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SIR JOSEPH POPE

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Sir Joseph Pope

1. Antecedents

As, throughout this survey, Sir Joseph Pope constantly appears as the protagonist, the designer and architect, the founder and builder, and the first tenant of his departmental edifice for some sixteen years of its history, it is appropriate to present a brief sketch of his life and personality. His official contributions to the Department of External Affairs itself have been indicated throughout these pages.

Sir Joseph Pope's family connection with early Confederation history went back to his grandfather, an earlier Joseph Pope, and both his father and his uncle continued the tradition of political service in the new Dominion.

His grandfather, the Hon. Joseph Pope, had been distinguished in the political life of Prince Edward Island long before Confederation, and had held high public office in Charlottetown. Of his two sons, the elder was William Henry Pope, the father of (Sir) Joseph Pope, and the younger was James Colledge Pope.

James Colledge Pope, Sir Joseph's uncle, was born in Charlottetown on June 11, 1826, and was educated in England. When he was 23 he went to California, during the "gold rush" of 1849. He then returned to Prince Edward Island, and engaged in ship-building and other mercantile enterprises. He became a member of the Legislative Assembly of Prince Edward Island

from 1857 to 1867, and later from 1872 to 1873; in 1859 he became Minister without portfolio, and from 1863 to 1865 Colonial Secretary of the Colony; and Premier from 1865 to 1867. He was a pronounced anti-confederationist, when he attended as a delegate the Quebec Conference on September 15, 1865, and later when he went to the London meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel in December, 1866; but at that meeting he was won over, and was preparing to persuade his followers in the Prince Edward Island Legislature upon his return, when a general election took place and his government was defeated on other issues. Consequently Prince Edward Island was a late-comer in joining the Confederation. He again became Premier from 1870 to 1872, and also for a few months in 1873. He was then elected to the new Federal House of Commons in 1873, and, after a period of defeat in 1874 and in the Provincial Assembly from 1875 to 1876, was re-elected to the House of Commons where he sat from 1876 to 1882. During most of that latter period, he was Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Macdonald Government, although, owing to ill-health, he ceased to administer

his department from 1881. He died in Prince Edward Island in 1885. Joseph Pope was Secretary to Sir John Macdonald during his uncle's ministership.

Joseph Pope's father, the Hon. William Henry Pope, was born in Pedique, P.E.I., on May, 29, 1825, and, like his brother, was educated in England; he then studied law and was called to the bar in Prince Edward Island in 1847. In 1859 he was appointed Colonial Secretary, prior to his brother, and was known as one of the Fathers of Confederation. From 1863 to 1873 he represented Belfast in the Legislative Assembly of the Island, and in 1864 was a delegate to both the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences. In 1873 he was appointed a judge in Prince Edward Island, and held this office until his death at Summerside, P.E.I., on October 7, 1879. He was the author of "The Confederation Question Considered from P.E.I. Point of View".(Charlottetown, 1866).

Another Pope family, which was not related,(1) came from the Quebec area. John Henry Pope was born in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada in 1824, the son of John Pope. He first devoted himself to agriculture. In 1857 he was elected to represent Compton, as a Liberal Conservative, in the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, and continued as a member until his death thirty-two years later. In 1871 he was sworn as Member of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture in the Macdonald Government, but in 1885 took the portfolio of Minister of Railways and Canals until his death in 1889. In 1880 he accompanied Macdonald and Tupper to England in connection with negotiations over the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

His son, Rufus Henry Pope, born at Cookshire, Canada East, on September 13, 1857, was educated at Cookshire and Sherbrooke, Quebec, He became a farmer and stock-raiser. In 1889 he succeeded his father as representative of Compton in the Canadian House of Commons, and remained as a member until 1904. In 1911 he was called to the Senate, and sat there until his death in Cookshire, Quebec, in May 16, 1944..

(1) D. Creighton: John A. Macdonald II, "The Old Chieftain", p.245.

2. Early Life

Joseph Pope, born in Charlottetown on August 16, 1854, was, by long family background, a Prince Edward Islander, but from the age of twenty-five, devoted his whole long career to the public service of Canada in the federal Government in the national capital, Ottawa.

He was educated at Prince of Wales College in Charlottetown, a non-denominational junior college founded in 1835. From 1872 he was employed for a time in banking in Montreal. In a letter to Sir Robert Borden, dated September 11, 1915, recommending Mr. Gault for a government appointment, he wrote: "Mr. Gault and I were clerks together in the Merchants Bank of Canada in Montreal in the year 1872. I left the bank a few years afterwards, but he remained and rose to be, I think, Assistant General Manager." (1)

Perhaps induced by his uncle, he moved to Ottawa in 1878, and entered the Canadian federal service as a clerk, probably by patronage. Then for a short time he acted as private secretary to his uncle, James Colledge Pope, at that time Minister of Marine and Fisheries. This brought him into touch with other Ministers of the Government, and finally brought him to the notice of the great chieftain, Sir John A. Macdonald, first Prime Minister of Canada.

3. Private Secretary to Sir J.A. Macdonald

Sir John had several private secretaries. The

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. 619. (Public Archives).

first was Mr. Harrison, later Chief Justice Harrison. The second was Colonel Hewitt Bernard, who afterwards became his brother-in-law and Deputy Minister of Justice. Then there was Mr. Charles Drinkwater (1864-1873) who came from the railway world and afterwards returned to it as Secretary to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. On Sir John's restoration to power in 1878, Mr. Harry Kinloch became his private secretary until ill-health forced him to retire. He was succeeded by Mr. Frederick White, later Comptroller of the North West Mounted Police.

In 1883 Pope became his private secretary. Of his chief he says in the Memoirs: "It is true that he was exacting in his demands. He required all a man's time. The thought of holidays never entered his mind. But to those who caught his spirit and were willing to be on duty all the year round, no life could be more pleasant than constant association with a statesman who ever conveyed the impression to his secretary that he was co-worker with him in a common cause, who rarely gave a direction unaccompanied by an explanation of the reason for it, who courted suggestions of all kinds, and even invited criticism of his own work. 'I want a memorandum on such a subject' he would say, explaining in a few words what was in his mind. 'I wish you would try your hand at it'. If the secretary expressed a doubt as to his ability, he would add: 'Never mind what mess you make of it, the worst attempt will give me some useful idea. See what you can do.'" (1) It was this kind

(1) J. Pope: Memoirs of John Alexander Macdonald. p.654.

of experience which Pope was dedicated to for seven years. As private secretary, he became to the first Confederation Premier, his intimate confidant, his assistant, guide, counsellor, and friend, and, subsequently, his authorized biographer and editor of his correspondence. He was ever at the elbow of his chief, enjoying his confidence, sharing his joys and sorrows, revelling in his stories and anecdotes, and helping him through problems that were perplexing and work that was exacting. On almost all Macdonald's political tours, Joseph Pope travelled with him, often serving as a buffer between
/him and the importunate followers seeking an interview or a favour. It was a position which called for great tact and diplomacy, and one which Pope fulfilled to the satisfaction of all.

An interesting gloss on the position of Private Secretary was written by Pope in 1912, possibly with a retrospective glance at his own seven-year service as Private Secretary to Macdonald. "The importance of the office depends largely upon the aptitudes of the incumbent, and the personal relations existing between him and his chief. A practical knowledge of shorthand and typewriting is nowadays essential. With this equipment a private secretary can conduct the mechanical part of correspondence, but if that be the limit of his usefulness, he falls far short of the requirements of the office and of what his minister has a right to expect of him. No position is so completely what the holder chooses to make it as that of private secretary to a minister of the crown. If he is content to act as an amanuensis only, with one eye on the clock, an amanuensis

he will remain till the end of his days. If, on the contrary, he displays an intelligent interest in his work; if, ignoring hours and disregarding his own personal convenience, he is always at his post, 'never in the way and never out of the way', as Charles II used to say of the Earl of Godolphin, if he is assiduous in the performance of his duties; if he thinks for his minister and is ever on the alert to anticipate his wishes; if he is prudent, tactful, faithful, and discreet, he can make himself indispensable to his chief, and at the same time lay up a store of knowledge and experience that will stand him in good stead some day. The above is true of all private secretaries, but doubly so in the case of the private secretary to the prime minister, who holds one of the most onerous and responsible posts in the public service. So well is this recognized in England that the office is eagerly sought as the gate to high preferment." (1)

It does not appear that Pope himself was a typist, but he was a competent shorthand writer. At that time, there were relatively few typewriters in use. (They were introduced into the British Foreign Office only in 1878, five years before Pope became Macdonald's secretary). Even when the writing machine came, its use was not considered to be of the best form. The personal handwritten letter was preferred - even through the years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Earl Grey.

Sir John did most of his work at Earnscliffe, his estate down on the banks of the Ottawa River not far from

(1) Pope. Canada and Its Provinces. VI. pp.356-7.

Rideau Hall, the seat of the Governor General. Thither, every morning, Pope would walk or cycle/or drive, bringing the day's mail, the digestion of which, under the simple conditions employed, would take till afternoon.

On the death of his aged chief, Pope, having been personally requested and nominated by Sir John, and with the concurrence of Lady Macdonald, became his devoted biographer - no small task for a busy official.

Joseph Pope had been born in an Anglican family, but became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith soon after his entry into public service. Brought up in Conservative tradition, he retained Conservative tendencies all his life, and was an arch-imperialist; but as a public servant he was non-political, and served as faithfully the great Liberal leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and even for a few years Mr. Mackenzie King, as he did the Conservative premiers, Macdonald, Borden and Meighen.

4. Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council

In 1889, in addition to his secretarial duties to the Prime Minister, Pope became also Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council of Canada, an important position which brought him into even more intimate touch with the Ministers of the Cabinet and with the inner workings of the government machinery. Through his hands passed much of the Cabinet papers and correspondence, and some of the communications passing between the Governor General and the Privy Council. It is very likely that this additional position was arranged in order to give Pope more security and permanence in the public service than as private secretary to the ailing and aging Prime Minister. A position in the Privy Council, whether attained through

patronage system or not, was obviously safer than a personal connection with Macdonald, who lived only two years thereafter.

Even after the death of his first chief, in 1891, he continued in this clerkship under successive Prime Ministers of both political parties for some seven years, ever gaining further familiarity with Canadian policy-making, and ever giving his personal advice and assistance when required. During this period he commenced his series of important diplomatic activities and journeyings abroad.

5. Under-Secretary of State of Canada

In 1896 he was appointed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Under-Secretary of State and deputy Registrar-General of Canada, a promotion and position of great responsibility. As has been indicated, the Department of the Secretary of State covered a great many fields, including correspondence with the Provinces through the Lieutenant Governors, and the passing of certain correspondence from other departments to the Governor General for onward transmission to the Colonial Office. Most of the work of the Secretary of State's Office was done by the tireless Under-Secretary aided by his small staff. This position Pope held with increasing distinction for thirteen years, until he was transferred to the new Department of External Affairs in 1909.

In this capacity Pope became expert not only in the work more strictly pertaining to home affairs under the Department, and the work of the Registrar-General concerning issuance of Commissions and company

incorporations, etc.; but also in much business connected with foreign relations. Passport work came under his supervision, and matters of naturalization of aliens, citizenship, and extradition of criminals; of recognition of foreign consuls, and of preparation of answers to Parliamentary questions on external as well as domestic matters. Through long experience with his uncle, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, with the former Prime Minister, and as Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council, and in the Office of the Secretary of State, he had learned, perhaps better than any other official, the intricacies and the defects in the system of inter-correspondence between Departments and between the Privy Council and the Governor General - his concern over which has already been extensively described. The Secretaries of State under whom he served as deputy were Richard William Scott, until 1908, and Charles Murphy until 1909.

6. Diplomatic Missions

During this period and over many years thereafter, Pope undertook many diplomatic missions abroad as well as travels within Canada. In 1892 he accompanied Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice, and Mr. C. Hibbert Tupper, to Washington for the Behring Sea Arbitration discussions. In 1893 he was attached to the staff of the British Agent in Paris for the Behring Sea arbitration. He accompanied Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the new Prime Minister, and Sir Richard Cartwright at the meetings of the Joint High Commission held in Quebec in 1898 and in Washington in 1899. In 1898, also, he was the Canadian Government

agent and negotiator, associated with Ambassador James Bryce, in Washington. In 1903 he went to London as Associate Secretary on the British-Canadian Delegation of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal. In 1906 he was British plenipotentiary at the Pelagic Sealing Conference at Washington. In 1907 he accompanied Mr. Rodolphe Lemieux, Minister of Labour and Postmaster General, to Japan, where a "gentlemen's agreement" concerning Japanese immigration to Canada was amicably arranged following a settlement of claims arising from anti-Japanese riots in Vancouver. On that occasion, Earl Grey wrote to the British Ambassador in Tokyo, Sir Claude Macdonald, on October 23, 1907:

> You will like both Mr. Lemieux and Mr. Pope. . . The Canadian Govt. could not send a better man to Japan. Nor could they send a better man with him than Mr. Pope, who is an invaluable complement to Lemieux. You may trust him unreservedly. He is the incarnation of loyalty and discretion, a great Imperialist, an official of the old School. (I wish we had more like him at Whitehall), and his judgment is always worth considering. Mr. Lemieux showed his own good sense in selecting Mr.Pope to accompany him upon this mission. . . (1)
>
> (Chap. p.29)

As has been stated elsewhere, Pope made a brief visit to England in 1910 to study the organization of the Colonial Office and Foreign Office, their registry system, and their archives and historical records. He also accompanied Sir Wilfrid Laurier on several visits to London for the Colonial Conferences. In June and July, 1911, he again attended the International Conference

(1) Grey of Howith Collection. Vol.2. File 6. (Doc. 006592).

on Pelagic Sealing at Washington, as the Associate of the British Ambassador, James Bryce.

After the incumbency of Mr. Robert Borden, Pope's diplomatic excursions diminished, since Borden preferred to take with him, or to send as his emissary, his new Legal Adviser, Loring C. Christie. But Pope had his hands full with other matters besides his busy departmental work prior to and during the First War years. State visits to Canada occupied much of his time, as he had become the expert of ceremonial and protocol.

7. State Functions and Honours

Besides being an envoy to diplomatic conferences, and a documentarist, archivist and writer, Pope acquired, through his long experience, an interest in and unrivalled knowledge in Canada of forms and ceremonies, and throughout his later life was consulted from every quarter.

As Under-Secretary of the Department, then chiefly responsible for ceremonial matters, he was appointed by the government to attend to the arrangements for the tour of Canada in 1901 of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. He described this later, (1903), in his book The Royal Tour. Although much of the credit for organizing this tour has been given to Lord Minto personally,* the fact is that Pope had a very

* Gwen Neuendorff comments regarding this tour: A Royal Visit is of particular interest to the Governor General and he plays a large part in making arrangements. Unlike the visit in 1939 of the King and Queen to Canada, for which the Canadian Government appears to have been enthusiastic, when the Duke and Duchess of York visited Canada in 1901 the Cabinet was so apathetic that Minto, to stir them up, suggested that he should cable to England that it would be a good idea if the visit were put off. This had the desired effect, and the visit largely arranged by Minto, who had to put up a stiff fight to secure adequate relaxation for the Royal visitors, was a great success. (Neuendorff. Studies in the Evolution of Dominion Status. p. 197). This seems to be a harsh interpretation of the alleged hesitation of the Canadian Government. The uncertainty seems to have been due to the Queen's death, as the following note suggests:

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In the latter part of the year 1900 it was announced that the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, later to become King George V. and Queen Mary, would leave for Australia to take part in the inauguration of the new Commonwealth. The feeling was general in Canada that the occasion was opportune for an extension of the Royal Tour to include the Dominion of Canada and Sir Wilfrid Laurier expressed the hope to Queen Victoria that this might be done. Her Majesty was reluctant to prolong the separation of her grandson but in recognition of the loyalty and devotion of her Canadian subjects and of the conspicuous bravery of Canadian soldiers in South Africa she consented to Their Royal Highnesses extending their journey to allow of a short visit to Canada.

A few weeks after receipt of this message, the nation was plunged into mourning by the death of the Queen - and for a while there were doubts if the tour should be carried out. However, King Edward VII felt that his mother's promise should be fulfilled and the Duke and Duchess of York, Cornwall and now the Heir Apparent, set out on what Sir Joseph Pope, in his account entitled The Royal Tour of Canada, 1901, described as a "tour which afforded to the world at large a stately pageant, a unique spectacle, a royal progress, of the like of which Caesar had never dreamed." Although since the period of mourning for the late Queen had not expired, balls and banquets were avoided, and entertainments were limited to official dinners, concerts, receptions and reviews; the Governor General, Lord Minto, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, premiers and lieutenant-governors and mayors contrived to provide hospitality which was overwhelming.(1)

(1) Ottawa Journal, October 11, 1957.

prominent part in the arrangements.

Five years later, in 1906, Pope attended Prince Arthur of Connaught during his Canadian tour.

In the following year, on his return from the Lemieux mission in Japan, he attended Prince Fushimi of Japan on his ceremonial tour across Canada. As one of the Ottawa newspapers later said: "In 1907 when great honours were accorded the Prince Fushimi of Japan, it was Joe Pope who 'ran the whole show'" (1)

On behalf of the Government of Canada, he undertook special services of an important nature in connection with the Quebec Tercentenary celebrations in 1908:

In a letter to Lord Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, on July 14, 1908, the Governor General, Earl Grey wrote:

> I think all the preparations for the Quebec Tercentenary are now satisfactorily arranged. The bothersome details have been admirably handled by Hanbury Williams and Mr. Pope, the Under-Secretary of State. These two men, both of whom can be safely relied upon to run an official show of this sort by themselves, go ideally in double harness.(2)

Many other ceremonial functions of this kind fell to Pope, who became the expert on protocol, ceremonial, and honours.

In 1919 the ageing Sir Joseph, the "old man", organized the Royal Tour across Canada of the youthful Edward Prince of Wales, and accompanied him on a part of the tour.*

As a recognition of these and many other eminent services, Pope was honoured as a C.M.G. in 1901, admitted

(1) Ottawa Citizen, December 2, 1926.

(2) Grey of Howith Collection, Vol.15, Folder 30. Doc.004066.

* This event and Pope's part in it is entertainingly described by James Bannerman in Maclean's Magazine of April 26, 1958.

to the Imperial Service Order (I.S.O.) in 1906, was made C.V.O. in 1908, and was awarded the Second Class of the Japanese Order of the Sacred Treasure and later the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun, and other foreign decorations. In 1912 he was granted a knighthood as a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George,(K.C.M.G.), on the recommendation of Sir Robert Borden.

In 1926, an Ottawa newspaper observed that "he belonged to the day not so long past, when knighthood was in flower, and officially he was "Sir Joseph", a member of that noble but fast diminishing company of Canadians whose services brought to them the reward and the designation of a title. But, with or without this distinction, he was best known as "Joe Pope".

He was "the ruling authority on official ceremony and etiquette. Sir Joseph was regarded as a stickler for form. He knew the functions of government, the deportment of officialdom, the procedure for great occasions, the drafting of official communiqués and diplomatic correspondence, the exchange of international amities, and, more important still, the keeping inviolate of the secrets of state. Of all these, Sir Joseph was the recognized master, the court of last resort." (1)

8. Ceremonialist

Pope thus became recognized as a leading authority in Canada on matters of titles and honours, protocol and

(1) Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa Journal, December 2, 3, 1926.

ceremonial, and even Lord Grey, in a letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1911, said that he had been looking into the tiresome Precedence question with "that high authority Pope". There were occasions when Pope, who was a most dogmatic person, made an error and with chagrin had to admit his mistake and render tactful apology; or when he persisted in adopting an opinion (e.g. the correctness of the Union Jack as the national land flag of Canada) which was at variance with some popular and press opinion, and with some authorities like Mr. J.S. Ewart, and with subsequent practice; but these cases were rare, and he was always prepared to submit his opinion to London for a more senior ruling in a case of doubt or dispute.

On December 20, 1913, writing from the Parliament Buildings in Regina, Sask., Mr. Alfred W.J. Bourget, Private Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor, wrote Sir Joseph Pope:

> ". . . I wish to ask the following advice. Will you recommend me some book, written by an authority in whom you have the fullest confidence, regarding the important matter of Etiquette in all its varied branches, viz.,- Royal, vice-royal, governmental, etc., etc.? As your encyclopaedic knowledge is known to include all that pertains to this department of human activity, I thought I would immediately write to you when I was asked certain questions the other day,(and as this happens occasionally and my library of references is not extensive), to get the great help of your very valuable counsel. . ."

Pope replied on December 24th:

> I have yours of the 20th instant. I know of no such book of which you speak. These things are acquired gradually, by observation and experience rather than from any written volume. If there is any particular point on which you are in doubt, I should be glad to advise you upon it. You will not find any such volume anywhere as that for which you ask. . ." (1)

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. Vol. 96.

On a delicate controversial issue over the place of non-episcopal church representatives at a State funeral (that of Sir Charles Tupper) in 1915, Sir Joseph Pope, in a lengthy letter to the Rev. Clarence MacKinnon dated December 1, 1915, inserted:

> I am only an official of the Government, and have no voice in their deliberations or in the shaping of their policy. I am at the same time almost, if not altogether, the only person living who has maintained an acquaintance with this subject for upwards of thirty years. . . (1)

An illustration of Pope's interest in ceremony and protocol, not without some pragmatism and glint of humour, is found in a letter he wrote on October 13, 1914, to an enquirer, Mr. Bastedo, invited to attend the opening of the Ontario Legislature in Toronto. For some reason the letter is sent from the Post Office Department Annuities Branch of which Mr.S.T. Bastedo was Superintendent.

> I have yours of the 10th instant. I do not like evening dress worn at any time other than the evening. It is a continental custom, however, widely followed in most of the European countries, excepting England, and therefore I would not go so far as to say that on all occasions it is wrong. When a man is invited to a State function by an invitation card which is marked Full Dress, he should go in the fullest dress he has got. If he has a civil or military uniform, he puts it on. If he has no uniform, he goes, in England, in Court Dress, that is a velvet dress with knee breeches and black stockings. Very few, however, in Canada have this dress and, therefore, nothing remains for them but to put on evening dress, which is the fullest dress they possess. I do not fancy, however, that the invitations to the opening of the Ontario Legislature are marked Full Dress, therefore morning dress is in order. Personally, I dislike evening dress in the day-time so much that I would rather not go to a function than wear it. At the same time circumstances sometimes arise when one has got to do violence to one's feelings in the matter. For example, when I was in Rome last year I attended a Papal Audience, and, having no uniform with me, in order to comply with the regulations, I had to go in evening dress, although it was eleven o'clock in the morning. That is how the matter stands. (2)

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. Vol.98. No. 669.

(2) Pope Papers. S.O. (See footnote* next page).

(There followed a paragraph, in answer to Mr. Bastedo's further enquiry, concerning the proper wearing of decorations; with evening dress there should preferably be miniatures (which could be bought for about £15, e.g. at Spinks in London), but full medals might be worn instead.)

