rate and referred to Land Settlement Branch for aftercare.

| AGENCY | 1926 | | 1927 | | 1928 | | 1929 | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No | Souls | No | Souls | No | Souls | No | Souls | No | Souls |
| Bulk (Government) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 16 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 26 |
| Nomination " | 19 | 85 | 26 | 92 | 27 | 100 | 12 | 41 | 84 | 318 |
| C. N. R. | - | - | 5 | 18 | 7 | 21 | 7 | 33 | 19 | 72 |
| C. P. R. | - | - | 12 | 37 | - | - | 2 | 7 | 14 | 44 |
| Total | 20 | 87 | 46 | 153 | 40 | 137 | 22 | 83 | 128 | 460 |

Note:

Land Settlement Branch has no record of British Families who may have come forward prior to 1927 under the railways and similar agencies. 1929 cases are incomplete in that all families brought forward have not yet been referred to us for aftercare.

### British Farm Workers. (Single)

Single men brought forward for placement as Farm Workers.

| AGENCY | 1926 | 1927 | 1928 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bulk (Government) | 7 | 12 | 58 | 77 |
| Nomination (Government) | 26 | 28 | 23 | 77 |
| C. N. R. | - | 62 | 87 | 149 |
| C. P. R. | - | 7 | 10 | 17 |
| Hudson's Bay | - | - | 14 | 14 |
| United Church | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Orange Lodge | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 33 | 109 | 194 | 336 |

1214
460
336
2010

Note:

Land Settlement Branch has no record of 1929 cases in Prince Albert district.

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REFERENCE NO.

# Post Office Department, Canada

GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF POSTAL SERVICE

4.53

OFFICE OF
THE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT
POST OFFICE SERVICE

*Ottawa,* October 10th, 1929.

PRINCE ALBERT ELECTORAL DISTRICT -

Improvements in Postal Service.

Public Buildings -

Prince Albert -

An addition to the Prince Albert public building was completed in 1928 to provide increased accommodation for the various Government Departments. The space in the addition allotted to the Post Office Department is occupied by the Letter Carriers.

Rosthern -

A new public building has been erected at Rosthern and space provided therein for Postal purposes. The Post Office will be moved to the new building as soon as the lock boxes, wickets, etc., are installed.

New Post Offices opened since 15th Sept, 1926. -

| Name of Post Office. | Location | Name of Postmaster | Date of establishment. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ormaux | N.W.-21-52-7 W. 3rd M. | A. St. Pierre | Re-opened 16-11-26 |
| Saskatchewan Forks | S.E.-17-49-22 W. 2nd M. | Archibald Phelps | 1-9-27 |
| Stump Lake | S.E.-1-53-5 W. 3rd M. | A.A. Blom | 1-12-27 |

Deer Ridge.....

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| Name of Post Office | Location | Name of Postmaster | Date of Establishment. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Deer Ridge | S.W. -33-51-1 W. 3rd M. | J. B. Jarvis | 16-3-29 |
| Waskesiu Lake (Summer Office) | S.E. - 16-57-1 W. 3rd M. | David Watson | 1-6-29 |

Mail Services -

A Rural Mail Delivery route has been established from Domremy to serve a considerable district east and north of that town.

The frequency of the mail service to the following Post Offices has been increased in order to provide additional facilities for the receipt and despatch of mails,-

Ile a la Crosse
Valbrand and Marchantgrove
Clouston
Davis
Duck Lake
Forest Gate
Rosthern

A tri-weekly postal car service on trains 75 and 76, C.N.R. between Prince Albert and North Battleford, 131 miles, was established as from the 2nd July, 1928, superseding a tri-weekly service by baggage car.

The baggage car service between Prince Albert and Saskatoon, train 8, C.N.R., was increased from 6 to 7 times per week, one way, 87 miles, effective 9th March, 1929.

The.....

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The postal car service on C. N. R. trains 15 and 16 between Winnipeg and Prince Albert has been increased tri-weekly each way, to five times per week each way, 555 miles.

The following services which were increased, while not actually situated in the Constituency of Prince Albert, benefit communities within the boundaries of that electoral district.

Baggage car service between Lanigan and Melfort increased from four times per week to daily except Sunday, each way, 83 miles, in effect 29th September, 1929.

The above service affords the communities situated between Melfort and Prince Albert an improved mail service from southern Saskatchewan points.

Baggage car service on C.N.R. train 16 on Saturday and train 15 on Monday established between Eldersley and Hudson Bay Junction, 63 miles, in effect 3rd August, 1929.

This affords an improved service between Prince Albert and the new mining area served from Hudson Bay Junction.

Rough sketch attached.