9.Clerk and Bureaucrat

It has been abundantly plain that the Department of External Affairs, so largely the creation of Sir Joseph Pope, was due at bottom to Pope's desire for better administrative efficiency. Wherever there were delays or bottlenecks in the handling of external business or correspondence, and particularly whenever complaints came back from London, or Washington, or Paris, over such delays which he deemed were a reflection on the administrative machinery in Ottawa, he felt a twinge. The slowness of mails was a feature over which there was no control. The cumbrousness of the routing of American correspondence via London was implicit in the constitutional imperial relationship, and,as an imperialist, this system was sacrosanct to Pope. Though he welcomed any

* On this matter reference might be made to an even more amusing description of evening dress worn in the daytime in a despatch to the Department (No.47, January 25, 1951) from Lieut.-Gen. Maurice Pope, Ambassador to Belgium and Minister to Luxembourg, describing his official visit to the "last remaining Puritania in Europe, by which name I think Luxembourg may not inappropriately be called", On the first evening there were several receptions and a torch-light procession. The following morning at the Cathedral Church, a solemn Te Deum was sung. "We then hurriedly changed clothes, because the Te Deum was a full-dress affair and your representative had had to attire himself in full evening dress. This ordeal is one to which I fear I shall never become accustomed. And on these occasions the thought always passes through my mind that I can remember having often enough wearily taken off a dress suit at about half-past nine in the morning (say, after a June Ball at Kingston)

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shortcuts he told the Naval Chief of Staff that "I am afraid it would not do for me to suggest to the Prime Minister and the High Commissioner how they should conduct their correspondence." Faced with the back-log of Sir John A. Macdonald's unanswered correspondence with London he was greatly perturbed, as he was when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was dilatory in dealing with current overseas correspondence. He made a great to-do to Sir Robert Borden over the delayed replies from the Lieutenant-Governors, especially in Ontario, and sought in vain to have the channel of communication shifted from the Secretary of State's Department to his own Department. He was quickly angered by any delay or interference on the part of the Printing Bureau or the Editorial Committee of the Privy Council. He never found any fault with the operations of the Governor General's Office, which was reasonably efficient, except in a few minor instances of misaddressing mail to Charles Murphy, his titular chief, instead of to him. He was, of course, always impatient when desired files were not promptly forthcoming.

But, on the whole, his chief complaint was

(Cont'd): but never until I reached the impressive age of 60 years had I so dressed myself at that time of the day. One looks with envy even at the Communists, for as you know even they now sport a diplomatic uniform."

G. Glazebrook has added this gloss: "The practice of wearing evening dress instead of diplomatic uniform is horrible but all too common. Probably the the most grim example was at the last Coronation, where ushers in evening dress had to set out for the Abbey at about 5 or 6 a.m."

To this may be added the comment of Mr. W. Chipman, Canadian Ambassador to Chile: "I may say, as far as I can gather, that the wearing of a uniform down here on special occasions is appreciated. The Foreign Minister went out of his way to call attention to it. It adds to the colour of the only two shows down here, and certainly it is pleasant to be relieved from the necessity of wearing evening dress in the morning." (Chipman to Howard Measures, July 20, 1944. File 627-29).

over the congestion and inefficient handling of external affairs documents in the Privy Council - a body of which he had long personal experience. The creation of a new special Department was designed primarily to remedy the obstruction or inadequacy of that organ; and in this matter he naturally had the sympathy and support of Laurier, a victim of that defective machinery, and of some other Cabinet Ministers and Departments.

It must be repeated that Pope was an administrative reformer above all other things. Even his diplomatic missions, e.g. to Washington, to Japan, and to London, were usually in the capacity of a technical or administrative adviser. His great expertise on matters of form, ceremonial and protocol were also a reflection of his concern for detail and for efficiency.

There is little evidance that he had any imaginative powers in questions of policy, Dominion status, or imperial or foreign relationships. Such matters were to be left to the politicians and statesmen. Although Sir Joseph was one of the best of the "bureaucrats", he did not believe that the "bureauracy" should try to dominate or direct the political government, as it was so often accused of doing. He was an engineer in charge of certain machinery - which he liked to improve; but he made no claim to be a manager of the business of government.

Thus, Pope appears to have been, fundamentally, what the French embrace in its widest sense in the term "clerc". In spite of his extensive diplomatic activities, his historical authorship which was largely documentary,

and his multifarious duties as Under-Secretary of State in matters of ceremonial, he was par excellence a clerical type. As Private Secretary to his uncle, a Cabinet Minister, and to the Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, as Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council, as Under-Secretary of State and Deputy Registrar-General, and as Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, his interests were administrative and documentary. The basis of his desire for a special Department was to simplify and regularize the paper work, the sorting, examining, filing and collating of documents. He seems to have had no flair for politics or creative foreign affairs; these matters were left to the policy-makers, the Cabinet Ministers. His own concerns were secretarial on the highest level.

This is illustrated, for example, in his interest in Records and Archives.

10. Public Records

One of the abiding qualities of Pope was his interest in the preservation of public records and documents, and their accessibility for reference in the study of diplomatic affairs.*

* It may be noted that the original meaning of the word "diplomacy" was the business of keeping archives in proper order. The word is derived from the Greek verb "diploun" meaning "to fold". In the days of the Roman Empire all passports, passes along the imperial roads and way-bills were stamped on double metal plates, folded and sewn together in a peculiar manner. These metal passes were called "diplomas". At a later date "diploma" was extended to cover other and less metallic official documents, especially those conferring privileges or embodying arrangements with foreign communities or tribes. As these treaties accummulated, the imperial archives became encumbered with innumerable little documents folded and endorsed in a peculiar manner. It was found necessary to employ

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While he was Under-Secretary of State, there was a sub-division in his Department and under his supervision which dealt with historical and official records. This Records Branch was under a special official called the "Keeper of the Records". (Mr. A. Audet). It was utilized not only by students and researchers, but as an information source for other government departments, and in the preparation of replies to questions asked in Parliament. Pope took a great personal interest in it and its ultimate re-organization. In letters which he wrote to Mr. Mulvey in 1912, concerning books exchanged between the two Departments, Pope used to refer to the library in the Secretary of State's Department, "which I founded".

In the calendar year 1901, the number of requisitions for documents and information was some 252, and Mr. Audet reported / the researches thereby necessitated amounted to 1,289. Of the printed documents asked, 531 were found and 243 were not in the Office. The classifying and indexing of old documents progressed "in spite of several adverse circumstances," and some 10,794 papers and documents were dealt with, forming 2,244 new files. (1) The work continued in the following year, 1902; "the searches were not quite 68 per cent of the number made the previous year but in reality they require more time and work on account of the increased quantity of demands for information anterior to the year 1841." (2)

(1) Annual Report of the Secretary of State, 1901.

(2) Ibid. 1902.

(Cont'd) trained clerks to index, decipher and preserve the documents. Hence the profession of archivist arose, and with it the science of palaeography - the science that is, of verifying and deciphering ancient documents. These two occupations were, until late in the seventeenth century, called "res diplomatica" or "diplomatic business", namely, the business of dealing with archives and diplomas. (Harold Nicolson: Diplomacy.)

Although, by a Minute of Council dated December 7, 1903, the papers anterior to Confederation were to be transferred to the Archives Branch of the Department of Agriculture, and the office of Keeper of the Records amalgamated with that of Dominion Archivist, there still remained in the Secretary of State's Department in 1904,"large quantities of papers and books, many of them destined to be of great historical interest, the accumulation of the thirty-seven years since Confederation. This accumulation, which is daily increasing, needs constant care and regular classification and indexing in order to prevent it falling into chaos." It was probably Joseph Pope who prepared the Annual Report for Mr. R.W. Scott, the Secretary of State, who added the note that "in view of the number of valuable and in many cases rare official books and papers in this branch of my department, it is my intention to form a library of reference for purely official publications, which when properly catalogued and housed will I trust be made use of by all departments of the service".

This branch of his work proceeded under Pope's care, and his reference library remained even after the Public Archives had been set up elsewhere. After the Department of External Affairs had been established, Pope brought a large part of his essential reference material with him, and there was a certain amount of interchange and borrowing and lending. Although Pope had a habit of inscribing his own name in a large number of books held in his office, and had the majority of current govern-

ment reports handsomely bound in leather embossed with his own name, he was generous in lending out books to correspondents and enquirers.

11. Public Archives

Sir Joseph Pope has himself told of his participation, in either of his two offices, in the organization of public records. Both in 1902 and in 1912 he was chairman of special commissions appointed to study the problem.

"The first move in the direction of establishing an Archives and Record Office," he writes, "was made in 1872, when parliament placed the sum of $4000 at the disposal of the Minister of Agriculture for the purpose. The Minister of the day entrusted an official of his department with this duty, but that officer, while amply qualified for the post, was not provided with proper facilities for its administration. The position of Archivist was not even created by the Governor-in-Council. For years Douglas Brymer laboured in the basement of the Western Block doing, in spite of limitations, excellent work, as his published reports abundantly show. Not only were his merits and services inadequately recognized, but rival collections of public records were suffered to grow up in the service. The Department of the Secretary of State possessed a somewhat similar store of documents to that of the Archives, under the immediate charge of an officer known as the 'Keeper of the Records'. The Privy Council Office likewise contained an accumulation of 'State Papers' reaching back one hundred and fifty years.(1)

(1) Pope, serving many years both in the Privy Council Office and in the Secretary of State's Department, would probably have known a good deal about these documentary deposits.

"These several branches of the public service, though ostensibly devoted to the promotion of a common object, for years carried on a sort of triangular contest, each claiming to be the only true repository of the country's records. To such lengths was this unseemly strife conducted that copies of documents in the libraries of European capitals have been made for the Canadian Archives at the public expense, when the originals of these very documents, in an excellent state of preservation, were all the time in one or other of the public departments in Ottawa. On February 7, 1897, a portion of the Western Block was seriously damaged by fire, which destroyed many departmental records, the chief sufferers being the Departments of Marine and Fisheries, and Militia. Shortly afterwards, the government appointed a commission, consisting of the Deputy Minister of Finance, the Auditor-General, and the Under-Secretary of State (Joseph Pope), to inquire into and report upon the state of public records. This commission, in the exercise of its duty, made an inspection of all the departments, and reported in due course. After sending out the results of their investigations they recommended that the older and most valuable papers, including the archives in the Department of Agriculture, should be brought together and committed to the custody of one person in a suitable fireproof building, where also antiquated departmental records might be stored. Effect was given to this recommendation in 1903. In 1904 Arthur G. Doughty was appointed archivist and keeper of the records, and

the Archives building was completed in 1907. The Archives continued as a branch of the Department of Agriculture until 1912, when, in virtue of the Public Archives Act of that year, it was transferred by Order-in-Council to the Department of the Secretary of State,* and the archivist was raised to the rank of a deputy minister." (1)

"Towards the close of the year 1912", writes Pope in a private memorandum found among his papers, "the Governor General in Council appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the state of the records of the different public departments of the Government with a view to ascertaining the nature and extent of these records, their state of preservation, the use made of them in conducting public business, the state of the buildings and places wherein the documents are deposited, the space they occupy, the facilities of access thereto by the Departments of Government and by the public, and of the control exercised over the said records. This Commission consisted of Sir Joseph Pope (Chairman), Mr. E.F. Jarvis, and Dr. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist. They made an exhaustive enquiry and communicated the result of their labours to the Governor-in-Council in a report dated 3rd March, 1914, for which they were appropriately thanked by the Government." (2)

(*) Originally in the Bill "under the President of the Privy Council", but subsequently transferred to Secretary of State. (H. of C. Debates, January 19,1912, p.1495).

(1) Pope: "The Federal Government". Canada and its Provinces.VI. pp.334-5.
Robert Laird Borden, His Memoirs. I. p.348.

(2) Pope Papers. No.765. May 16, 1918.

The Commission of 1912 discovered priceless documents in basements and attics and even in stable lofts. One of these documents was a deed designed by Louis the Fourteenth in 1651. Dust, dampness, heat and mice combined to place the records in jeopardy. The Commission also reported that there were more than twenty-four miles of shelves occupied by these records! Sixteen departments of government were making maps because there was no centralized map service.(1)

Unfortunately the Government was slow to bring about remedial measures. Pope wrote on January 18,1918, in a letter to Mr. A.K. MacLean, Minister without Portfolio: "As regards the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1912 as a whole, beyond an approving Minute of Council, I do not think any steps have been taken to give them effect."(2) It is to be remembered that the intervening years were marked by the serious preoccupation of the war.

This reference to the development of a Public Archives system, branching out from the Secretary of State's Department, may seem to be a lengthy digression; and might have been included in the chapter on the Department of the Secretary of State. But it is inserted here as a sidelight to the archivist mind of Sir Joseph Pope, as an illustration of his administrative and clerical predilections, and his inherent concern over matters of documentation which coloured his whole conduct of the two Departments he successively headed.

(1) Blodwyn Davis: Ottawa.

(2) Pope Papers. 1918. (Doc.743).

With this type of documentary mind - illustrated also by his meticulous sorting and docketing of all his private, semi-official and official papers - it is not surprising that he carried over into his leisure the pursuit of documentary writing, largely based on edited material from the available records.

12. Authorship

An indefatigable worker, he not only performed his onerous duties as an administrative Civil Servant, but also devoted himself to letters. In 1890 he published his first book, "Jacques Cartier, His Life and Voyages"; and in 1894, three years after Macdonald's death, he edited, both as his former Private Secretary for seven years, and as authorized literary executor, "The Memoirs of Rt. Hon. Sir John Alexander Macdonald" in two volumes. He published in 1903 "The Royal Tour of 1901"; and in 1915 a further book about his old chief, "The Day of Sir John Macdonald." ¤ Besides these, he edited Confederation Documents (1895), The Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald (1921), and contributed a chapter on the Canadian Federal Government to the series of volumes Canada and Its Provinces, published in 1912.

13. War Book

An important task was charged on Sir J. Pope by Sir Robert Borden in January-August, 1914. Borden

¤". . . Respecting my book entitled The Day of Sir John Macdonald. I am sorry to say that I have no copies of this book. When it came out the publishers sent me two copies, and I have seen no more. I sold the manuscript to them and they are bringing it out as part of a series."
(Letter from Joseph Pope to Thomas Coté, Commissioner of Public Works, The City Hall, Montreal, 25 November 1915. (Semi-Official Papers of Sir Joseph Pope. S.O. 621. Public Archives))

writes: "While in England in 1912 I had felt it my duty to become acquainted with the arrangements effected by the Imperial Defence Committee and its organization for immediate, effective action upon the outbreak of war. . . In January, 1914, proceedings were taken to consummate similar arrangements in Canada. A conference of deputy heads of various departments was constituted under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Pope, then Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. The work went on during the spring of 1914.'Meetings of sub-committees were subsequently held from time to time at which the necessary action to be taken by the various departments in the event of certain contingencies arising was carefully considered and determined. Each department then proceeded to develop its own line of action in detail, the whole being subsequently co-ordinated and incorporated in one scheme, indicating the course to be followed by the Government as a whole on an emergency arising. This scheme was then submitted to and approved by the Prime Minister. The taking of these precautionary measures proved most fortunate, as on the receipt of intelligence during the last few weeks of the serious situation in Europe, this Government found itself in a position to take, without the slightest delay, such action as the exigencies of the moment demanded, concurrently with His Majesty's Government and with the sister dominions of the Empire.'(Report of Committee, Aug.17, 1914)." (1)

(1) Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs. I. pp.453-455
Also H. of C. Debates, August 19, 1914.

Pope's activity in this connection, presiding over some ten deputy ministers or their representatives, throughout the 1914 season prior to the outbreak of war, must have been a monumental task, but one with the highest importance.

According to Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, it was as a result of a suggestion made by Sir Joseph Pope himself, and accepted by the Premier in a letter dated January 6, 1914, that a conference was called in Ottawa on January 12th to discuss this project. It was composed of the Deputy Heads of a number of Departments, under the Chairmanship of Pope.(1)

In a speech given in Halifax on December 18, 1914, Sir Robert Borden again referred to the preparations made early in 1914 and the creation of a "War Book" for use in case of emergency - completed only a few weeks before the storm burst. "It is impossible to over-estimate the advantage which resulted from the steps thus taken. While war was impending and when it broke out, measures immediately and urgently necessary were taken instantly and with an entire absence of confusion. All details of preparation, arrangement and instruction, had been systematically compiled into the War Book, which co-ordinated the activities of the several Departments and rendered possible and effective co-operation with the Imperial authorities which otherwise would have been exceedingly difficult, if not largely impracticable." High credit was given on this and other occasions to Major Gordon Hall, Director of Military Operations, and Lieut. R.M. Stephens, Director of Gunnery, who, under the Chairman of Committee, Sir Joseph Pope, had acted as joint Secretaries.(2)

(1) J. Castell Hopkins: Canadian Annual Review, 1914. pp. 146, 161-2

(2) " " " " " " " " "

14. Imperialist

It is clear that as a Conservative and a traditionalist, Pope was a die-hard Imperialist, in conformity with his family background and the background of his close association with Sir John A. Macdonald. It has already been noted that Earl Grey, in 1907, referred to Pope as "a great Imperialist, an official of the Old School (I wish we had more men like him at Whitehall)". To him Great Britain was the mother country, and Canada was unquestionably still a British dependency, notwithstand Macdonald's concept, at Confederation, as a "co-ordinate and allied" Kingdom of Canada. In a letter to Mr. David Matheson of Montreal, Pope wrote: "It is simply impossible to imagine that the Parliament or Government of Great Britain, with the experience of Hanover before them, would permit us to exist as a sovereign state under the Crown of England." In a letter to the editor (E.J. Chambers) of The Parliamentary Companion, each annual edition of which Pope habitually scrutinized for errors, he wrote on April 16, 1912, criticizing the use of the terms "the British Parliament" and "the British Government." "By these expressions, of course, you mean the Parliament and Government of the United Kingdom,* but why should we give up to the people of England, Scotland and Ireland the exclusive use of the word 'British'. Is not our Parliament and Government a British Government and Parliament? Are we not British people? Why should we surrender this glorious designation? At a

* This seems to be a very early use of this term "United Kingdom", for it was not generally adopted in lieu of Great Britain until many years later.

little distance from Canada, such, for example, as in Washington, where we are completely identified with the British name, such restrictive use of the word British is very hard to explain. . . I cannot see why you say Canadians in the British Parliament. Why not say Canadians in the Parliament of the United Kingdom? The same observations apply to the word British, in brackets, on page 17, after the names of T.P. MacNamara and Bonar Law. Are not Messrs. Laurier, Cartwright, Tupper, Fitzpatrick and Borden, British? How else could they be in the Imperial Privy Council?" *

With this close attachment to Britain as the mother-country and metropolitan centre of the Empire, and recognition of Canada as constitutionally a colony - albeit self-governing in its domestic affairs - the Colonial Office was all-important in Pope's view and could and should not be circumvented. Likewise the only proper land-flag of Canada was the Union Jack, and not an anomalous red ensign of the merchant marine recommended by J.S. Ewart and many others and then gradually coming into use on land. The only proper national anthem for the Dominions was the old British one "God Save the King". Canada needed no independent diplomatic representation permanently abroad - but only for special ad hoc negotiations; the British Ambassadors, Ministers and

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* In replying to this, on April 8, Major Chambers said in part: "My opinion exactly coincides with yours on this subject, and I recollect that fifteen years ago, when I was News Editor of the Montreal 'Star' I used religiously to make all copy read 'Imperial' instead of 'British', in such cases, until one fine day my chief dropped down on me with the argument that as the sovereign of Great Britain was not, as such, an Empress, the country was not an Empire and that it was wrong to describe its parliament, army, etc., as 'Imperial'. Having the backing of such an authority as yourself, I shall certainly adopt the term 'Imperial' in the 'Guide'."

Consuls were adequate and proper. Canada wished to have its wants and interests duly appreciated and protected by the British imperial authorities, but did not seek to have a distinct or separate foreign policy. Pope could apparently hardly conceive of the gradual autonomy in government extending to independence in external affairs or to sovereign autonomy and status. He seemed almost blind to the developments promoted by Sir Robert Borden during and after the First War. He was, by the admission in one of his letters written in his declining years, apparently unaware of, or reluctant to recognize, any change of Canada's imperial status having taken place in the previous fifty years. (The evolutionary reform toward constitutional autonomy, although taking shape during the later stages of the War, did not actually crystallize until the Imperial Conference of 1926, a year after Pope's death). On January 20, 1923, possibly after his mind had grown tired, Pope wrote to Senator Sir George Foster: "I am one of those who do not see in what way Canada's international status has varied in the last half-century. At any rate there is nothing definite on the subject in this Department." Pope had evidently become so immersed in the routine concerns of his Departmental administration that he missed the broader revelations of history, constitutional change, and imperial devolution. He somehow, in his declining years, lacked appreciation of the significance of the political trends that had been at work in Canada during fifty years, or during the past ten years, which had taken shape during

the war, at the Peace Conference, in the League of Nations, and in other international relations, including Canada's attitude toward the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Chanak episode, and a few months later the independent signing of the Halibut Treaty.

It is perhaps largely for this reason that during Pope's term of office he took no initiative in advocating diplomatic representation abroad. It is true that public opinion was unprepared to question seriously British representation on behalf of its Dominions, or, - except for a few outbursts, - to desire a more national Canadian representation. Nor was Parliament ready for such a step. One or two members expressed horror at the prospect of Canada setting up its own "foreign office" with its own ambassadors and ministers "and all that sort of thing". Only Sir Robert Borden, influenced by the parallel views of Smuts, began to glimpse that new future development. Sir Joseph Pope, "an official of the old school", could not envisage it. It is doubtful if he approved Sir John A. Macdonald's earliest suggestion for a "Kingdom of Canada". He was as loyally "British" and "Imperialist" as the most die-hard Conservative, and claimed that "British" included all Canadians, and not merely the Britons of the mother-isle. For the same reason, Pope was strongly prejudiced against the home-ruler Edward Blake, the annexationist Goldwin Smith, and the nationalist J.S. Ewart who argued so vehemently for national sovereignty, a Canadian flag, and a Canadian

national anthem.

15. The Flag of Canada

Pope was consistently conservative in all matters of forms and insignia. He was unprepared to admit any innovation. He told some of his correspondents in 1918 that the Canadian Coat of Arms - the simple shield containing the crests of the four original provinces of Confederation, established in 1868,-was the proper Arms of Canada - "neither more nor less"; and that any crest or supporters, crowns, maple leaves or other additions to the shield is "wrong".*

He was horrified at any proposal for a national flag of Canada to take the place of the Union Jack. Such proposals had been made for many years, throughout Canada. The mercantile marine Red Ensign with the Canadian Coat of Arms in the fly was in widespread use as a national flag; it had been justified by J.S. Ewart, whose nationalism as expressed in his public speeches and his "Kingdom Papers" had many followers; it had been endorsed by leading newspapers in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal, and it was being adopted across the land. All this was anathema to traditionalist Pope; it seemed to him heretical. He campaigned against it; he wrote a pamphlet of his own, "The Flag of Canada", upholding the Union Jack. He wrote vehemently numerous letters on the subject. After 1911 he was able to back up his contention by an official despatch from the Colonial Office and the King's Private Secretary to the Governor General of Canada and his Ministers, asserting that "the Union Jack is the National Flag of Canada as of all other parts

* Pope must have been affronted by the fully-embellished bronze coat-of-arms on the pedestal of the statue of Queen Victoria on Parliament Hill, unveiled by the Duke of Cornwall and ~~Cornwall~~ York (later George V) on September 21, 1901.

of His Majesty's dominions."

In a private letter to Pope dated June 4, 1909, Colonel Sir John Hanbury-Williams, the Governor General's Secretary, drew attention to a letter by Lord Ampthill published in The Times on the flag question. "There is evidently still a most lamentable ignorance in England over the question of Flags in the Empire. Ampthill leads one to understand that various Dominions and Colonies have already flags of their own. As you and I are well aware, he is absolutely wrong, for we know what parts of the Empire have particular flags, and they are mightyfew." Nevertheless, Hanbury Williams was a good deal ahead of Pope in his views, for he continued in the same letter: "My view is that you will be obliged to have a Canadian flag, and that we should be ready to jump in the moment the crucial time has come, with a large Union Jack, and a small centre to it, with a maple leaf or something of that kind.* I know perfectly well that you are all for the Union Jack and nothing else, but I foresee that there will be a feeling in favour of something different for each Dominion, and the great point is to get a strong support to the idea that that difference should be made as small as possible." (1)

This suggestion horrified Pope, who promptly the very next day, June 5, sent off his reply to the

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* It is interesting to note that the question of design of a distinctive Canadian flag was being considered as early as 1909, and it has been continuously for the fifty years. It is also interesting to note that the past suggestion above named came from a British representative, not from a Canadian.

(1) Pope Papers, S.O. Vol.94. File 371.

Governor General's Secretary, Sir John Hanbury-Williams:

I have yours of the 4th instant. It looks as if Ewart had converted you, and I am sorry for it. My position is, and always has been, that the flag of Canada is the Union Jack, for the reason that the Union Jack is the symbol of the sovereignty of the King of England, and therefore the proper flag to fly in all his Majesty's possessions. The argument that the variation will be slight is to my mind as effective in this case as it was in the case of Midshipman Easy's mother, who gave an excuse that the baby was only a little one.

I think we are getting on very well as regards the flag. Let me enumerate what has been done:-

1. Ten years ago one commonly saw the Marine Ensign flying from Parliament Tower and all other Government buildings. That has changed. By order of Mr. Hyman, when Minister of Public Works, the Union Jack is now flown from every building owned by the Government of Canada from one end of the Dominion to the other.

2. By a similar regulation of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, the Union Jack is now flown from every marine station on the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the sea, and by every lighthouse keeper.

3. Mr. Pottinger has given instructions of a like nature as regards the Intercolonial and Prince Edward Island Railways.

4. The Government of Ontario have directed that the Union Jack shall be flown from every schoolhouse in Ontario.

5. The Provincial Government of Manitoba has given like orders.

6. The Provincial Government of British Columbia, despite a good deal of opposition, have observed the same practice. I was told by a British Columbia gentleman only the other day that the Union Jack flies from every schoolhouse in the Province.

7. If you are passing the Bank of Montreal on Dominion Day, you will observe a brand new Union Jack. This is the result of a correspondence I had with Clouston, who told me that he had brought the matter before the Association of Bankers and that body had agreed to fall in line.

8. I wrote to W.R. Baker of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and he replied cordially agreeing with my suggestion. I do not observe that the orders have been obeyed in Ottawa, but I am sure that is an oversight, and the C.P.R. will fly the Union Jack from ocean to ocean.

> Don't you think that fair progress has been made, and I am keeping up the good work. Whenever I see the Red Ensign flying, I write to the owner, if I know him, about it. I spoke to Bob Gill the other day, and he immediately ordered a Union Jack which from this time forth will fly from the Bank of Commerce. You make a great mistake if you suppose that the thinking people of Canada want any different flag from the Union Jack. It is merely that they do not understand anything about flags, and do as they have been told. I do not see why Lord Ampthill's ignorance should be made the reason for robbing us of our birth-right.(1)

In another letter on the subject, to Mr. G. B. Van Blaricon, of the Busy Man's Magazine, Toronto, Mr. Pope, on May 15, 1909, concluded his outline of the history and proper usage with this paragraph:

> I have never been able to understand why any British subject should desire to fly any flag other than that which symbolizes British sovereignty, British power, British civilization, and British freedom all round the globe, any more than I can enter into the feelings of the man who clamours for what he calls a "Canadian National Anthem", and is ready to accept the feeblest ditty as such, when he has already a National Anthem which, together with the Union Jack, symbolizes a glory and a greatness he ought to be proud to share." (2)

In 1911 Pope had a confirmation of his view, from the highest authority, an adviser to the King's Private Secretary.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Rt. Hon. Lewis Harcourt, wrote on April 12 to the Governor General, Earl Grey:

> I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency a copy of a letter received by the King's Private Secretary from . . . respecting the National Flag to be flown in Canada. I shall be glad if Your Excellency will cause the writer to be informed that the Union Jack is the National Flag of Canada as of all other parts of His Majesty's Dominions.(3)

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. Vol.94. file 371.

(2) Pope Papers. S.O. Vol.94, file 388, 1909.

(3) Pope Papers, S.O. Vol.96.
Castell Hopkins. The Canadian Annual Review. 1911.

A year later, this was followed by a more official communication dated June 7, 1912, from Mr. Harcourt to the new Governor General H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, and this letter was made public in Canada:

> I have the honour to transmit to Your Royal Highness a copy of a letter in regard to the Flag which should be used by private persons who are British subjects. I should be glad if you would be good enough to cause the public to be informed that the Union Jack is the National flag of Canada as of all other parts of His Majesty's Dominions and may be flown on land by all British subjects and that the red ensign, with the arms of the Dominion of Canada in the fly, is intended to be used only by Canadian merchant vessels.

Some Canadian newspapers criticized this letter and statement and urged the continued flying of the Merchant Marine flag - notably the Vancouver Sun of June 10th which described the latter as an infringement of self-government in the Dominions. The Montreal Herald, the Winnipeg Free Press, the Montreal Witness, and the Toronto Globe took somewhat similar ground. Sir Joseph Pope issued an able pamphlet in support of the Union Jack as the flag of Canada. (1)

In effect, as a consequence of all his campaigning and the endorsement of the authorities in Great Britain, Pope was partly successful in holding the dyke against the encroachment of a distinctive Canadian national flag. He remained to the end of his days a loyal British imperialist with uncompromising fidelity and allegiance to the Crown and its all-British imperial symbols.

(1) Castell Hopkins. The Canadian Annual Review, 1912.p.167.

16. The Washington Project

Sir Joseph Pope apparently did not display the same keen interest as his colleague Loring Christie in the movement commencing in 1919 and 1920 for Canadian diplomatic representation abroad, particularly in the United States. Nevertheless, once the concept had been set in motion by Sir Robert Borden, it was the duty of the Under-Secretary, as well as the Legal Adviser, to support his chief, the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Both Christie and Pope prepared detailed briefs on the subject for Borden and Meighen. Pope based his support on his own experience, over twenty years, of going on ad hoc diplomatic missions to Washington, and on the importance of having greater continuity through a permanent resident representative with greater diplomatic power and status than Mr. Mahoney or the Canadian War Mission. Belonging to the "Old School", however, Pope eschewed the notion of separate diplomatic representation; like Borden and Meighen - and Bennett later - all Conservatives, and even Fielding in 1924, a Liberal, he felt that the imperial diplomatic unity must not be disrupted, and consequently a Canadian diplomatic representative should be attached to, or located within, the British Embassy - the single agency of the Crown. (The deviation from this concept by the Irish Free State, in 1924, had not yet created an alternative precedent, which Mr. King was finally to adopt.)

On December 15, 1920, Pope wrote to Mr. Meighen, then Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs:

> It is generally understood that the Canadian War Mission is only continued pending the announcement of the Government's policy with respect to Canadian diplomatic representation at Washington.
>
> In regard to this subject, I would respectfully observe that I have been going between Ottawa and Washington for upwards of twenty years, and am therefore more or less familiar with the mode of communication between the two governments. The movement for special Canadian representation in Washington has its origin in the dissatisfaction arising from the extreme difficulty in getting things done under existing methods. This is partly to be ascribed to the United States system of government, with their sharp division between executive and legislative functions, which they are sometimes inclined to play off, one against the other, almost indefinitely. . . Over this, however, I am afraid we have no control.
>
> The second cause of ineffectiveness is to be found in the Embassy methods, which is primarily due to the fact that the staff there is perpetually changing. I doubt whether there is a man at the Embassy today who was there eighteen months ago. The consequence is that there is no traditional or continuous treatment of subjects by them. A clerk is sent out by the Foreign Office to Washington. He may be and often is an excellent man, but totally unacquainted with Canada and its affairs. He sets to work, learning rapidly, it may be, but just as he is beginning to be at all familiar with our business and with the American methods in the State Department and elsewhere, he leaves Washington for another post and his successor has to begin all over again, and so it goes on. Now, much of our business with the United States Government is of a practical character, not calling for the exercise of high diplomacy. If we had a man in Washington permanently, who would grow familiar with the ways of the American officials and with the class of questions with which he is called upon to deal on our behalf, he could dispose of our affairs, I will not say with promptness and despatch, for these words are unknown in Washington, but as quickly and expeditiously as is possible in dealing with the United States State Departments.

I believe there would be no difficulty in our government nominating to such a post on the Embassy staff a Canadian with the rank of Minister. He would be virtually independent of the Ambassador, while enjoying the prestige of connection with the Embassy, but really going his own way. . . The late Cecil Spring-Rice, speaking to me a few days before he died, told me that from the point of view of the Ambassador, he thought the plan I am here suggesting, quite feasible.

At present the routine in the transaction of Canadian business is something like this. The Ambassador, or sometimes the Counsellor acting in his stead, has periodically a business appointment with the State Department. He takes with him a list - sometimes a long one - of subjects to discuss with the Secretary of State, relating, it may be, to interests specially affecting the United Kingdom, others touching France, Mexico, etc., and among them certain pending Canadian questions. He is ushered into the Secretary of State's presence, leaving perhaps several foreign diplomats awaiting in the anteroom their turn for an interview. His visits are thus generally more or less hurried. He cannot do adequate justice to our business in the limited time at his disposal.

I would have a Canadian Minister at the Embassy wholly devoted to Canadian affairs. He should communicate directly with the Department of External Affairs at Ottawa. When he proceeds to interview the Secretary of State or to make his rounds of the public departments, he should be charged with nothing but Canadian business. He should have all these affairs in his own hands. By concentrated attention to his duties and with a little practice, he would discover numerous short-cuts in the way of doing business with the public departments in Washington, and he would be in this happy position that while ordinarily acting directly and independently, governed only by the instructions of his own Government, he could, whenever he thought it desirable to do so, invoke the prestige and influence of the Ambassador in support of his position.

> Another feature of this plan is the comparatively slight cost it would entail. While the Minister would be paid an adequate salary, he would not have to keep up a separate establishment, with all its attendant expenses. A small staff, consisting of a good understudy, a couple of clerks and a messenger would, I should think, be sufficient for the present. The Embassy building was added to some years ago. . . I should think room might be found for the Canadian Minister there, but if not, offices might be had elsewhere.
>
> Such a plan as I have tried to indicate would, I feel reasonably sure, fulfil all practical requirements, at a fraction of the cost which separate representation would entail, apart from far-reaching difficulties inherent in the latter scheme.(1)

It will be observed that the practical Sir Joseph Pope approached this whole question solely on grounds of practicality and convenience. He shied away from the "far-reaching difficulties" inherent in a scheme of separate representation, disrupting the traditional system and involving serious constitutional problems.

In comparison, most of the memoranda prepared at about the same time by Loring Christie were those of a constitutional lawyer and legal adviser, who explored and analyzed the proposed arrangement from the point of view of imperial relations, Canadian "status" and autonomy, and the constitutional problems involved. Pope here shows his primary concern for practical efficiency, greater expedition in transacting business, and for economy of expenditure and staff.

(1) File 603-19C. Part One.

17. Personal Character

Certain facets of Sir Joseph Pope's interests and character have been given above, at some length, because they help to portray the man who, from 1909 to 1925, directed the Department of External Affairs.

He had his human faults and foibles, and a sensitive and prickly side to his nature. In another chapter, dealing with his frustrations and discontents in office, some of these characteristics are indicated, but many of his provocations came from circumstances outside of himself. To some degree they induced an irascibility which was difficult to temper. Possibly his long and wide experience in his own special fields had developed an ego which made him sometimes dogmatic and in some directions bigoted. He was so sure of his own views that he took umbrage at any crossing of them. He was also so keen as regards the duties and efficient operation of his office that any inefficiency or delay - even in respect to the location of documents in the files - frustrated and irritated him.

At times these displays of petulance or impatience made him appear to his staff autocratic and domineering; Lord Curzon in the Foreign Office was noted for the same defect. Both were perfectionists and meticulous in their offices, and impatient when things did not go smoothly and expeditiously. This mannerism of Pope tended to intimidate his staff somewhat. W.H. Walker, whom he evidently appreciated and respected, was a very calm, quiet and gentle subordinate; and F.M. Baker, often

a victim of Pope's splenetic outbursts, was a patient and loyal, if perhaps a long-suffering, secretary. At times Pope would, in his impatience, lose his ordinary self-restraint and shout loudly from his doorway for documents or services, which, like John Peel's halloo, would awaken the dead and cause many a door to half-open along the corridor to ascertain the latest cause of clamour. This peculiarity of temperament, whether due to high blood pressure or a splenetic liver or due to a forcefulness of personality and enthusiasm, or due to frustration, scarcely ingratiated him with his staff, who respected him rather than warmed to him.

Pope was indeed a "positive" character, and this explains perhaps his difficulties from time to time with the other "positive" characters of the Irish Mr. Charles Murphy and the Irish Mr. Thomas Mulvey.

Nevertheless, those who knew Sir Joseph Pope remarked that, while dignified and aristocratic in outlook and public deportment, in private he lived quietly and simply, and his personal ways were plain, simple and democratic. Where possible he preferred walking to riding or travelling by public or private vehicle.* He enjoyed his life en famille with his wife, Henriette, daughter of Sir Henri Taschereau, and the family of five sons and one daughter, in his home at 286 Stewart Street on Sandy Hill, Ottawa. So greatly was he respected as a great Civil Servant and Deputy Minister that the London Advertiser called him "a true courtier", the Ottawa Citizen called him "the Chesterfield, as it were, of the

* In seasonable weather he regularly used a bicycle around town and to and from the East Block.

Laurier Government". The Toronto News spoke of him as among the best informed men in the public service.

In private life he was generally humble and kindly, and he had a host of friends and admirers, including Earl Grey and a succession of Prime Ministers. He was always ready to help any of his younger associates with kindly advice and collaboration, despite his temperamental mannerism in his office, and impatient outbursts toward any laggard staff-work.

Pope was a member of the Rideau Club, the important centre of Ottawa's political life. He was at one time President of the Catholic Truth Society, and a director of the Alliance Française in Ottawa. Somewhat surprisingly, he was also a Counsellor and Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada, and was held in some esteem by that circle. In 1917, for example, the Committee members appealed to him to persuade the Minister of Finance to restore an annual Government grant to the Society, which for war reasons was to be reduced from $2000 to $1000. Mr. J.R. Collins, the General Secretary, appealed to Pope, who on January 19th replied: "While you may be quite sure of my cooperation, I am afraid you exaggerate my influence. Ministers of the Crown are not apt to pay overmuch attention to the representations of Deputy Heads of Departments outside their own Departments. . ." However, he spoke to Sir Thomas White and then wrote him a letter stressing the value of the Society and its scientific publications. He at first apparently

was rebuffed, for he wrote to Sir Thomas on January 24th: "You asked me if I realized that this country is at war. With four sons gone forth to battle, I do realize it most keenly, and so far as in me lies, I try to administer my office and my household in the light of this overpowering fact." Sir Thomas White of course apologized the next day: "My question to you had of course no personal bearing, but was for the purpose of ascertaining whether, in connection with the particular grant in which you are interested, you had taken the question of our unprecedented financial responsibilities due to the war into account." (1)

Pope was ever ready to help further the interests of any good cause, or of any individuals in whom he had sympathy and confidence, and, as has been shown in reference to his chief assistant, W.H. Walker, was keenly concerned over questions of salary, or promotion, of members of his own Department and staff. He was alive to any inequity or injustice, both for the sake of the individual and for the dignity and prestige of his Department.

After Dr. O.D. Skelton had been appointed as head of the Department, Sir Joseph Pope continued for some months in the East Block utilizing a room on the third floor, where he engaged in writing memoirs, memoranda and putting in order his personal papers. The East Block was in his blood; he had spent nearly half his lifetime there, with a few years' interruption, from 1883 to

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. Vol.99. No.684.

1925, a period of over forty-years.

18. Retirement and Death

At the end of his career, Sir Joseph Pope could look back on a unique career of public service. Seven years as Prime Minister's Secretary, seven years with the Privy Council, thirteen years as Under-Secretary of State, and sixteen years as head of the Department of External Affairs, had given him a profound knowledge of the machinery of government and administration. He had been diplomat, master of ceremonial, archivist, historian, and administrator.

He retired from the Public Service on March 31, 1925, full of years and honours.* He took a holiday by the seaside at Atlantic City, perhaps reminiscing over his boyhood days within sight of the sea in Prince Edward Island. Although in impaired health, largely due to his fatiguing and unrelaxing labours, he apparently still retained some inclination for a rarely-indulged relaxation of fishing. Sir Robert Borden, out of office himself, paid him a warm and friendly tribute in the following letter, dated April 11, 1925:

> During my absence in the South I learned of your retirement from the position which you have filled with eminent ability and devotion to duty during many years. Might I be permitted to tender my warm congratulations upon your long service to our country, which has been both noble and distinguished. I should like to add my personal appreciation of the effective and loyal assistance which I invariably received from you during my premiership.

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* The Annual Report of the Department is characterized by laconism. In the 1924-25 Report Dr. Skelton wrote, on December 18, 1925: "It would not seem fitting to omit reference to the resignation at the end of the fiscal year of Sir Joseph Pope, who has efficiently filled the Office of Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs since the establishment of the department in 1909, and who thus brought to a conclusion a long and distinguished career in the public service of almost half a century."

> I trust that in your unsparing devotion to duty you have not forgotten how to play, for play is as necessary as work to one who throws himself into his daily tasks as fully as you do. The gentle art whose praises were so admirably sung by Isaac Walton should be a most agreeable recreation to you in the holidays of the future.
>
> With kindest remembrances to you and to Lady Pope, and with all good wishes, I remain, dear Sir Joseph, Yours faithfully. (R.L.Borden).

From his temporary holiday retreat at the Hotel Traymore in Atlantic City, Pope replied on April 22nd:

> I very much appreciate your more than kind note on the occasion of my retirement from the public service a few days ago.
>
> I am afraid you place too high an estimate on the value of such services as I have been able to render during my time. For my own part, I shall always regard it as a high privilege to have served under you, more especially during the critical period which tried men's souls during the Great War, in which you played such a loyal and devoted part. I wish you for many years to come all kinds of prosperity.

When on December 2, 1926, in his seventy-second year, he died in Ottawa after a year or more of failing health, he had served for over forty-two historic years in the public service - "in the vigour of youth, in the maturity of manhood, and on into the gathering shadows of old age." He had been the intimate confidant and adviser of ten Prime Ministers - Macdonald, MacKenzie, Abbott, Thompson, Bowell, Tupper, Laurier, Borden, Meighen, and Mackenzie King - certainly a remarkable record in Canadian political life. Although the weight of years registered its effects upon him and ultimately left him feeble, he had been a big, strong, vigorous man, with handsome clean-shaven features, and the ruddy glow of

health upon his cheeks. He was a dynamo of directing energy, and had a most engaging and entertaining personality; and his catholicity of knowledge, especially in relation to the science and formalities of government, and in respect to diplomatic matters, made him most eminently qualified director of the Department of External Affairs which he sponsored and created.

Sir Joseph Pope's dedication to the public service of Canada, inherited from his grandfather and father, was sustained in his own family. Along with one of his sons, Lieut. Col. Pope, another son also chose the Army as his career, and ultimately rose to be Lieut. Gen. Maurice Pope, C.B., M.C., who after a lengthy military career, became, after the Second World War, Chief of the Canadian Military Mission in Berlin (1945-1950) and then, under the Department of External Affairs, the diplomatic Chief of the Canadian Mission (later Embassy) in Berlin and Bonn, 1949-1950, first Canadian Ambassador to Belgium and Minister to Luxembourg (1950-1953), and finally first Canadian Ambassador to Spain (1953-1957).

General Maurice Pope's son continued the family's diplomatic tradition. Thomas Maurice du Monceau Pope, after graduation, joined the Department of External Affairs, founded by his grandfather, in 1954. A niece, Miss Louise Birkett, daughter of General Pope's sister, Mrs. Adele (Pope) Birkett, also joined the Department of External Affairs after the Second World War, and was attached to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in New Delhi, until her marriage there and removal to Argentina. Another niece, Miss Renée Birkett, is also in the Department.

15.

DEPARTMENT PREMISES

Premises

On June 1, 1909, the new Department of External Affairs legally came into existence.

Yet it had no home, no base of operations; and for months had a precarious existence under three different roofs, and finally found "temporary quarters", away from its proper centre, where it remained for nearly five years.

The long and unhappy struggle to obtain proper quarters in the East Block fills the correspondence of the summer of 1909. The failure of the struggle exasperated the Governor General, Earl Grey, disappointed the Prime Minister and Secretary of State, and almost broke Pope's heart with frustration and resentment. The struggle was resumed in 1911 when Sir Robert Borden became Prime Minister; but the Department did not finally find quarters in the East Block, where it necessarily belonged, until 1914. It has retained its main foothold there ever since; but has had to expand some of its Divisions into other buildings as well.

East Block

Pope was an East Block man almost all his professional life. This was, as much as the main building of Parliament, the centre of government, the main "engine-room" of the national administration. It was where several of the principal departments and Ministries had their offices. It was where foreign representatives, upon arrival in Ottawa, made their first contacts with the Secretary of State's Office or the Department of External Affairs. It was where the nation's domestic and external

policies were privately discussed and given official shape; where diplomatic correspondence was channeled and handled; where Orders-in-Council and statutory legislation received their imprimatur. .

The history of this ninety-odd year old building predates by two years actual Canadian Confederation. It was Queen Victoria who chose Ottawa, previously known as Bytown, as the seat of Government of United Canada (Upper and Lower Canada). Her decision was made known to the Government of the day by a despatch of the Secretary for the Colonies, dated December 31, 1857, and was brought to the knowledge of the two Houses on March 16, 1858. Certain foreign newspapers were of the opinion that the choice was an excellent one. If an enemy country decided to attack Canada, they suggested, it would be difficult for its soldiers to occupy the Capital, since in attempting to find it, they would lose their way in the forests. Parliament ratified the decision of Queen Victoria by a vote of 64 to 59.