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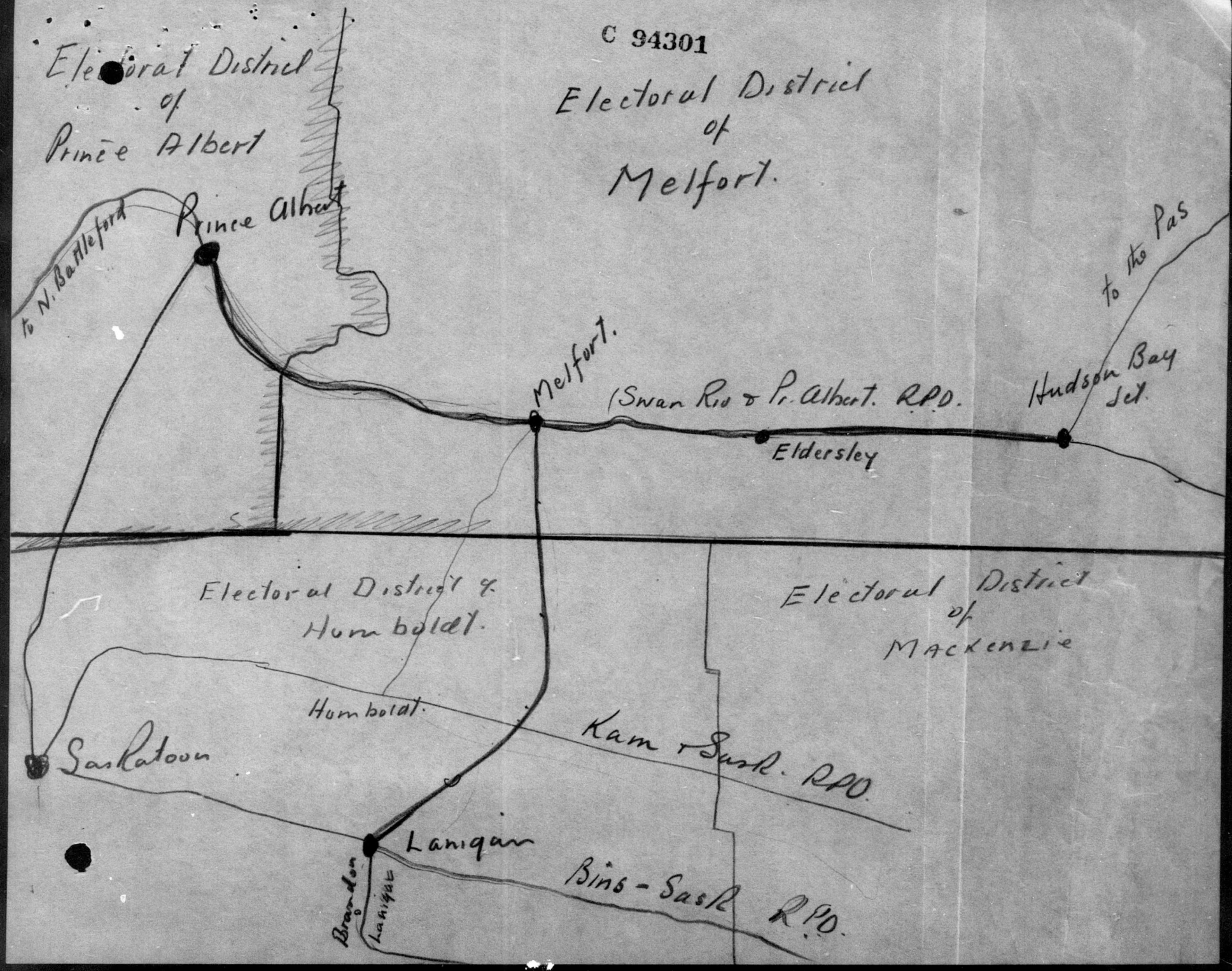
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C 94301

Electoral District of Prince Albert

Electoral District of Melfort.



C 94302

# Department of Public Works, Canada.

## Chief Accountant's Branch.

Ottawa, 10th.October,1929. 19.....

Statement showing amount of money spent and buildings erected in the Constituency of Prince Albert,Sask.from 1st.February, 1926 to 1st.October,1929.

Buildings.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Prince Albert Armoury.(Impts.) | 4.292.88 | |
| " Post Office Addn. | 82.460.60 | |
| " Img'tn.Building. | 33.852.49 | |
| Rosthern Public Building. | 33.773.56 | 154.379.53 |
| Heating,lighting and other Maintenance of all existing Buildings. . . . . | | 49.793.22 |
| Total Buildings:-. . | | 204.172.75 |

Harbour Works.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Prince Albert,reconstruction of protection works. . . . . | 9.956.20 | |
| Sturgeon River,(Dredging). . | 2.746.09 | 12.702.29 |
| Grand Total:- . . . | | 216.875.04 |

PEG.

A.G.Kingston.

Chief Accountant.

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# END OF REEL

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