The site of the Capital having been chosen, the Governor General suggested, as the location of the government buildings, a plot of land until then known as Barracks Hill, or sometimes Fortification Hill, overlooking the long vistas of the Ottawa River, at times filled with great log-rafts and alive with picturesque lumbermen; and on May 17, 1859, the Department of Public Works invited architects to draw up and submit plans for the necessary parliamentary and administrative buildings. A sum of 200 pounds was offered for the winning plan. Sixteen plans for the parliament buildings, and

seven for the administrative buildings, were prepared by fourteen competitors. Various major styles of architecture were considered, but renaissance or neo-gothic was chosen. A centre block for Parliament, and two blocks flanking it on east and west, for the Administration, were planned. For the East Block, to house a principal part of the Administration offices, the design of Messrs. Strant and Lavers was awarded the prize.

On September 8, 1859, the Department of Public Works invited builders to submit specifications. The plans could be studied at Quebec, Ottawa and Toronto as from October 15th. Twenty-one sets of specifications were submitted for the Parliament Buildings and twenty-nine for the East Block. The construction of the latter was entrusted to Messrs. Jones, Hancock and Company, for the sum of $278,810, and February 1, 1862, was set as the date of completion. Excavation work was begun in December, 1859. The first stone of the East Block was laid in 1860, during the visit of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) by Miss Hancock, the builder's daughter, who for a long time retained possession of a small silver trowel and level used on that occasion. Work was carried on until, by October 1, 1861, funds were exhausted. It was resumed a little later after a Commission had been appointed under the Great Seal of the province, on June 21, 1861, to investigate the various questions raised by the construction of the buildings, and the administrative methods then practised. The Commission proposed that the remaining work be entrusted to the original contractors and paid according

to a scale of prices established by the commissioners.

The Government approved this suggestion and awarded new contracts. By the month of October, 1865, the construction of the building was sufficiently advanced to permit of its occupancy, at first by the Provincial Government. Two years later the provinces had decided to confederate, and the government buildings thus became the seat of the federal administration.

At the outset, the East Block had but two wings, one facing Wellington Street, and the other, Parliament square. It was not until shortly before the First World War that the other two sides of the quadrangle were completed. The building is of neo-Gothic style, matching the style of the other two buildings but more embellished with ornamentation; its architect evidently drew inspiration from his memories of Westminster. The East Block is of imposing dimensions: 319 feet of frontage on Parliament square, and 253 feet facing Wellington Street. The walls are of Nepean sandstone; the fireplaces are constructed of Arnprior marble, and certain decorative pieces are of Potsdam sandstone, quarried in the State of New York.

The East Block, within, was fearfully and wondrously designed, with a labyrinth of rooms on assorted levels, off various staircases, under gables, and even in the strange main tower with its features of a face.* Its smaller cells became repositories of half-forgotten archives. "If it does not possess a ghost," one account tells us, "the East Block has come close to having a secret dungeon." During the present restoration

* Bruce Hutchison speaks of "the crazy windblown turrets of the East and West Blocks" and "the horrified face, eyes wide, mouth open which the unwitting stone mason built into the south tower of the East Block". (The Unknown Country. p.89).

(1949), workmen discovered, opposite an elevator well on the third floor, in the tower above the entrance to the Privy Council chamber, a vaulted room, crammed with files for which generations of secretaries had no doubt searched in the course of their careers. Since it was apparently possible to gain access to the room from a Privy Council office, its usefulness may not have been entirely lost on those who had occasion to use it, and who were perhaps loath to be deprived of a convenient place in which to deposit their archives."(1)

As we give consideration to the Department of External Affairs, and its association with the East Block (daily connected with that centre even while the Department's offices were for five years housed in the Trafalgar Building), we share the feelings of such men as Macdonald and Laurier and Pope for this great edifice, honoured in prestige even in its earlier days and in each historic year becoming more impregnated with history and personality. "With its stiff and somewhat formalistic style, its dignified aspect, its long hallways and twisting passages, its gargoyles and its memories, the East Block has been, for close to a century, an Ottawa landmark. In this building generations of officials and statesmen have devoted their careers to the public interest, and if visitors sometimes joke about the East Block, their irony is not unmixed with affection for the values which it represents." (2)

Originally, the building housed the offices

(1) External Affairs Bulletin. September 1949. p. 14.

(2) External Affairs Bulletin. September 1949. p.14.

of the Governor General, the Privy Council, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and the Ministers of Finance, National Revenue and Interior. Later the Minister of Justice had his offices there, and the offices of the Government Insurance Branch moved in when the new wing was completed.

Sir John A. Macdonald made his headquarters in the East Block, under the main tower, as long as he was Prime Minister; and from 1882 Pope, as his private secretary, worked there until the death of the Old Chieftain. Meanwhile he was for a time assistant clerk of the Privy Council, which gave him other tasks in the same building; and as Under-Secretary in the Secretary of State's Office, he still worked in the East Block from 1896 to 1909.

Because the new Department of External Affairs was an offshoot of and so closely linked with the Office of the Secretary of State, Pope and all those concerned had taken it for granted that rooms would be allocated in this East Block for the new Department. Mr. Fielding had promised this in the very beginning. "Both the Premier and the Secretary of State", wrote Pope to the Deputy Minister of Public Works on June 28, 1909, "have all along considered that the natural, most suitable place for the Department of External Affairs is in the East Block, and on the same floor as the Offices of the Privy Council, the Prime Minister, the Governor General's Secretary, and my old department which are all more or less allied."

But these hopes were not to be realized,

either on the initiation of the Department or for many years thereafter. The history of the Departmental premises was a long story of frustration and struggle and disappointment.

On June 1, 1909, when the new Department officially came into being, Pope despondently wrote to the Governor General's Secretary,(Earl Grey having left for England on a brief visit), asking him not to put the new procedure into operation immediately, "for the reason that while the department is brought into existence, so far it is not corporeal. Rooms have not yet been provided, so that I have no place in which to transact business and no staff to transact it with. The old order of things must continue until, at any rate, I get offices."

Pope's Efforts

Pope thereupon discussed the matter most earnestly and urgently with his chief, Mr. Charles Murphy, who, failing personally to get his way, appealed to the Prime Minister.

On June 15, 1909, Murphy wrote to Sir Wilfrid Laurier asking him to use his good offices in expediting action on the part of the Public Works Department in arranging rooms in the East Block. The most desirable arrangement, he said, would be to secure accommodation in the corridor in which the offices of the Secretary of State were situated, or at least on the same floor and as close to that Department as possible. (1)

On June 19th he prepared a memorandum for Laurier, recommending certain redistribution of rooms

(1) Laurier Papers. Vol.579. Doc.157021.

and transfer of records and stored office supplies, shifting the Indian Department and Insurance Department rooms, and using the latter's space for External Affairs offices. (1)

The chief stumbling block was the fact that to get the offices he wanted, Mr. Pedley of the Indian Affairs Department would have to be shifted, and naturally put up some resistance. Both the Prime Minister and, later, the Governor General, intervened to persuade him to yield his offices, but, seeing his reluctance and imagining his probable resentment, Pope hesitated to interfere. He began to search for alternative quarters, and found a prospect in the Trafalgar Building. He thereupon got Sir Wilfrid Laurier's consent to this proposal. On June 21st Pope then wrote to his chief, Mr. Murphy, complaining that as certain make-shift rooms in the East Block which had been tentatively offered to him were quite inadequate, he asked Mr. Murphy to authorize him, faute de mieux to move to the Trafalgar Building on Bank Street, "at any rate for the present"; he said that the Prime Minister had consented to his going there. In a letter from Saskatoon, dated June 26th, Mr. Murphy approved the proposed arrangement.

Interlude

But it was several months before the quarters in the Trafalgar Building could be vacated by the School Board and made ready for occupation by the new Department; and during that interim summer period, Pope was virtually

(1) Ibid. Vol.579. Doc.156962-3. Also Departmental File 22/1909.

incapacitated in his establishment and work, and the Department had a precarious existence in borrowed rooms.

Mr. Murphy, leaving for a trip to the West, lent his own office in the East Block to Pope during his absence, which meant, for the time being, that Pope, giving up his old Under-Secretary's Office to his successor, Mr. Mulvey, merely moved over to his chief's adjoining room. But almost immediately, workmen from Public Works wanted to make certain constructional changes in the windows of Mr. Murphy's office. Pope felt that he had to move, and a few days later yielded his office to the stone-masons.

On July 7th we learn from letters which Pope wrote to other Deputy Ministers, the new Department was "temporarily lodged in the new wing of the House of Commons" - rooms 53, 78 and 79. There it had to remain from July until October, with all the obvious inconveniences of small and temporary quarters.

On June 30th, Pope had sent letters to the other Deputy Ministers with copies of the Order-in-Council defining the functions of the Department, and a letter to the Governor General's Secretary asking him to begin the new procedure on July 6th. On July 7th, however, there is another letter to the Governor General's Secretary which seems to have replaced this, asking him to begin the new procedure on July 8th. The Deputy Ministers were also advised of the date, and the temporary address of the new offices in the House of Commons. It appears from this correspondence therefore that July 8th must be taken as the date on which the Department

actually opened for business, as by then a few staff members had been collected and some preparatory work organized.

Meanwhile, from England where he was visiting, Earl Grey wrote, on July 29th, to Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

> I hope when I come back I may find Mr. Pope installed in Mr. Pedley's office. It was on the understanding that his office should be - as it ought to be - in this building, that I consented to give up Walker, who has been quite invaluable to me, and whose supervision over his successor's early work I am most anxious to secure.

Trafalgar Building

There was an exasperating delay in getting the new Trafalgar Building offices ready, and Pope kept pressing for quick action. On June 28th he wrote to Mr. Hunter, Deputy Minister of Public Works, asking to have prepared for his use as soon as possible room 107, a large room 108-9, which was to be divided by a partition, and 110 and 111 at the back. He would thus have five rooms en suite on the first floor. The Public School Board, however, were not able to vacate the large room 108-9 until July 15th, and the other rooms mentioned were expected to be available at the same time; room 107 would not be available until August 1st.

September came around, and Pope was still concerned over his future office accommodation. He was promised occupation about September 21st, but the usual hitches occurred and the date was postponed. Meanwhile, on September 17th, Pope wrote to Mr. Hunter: "As I explained to you verbally, some question has arisen as to whether the department should not be lodged in the old Y.M.C.A. building. I have not had an opportunity

of seeing my Minister, who is out of town, but I think you may take it for granted that I will move into the Trafalgar Building as soon as it is ready." Pope also said that as the two side rooms, 110 and 111, where he was to put his "typewriters" or typists, was "almost too dark to work in", he wished to take an additional room 412 on the fourth floor which he learned was available. "While this is also a back room, it is so high that the light is good, and really the other two rooms, while useful for purposes of a library and a reference room, are almost too dark to ask typewriters to work in."

It is interesting to note that, after - by great pressure - having obtained sanction to occupy certain rooms in the East Block which, in pique, Pope finally refused, and after having agreed, with general consent, to move into the Trafalgar Building as soon as it could be vacated, remodelled, and furnished, - an alternative location, in the old Y.M.C.A. building should have been proposed as late as September, after arrangements had been virtually settled. This is evidence of the still persisting uncertainty or anxiety in certain circles as to the future permanent or even temporary accommodation of the new and homeless Department.

On October 1st Mr. A.M. Davies, in the temporary absence of Mr. Hunter, wrote to Pope to say that the Order-in-Council authorizing the rental of the upstairs room 412 in the Trafalgar Building had just been received, upon which the Deputy Minister of Public Works had given instructions for the immediate preparation

of the lease. Pope's impatience was growing, especially as Parliament was about to reconvene; and on October 2nd he wrote to Mr. Hunter:

> Would you kindly let me know definitely when I may expect to move into the Trafalgar Building? The rooms are still bare and I cannot ascertain that any practical steps have been taken to furnish them. Meanwhile, time is running on, and I should not be surprised to receive at an early date notice from the Clerk of the House of Commons that the rooms I am occupying will shortly be required for sessional purposes.

Across the file copy of this letter, Pope wrote:

> Removed to the Trafalgar Building 12 October 1909.(1)

The result was that Pope, Walker, his male clerks, the banks of filing cabinets and the office library were installed in the five rooms of the first floor, while the lady typists (Miss Palmer and Miss Rankins, and soon Miss McCloskey and Miss Seymour) worked on the fourth floor. There was much stair-climbing between the floors to be done by them for the next four or five years!

It was not until October 12, 1909, that Pope was able to notify those concerned that "the Department of External Affairs has been removed to its permanent quarters, Rooms Nos. 107-111 in the Trafalgar Building at the north-east corner of Bank and Queen Streets". This was, (and remains today)* an office and business block with a tobacconist's and other shops on street-level; at that date including a barber-shop. The upper quarters accommodated several government offices,

(1) File 22/1909.

* 1958

including a printing-press room for the Civil Service Commission, and a club-room somewhere below. The Trafalgar Building quarters were to serve "until the proposed extension of the East Block will enable the Department of External Affairs to obtain quarters in the building to which it naturally belongs," he wrote to the Public Works Department on June 28th. There, also, they had to serve for nearly five years.

After moving in, Pope was concerned over the security aspects of his Department in the largely commercial Trafalgar Building, and in a letter to the Commissioner of Dominion Police, dated October 15, 1909, proposed that "a policeman should be stationed at the door of this building, as in the case of the Militia, the Labour, and other departments outside the Parliamentary grounds."

Besides the "indignity" of being quartered above a barber-shop, Pope found other problems in his quarters in the Trafalgar Building. There was poor lighting; there was inadequate heating at times; and there were club meetings at night. In a letter dated December 4, 1911, Mr. Pope wrote to Mr. J.C. Brennan, apparently the Trafalgar Building superintendent:

> I understand that there are a number of persons not belonging to this building who are in the habit of coming into the bulding and remaining until nearly midnight holding baseball meetings, etc.
>
> These persons are unknown to the janitor, and I think it very undesirable from the point of view of this department, that a number of persons should be allowed to come in thus necessitating the keeping of this building open so late at night. If we cannot settle this matter, I must bring it to the attention of the Minister of Public Works.
>
> I may also mention that my room was cold

File 1197-1911

this morning. I do not think the furnace should be allowed to go out on Sundays during cold weather.

The inconveniences, from 1909 to 1914, of having an important department of government, so intimately tied to the offices of the Governor General, the Prime Minister, the Privy Council and the Secretary of State, separated across centre-town four or five blocks away from the East Block building, were obvious to all. It meant a good deal of messenger work,* and doubtless a good deal of daily leg-work by the Under-Secretary and Assistant Under-Secretary personally in their goings and comings, in winter and in summer, to and from the offices with which they had to have constant contact and discussion. Joseph Pope was a man to smart under this kind of thing, and was supersensitive to any appearance that his Department was a side-show or annex; this no doubt explains the querulous tone of some of his letters, and his bitter reference to his Department being "over a barber-shop in Bank Street". According to Earl Grey, Charles Murphy had "very strong views with regard to the unsatisfactory nature of the present arrangements"; and the Governor General himself, complaining that the Department seemed "as remote as Calcutta" in personal inconvenience, took the matter very much to heart.

Struggle for East Block Quarters

On the Governor General's return from England, followed by a Western tour, there began a new battle for

* No messengers had been provided for in the original Order-in-Council fixing the staff of the new Department. It was then expected that the messengers, Duggan and Jessup, of the Secretary of State's Office, could be shared, in the East Block. Great inconvenience was caused by having to transfer them to the Trafalgar Building. In 1911 Pope apologized for not being able to have a book delivered because his "only" messenger was ill.

East Block office space, in which Earl Grey took the lead, - a most unusual course for a Governor General. Many promises were made and agreements finally reached: but in the end the efforts failed, no adjustment was concluded, and the Governor General told Sir Wilfrid Laurier that he felt himself very humiliated, as well as deprived of an arrangement which was of great importance to himself, and to public convenience. The story of this lengthy andabortive tussle is clearly outlined in the correspondence between Earl Grey and Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

On November 3, 1909, Grey wrote to Laurier expressing his "great disappointment" that the offices of the Department of External Affairs had been, "only temporarily, I hope," located in Bank Street. He reminded Laurier that "you took the view that the public convenience required that the offices of the Department of External Affairs should be in the same building as the offices of the Governor General, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State. It was an assurance from you that this would be arranged that I consented to my office being weakened by the transfer of Mr. Walker to the newly created Department. It was arranged with Mr. Pope that my office should have the power of consulting freely at all times with Mr. Walker re the drafting of despatches, etc. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that Mr. Walker in his Bank St. Office is almost as useless to my Office as if he were in Calcutta!" He then emphasized that "It is on the ground of public convenience that I urge this. The public convenience suffers if there is not easy access between the offices of the Secretary and

the Under-Secretary of State. The work of my office and of your office is also retarded. My convenience, your convenience, that of all the officials concerned, are injuriously affected."

On the same day, Laurier replied, saying that he had given instructions to make room for Mr. Pope's Department in the East Block, but "so many objections were raised that nothing was done. A few days ago, on hearing this, I told Pope to make a selection of the rooms which he wanted, and that I would give at once the necessary order to have them turned to him. He then informed me that he had been moved three times this year and that he preferred to remain where he was. I did not press the matter further. I am quite ready to act, if such be the wishes of Your Excellency."

On November 5th, Grey wrote again to Laurier, saying that he had personally sent for and talked to Mr. Pedley, and had explained to him that "the interests of the Crown, to which the personal convenience of every individual must be subordinated, made it necessary to ask him to submit to the loss of his beautiful offices and to the discomfort and inconvenience of moving elsewhere. . . The attractions and associations of the room would appear to me to secure for it the honour of appropriation, if not by the Prime Minister, at any rate by the Secretary of State or Minister of Justice. I also explained to Mr. Pedley that the decision requiring him to transfer elsewhere had not been initiated or suggested by Mr. Pope." The Governor General was a little huffed by the indignity

that his distinguished position should be invoked in a minor administrative difficulty between Departments, and concluded his letter: "I hope Mr. Pedley properly appreciated the attention shown him, by my sending for him in order that I might explain the situation. The first intimation Lord Roberts received that his rooms in the W.O. were required for some one else was a bald statement left upon his writing table that he must vacate his office by a certain date. The inconsiderate manner in which this intimation was conveyed to him wounded him and his friends even more than the loss of his office."

On the same day, November 5, Grey also wrote a personal letter to Pope, explaining the steps he had taken. "I informed Mr. Pedley that the resolution on the part of the government to transfer him elsewhere in order that the new Department of External Affairs should be properly lodged in our building, had not been initiated or suggested in any way by you; that the interests of the Crown, to which the convenience of every individual must be subordinated, required this change. I also gave expression to my personal regret that the convenience and comfort of an official of high standing should be affected by this change. I think Mr. Pedley quite understands the position. At any rate he cannot cherish any grievance that he has been treated with want of consideration. . . I am sorry for all the trouble you have been put to in connection with the different transfers from post to post, of which you have been the unhappy victim." Grey concluded by an indirect barb at Pope for having meekly taken the alternative quarters in the Trafalgar

Building. "The proposal," he said, "to locate the offices of the Under-Secretary of State in a building removed from the Secretary of State, the Prime Minister and the Governor General, in my opinion ought never to have been tolerated for a single moment. It is obviously impossible to transact the business of your Department with due regard to the interests of the Crown, so far as regards efficiency and rapidity, from a building so far removed from the Secretary of State's Office as the office you are temporarily occupying in Bank Street."

A month and a half passed by, while this question still rankled. The Governor General himself felt that his authority, as representative of the Crown and official head of State, had been ignored or flouted, which injured his personal prestige and amour propre. He reviewed the whole irritating matter in a long handwritten letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier on December 22, 1909. He first expressed surprise "that the decision to bring the Department of External Affairs under the roof of the Eastern Block had been reversed out of deference to the feelings of Mr. Pope," He expressed his annoyance: "As you are aware it is not my habit to take offence or to manufacture grievances, but I must confess I do not think I have received in this matter the usual consideration which I am accustomed to receive from you." He then reviewed the issue of establishment in the East Block, in the interests of the public convenience "or in other words the interests of the Crown." "You, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Aylesworth, Mr. Pope and I were all agreed on this point. Disagreement was impossible, for this is obviously a matter on which, if the interests of Administrative convenience are to be supreme, there is only one side. . . . I ascertained from him (Mr. Pope) that he was under the

impression that you had left the decision as to the location of his offices with him. He thereupon refused to persevere with the plan accepted by us all as the obvious arrangement most conducive to the quick and satisfactory transaction of affairs, namely that of locating the Department of External Affairs in the offices occupied by Mr. Pedley, and in my opinion very properly refused - for it would be unfair to Mr. Pope and injurious to his position and influence to expose him to the odium of having initiated a change which might be greatly resented by a fellow Deputy Minister.. . ." Earl Grey then recounted the interviews he had had with Laurier, with Mr. Pedley and with Pope, resulting, as he believed, in their acceptance of his request.

After a further recapitulation of his interviews, Grey continued: "I have told you enough to enable you to understand my astonishment on being informed by you last Wednesday that out of continued deference to Mr. Pope's feelings, a change admittedly required in the Public Interest was not to be made! I do not suppose a Governor General has ever put himself to so much trouble in order to protect a servant of the Crown in the position of Mr. Pope from possible injury resulting from a change called for in the public interest. I cannot conceal from you that, having been encouraged by you to speak to both Mr. Pedley and Mr. Pope, an unusual step from which I did not shrink in my desire to help you, I feel that I shall have been, and shall continue to be, humiliated if nothing is done. . ."

It is clear that after the Governor General's

efforts, all those concerned seem to be in accord: Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. Charles Murphy, Mr. Pedley, Mr. Hunter, and at first, Mr. Pope. Why then did it not materialize? First, because of Mr. Pedley's reluctance to yield up his offices in the East Block, until he was ordered to do so. Secondly, because of Mr. Pope's reversal of attitude - (a) as he was sick and tired of being moved around - already three times in the first summer, and (b) from fear of prejudicing his good relations with Mr. Pedley and other Deputy Ministers. Thirdly, - faced with Pope's reversal, stubbornness and reluctance, - Sir Wilfrid Laurier weakened and "deferred to him". Thus the Department remained in the Trafalgar Building for the next five years.

The efforts of the Governor General apparently ceased. The final reply of Sir Wilfrid Laurier does not appear on the record. Why, after the final persuasion of Early Grey, Pope did not accede to the obvious "public interest," to superior "orders", and obtain what he had so badly desired himself, is not explained. One can only suppose that he had become piqued, stubborn and martyr-like, and would not move when finally given the chance, and also did not want to be blamed for having ousted any of his colleagues.

New Efforts While in Trafalgar Building.

To be separated, "as far away as Calcutta," and "over a barber-shop", from his own Departmental chiefs - first Charles Murphy, then Mr. Roche, and then Sir Robert Borden; from the offices with which he shared

staff and did most of his business; from the Governor General, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, the Minister of Justice, and the Privy Council Office - would naturally be frustrating to any departmental head. We can perhaps trace a good deal of Pope's petulance and irritability over other matters, to this underlying sense of frustration and isolation in his office location.

Earl Grey had left Canada; several years passed, and a new government had taken office.

At the tail of a long memorandum to Sir Robert Borden on a disputed question of jurisdiction or responsibility between the Department of the Secretary of State and the Department of External Affairs, dated September 13, 1912, Pope wrote:

> In conclusion, the undersigned cannot refrain from calling attention to the wholly inadequate nature of the accommodation provided for the Department of External Affairs, which Department, he further submits, should be in close proximity both to the office of the Prime Minister and that of the Governor General's Secretary.

Through those five years "in the wilderness," Pope continued to keep his eye on the prospects of a return to more appropriate quarters in the East Block. It vexed him to see other departments filling up the East Block, and even the newly finished extension or "new wing" which he hoped would provide his Department the space he had been so long waiting for. He was, quite naturally, jealous. The Insurance Department was using extravagant space; the Department of Indian Affairs had more rooms than were necessary. In the Trafalgar Building he was remote and cut off; the electric lighting was bad for the staff's eyes; it was awkward to handle passport

issuance when the Seal was in the East Block. His letters in 1913 again reveal his anxiety.

In a letter to Sir Robert Borden, dated January 18, he wrote:

> You were kind enough to say today that I might send you a memorandum with reference to a suggestion of mine, which would facilitate matters as regards accommodation for the Department of External Affairs.
>
> I quite recognize, from what you told me, the impracticability of obtaining quarters in the new extension of the East Block. Though somewhat disappointed, I see the difficulties in the way. At the same time my needs are very great. I am much crowded, and two of my rooms are so dark that the lights have to be turned on all the time. This has affected the eyesight of two of my clerks who have complained periodically, with justice, of the injury which is being done to their eyesight by having to work all day by artificial light.
>
> Now, adjacent to my office, there are five or six rooms occupied by the Annuities Branch, formerly connected with the Department of Trade and Commerce, but, latterly, I understand transferred to the Postmaster General. It has occurred to me that without much difficulty suitable accommodation might be found elsewhere for this statistical branch, and the rooms given to me. This would enable me to expand a little, and ease the situation accordingly. I thought that perhaps you would not mind mentioning the matter to your colleagues, the Minister of Public Works and the Postmaster General. Between them I think this transfer could be managed without much difficulty, and it certainly would be an advantage to me and my staff.

In this letter Pope was acquiescing, for the time, in remaining in the Trafalgar Building, but was asking for greater space there, as his staff increased, his registry and files grew, and the passport business increased.

It does not appear that any actions resulted from this proposal for expansion in the Trafalgar Building; and the aspiration to return to the East Block continued.

Mr. Pope was nothing if not persistent when it came to this vexing question. He wrote the following on July 8, 1913, to Mr. Perley, in answer to a verbal enquiry:

> I have ascertained that on the third floor of the East Block the Department of Indian Affairs have, in all, eight rooms, three on the West side of the corridor, four on the opposite side, and one round the corner in the corridor of the Secretary of State. These rooms would be sufficient for my present needs, though they would leave no room to expand. I dare say, however, I might manage to secure a room or two upstairs later on.
>
> With reference to your remarks about the Indian Department, in a certain contingency, being divided, one portion in one building and one portion in another, I may observe that such a state of things is by no means unusual at the present time. For instance, the Department of the Interior is located, I think, in ten different buildings throughout the city; the Deputy Minister is in the Langevin Building, the Secretary is over a bank in Wellington Street, the Assistant Secretary is in Sparks Street, while the Accountant is in the Trafalgar Building in Bank Street. A portion of the Auditor General's Office is in the East Block, another portion is in the McNeill building in Queen Street, while still another is in the Canadian Building. Part of the Marine Department is in the West Block, part in the Canadian Building, and part in the Birks building, and so on.

Mr. (later Sir George) Perley's immediate reply to this submission of Pope's has not been found in the records; but he may have interceded, for some months later, matters were adjusted and the Indian Affairs Department yielded some space.

East Block at Last!

The time at last came when Pope's Department was able to return to its appropriate location in the East Block. On June 19, 1914, Pope wrote to Mr. Hunter, the Deputy Minister of Public Works:

> Although I have heard nothing official or authoritative on the subject from any quarter, the ever thickening rumours that reach me lead me to believe that I am shortly to remove to the Eastern Block, and that the rooms in the corridor leading down from the Privy Council Office, and which were previously occupied by the Indian Department, will be assigned to the Department of External Affairs. I understand these rooms are six in number - three on each side - together with a small space (numbered 96) between two rooms, which can scarcely be called a room, but which I might perhaps utilize for messengers. Now this is not sufficient accommodation for the Department of External Affairs. I shall require in addition to these six rooms, two extra rooms, which I am prepared to take upstairs. I hope there will be no difficulty about this, as it will be quite impossible to pack my present staff (which will be augmented by Mr. Christie who now occupies a room in the Privy Council Office) into these six rooms downstairs. (1)

On August 24, 1914, Mr. Hunter wrote to Pope informing him that certain rooms on the first floor of the East Block had been vacated and were now at the disposal of the Department of External Affairs. These included Nos. 97, 99 and 101 on the first floor fronting the lawn, and Nos. 95, 96, 98, and 100 on the first floor facing the courtyard - seven rooms in all. Three other rooms, Nos. 145, 147 and 149 on the top floor overlooking the courtyard were still occupied, but would be vacated in about two weeks and placed at Pope's disposal. On September 29th, Mr. Hunter notified Pope that the two top floor rooms were available and "should be in a condition enabling you to occupy them by say next Monday." No further correspondence for that period is on file, but this arrangement was acknowledged by Pope, and apparently acceptable.

It is presumed that he transferred his Department from the Trafalgar Building to the above-mentioned rooms

(1) File 4068-1-40

in the East Block a few days after September 29th - that is to say, in the first week in October, 1914.*

On January 22, 1915, Pope requested another spare room on the top floor "as a store room in which to place many boxes of papers, records of past commissions, arbitration, etc., of which I am the custodian." But on January 28, Hunter wrote that no such room was at present available.

When Pope finally attained his desire and was enabled to transfer his Department back to the East Block, with its new wing recently added to enclose the quadrangle and to provide much needed space for the ever-expanding offices of administration, he was again disappointed and had to take up his troubles with the allocating authorities.

In a much later letter, dated October 28,1916, to Mr. Robert Rogers, the then Minister of Public Works, Pope complainingly reviewed the tale of his accommodation difficulties. "When the Department of External Affairs was formed, Mr. Fielding, who seemed to have the apportionment of rooms in the new wing of this building (the East Block), promised my Minister at the time, eight rooms

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* The old Department file (1013/14) on External Affairs premises dealing with the transfer from Trafalgar Building to the East Block in 1914 has been abolished, and has been incorporated into a more comprehensive file 4068-1-40, "Accommodation - Department of External Affairs - East Block" covering the period 1913 to 1947. There is comparatively little correspondence concerning the move made in 1914, and, strangely to say, no indication as to the precise date the removal into the East Block was actually made. Individuals who were members of the Department at that time recall the act of removal but do not recall the exact date.

for the new Department. I never got these rooms, and was obliged to establish the office of the Department of External Affairs over a barber-shop in Bank Street. . . Ultimately the disadvantage of having the External Affairs on Bank Street became so glaring that arrangements were made by which the Department was moved to the East Block, but, with the exception of my room, which is a very fine one, the office accommodation is not sufficient. In fact, if it had not been for the kindness of your Deputy, Mr. Hunter, in managing to get me two rooms in the new wing, I do not know what I should have done. I am at present in urgent need of at least two more rooms in addition to an office for the Parliamentary Under-Secretary,* and I do not know where to get them. The Governor General's Office is short of rooms, and the Premier tells me that he is greatly handicapped in the same way." Pope then pointed out that "the insurance branch of the Department of Finance is, one might say, wallowing in rooms. They have at least nine large fine offices, the worst of them, I should say, better than the best I have, with the exception of my

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For those who are interested in parallels, it may be observed that in the old original Colonial Office, at the end of Downing Street, the Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir James Stephen, was caustically described in 1840 as "Mr. Mother-Country, of the Colonial Office," inhabiting "some back-room - whether in an attic or in what storey we know not." (Hall: The Colonial Office. p.16). Somewhat similarly, the old Foreign Office was full of different floor levels and labyrinthine passages, and attic rooms (some used by the clerks for fives games) and basements; in the attic was the printing plant of the Queen's Printer,(Algernon Cecil: "The Foreign Office," Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, iii, last chapter). In the Trafalgar Building, the Department of External Affairs similarly used the Civil Service Commission printing plant on the top floor.

* Mr. Hugh Clark was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs on July 15, 1916.

own and the two I managed to secure in the attic of the new wing. . . They have somewhere between nine and a dozen of the largest and finest rooms in any of the buildings, while the great departments of State, such as the office of the Governor General, the Prime Minister and the Department of External Affairs, are cribbed, cabined and confined. . . The advent of the new Parliamentary Under-Secretary renders it imperative that something be done."

However, in the end, matters were settled, more or less to Sir Joseph Pope's satisfaction, for the remainder of his encumbency. He obtained suitable quarters for himself and his principal staff, in the south-west corner of the building, and for a time this sufficed, until, in Dr. Skelton's period as Under-Secretary, further proliferations rapidly raised new problems, and the Department expanded and overflowed into other buildings.

The numbers of rooms referred to above, which had been allocated to the External Affairs Department, seem to bear no relation to subsequent numbering; and what was then called the first floor referred to the floor above the ground floor, or what is now termed the second floor, having rooms bearing numbers in the "200s". Therefore, the allocation of space was the following: (1) In the corner under the main tower, and above the Wellington and Elgin St. entrance, was a principal room

(1) External Affairs Bulletin, September, 1949.

occupied by the Under-Secretary. It had formerly been Sir John A. Macdonald's office.* Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on becoming Prime Minister, installed himself in offices overlooking Parliament Square, facing the towered front of the old Parliament Building, and thus left the Macdonald suite for other occupants, and, after 1914, for the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Sir Joseph Pope.

Adjoining it, to the north, i.e., towards the House of Commons building, was the office allocated to Mr. F.M. Baker, secretary, clerk and accountant.

Next to that was the office of Mr. W.H. Walker, Assistant Under-Secretary.

Beyond these were a series of rooms belonging to the Governor General's Office, immediately facing the staircase; with the Privy Council rooms beyond at the far end of the corridor where they are today.

The secretarial and clerical staff of External Affairs occupied office rooms facing those of Sir Joseph Pope, Mr. Baker and Mr. Walker.

Loring Christie, the Legal Adviser, had, instead of joining the Department in the Trafalgar Building, established himself in the East Block since his appointment in 1913, in a Privy Council office close to the Prime Minister's office; and when Pope and the Department moved to the East Block, Christie apparently continued to retain an office separate from it and up the hall. This was convenient since his work was so

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* There is no confirmation of the legend that Sir John, immediately prior to his death at Earnscliffe, had passed weeks on end in this office, being too ill to be removed. Details of Macdonald's last days, given by Prof. Creighton, make this story improbable. Pope makes no mention of the story in his reminiscences of his chief.

** (As, e.g. mentioned in External Affairs Bulletin, September, 1949.)

close to Sir Robert Borden's needs.

Fine though the East Block building was, as a stone structure, it was internally equipped with a vast amount of woodwork and complicated partitions, wainscotting, closets or casings, in which, through most of those years (and even until recently) vast hordes of mice nested. Around 1917, it was not uncommon to enter some office rooms and find their occupants resting their feet on the desks or extra chairs as they worked, while mice gambolled or stealthily crept about the floor. In the basement, even until recent years, rats were very numerous. In the turrets and towers, also, were congregations of bats, which sometimes at night would haunt the building's corridors and put even the night patrolmen to fright. On the upper floor, disrepaired roofs let in the rain, or the drip of melting snow or icicles, until sometimes umbrellas had to be opened above the desks of the clerical staff, and pails set out, and a good deal of mopping had to be performed between the typing of despatches or filing of papers. The artificial lighting was generally poor; and, (according to the Auditor General's earlier reports), a good quantity of candles was annually purchased for various of the offices, including the Governor General's Office.* As there were no elevators in those days, the climbing of staircases was always an effort for those working on the upper floors.

Surviving members of the Department staff who served in the East Block in about 1928 recall that many

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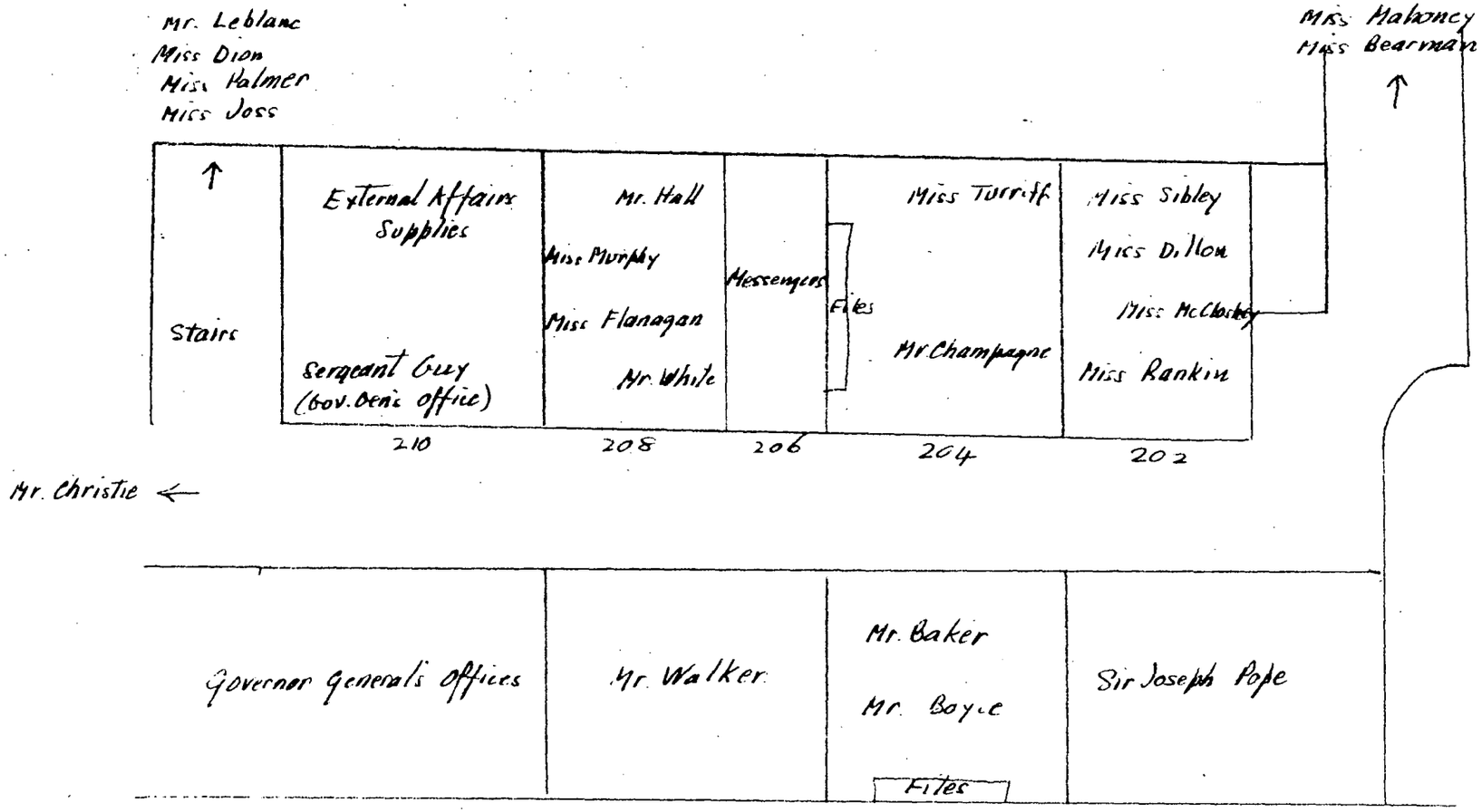
* It is not certain whether these supplies of candles were for lighting purposes, for emergency use in the event of electricity failures, or for sealing of diplomatic bags.

** Except one elevator in the northern end of East Block, installed about 1898; this was flanked by a main staircase.

of the rooms were in a state of dirt, cobwebs and dilapidation, and that in certain upper rooms the plaster was peeling from the walls and falling from the ceiling, so that desks had to be arranged accordingly to avoid the spots of greatest danger. The labyrinthine corridors, especially on the third floor, were completely confusing, and led to a warren of attic rooms in varying levels having steps or ramps between. Entering some rooms from the corridor, one might plunge headlong into a room sunken by three feet if he missed the steps leading down from the threshold.

Notwithstanding these defects - which in the 1940's were largely remedied by a complete renovation of the East Block building, - Pope had realized his and the government's earliest objective. After five years of trial and tribulation, of wilderness-like exile and "remoteness of Calcutta," Sir Joseph Pope was able to establish the Department of External Affairs in its proper home, in the East Block, where it has remained ever since, but with expansion into other buildings as well.



Allocation of Principal External Affairs staff

East Block. 1924-25.

File 2-EA-57.

16.

STAFF

(1909-1925)

Under-Secretary

By the statute of 1909, an Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs was prescribed; he was to be in charge of the new Department and of all those functions and activities which he had postulated in his earlier briefs and which had been set down in the Order-in-Council of June 1, 1909. This Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs was, quite obviously and inevitably, Mr. Joseph Pope. As has been noted, he was appointed by another Order-in-Council of June 1, 1909, at a salary of $5000 a year, the same as he had had in his previous office as Under-Secretary of State.

Having, in his previous office, performed the duties of both internal and external affairs, which filtered through from the Privy Council, it might be thought that the division or bifurcation of the former office, and his transfer to the newer section, might have reduced his load of work by half. Henceforth Mr. Mulvey would handle most of the "Canadian" matters. But instead of being relieved, the tasks of Pope in the new Department of External Affairs rapidly grew more multitudinous each passing year, as the successive annual Reports of the Department revealed. With improved mail and telegraphic services, the flow of correspondence increased rapidly, and required more efficient and alert attention. Instead of various occasional or set "mail-days", any day might be a time of interchange of despatches or cables, usually through the Governor General's Office. We have it on record that in 1908 that Office received from London 1,596 despatches, and in ensuing years this volume steadily increased. (Sir Robert Borden referred to the war-time volume of business

as having increased twenty fold). The Governor General's Office was also estimated to be despatching between three and four diplomatic mail bags per week. Most of this correspondence, after 1909, flowed through the Department of External Affairs, in both directions. In addition, later, was certain correspondence to and from the Canadian Missions abroad - possibly the International Joint Commission, which came under the Department in 1914, the Commissioner General's Office in Paris after 1913, the High Commissioner's Office in London, in routine matters, and the Canadian War Mission in Washington. The active participation of the Governor General, Earl Grey, in diplomatic business meant, while he held office, another master to serve.

Passport business increased rapidly. The "Confidential Prints", involving some historical and documentary research, were preoccupying. Then there were soon to be the Colonial and Imperial Conferences, and special diplomatic conferences and negotiations, some of which Pope personally attended; the coming and going of special negotiators and diplomats, both Canadian and foreign; Royal visits; and the accreditation of foreign consuls. There were continuing problems of immigration, trade and commerce, fisheries, sealing, boundaries and waterways, and imperial defence matters, all of which had an external character and involved the new External Affairs Department.

To supervise all this, with a staff of only two or three senior officers, was an onerous task for Pope - rendered more difficult by his inadequate and

isolated quarters on Bank Street.

Staff Prognostications

As for Pope's assisting staff, the original expectations were soon found to be an underestimate. During the debate on the 1909 Bill, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in advocating the creation of the new Department under the Secretary of State of Canada, had said "It is not intended it shall be a very numerous department, a very heavy department; I think the officers at present in the service can do the necessary work." (1) He evidently conceived the structure to be in the nature of a new division in the old Department, much as the Dominions Department had been set up within the old Colonial Office in London, with only a separate Assistant Permanent Under-Secretary and a transfer of some clerical staff. The Minister of Justice, A.B. Aylesworth, in the same debate, similarly expressed the view that "with such a permanent official appointed, he need not in the beginning at any rate be surrounded by any army of clerks. I should hope that two or three, or at the most four or five efficient assistants in the way of clerks assigned to work under him, may be entirely sufficient for the carrying on of the business of this department." He considered the additional salary costs, apart from the Under-Secretary's $5000, would not be great, as "by assigning to these duties of this department some of the present clerks in the State Department who perhaps could be spared, it

(1) House of Commons Debates, 1909. p. 1983.

will be unnecessary to call for the services of even the few additional clerks." (1)

Again Laurier said, "We will have a deputy head, perhaps two or three officers, no more." Mr. Sproule interrupted to ask: "Could the Minister now tell us how many will be required and their salary?" Mr. Murphy, the Secretary of State, replied: "It is believed that not more than four will be required in any event and three may be sufficient. It is further believed that gentlemen now in the service may be transferred to this new department at the salaries which they are now receiving." (2)

These estimates of staff requirements were based on calculations which had previously been made.

The planning of staff for the new Department received attention as early as January 12, 1909, when Pope presented a rough outline and estimates to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This included a "Secretary of the Department", three clerks, and a messenger. On February 12, the estimates were revised by Mr. Murphy, adding another First Division Clerk and deleting a junior clerk and messenger; the reason is not given, but it was possibly expected that some of Mr. Murphy's clerical and messenger staff could be switched from the old office to the new office without change of position or vote. The estimate as printed in Sessional Paper No.5.A.1909, repeated Mr. Murphy's revision. The three draft estimates are given below:

(1) Ibid. p.1995.

(2) Ibid. p.2004.

Department of External Affairs'
Estimates 1909-1910

	Original Handed to Sir W. Laurier 12 Jan. 1909		As Revised by Mr. Murphy 12 Feb.1909		As printed Sessional Paper No.5.A.1909	
Deputy Head			$5000			$5000
First Div.						
Sub-Div.A.	Sec. of Dept.		Sec. of Dept.	$2800	Sub-Div.A-1 at	$2800
			Sub.div.B.	$2100	Sub-Div.B-1 at	$2100
Second Div.						
Sub-Div.A.	1 clerk	$1650		$1650	A-1	$1650
Third Div.						
Sub-Div.A.	1 clerk	$900		$900	A-1	$900
Sub-Div.	1 clerk	$500				
Messenger		$500				
Contingencies						
Printing & Stationery		$1500		$1500		$1500
Sundries		$1000		$1000		$1000
						$14,950

This limitation proved to be illusory.

It is true that in the first few months the Department was regarded slightingly, as merely a sub-department, a new division under the same Minister as before, the result merely of a bifurcation of functions, in which there would be two Under-Secretaries instead of one. It was also true that by this "reorganization", it was not expected to increase the over-all employment by more than one or two. The Chief Clerk (Mr. Walker) was to be transferred from the Governor General's Office; one or two messengers (Mr. Duggan and Mr. Jessup) were to be loaned or transferred from the Secretary of State's Office; a clerk or two (Mr. Brophy, Mr. Baker, Miss Palmer) were also transferred from the Secretary of State's Office; a translator

(Mr. Roque) was to have come from the Customs Department but could not be released. Nevertheless, even with these coopted individuals, it was still necessary to make additional appointments to staff the new Department adequately, and it was not long before new staff were added.

In spite of the optimistic intention of the promoters of the Bill, the rapidly increasing volume of business handled by the Department (and also perhaps the location of the Department outside the Parliament Buildings, thus involving messenger services), necessitated an ever increasing staff, as is characteristic of many government departments which, like Topsy, or in accordance with the recently adumbrated "Parkinson's Law", have a tendency to grow and proliferate as the work expands. Including the Under-Secretary, the total number of staff of the new Department was, in 1909-10, seven; in 1910-11 it was nine; in 1911-12 it was nine; in 1912-13, including the addition of a Legal Adviser, it was twelve; in 1913-14 it was fourteen; and, during the first years of the war, it had expanded in 1914-15 to seventeen, and in 1915-16 to twenty-two.(1) These included two, and later three, senior officers; several confidential messengers, a translator, and various clerks, who were responsible for all external affairs correspondence between other departments, the Privy Council, and the Governor General; confidential prints, registry work, passport work, dealings with consuls and their "recognition"; and advice on policy matters to the Prime Minister, besides attendance

(1) Annual Reports of the Department of External Affairs.

at conferences abroad and consultations with foreign consular agents or visiting foreign diplomats at home. It was, from the first, a busily occupied department.

But it may be noted that from January, 1909, to 1912, there were only two senior officers, Pope and Walker, and from 1913 to 1925, there were only three officers, since the Legal Adviser, L.C. Christie, was added. Although the clerical and messenger services slowly increased one by one, the officer staff of the Department remained static during the whole of Pope's incumbency.* As Prof. Glazebrook has remarked, when Christie accompanied Sir Robert Borden to London and Paris, it meant the reduction of senior staff of the Department by one third! Yet, as the Prime Minister observed, the work increased at a tremendous pace.

The total vote for the Department of External Affairs introduced in the supplementary estimates for 1909-10 amounted to $14,950 - less than the present-day salary of the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs alone. Out of this small budget were to be paid the salaries of the staff, the costs of printing ($1500) and the sundries of the establishment to a limit of $1000. Presumably the rental of the space in the Trafalgar Building, and the essential office furnishings, were covered in other votes, probably under the Department of Public Works.

Pope's letter of June 1, 1909, to the Governor General's Secretary asserted that he had then no staff at all, and he would have to postpone opening his Department. It is possible that at that date none of

*Mr. Christie resigned in 1923. Dr.O.D.Skelton joined the Department as Counsellor in 1924, and replaced Pope as Under-Secretary in 1925. Mr. Jean Desy joined the Department as Counsellor in July, 1925.

	Under Secy.	Assist. Under Secy.	Legal Adviser	Counsellor	Total Officers	Clerks	Messengers	Temp.	Passport Office
1909-10					3				
1910-11	1	1			2	6			
1911-12	1	1			2	5	2		
1912-13	1	1			2	7	2	3	
1913-14	1	1	1		3	1	2	1	
1914-15	1	1	1		3	11	2	-	
1915-16	1	1	1		3	15	3	7	
1916-17	1	1	1		3	19	3	4	
1917-18	1	1	1		3	23	3	16	
1918-19	1	1	1		3	21	4	61	
1919-20	1	1	1		3	22	4	72	
1920-21	1	1	1		3	26	4	15	48
1921-22	1	1	1		3	33	4	6	40
1922-23	1	1	1		3	31	4	-	30
1923-24	1	1	-		2	37	4	15	29
1924-25	1	1		1	3	33	4	10	32
1925-26	1	1		1	3	33	4	11	29
1926-27	1	1		1	3	35	4	15	23

his staff had yet been collected. But an establishment of four clerks was provided for by P.C. 2/1261 of June 1st, based on the above-indicated preliminary recommendations, which finally provided as follows:

> The Board recommended that the following be the classification and organization of the Department of External Affairs to take effect from 1st June, 1909, provision therefor having been made by Parliament:
>
> First Division -Sub.Division 'A'
> One Clerk $2800.00
>
> First Division -Sub,Division 'B'
> One Clerk $2100.00
>
> Second Division - Sub.Division 'A'
> One Clerk $1650.00
>
> Second Division - Sub.Division 'B'
> One Clerk $900.00

By June 25th, a staff of three had been acquired, as is evidenced by a letter of that date to the Acting Commissioner of Dominion Police from Pope, saying:

> Kindly place the names of Messrs. W.H. Walker and F.M. Baker and H.H. Duggan of my department on the list of those entitled to enter the East Block after hours and on holidays.

(They doubtless already had passes to the East Block under their respective former Departments).

On June 30, 1909, the day before the new Department came into effective operation, Pope was greatly concerned over his staff problems, and wrote to Mr. Murphy, who was then away on holidays:

> Sir Wilfrid Laurier continues in his desire that the Department should come into practical operation as soon as possible, and with a view to meeting his wishes, I am notifying the Governor General's Office and the various departments to start the new procedure, on the 1st of July. My hesitation in doing this before arose from the

> fact that (apart altogether from the question of rooms) I have not sufficient clerical assistance. Mr. Baker is of course available, but I am afraid he cannot do all the typewriting in addition to his ordinary duties, which as you can readily understand, as we are starting a department with nothing, are very varied and engrossing. We have to design books, forms, and in fact to think out a whole system in detail. Miss Palmer who you were kind enough to place at my disposal, has been very useful to me, but she is going on her holidays in a day or two and nobody can be spared from the old department in this holiday season, when they are short-handed. We have no vote for clerical assistance, but we have a vote for 'Sundries', and the Auditor General tells me the he will allow us to pay for a temporary clerk out of 'Sundries'. In these circumstances I have to ask that you would authorize me to apply to the Civil Service Commission for a typewriter to be temporarily engaged say for two months, by which time you will no doubt have decided upon somebody for the $900 vacancy, though even then I shall require, as I originally thought, two typewriters in addition to Mr. Baker.

However, in the course of the next few months, Pope was able to engage,on a temporary basis, J.J. Connolly from July 8th, Miss G. Rankins from September 18th, Miss E. Grey from September 18th to November 6th, Miss K.A. McCloskey from December 28th; and each of these, except Miss Grey, was shortly afterwards made permanent. Miss E. Palmer, also, was immediately, in July, 1909, loaned to Mr. Pope's Department by the Secretary of State. (1)

W.H. Walker, Assistant Under-Secretary.

The appendix to the first annual report of the Department, covering the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, mentions "two chief clerks and four others". As the "four others" are of lower grades than chief clerk , it might be thought that the Under-Secretary had no one on his staff with the qualifications of what

(1) File 48/1909.

would now be called a Foreign Service Officer. But the senior of the two "chief clerks" - W.H. Walker, became de facto Assistant Under-Secretary, and, although he did not receive that title until two or three years later, he was authorized by Order-in-Council to sign for the Under-Secretary in the latter's absence, and did so as "Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs."

William Henry Walker was a graduate of the University of Toronto and Osgoode Hall law college, and had long experience in the Governor General's Office, where he was a much valued aide. He entered the Civil Service in 1887. He was a quiet, modest man, very much the antithesis of Joseph Pope, but he was thoughtful, intelligent and conscientious, and in later years Pope always consulted him on departmental matters; and in Pope's absence, both Laurier and Lord Grey solicited his opinions or advice.

As Chief Clerk in the Govenor General's Office for some years, he was most highly regarded by Earl Grey. He was particularly used in the drafting of official despatches. It was a special concession on the part of Earl Grey to agree to having him transferred to Pope's new staff as his principal assistant, providing some remaining link with the Governor General's Office.

On July 29, 1909, Grey wrote to Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

> I consented to give up Walker, who has been quite invaluable to me, and whose supervision over his successor, in the first stage, I am most anxious to secure." (1)

(1) Laurier Papers. Governor General's Correspondence, 1909. Letter 206500.

On November 3, 1909, Grey again wrote to Laurier:

> It was arranged with Mr. Pope that my office should have the power of consulting freely at all times with Mr. Walker re the drafting of despatches, etc. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that Mr. Walker in his Bank St. office is almost as useless to my Office as if he were in Calcutta!" (1)

It was mutually agreed that he would be transferred to the new Department of External Affairs, meanwhile continuing to help the Governor General on occasion and to train his successor; and would be assigned to the new senior departmental position of First Division Senior Clerk, or "Departmental Secretary". However, technicalities made this transfer impossible "without breaking the continuity of his service and thus imperilling his superannuation." This difficulty, however, was circumvented by an arrangement of reappointment and promotion in salary, but this had to be approved by an Order-in-Council which Pope recommended to Laurier in a memorandum dated June 15, 1909.

The matter of Mr. Walker's adjusted salary and position appears to have been satisfactorily settled, although Lord Grey, till his departure in 1911, was annoyed that his "liaison man" was installed in the Trafalgar Building instead of in the East Block.

In 1912 Mr. Walker's de facto position as "Assistant Under-Secretary" was confirmed and regularized by Minute of the Treasury Board. This was after Sir Robert Borden had become Secretary of State for

(1) Ibid. Letter 20 6501.

External Affairs. The Treasury Board Minute P.C. 6/2229 of August 18, 1912, provided for a reorganization of the Department, amending the original P.C.2/1261 of June 2, 1909, and recommended, in the first place, "First Division Sub-Division A: W.H. Walker, Assistant Deputy Minister with the title of 'Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.'"

Mr. Walker wrote, on August 23, 1912, to Mr. Mulvey, Under-Secretary of State:

> I have the honour to inform you that by Order-in-Council of the 19th August, copy of an extract from which I enclose herewith, I have been appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and I would ask you to be good enough to take the necessary steps to have this appointed gazetted.
>
> As between the date of the recommendation and the passing of the Order-in-Council I was appointed Companion of the Imperial Service Order, I should be obliged if that title were added to my description in the notice.(1)

In 1918 the Civil Service Commission, with the assistance of outside experts, undertook a re-classification of the civil service. They asked the Deputy Ministers to submit schedules of reclassification for their departments. The classification was completed and tabled in 1919, and Deputy Ministers were invited to comment on it.

In his comments Sir J. Pope took strong exception to the salary proposed for the post of Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. The salary proposed was from $2520 to $3000. Pope considered this "quite unjustifiable. No ground is apparent why it should be so widely discriminated from other assistant

(1) File 625/1912.

deputy-ministerships (the salaries of which range between $3600 and $5000) and placed below the level of chief clerkships of which the salaries go up to $3600. The matters handled by this officer with full responsibility are of great importance and necessitate a knowledge of international law and diplomatic practice, as well as familiarity with the treaty provisions affecting Canadian relations with other countries. On any fair comparison of its duties with those of similar positions it would seem only reasonable that the salary should be at least from $3600 to $4500."

On December 31, 1919, the CSC sent Sir J. Pope the proposed classification of the Department; the AUSSEA was still graded at $2520 to $3000. His salary at the time was $4000. On January 19, 1920, Pope replied to CSC:

> The Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, besides discharging the functions of Deputy Head in the absence of the Under-Secretary, at all times shares in the administration of the Department. In particular, he has immediate responsibility for the issue of passports, which is daily growing in importance in view of the many and varied regulations which must be borne in mind. In addition to this, and among other important duties, he undertakes the preparation of the Confidential Prints of Despatches, a work calling for much discrimination and general knowledge of public questions. In view of the rapid development of the Dominion's international relations now taking place, the Department of External Affairs is daily growing in importance. The supervision of the expenditure of the Paris Agency, the Canadian War Mission in Washington, the Information Bureaus in New York and Ottawa, the Canadian Munition Resources Commission, and the administration of the Empress of Ireland Relief Fund, form part of its activities. The fact of its being the Department directly presided over by the Prime Minister adds not a little to its prestige and importance, and entails on the Under-Secretary the reception and entertainment of distinguished visitors to this country, thus necessitating occasional and sometimes protracted absences from Ottawa of the Deputy Head, whose duties thereby devolve upon the Assistant Under-Secretary.

> In Great Britain, the United States, and I think most, if not all, other countries, the Department charged with the administration of Foreign Affairs is deemed the most important portfolio of the Government. It is therefore with some surprise I find that the Civil Service Commission proposes to place the office of the Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs in the lowest grade, measured by salary, of Assistant Deputy Ministers.
>
> It has occurred to me that possibly this may arise from some misapprehension suggested by the title. Should such be the case, I would observe that the office of Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs is in every respect that of a Deputy Minister (See 2 Geo.V. cap.22, Sec.4), and the Assistant Under-Secretary is an Assistant Deputy Minister. The present occupant of the office of Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs selected that title in preference to that of Deputy Minister, in order to conform more closely to Imperial usage. Whatever be the reason for the failure on the part of the Civil Service Commission to appreciate the importance of the office of Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, I conceive it to be my duty to protest against their action. I submit with all confidence that the salary and status of the occupant of this office should not be less than that paid to any Assistant Deputy Head in the service. For these reasons, I respectfully recommend that the salary to be attached to this office by the Civil Service Commission be fixed at $4500 to $5100. Mr. Walker entered the Civil Service in 1887.

The Civil Service Commission informed Sir J. Pope that the case should now be taken to the Board of Hearing. In an interview the Chairman, Dr. Roche, told Pope that he need not take any further steps in the matter, as the appeal would take its ordinary course.

On March 18, 1920, Pope wrote the Secretary saying that he had not received any notice from anybody that the case was under consideration, and was anxious that his position in the matter should be fully considered. He added:

> I have sometimes thought that the action of the Civil Service Commissioners in placing Mr. Walker's office so far down the list is due to some

misapprehension arising out of the title "Under-Secretary," which the experts might possibly consider as less important than that of Deputy Minister. The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs is a Deputy Minister by statute. I selected the title in conformity with English usage, and in preference to that of Deputy Minister of External Affairs, which my Minister suggested. The Secretary of State, as you know, is the oldest of all official titles, extending back for at least seven hundred years. If there is any impression in the minds of the experts that an Under-Secretaryship is not in all respects the full equivalent of a Deputy Ministership, I can only assure them that it is wholly erroneous. It is my deliberate opinion, after having served in six Departments, that the office of Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs calls for qualities second to none required for any similar position in the public service. I hope that the necessary steps may be taken to have this matter duly rectified. In this connection, I would refer you to the memorandum of Sir Robert Borden, which he sent you recently with regard to the position of Legal Adviser of the Department of External Affairs, which office ranks in the Department after that of Assistant Under-Secretary.

Dr. Roche replied on March 19 that the Board of Hearing was sitting nearly every afternoon and sometimes in the morning hearing appeals regarding classification; the Department of External Affairs had not yet been reached; Sir J. Pope would undoubtedly be notified when Mr. Walker's case was to be taken up.

On June 26, 1920, Pope wrote Roche again saying he had heard nothing yet, and also wrote to the Secretary, Mr. Foran. On June 30th Roche replied that he had taken up Mr. Walker's case with the Board of Hearing and understood "it was being heard today."

A printed statement of the number of employees in each Department for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1921, designated in accordance with the new classification schedules, filed with a memorandum of July 9, 1920, shows the AUSSEA at $4800, and the Legal Adviser the same. However, a letter from Mr. Foran, July 13, 1920, stated

that the Board of Hearing had decided that Mr. Walker's position should be placed at $3000 to $3600, and that a schedule of revision to this effect was being forwarded to the Governor-General-in-Council for approval.

Sir J. Pope then appealed to the Prime Minister as head of the Department against this classification:

> When this Department was created eleven years ago, Mr. W.H. Walker, at that time Chief Clerk in the Governor-General's Office, was selected by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, by reason of his special attainments and long experience in dealing with public questions, to be its Assistant Under-Secretary. Sir Robert Borden thought so highly of Mr. Walker's services that he increased his salary a few years ago by five hundred dollars. Mr. Walker is a graduate of Toronto University, a barrister of Osgoode Hall, and has had thirty-three years' experience in the public service. He possesses that knowledge of international law and practice which is almost indispensable to the adequate discharge of the position he holds, being frequently applied to regarding claims and rights of Canadians in foreign countries, and also matters concerning passports, naturalization, allegiance and so forth. All these questions are mainly dealt with by Mr. Walker. You will see from what I have said that Mr. Walker's services are of no ordinary character, and that by his training and experience he is exceptionally qualified to discharge the duties of his position. Moreover, the Department of External Affairs is daily increasing in importance, and having regard to the position Canada is taking among the nations, and the establishment of direct representation at Washington, is destined, I am fully justified in believing, to grow still more rapidly. The fact of the Department being administered by the Prime Minister should also render it, to say the least, not inferior to any other, yet the Civil Service Commission, despite my most vigorous representations, persist in treating the office of Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs as among the two or three the least important of them all. The Commission originally graded this office at a maximum of $3000 - $1000 less than the occupant is at present drawing. On my appealing to the Board of Hearing, that body increased the maximum to $3600, which I regard as wholly inadequate. I append a list of the salaries proposed for Assistant Deputies throughout the Service. You will see that, with the exception of one or two, they are all higher - most of them much higher - than the maximum assigned to Mr. Walker. Indeed, Mr. Walker's proposed salary is only equal

to that of the position in the Governor General's Office which he vacated eleven years ago, to accept his present office, and, it will hardly be believed, is the same as that of the Chief Clerk of this Department, who is his direct subordinate. In my absence, Mr. Walker acts as Under-Secretary, and I respectfully ask is it fitting, apart from the relative importance of their respective duties, that the subordinate whom he controls should receive the same salary as himself. In England, and every other country I know of, the Foreign Office is regarded as the most important department. In England especially, the office of Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is regarded as the Blue Ribbon of the Service.

There are other indications in the Civil Service classification of an apparently settled resolve to regard this Department as one of small account. I have refrained from troubling you with these, but Mr. Walker's case is so glaring that I deem it my duty as the Deputy Head to bring it under your notice. I have received a notification today to the effect that the classification of Mr. Walker's office is being sent as a separate report for the approval of the Governor in Council. I trust that you will not allow this approval to be given without previous enquiry into the reasons which have guided the Commission in this case.

Mr. Meighen replied:

The classification would seem to be low but I do not think any practical step or remedy is available to me.

Pope again wrote to the Prime Minister, pointing out that the proposed salary had to be sanctioned by the Governor-General-in-Council, and that the recommendation of the Board of Hearing was before Council:

Might I suggest that this report be referred back to the Commission for an explanation why this office should be graded lower than the large majority of Assistant Deputy Ministers.

The file does not indicate whether this appeal had any result.

In the course of this long drawn-out campaign to get adequate status and salary for Walker, Pope had frequent occasion to stress his high qualifications.

In a statement sent by Pope on December 27, 1922, to the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, he said:

> When Sir Wilfrid Laurier asked me to undertake the organization of the new Department, I told him frankly the only condition upon which I could assume the responsibility was that I should have the benefit of Mr. Walker's assistance. He came, and much of what has been accomplished is due to him. I cannot tell you what an excellent officer he is, how able, painstaking, conscientious, suggestive and industrious, with thirty-five years continuous service, a university education, and a barrister's training. I regard him as perhaps the most accomplished civil servant we possess.

Mr. Walker continued to serve Pope and the Department, as Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs until his retirement in 1933.

Legal Adviser

In 1913 Mr. Loring Christie was induced by Sir Robert Borden to leave the United States Department of Justice, where he was adviser to the Solicitor General, to join the Department of External Affairs as Legal Adviser. He held that post for ten years, until 1923, when he went into private business in England, and afterwards in Canada; but, at the invitation of Mr. R.B. Bennett, he rejoined the Department as Counsellor in 1935, and was appointed by Mr. Mackenzie King as Minister to the United States in 1939. He died at that post in 1941. Further comment on Mr. Christie is reserved for a special chapter.

Mr. Christie took little part in the administrative matters of the Department, so competently conducted by Pope and Walker, and left them pretty much alone. He confined himself to preparing advisory opinions for the benefit of Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Meighen, and to preparatory work in connection with the numerous international or imperial conferences which he attended with Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Meighen.

Counsellor

Following Mr. Christie's resignation in 1923, there was a brief hiatus in the third senior departmental position. Dr. O.D. Skelton, Dean of Arts at Queen's University, was invited by Mr. Mackenzie King to attend an Imperial Conference ad hoc in 1923, and as a delegate to the League of Nations Assembly in 1924, and was then appointed in that year as Counsellor of the Department, subordinate to Sir Joseph Pope. On Pope's retirement in 1925, however, Dr. Skelton was appointed new Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, a position which he held with great distinction for sixteen years, until his death in 1941.

Private Secretaries

There were apparently two kinds of private secretaries to the Prime Minister. Sir John A. Macdonald had had a series of them, the last one of which was Mr. Joseph Pope. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had Mr. Tate; Sir R. Borden had Mr. Blount, Mr. Yates, and others. These were personal secretaries and belonged to no other Department. But later, Private Secretaries were borrowed from among the Chief Clerks or clerical staff of other Departments which kept them on their own payroll, but otherwise saw very little of them.

Although most of the routine communications between the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and his chief, the "First Minister" (rarely addressed as Secretary of State for External Affairs) passed through the Prime Minister's personal Private

Secretary, apparently Sir Robert Borden wanted one or more secretarial clerks for his Department of External Affairs, and asked Mr. Walker - in Sir Joseph Pope's absence - to arrange in the estimates for "allowances" of $600 a year for a "Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs". When this sum was voted, Sir Robert decided to appoint two "joint Secretaries" to this position, and instructed Pope to prepare the necessary papers for the appointment of J.F. Boyce and A.W. Merriam, as from April 1, 1913. This was done, and these two clerks were added to the staff of the Department of External Affairs, not as clerks, but as "Private Secretaries" to the nominal head of the Department. (File 708/13). (We later find Sir Joseph Pope writing letters and forwarding documents to "J.F. Boyce, Esq., Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs.")

The following year, however, for some reason not explained, Sir Robert Borden chose to revise the equal division of the $600 extra allowance which was shared by the two Private Secretaries, and on June 22, 1914, asked in a Minute to H.R.H. the Governor-General-in-Council that the earlier Minute be rescinded and that from June 1st the division between Boyce and Merriam be at the rate of $400 per annum to Merriam and $200 to Boyce. This was approved by Order-in-Council P.C.36/1803, dated July 10, 1914. There was some difficulty, however, as the Auditor General wrote to Mr. Pope on November 30th that "the appointment of Mr. H.C. Borden as Private Secretary from the 14th of October supersedes the Order-

in-Council of 7th July, 1913, appointing them (Merriam and Boyce)". A new Order-in-Council, P.C. 10/3079, was therefore submitted and approved on December 7, 1914, confirming the earlier one on the division of salaries for Mr. Merriam and Mr. Boyce. Merriam had come from the Department of Customs, and Boyce from the Privy Council Office.

Mr. Boyce was a very active and competent Secretary. Borden, in the Memoirs, describing the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa in wintry February 1916, tells how he escaped with his Secretary, Boyce. "James Morris insisted upon giving me his fur-lined coat and an attendant gave me his hat. We were eventually ordered out of the building. J. Boyce, without coat or hat, but accompanied by some man who put a corner of his coat around him, went with me to the Privy Council office (East Block) where I immediately telephoned. I sent Boyce to my house for a coat, hat and overshoes. . ." (1)

Actually Mr. Boyce, according to his own explanation, had been a clerk in the Privy Council Office until brought in as a clerk and private secretary to Sir Robert Borden, and did not consider himself a member of the Department of External Affairs until transferred there as Chief Clerk a number of years later. Boyce accompanied Sir Robert Borden to England on several occasions, beginning in 1915. He went twice with him to London and Paris in 1918, at the time of the Peace Conference. He used to travel with Borden in many of the latter's tours across Canada or in the Maritimes. During the Quebec Conference at which Mr. Mackenzie King and

(1) R.L. Borden: His Memoirs. II. p.547 J.F. Boyce has verbally confirmed this episode in detail. He had to take a sleigh to go to Borden's home and then his own home to get the coats and hats required.

President Roosevelt met, Boyce was also present. In 1921 Boyce accompanied Mr. Meighen to the Imperial Conference in London, but did not accompany Borden to Washington in 1922, as Mr. Meighen wished to retain him in Ottawa. Boyce continued in the Department proper, under Meighen, King and Bennett as Chief Clerk and Assistant to Dr. Skelton, until his retirement in recent years.

Merriam acted also as a Private Secretary to Sir Robert Borden but, as he was not a shorthand writer, his chief duties in the Prime Minister's Office was apparently those of filing and registry. In October, 1921, into 1922, he accompanied Borden and Christie to the Conference on Limitation of Armaments in Washington. He left the Department sometime in the year 1923-24.

While Boyce and Merriam were in the Public Service, even before entering the Department of External Affairs, and remained always Civil Servants, there were other Private Secretaries who were political appointees. Their salaries were paid by the Department of External Affairs, but they were not integrated officers of that Department.

By Order-in-Council P.C. 16/2822 of November 7, 1914, Mr. Henry Clifford Borden, Barrister-at-Law, was appointed "to a Clerkship in Sub-Division "B" of the First Division as Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, from October 14, 1914, with salary at the rate of $2800 per annum, being the maximum of said Sub-Division."(1) Mr. Borden was a brother of Sir

(1) File 1399/1914.

Robert Borden,* and continued to act as his Private Secretary until 1919. As his work was entirely personal to the Prime Minister, he had little connection except a nominal one, with the Department of External Affairs. He resigned at the same time as the Prime Minister resigned.

Mr. G.F. Buskard was appointed as Private Secretary on November 9, 1918, but left the Department some time in 1921 or 1922, either on the retirement of Sir Robert Borden in 1919, or on the defeat of Mr. Arthur Meighen at the end of 1921.

For a very short period, between January 14, 1921, and early in 1922, Mr. C. Harold A. Armstrong was a Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Meighen. Armstrong was a brilliant young Rhodes scholar, who married the younger daughter of Professor G.M. Wrong, and whose sister was married at that time to Mr. Loring C. Christie. Mr. Christie's marital difficulties, which eventualized in his divorce from his first wife, apparently strained the hitherto cordial relations between the two brothers-in-law; Christie, in one of his letters to Borden concerning his resignation in 1923, refers to complications relating to Armstrong. Armstrong resigned early in 1922, probably because of the defeat of Mr. Arthur Meighen in December, 1921, and the accession of the Liberal Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King.

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* The son of Henry Clifford Borden is now in business in Toronto, and is head of the Brazilian Light, Heat & Traction Co., and has recently been appointed head of a special Commission on Price Spreads. He also was (the editor of "Sir Robert Laird Borden, His Memoirs"). (2 vols.).

In December, 1921, or January, 1922, Mr.F.A. McGregor was appointed to the Department to act as Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King; and at the same time Mr. W. Howard Measures joined as Assistant Private Secretary. They were still acting in that capacity in 1925, and in addition was Mr. R.O. Campney.

Mr. McGregor subsequently transferred to another field of work. Mr. Measures, who had for a time acted as Protocol Officer in External Affairs, transferred to the Department of the Secretary of State, where he dealt with protocol and ceremonial matters, including several Royal Visits to Canada. Mr. R.O. Campney subsequently became Deputy Minister of National Defence, until appointed to the Cabinet in 1953 as Minister of National Defence in the St. Laurent Ministry.

Prime Minister's Office

Looking forward a few years to the incumbency of Mr. Mackenzie King, it is noticed that not only did he replace some of the previous Private Secretaries who had served the Conservative premiers in the preceding years, but he also co-opted from the Department a number of clerks and messengers to what had become known as the Prime Minister's Office. He had no financial provision for employing a special staff for that Office, but as concurrently Secretary of State for External Affairs was able - as Borden had commenced to do - to borrow staff members from that Department to assist him in his other Office; and this interchangeability became an established practice without disturbing

Treasury allocations, or requiring special Civil Service appointments.

A file memorandum prepared by Miss K.A. McCloskey shows the following personnel of the External Affairs Department attached to the Prime Minister's staff:

As of December 1, 1921.

		$	
Armstrong, C.H.A.	Private Secy.	4,000	
Borden, H.C.	" "	2,800	
Boyce, J.F.	" "	3,360	
Buskard, G.F.	" "	3,360	
Merriam, A.W.	Sr. Clerk	2,000	
Cameron, Miss M.	Sr. Clerk Steno.	1,440	
Walker, Miss A.	" " "	1,380	
Ferguson, Miss H.	" " "	1,380	(Resigned in
Loasby, Miss V.	Law Clerk Steno.	1,200	--Dec.21 effective
Mailhot, Jos.	Conf. Messenger	1,200	(Mar.15/22)
Smith, J.C.	" "	1,200	
(Miss Avery)		(paid by Interior Dept.)	

As of January 1, 1922.

McGregor, F.A.	Private Secy.	3,800	
Measures, W.H.	Asst. Priv.Secy.	3,000	
Malcolm,Miss D.	Sr. Clk. Steno.	1,320	--(Resigned
Moore, Miss F.	" " "	1,320	Aug.31/23).
Cameron, Miss M.	" " "	1,440	
Walker, Miss A.	" " "	1,380	
*Ferguson, Miss H.	" " "	1,380	
Beaudet, Miss M.A.	" " "	1,320	
Brown, Jared	Sr. Steno.	1,320	
Mailhot Jos.	Conf. Messenger	1,200	
Smith, J.C.	" "	1,200	

Beaudry, Laurent	Priv. Secy. to President of Privy Council	3,600	(Resigned Sept. 1922. Later joined Dept.of Ex. Affrs.)
Talbot, Capt.	" "	3,000	" "
Nicol, J.S.	Conf. Messenger (Paid by House of Commons)	1,200	(Later became Mr. King's house servant).

(1923 and 1924. No record)

In a private notation for his own reference,(1) Dr. Skelton in 1925 listed the following personnel of

(1) File 2-EA-57.

*N.B. Miss H. Ferguson subsequently married Mr.J.F. Boyce.

External Affairs serving in the Prime Minister's Office, Mr. King then being Prime Minister, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and President of the Privy Council:

Private Secy.:	L.C. Moyer (Oct.1,1922) From P.C.	$3,500
Asst. Priv. Secy:	R.O. Campney (1924)	$3,000
	W.H. Measures (1921)	$3,000
	H.M. Urquhart (1925)	$2,400
Fil. Correspondence:	Hazel Ferguson (1918)	
	Ida Schryer (1917)	
	Gertrude Coutlee (1917) (from S.C.R.)	
	Lillian Moss (1918) (from Nat.Def.)	
Filing Documents and Clippings:	Sarah Drysdale (1917)	
	Marie Beaudet (1921	
	Dorothy Giddens (1924) (from P.C.)	
Stenographers:	O. Robitalle (1922) (From P.C.)	
	R. Whitman (1919)	
	Mary Cameron (1905)	
	Florence Moore (1921)	
	Alice Walker (1917)	
	Lucy Zavitske (1919)	
Messengers:		
(Confidential):	J.S. Nicol (1922	
	J.C. Smith (1918)	
(Mess. Clerk):	A. Tunwell (1922 (from P.C.)	
(Chauffeur)	C. Allen* (1923)	

~~(i)x Filax2*~~

* The Prime Minister's chauffeur, Allen, was engaged and put on the External Affair's pay-roll, because the Department had paid for a Cadillac automobile costing $7,150, for the Prime Minister.

Senior Clerks

F.M. Baker, who had been in the Department of the Secretary of State since February 7, 1891, and had been Secretary to the Under-Secretary, Mr. Pope, accompanied the latter to the new Department on its formation, according to a memorandum which he gave the next Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Dr. O.D. Skelton, in 1925. He was made Accountant, and later Chief Clerk as well; in 1926 he handed over the position of Accountant to Miss K.A. McCloskey, his assistant, but retained the Chief Clerkship until his retirement, when he was succeeded by J.F. Boyce. In 1909 he occupied the position of Clerk 2A under P.C. 2/1261, Walker holding that of Clerk 1A. Among other duties of Baker, was the writing of passports in the earlier years, until this work was taken over by Mr. Connolly and others. After the Department returned in 1914 to the East Block, it is significant that Mr. Baker occupied the room between Sir Joseph Pope, the Under-Secretary, and Mr. Walker, the Assistant Under-Secretary, indicating that he was virtually Private Secretary and right (or left) hand man to both of them.

Another senior Clerk who accompanied Pope to the new Department in 1909 was Mr. A. Brophy, from the Office of the Secretary of State and thus a former assistant of Pope's in the old Department. He is said, however, to have been unhappy in the new Department, and in 1911 or 1912 asked to be retransferred to the Secretary of State's Office, thus leaving Mr. Baker as Chief Clerk. Mr. Brophy had entered the Department of

the Secretary of State on January 19, 1897, about the same time as Pope; and, after having been Private Secretary to the Secretary of State,(Mr. R.W. Scott), became a Clerk on July 18, 1900.

Translator

It was obvious that in an officially bilingual government, the services of a French translator were required in the Department of External Affairs, although the major part of the departmental correspondence was always done in the English language. Some of this work of translation was performed in the Department from 1910 by Mr. Leblanc.

In 1912, however, Senator Dandurand expressed his views on the need of a much more senior translator for the Department: "The deputy minister should have an assistant, a literary man of repute in the French language, to supervise all documents sent to foreign governments." He pointed out that "such documents in the French language have been so queerly translated that high officials of the French Government have expressed a preference for English versions. . . Coming from this bilingual country, I felt somewhat humiliated when I was in Paris to learn that documents emanating from the Federal Government of Canada were so badly translated that the French Government asked that the English version be sent instead . . ." (1) There was general agreement in principle to the proposal for the appointment of a senior translator,

(1) Senate Debates, 1911-12. January 31, 1912. p.118.

and Senator Lougheed, the Government Leader in the Upper House, said: "I think Clause 4 of the Bill is sufficiently wide to permit of such an officer being appointed, but I shall take occasion to direct the attention of the Prime Minister, to whose Department this is to be attached, to the remarks of the hon. gentleman." (1)

As it turned out, no such senior officer or "Assistant Deputy Minister" responsible for the supervision of the French language documents, was appointed. Necessity, however, led to the appointment, a year or two earlier, of a departmental translator, Mr. J. A. Leblanc, of senior clerical grade, who retained this position for some twenty years or more.

(Among those originally provided for, a fourth clerkship had been intended for Mr. Rocque, a translator in the Customs Department, but in a letter of June 28, 1909, to Mr. Murphy, Pope said that the Commissioner of Customs had declined to part with him as he needed his services in that Department.)

In 1925 Mr. F.M. Baker noted that "Mr. J.A. Leblanc is classified as Senior Translator. He is also the Librarian of the Department. I am not able to pass any opinion on Mr. Leblanc's capabilities as a translator, but as for the librarian end of his duties, I have never asked him for a book which he is supposed to have, without getting it at once. In addition to the above work, Mr. Leblanc watches the Imperial Gazette

(1) Ibid.

for any items affecting Canada or Canadians and sends extracts therefrom to the King's Printer for insertion in the Canada Gazette. He also distributes all publications which come from the Colonial Office including the Imperial Debates, Imperial Gazette, etc., etc., and also what comes from the League of Nations." (1)

In the year 1919-20, Miss M. Cameron was added to the Department, and was described in the Auditor General's Report of 1919-20 and 1920-21 as translator; but from 1921 to 1925 she was listed as a senior clerk-stenographer attached to the Prime Minister's Office.

There were, as usual, applicants who sought Civil Service positions, or whose sponsors sought positions for them. In refusing certain of these, the excuse usually was that the existing staff was adequate. For example, in 1913, the Minister of Agriculture recommended to the Prime Minister a lady proficient in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and French, who had worked for a time with an Argentine mission. Mr. Walker's reply (drafted by Mr. A.L. Cooper) to Mr. A.E. Blount, the Prime Minister's Private Secretary:

> Referring to the letter from the Minister of Agriculture as to the employment of Miss Biddle, which I return herewith, I do not see how at present we could usefully employ her services. The Spanish and Italian letters received by us are very few indeed; the Portuguese, so far as my experience goes, none; and for the ordinary clerical requirements our present staff is ample." (2)

Again, a year later, in a letter dated September

(1) Confidential Memorandum on Staff. File 2-EA-1957.

(2) Borden Papers. 2997 (1). Public Archives.

23, 1914, Sir Joseph Pope wrote to Mr. J.A. Macdonnell, K.C., concerning an applicant for a government job:

> There is nothing in my Department (which consists of half a dozen clerks, all of whom must be stenographers and typists) that could possibly suit Mr. Graham. . . (1)

Other Clerks

Among the earliest employees was Mr. J.J. Connolly, who, after passing his Civil Service examination, had his permanent appointment confirmed as from November 8, 1909, as Clerk 3B at $500 a year.

He was a shorthand writer, and did a large part of the stenographic work from dictation given by Mr. Pope and Mr. Walker. In addition to assisting Mr. Baker in this respect, Mr. Connolly also performed some of Mr. Baker's duties as accountant. The issue of passports rested with Mr. Pope who took the decisions on individual applications; but the actual preparation of passports, i.e. filling in the relevant details, was done by Mr. Baker and on occasion by Mr. Connolly or Miss McCloskey. In the latter part of 1915 the demand for passports increased considerably, and the supervision over their issue was placed in the hands of Mr. W.H. Walker, who had Mr. Connolly and others assigned to him full time to perform the clerical work involved.

Mr. Connolly was the first outside appointee to the Department. He was a competent stenographer and typist. He was largely responsible for organizing a separate Passport Office, and had a considerable staff under him; (in 1925, Mr. Baker noted that he was in

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. 621. (Public Archives).

charge of six permanent and fourteen temporary clerks, issuing from 1600 to 2000 passports per month, besides answering innumerable enquiries and conducting correspondence in relation to applications which might or might not be granted.) (1)

He enlisted and went overseas in 1917, and as a gunner saw service in France and Belgium. He was for a time Private Secretary to the Canadian Corps Commander, General Sir Arthur Currie. In 1920 he returned to the Department as Chief Passport Officer, remaining until his retirement in 1947. He died suddenly, from a heart attack, on December 11, 1957. Senator John J. Connolly is his nephew,* and another nephew is Dr. Desmond Burke, former winner of the King's Prize at Bisley.

Another early clerk was Mr. A.L. Cooper who was temporarily employed from November 6, 1912. (2) He passed the Third Division Qualifying Examination with standing of first in Canada in May, 1913, and was given a permanent appointment in the Department on July 1, 1913.(3) He was a clerk-shorthand-writer, and performed stenographic duties for Sir Joseph Pope and Mr. W.H. Walker; he was also typist and proof-reader for Mr. Walker. In 1914 Mr. Cooper became clerk-stenographer to Mr. Loring Christie, the Legal Adviser. He joined the military forces in the spring of 1916, but returned to the Department on July 1, 1917. During Mr. Connolly's

(1) F.M. Baker's Confidential Memorandum on Staff. File 2-EA-57.

* Senator Connolly, O.B.E., Q.C., B.A.,Ph.B.,Ph.L.,Ph.D., a former college professor/and a lawyer, has been called "the most lettered man in politics." He was Executive Assistant to the late Mr. Angus Macdonald, wartime Minister of National Defence for Naval Services, and has been a Liberal mainstay in many fields.

/in philosophy

(2) File 1088/12 and File 245/1913.

(3) File 762/13.

absence overseas, Mr. Cooper was put in charge of the Passport Office, but his health gave out under the strain and he was seriously ill for some time. When the Passport Branch was re-organized in 1920, Mr. Cooper became Assistant Passport Officer under Mr. Connolly. In 1939 Mr. Cooper was loaned to the Code and Cypher Section of the Department. In June 1940 he went to Windsor, Ontario, to open a branch Passport Office, and returned to the Department in October, 1940, to resume his duties as Assistant Passport Officer. In 1947 he was posted to the Consular Division and, in 1951, to the Historical Research and Reports Division (Archives Unit). (1) *

Another of the earlier clerks who was assigned to passport duties was Mr. C.C. Slack. He was a returned man, and,after serving overseas, had been employed in the Food Board, but when Mr. F.H. Keefer was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs in 1918, and nominally took charge of the Passport Office, Slack was transferred to the Department, at a salary of $1500. While Mr. Connolly was absent overseas, and Mr. Morphy directed the Passport Office, Slack was his second in-command until Connolly returned. When Morphy was transferred to the Department of Customs, Mr. Cooper again joined the Passport Office as Connolly's assistant. Apparently Slack had been brought in on a "temporary" basis, for he applied several times "to be blanketed in", but Pope would not consent until, just prior to the Dominion elections of 1921, a note came

(1) Mr. A.L. Cooper's Memorandum.

* Mr. Cooper retired in February, 1959, after completing a record-making 46 years of service in the Department. See Ottawa Journal, February 24, 1959, and Ottawa Citizen, February 26, 1959.

from the Prime Minister's Secretary instructing Pope to put through Slack's appointment, which was done.(1)

Mr. A.E. Green received a temporary appointment on January 10, 1914.(2) His permanent appointment was confirmed in a letter of March 17, 1914, from Sir Joseph Pope to Sir Robert Borden.(3) He was a clerk-shorthand writer, and performed stenographic duties for Sir Joseph Pope and Mr. W.H. Walker. He joined the military forces in 1918, but returned to the Department and continued employment there until 1922 when he resigned to take employment outside the Government Service.(4)

Another clerk who came over from the Secretary of State's Department was a Mr. Eugene Paradis. In a memorandum by Pope of April, 1909, in connection with the Supplementary Estimates for 1909-10, he wrote:

> Mr. Paradis has been in the Service 16 years. He came in as Third Class clerk in 1893 (August 18); became Junior Second under the Act of 1895, and was promoted to Second Class in 1908. He was assistant to the Secretary of the Board of Civil Service Examiners for which he received $150 a year in addition to his salary of $1200. This extra pay he lost when the new Act came into force. He has now charge of the preparation of Returns to Parliament, and also assists in the general correspondence of the office. He is a very good stenographer and typewriter in both French and English. His salary is $1200 and the recommendation for $150 is to make it equal to what he received before with the extra allowance $1350." (1) ¤

(1) File 2-EA-1957
(2) File 45/14
(3) File 313/14
(4) File 91/22

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. Vol.94. File 358.

¤ The Mr. Paradis who has been in the Registry lately is a young man who came into the Department at the end of the Second World War. His relationship to the foregoing has not been ascertained. He was employed in the Passport Office as Clerk 2, but left to join the Ontario Provincial Police, but returned to External Affairs again. On his rejoining, he was posted to Canada House, and on his return to Ottawa was posted to the Main Registry, East Block. In October, 1957, he was temporarily assigned to the Canadian Delegation to the U.N. in New York. (A.L.Cooper).

Women

To the earliest staff, there were added, within the first year of the Department, three women clerks, Miss E. Palmer, Miss G. Rankins, and Miss K.A. McCloskey. In this connection, it is interesting to note in passing that, generally speaking, women in responsible Civil Service posts were at that time unwelcome. It was still the carried-over age of Victorianism and Edwardianism. The Royal Commission of 1907 made a point of interrogating the heads of many of the Departments on this aspect, and almost unanimously the Deputy Ministers expressed their disapproval of women employees. Mr. Mackenzie King, then Deputy Minister for Labour, was as forthright on this as was his colleague, Mr. Joseph Pope, Under-Secretary of State.

They contended that women were unstable, and were much more interested in the hopes of marriage than in the career. They were not usually capable of doing senior grade work, although in every Department there was an exception. The rate of pay, at $500 a year, attracted only the less efficient and less ambitious; few women merited a higher scale of pay. If they attained a senior scale up to $1000, this would place them in a bracket of administrative responsibility for which few of them were fitted, over a Department of male clerical staff. The views of Mr. Mackenzie King, and of Mr. Joseph Pope, as expressed to the Commission in 1907, are of interest; they were typical of those of their colleagues.

In the interrogation of Mr. King, we find the following:

Q. (Mr. Courtney): I suppose, as in the case of every other department, pressure is brought to employ women?

A. I do not think there has been any particular pressure put upon us in that direction. As a matter of fact, for some of the clerical work I would as soon have women as well.

Q. Take the case of ordinary women: 200 passed the Civil Service examination in November. If appointed, they would be paid $500 on the average, which is greater than they would receive outside of the Government service?

A. If I were to judge from most of the young ladies we have had in the department, serving as temporary clerks who have passed the Civil Service examination, I would say that they were not worth $500. We have had them come in and do a little work and found they were not to be relied upon, and that it was necessary to get some one else. It is very difficult to get work done efficiently, I find.

Q. (Mr. Fyshe): I suppose the class of women who want to get into the Service have not received a very good education?

A. The class of women we want to get are employed somewhere else, and the ones that are the most anxious to get in, in a good many cases, are those who have the greatest difficulty in getting employment elsewhere.

The following exchange took place with Mr. Pope, then Under-Secretary of State:

Mr. Pope: . . . There is difficulty in getting good men from outside.

Q. (Mr. Courtney): The consequence of that is an inordinate number of women entering the Service?

A. I suppose it is a consequence. It is a very unfortunate thing.

Q. How many women have you in your department?

A. Three.

Q. That is not an inordinate number?

A. No. One of them is assistant private secretary to the Secretary of State, and is a very good clerk.

Q. She has been some years with you?

A. She has beem there about twelve years.

Q. (Mr. Fyshe): Is it usual for these women in the different branches of the Civil Service to get married?

A. Now and again.

Q. You do not raise any objection, do you?

A. They give up their positions when they get married - that is understood.

Q. (Mr. Courtney): What is your idea of the employment of women in the public service?

A. Speaking generally, I do not think it desirable, though I know of several exceptions. But I am speaking of the general princple, because I find that as a rule women clerks claim the rights of men and the privileges of their own sex as well.(1)

A Royal Commission in 1868 noted only one woman in the government departments. In 1881 the women in the Service were few, and occupied very subordinate positions. By 1891 the women employed had greatly increased in number, but they still occupied subordinate positions and were segregated. By 1907 the situation was changing. The questions of segregation and supervision had become less important and had given way to the much more acute ones of promotion and salary. The Royal Commission's report of 1908, signed by Pope, observed:

> The Commissioners have to draw attention to another set of circumstances which has cropped up during the last few years, and that is the great redundance of women appointed to the junior branches of the inside service. . . In Ottawa in 1906, out of 206 candidates who passed the qualifying examination, 121 were women. . . While the Commissioners readily acknowledge that many women are thoroughly entitled to succeed in the public service, yet the influx of such a large number must, if c ontinued, in the course of time swallow up the lower grades of the service, and by limiting the field for promotion to the higher classes prove detrimental to the development of the higher and more responsible branches of the service,for it can hardly be admitted yet that the work devolving on the departments can be carried on with a staff composed entirely of women.(2)

(1) Report. p.42

(2) Report. p.14.

"The evidence taken at this time", comments Professor Dawson, "disclosed three chief difficulties. First: The minimum salary offered was too low to attract good men and yet was higher than most women could obtain elsewhere. Hence the influx of the latter to inferior positions. Second: Women could not, it was felt, fill the higher posts, and by occupying most of the lower ones they were preventing men from acquiring the valuable experience and training which was necessary for promotion. Third: Admitting that women might be promoted, the great majority of them remained in the service for a few years only, and left when they were married. They did not expect to hold their positions the rest of their lives, and they consequently regarded their work as a temporary alternative which they would abandon whenever the opportunity offered." (1)

It is evident that, though he made exceptions in practice, Pope adhered in principle to the old-fashioned Victorian idea, still prevailing generally in 1907, that politics and government belong to a man's world, and women have no place in it. (British government offices, likewise, were generally a man's preserve, and few women at that period were employed in the services. This rule had its exceptions, for Lord Salisbury, when in 1889 he introduced the typewriting machine into the Foreign Office, allowed the engagement of the first lady-typist or "typewriter", a Mrs. Fulcher, who lived to become the head of a Typists' Department.(2) ж

(1) Dawson: The Civil Service of Canada (1929) p.192.

(2) Algernon Cecil: The Foreign Office" Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy. III. p.607.

ж In the days prior to the First World War, the Colonial Office was almost exclusively masculine. An exception was the Copying Department, where the lady typists were kept in strict purdah, and all business had to be transacted with the (male) Superintendent.(See Charles Jeffries, The Colonial Office. p. 19).

The use of typewriters was only beginning to become universal and essential, while still much semi-official correspondence was perpetrated in long-hand; and women's skill in typewriting had scarcely then become fully recognized and appreciated. Few of them possessed the educational background, the clerical training, or the responsibility for c onfidential government clerical work. Moreover, there was instability of tenure, a frequency of resignation for purpose of marriage, and a divided interest between the job and prospects of matrimony; and finally, if a lady remained and earned promotion by her real devotion and merits, she could not rise to a senior clerkship which meant authority or supervision over a staff of men who would be reluctant to serve under a woman. Therefore, as there was no assurance of a senior position for her, the incentive was lacking and she might not give the job the full devotion given by ambitious men clerks.

Most of these preconceptions were invalid and prejudiced, as later history has shown, and as the record of some of the ladies employed in External Affairs proved. Pope was willing to admit the exceptions; in his own former Secretary of State's Department there were three, one of whom had been there for twelve years and was a private secretary to the Departmental head. When he commenced the new Department, one of them (Miss E. Palmer) was transferred to it, and others were quickly engaged.

It has been suggested that while in the Trafalgar Building, the male staff occupied the lower floor offices,

while the female staff of "typewriters" were relegated to the fourth floor, where they not only had the noise and vibration of the Civil Service Commission Printing Plant close to them, but when called for, by an inter-communicating telephone or buzzer, they had much stair-climbing to do, to and from the main offices. But, as was revealed in Pope's letter to Public Works, the practical reason for this segregation was that there was insufficient light in the inner downstairs offices, and because of higher ceilings, there was a better light for the typists in the fourth floor rooms. Nevertheless, the female staff felt that they were being isolated from the male staff because of Mr. Pope's old-fashoned prejudices.*

Miss Emma Palmer's name has already been mentioned. She was loaned from the Department of the Secretary of State, which she had joined on November 12, 1903, almost from the beginning of the Department. Pope wrote to Mr. Murphy on June 30, 1909: "Miss Palmer, who you were kind enough to place at my disposal, has been very useful to me, but she is going on her holidays in a day or two and nobody can be spared from the old department at this holiday season, when they are short-handed." Thus began one of the many early frustrations of Pope in getting his office staffed and functioning.

* The Royal Commission of 1881 expressed the opinion that "It would be necessary that they should be placed in rooms by themselves, and that they should be under the immediate supervision of a person of their own sex; but we doubt very much if sufficient work of similar character can be found in any one Department to furnish occupation for any considerable number of female clerks." That traditional attitude lingered for quite a number of years. (See Dawson. op. cit. p. 191).

Miss Palmer had been with the Department of Trade and Commerce from 1894, and was made permanent in 1903. For many years she was assistant to the Private Secretary of the Hon. R.W. Scott and Hon. Charles Murphy. Among her reminiscences was one of having been summoned to the office late one evening in the 1890's to take dictation from Sir Mackenzie Bowell about the "nest of traitors". (1) After her loan on a temporary basis, she was transferred permanently to the Department of External Affairs in 1912, and remained for many years until her retirement. In July, 1918, Miss Palmer was acting as Secretary to the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Keefer). At the time of classification in 1919, she was graded as a senior Clerk-Stenographer, but for the most part was engaged in routine typing in the Department.

Her sister, Miss Alice Palmer, was appointed to the Department in 1923 by transfer from the Post Office Department. She too was a stenographer and typist, and did routine work of the Department.

Among the first women to be appointed to the new Department was Miss Ellen Grey, but her employment was only temporary. In a letter to Mr. Murphy on November 16, 1909, Pope wrote: "Miss Grey completed her four months on the 8th instant, and her services ceased on that date." (2) Pope continued: "I understand the Civil Service Commissioners are raising some difficulty in the matter of the appointment of Miss Leduc

(1) Miss M. McKenzie's note in Circular Doc. No.R 24/56 of November 14, 1956.

(2) File 48/1909.

(whom you designated as successor to Miss Grey) on the ground that she has not passed the Civil Service Examination. According to them she got nothing for typewriting. On the other hand, I have been told that some applicants who have gone up before the Civil Service Examiners and got nothing for typewriting are, as a matter of fact, fair typewriters, and Foley tells me that Miss Leduc is a moderately good typewriter. . . I am willing to try Miss Leduc." However, no evidence has been found that Miss Leduc ever overcame the handicap of having got nothing for typewriting.

A few months later, Miss Grace Rankins was brought in on a temporary basis, and was later made permanent. She entered the Department on September 18,1909, as a stenographer-typist. An Order-in-Council, P.C. 23/2105 of October 13, 1909, apparently confirmed her provisional appointment, for, after passing the required examination, she was formally appointed as of January 1, 1910. She gave long and valuable service for the next thirty years. In July, 1918, Miss Rankins was a clerk in charge of the registering of correspondence, and substitute for the Chief Clerk, F.M. Baker. In 1925 Baker noted, "her work at present consists of entering the files and action taken thereon in the Registry of Correspondence as well as keeping a record of those despatches sent out to various departments, the date of their reply, and when answers are not forthcoming she sends out a monthly letter of reminder. Miss Rankins also does comparing of copies and other work of a related character.

Miss Rankins is a careful clerk but unfortunately is far from well." She retired from the service in 1940, and, after a long period of ill-health, died in 1957.

Miss K. Agnes McCloskey, who had come second in the Dominion in the 1909 examination for Third Division Clerkships, began work in the Department of External Affairs in December, 1909, and was formally appointed on April 1, 1910. She was a clerk of very great energy and initiative, and ultimately became book-keeper and accountant. In 1918 she was assistant accountant. Mr. Baker, Chief Clerk and formerly Chief Accountant, spoke most highly of her in a memorandum dated May 7, 1925:

> Miss McCloskey entered the Service on the 28th December, 1909. At the time of classification she was classified as a Senior Accountant-Clerk. She appealed against this and finally was granted that of a Departmental Accountant Grade I. Miss McCloskey is a most capable, clever, and energetic clerk and I do not know what we should do without her. She has four clerks assisting her in the work.
>
> As a matter of fact she is in almost complete charge of the accountant's work of the Department, owing to my attention being otherwise occupied. In addition she is in charge of the making of requisitions on the Public Works and Printing Bureau. Her work includes the checking of payment, prepares pay-lists, issues pay cheques, prepares returns to the Auditor General and Civil Service Commission, and other work of a similar kind both in connection with the Department itself but also in connection with the Prime Minister's Office, the High Commissioner's Office, the Paris and Washington Agencies, and now the Geneva Office. She also gives particular attention to Civil Service matters.
>
> I may here say that several years ago I offered to resign the Accountancy of the Department in favour of Miss McCloskey, but Sir Joseph Pope felt that the position should be held by a male clerk and the position was left as it was. The offer is hereby repeated." (1)

(1) File 2/EA/1957.

Under Dr. O.D. Skelton, she became virtually his principal administrative assistant, as well as continuing as Chief Accountant. During the Second World War, she was appointed to the newly-created Canadian Consulate General in New York as Consul, and became the first Canadian woman to serve abroad in that official capacity.* After a tour of Latin-America, she retired from the public service in 1949.

Miss Julia Seymour was given a temporary appointment in March, 1912, (File 329-12), and a permanent appointment in December, 1912, (File 1205-12). She was a clerk-shorthand writer, and performed stenographic duties for Sir Joseph Pope, Mr. Walker and Mr. Baker. She was also employed extensively as a general typist. She resigned in 1921 to be married.

In 1916, because of the increasing needs of the Department during the war years, the expansion of clerical staff was conspicuous, and, probably because of the absence of men on war service, a good many women were appointed. A number of these may be mentioned.

Miss H. Scott was appointed to the Department on March 15, 1916. When Mr. Connolly was assigned as Passport Officer, she was transferred to that Office, where she was still employed in 1925, "doing good work". At the instance of Senator Hayden, who was her brother-in-law, she was allowed to apply to the Civil Service

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* Another Canadian woman, Miss Mary McGeachy, who had served in the Secretariat of the League of Nations in Geneva, was temporarily appointed during the Second World War to the British Embassy in Washington, holding a rank of First Secretary. She had, however, never been in Canadian Government service. Other Canadian ladies who were appointed in the British diplomatic service during the war included Miss Hazel Christie and Miss Mary Dingman.

Commission for reclassification, under the 1919 regulations, to a Senior Clerk.

Miss M. Mahoney was appointed to the Department on June 15, 1916, where she became a Senior Clerk. She was a very well known and active member of the staff, and was always ready to give any assistance she could. During Miss McCloskey's illness, she carried on the Accountant's work very satisfactorily. In 1925, it is recorded that among her duties, "she is in particular engaged on the ledger, looking after the accounts received from the High Commissioner, the Paris Agency, the Washington and Geneva Offices as well as those from the Bureau. As the bills from the first two named are rendered in £-s-d and in francs, it requires some work to reduce the amounts to Canadian currency." (1)

Miss E. Turriff joined the Department in the same year, and for many years acted as special clerk of the Deputy Head. She applied for reclassification and later it was proposed in a Minute from Council to the Prime Minister that the organization of the Department be changed by substituting a Secretary to Executive for a Senior Clerk-Stenographer; in 1925 the report was still before Treasury Board. Mr. Baker commented in a 1925 memorandum: "Miss Turriff, who is a daughter of Senator Turriff*, is a very good stenographer and typist, can and does write letters in respect of extradition cases and the appointment of Consuls as well as answers

(1) F.M. Baker. Memorandum on Staff, May 7, 1925, (file 2-EA-57).

* (John Gillanders Turriff was Commissioner of Dominion Lands, 1898-1904, a Federal M.P. 1904-18, and did not become a Senator until 1918, two years after Miss Turriff's appointment).

to questions in the House of Commons off her own but, it being only necessary to give her an outline of what you want to say and the thing is done. She is a most excellent clerk, is careful and reliable." (1)

Miss M. Flanagan, like Miss Turriff, joined the Department in 1916, and proved to be highly competent. During Baker's absence in British Columbia with Sir Joseph Pope, she performed some of his tasks to the complete satisfaction of the Acting Under-Secretary, Mr. Walker. Much to her own gratification, she was given the rank of Senior Clerk-Stenographer at the time of re-classification in the Department.

Another lady who joined in 1916 was Miss Greta Murphy, who entered as a temporary clerk-stenographer, but was confirmed, and ultimately promoted, in 1922. She was competent and very willing to do anything she was asked to do. In 1925 she was occupied in work connected with the preparation of the Confidential Prints, as well as other jobs requested by Mr. Walker, but she resigned in that year.

Miss Gladys Margaret Bearman, who had been in the Auditor General's Department from 1916 to 1918, joined External Affairs as clerk-stenographer in March, 1918, and, as the result of a competitive examination within the Department gained promotion to a vacancy caused by the resignation of Miss Seymour. In 1924 to

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(1) F.M. Baker. Memorandum on Staff, May 7, 1925, (file 2-EA-57).

{John Gillanders Turriff was Commissioner of Dominion Lands, 1898-1904, a Federal M.P. 1904-18, and did not become a Senator until 1918, two years after Miss Turriff's appointment}.

1947 she was Assistant to the Chief Administrative Officer, but in 1925 she was specially engaged in the accountant's end of the work, being charged with the checking of accounts from the Printing Bureau, paying for newspaper subscriptions for the Department and the High Commissioner and Paris offices. She also made up the pay-lists and prepared the salary cheques. From 1948 to 1954 she served as Vice-Consul in San Francisco, and then rejoined the Department as a Foreign Service Officer.

These and other female appointments to the Department show the revolutionary effects of the First War on the role of women in the Civil Service and public offices, as in industry, the armed services and other fields. Old prejudices had completely broken down, and as the above examples show, some of the women employed in the Department made good in senior levels and in overseas posts. In the 1920 and 1930's ladies with university degrees entered the Department, some of them becoming Foreign Service Officers, and subsequently attained senior ranks, and even became Heads of Divisions at home, or Heads of Missions abroad (e.g. Miss E. P. MacCallum, Miss B.M. Meagher, etc.).*

File Clerks

As the new Department took shape, even on

* Although a departmental memorandum (file 1-EA-57) states that women were admitted to examinations for entry into the diplomatic service only in 1947, it is believed that Miss Marjorie McKenzie successfully passed such examinations on several occasions prior to that date, but without claiming any appointment as F.S.O.

the smallest basis and over in the Trafalgar Building, Pope began to give thought to the system of registry and files, which, as he knew, were already voluminous in scattered departments, and which were bound to grow as they became concentrated in his own Department. He went to England in 1910 and studied the British Foreign Office system of registry, and asked for details. That system had been long instituted, and the Foreign Office was already large and busy. The application of its elaborate system developed, along very parallel lines, in the Canadian Department of External Affairs only in the 1930's when a diplomatic service and a wider participation in foreign affairs, following after the War, the Peace Settlement, and the League of Nations, needed a great expansion of the Departmental "machinery".

In a memorandum dated January 18, 1918, to the Hon. A.K. MacLean, Minister without Portfolio, Pope wrote: "The work of the Department has increased during the past three years in a much greater ratio than the staff; the number of files dealt with in 1916 being between six and seven times the number in 1914." (1)

Before that time, while temporarily ensconced in the Trafalgar Building, Pope had made arrangements to have one inside room, made by a partition, converted into a library and records room, and had a bank of filing cabinets built against one wall. Registration in those days was done by entering and cross-indexing the subject titles of all files and letters, by hand, in

(1) J. Pope. Semi-Official Papers. Doc.743. (Public Archives).

large ledgers. The documents were then placed in labelled dockets and filed, by whichever of the clerks was assigned that duty. Pope himself was a meticulous filer of his correspondence, as his preserved papers in the Department and the Public Archives reveal; and he was always exasperated if any desired file was not produced for him immediately. (In this respect he shared the same temperamental impatience as Lord Curzon while head of the British Foreign Office).

It has been difficult to ascertain which members of the clerical staff in the earlier years of the Department were assigned to the ever-increasing duties of registering and filing. Probably various members turned their hand to this. It was not until 1921 that, according to more detailed descriptions of the Auditor-General's Report, certain clerks were specifically assigned to this special duty.

In 1921-22 we find Mr. J. Ross, Mr. A.L. Drysdale, and Mr. Gilbert Champagne, Jr., described as file clerks, and by that time, at the close of the war, a proper Registry and File Room with its own staff was organized in the East Block. In 1922-23, Mr. W. White was added to these others, as Principal File Clerk; and for many years thereafter he was indeed in senior charge of the Departmental Registry. In 1922 Miss I. Schryer was added as a file clerk, making in all five so-described; but she was attached to the Prime Minister's Office. The numbers increased gradually over the next five years.

Mr. William White came to the Department in October, 1914, from the Post Office Department where he had been for five years. In 1925 he was the Senior File Clerk. "Mr. White makes a careful analytic index of all the papers dealt with by the Department by means of a card index. This affords a ready guide to papers of all kinds, giving the date of each paper, and the number of the file on which it may be found. As these cards are arranged alphabetically it is much more easy and quick to find any particular document, than by means of Mr. Boyce's index, which may be called the working index." (F.M. Baker, Confidential memo on personnel, May 7, 1925).(1) Under Mr. White, the card index system was introduced into the file registry, in place of ledgers, on August 1, 1914.(2) Mr. White, who made visits to London and Washington to study their registry systems, developed in the East Block an efficient central registry, which was later directed by his assistant, Mr. W. Cullen; but when Mr. H.O. Moran, as Assistant Under-Secretary for administrative matters, introduced a new system of decentralized divisional registries, considered to be more convenient and expeditious, the original system was greatly changed. Mr. White died, by his own hand, as a

(1) File 1-EA-57.

(2) Ibid.

result of a cerebral tumour, after a long period of abdominal affliction and pain.

One of the principal filing clerks was Miss Ida B. Schryer. She first joined the government service on October 29, 1917, when she was appointed by the Civil Service Commission as a Grade 1 Clerk on the staff of the Board of Pension Commissioners. She entered the Department of External Affairs on December 10, 1922, in the Filing Division, and rose to be Head Clerk of the Division with a staff of thirteen under her direction. Most of her work, however, was in the Prime Minister's Office, and she was custodian of the official, political and personal correspondence of five Prime Ministers - Mr. King for threedifferent periods, totalling 22 years, Mr. Bennett, Mr. St. Laurent for nine years, and latterly Mr. Diefenbaker. She was necessarily in close contact with a succession of Private Secretaries to Prime Ministeries and Clerks of the Privy Council. Mr. Bennett once remarked to her, at a farewell office party in 1935, "The filing office is the hub of the Prime Minister's Office; if the filing office does not operate smoothly, the whole Prime Minister's Office breaks down." Miss Schryer stated in December, 1957, that about 35,000 pieces of correspondence passed through the Prime Minister's Office and the Filing Division each year; she could not estimate the greater amount of material from the Privy Council Office. Correspondence from the two offices kept about 30 filing cabinets going all the time with "active" material. Miss Schryer retired in December, 1957, after thirty-five years in the Filing Division of the Prime Minister and the Privy Council.(1)

(1) Ottawa Citizen, January 2, 1958.

Messengers

Because of the necessary cooperation of the Department with other Departments and particularly with the Secretary of State's Office, the Privy Council and Prime Minister, and the Office of the Governor General's Secretary, especially in the exchange of documents of various kinds (which was one of the raisons d'être of the External Affairs Department), an adequate messenger service was essential. This was more imperative because of the Department's isolation, from 1909 to 1914, from the East Block. Slowly, year by year, the number of messengers had to be increased.

Mr. Hugh H. Duggan was, from the commencement of the External Affairs Department, and its moves from the East Block to the House of Commons to the Trafalgar Building during the first year (1909), was loaned from the Secretary of State's Department, on whose payroll he remained as Confidential Messenger from September 1, 1908, to 1923 and after. He was never listed on the payroll of the Department of External Affairs.

In a memorandum by Pope of April, 1909, in connection with the Supplementary Estimates for 1909-10, he spoke of H.H. Duggan as follows:

> He was appointed messenger in August, 1908, at $500 and made permanent under the new Act. He is not entitled to any increase until October next, and in the meantime his monthly cheque is actually reduced by $2.16 by his enforced contribution to the Retirement Fund. He has a family of seven to maintain on a net income of $475. He is a very good messenger, intelligent, quick, and thoroughly trustworthy.

The first regular messenger to be taken on the departmental staff was J.A. Jessup. His date of original appointment, in the Secretary of State's Office, is given as September 1, 1908, at a salary of $800, but his name was not included in the External Affairs annual report list of staff until 1910-11; he appears to have been transferred formally on September 13, 1910.(1)

In a letter to Hon. Charles Murphy, dated August 20, 1910, Pope wrote:

> Mr. Mulvey tells me that you are considering the question of the appointment of a messenger to this Department. If it is the same to you, I should be quite content to see the new man appointed to the other department,* Jessup being transferred here. The old man would prefer this himself, and I think he is less apt to get flustered when alone. He is well in the rut now, and I am satisfied to keep him, if agreeable to you. This arrgt. would involve our increasing our appropriation for a messenger by $300 next year, but it would decrease Mr. Mulvey's vote for that service by the same amount.
>
> Jessup would like his usual statutory holidays as soon as he can get them. Perhaps if you appoint a new man, he or Duggan can be sent here temporarily to relieve Jessup.

Jessup was in due course appointed to Mr. Pope's Department, in addition to H.H. Duggan, who had been almost from the very start, loaned from the Secretary of State's Office. Mr. Jessup was an old man and was barely able to perform any but the most simple duties. He was retired in 1918, and died on September 30th.(2)

In spite of these appointments, Pope sometimes found himself short of messenger service. On April 15, 1911, for example, he wrote in a note to a friend who

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(1) Depart. File 860/10. Auditor General's Report,1909-10.

* Note may be taken that Pope refers to his own Department with a capital letter, while referring to his old department, now Mr. Mulvey's, with a small letter!

(2) File 269/18.

wanted to borrow a book: "I have no means of sending it to you as my only messenger is ill."

On April 21, 1911, another messenger, J. Gilbert Champagne, was taken on the staff of the External Affairs Department.(1) He failed to pass the Civil Service examination in June, 1911, but apparently was able to be confirmed in his position, and carried on for a good number of years. He subsequently was listed as messenger and clerk. In his later years, he had charge of the photostat machine in the Department. His son afterwards joined the Department as a clerk.

Mr. Gilbert Champagne, Jr., entered the Department as an extra messenger in 1917, and was promoted as messenger in 1919. While his father was away, he, as well as the other messengers, used to assist Miss Joss in the work of filing. He also attended to whatever work was done on the mimeograph, as well as going over to the Passport Office and bringing over the cash, which, in about 1925, amounted to some $700 a day.(2)

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(1) File 417/11

(2) F.M. Baker: Memorandum on Staff, May 7, 1925. (File EA-2-1957).

(A son of Mr. Gilbert Champagne, Jr., subsequently joined the Department, thus being the third generation in the service).

In 1917 Mr. Losty was added,* and in 1918 a Mr. Mailhot, but the latter was transferred to the Senate Office in 1922-23. In 1919 a Mr. J.C. Smith was engaged, but he resigned in 1925, and was replaced by the appointment of Mr. Philion. In 1922 Mr. J.S. Nicol was also engaged as messenger.

In 1921 and 1922, however, we find that Mr. Smith and Mr. Mailhot were attached as messengers to the

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* Losty had previously been a butler. His master had, instead of paying him his wages in full, invested for him a part of his salary, so that in due time Losty was well off, owned some property in Sandy Hill and had his own house on Cobourg Street. In order to have "something to do" he took employment in the Department as a messenger; but he was more than that. He became personally attached to Sir Joseph Pope, both at the office and in Pope's home, where he acted as butler, valet, nurse and general factotum, occasionally lending Sir Joseph pocket-money, and seeing to it that Pope left the house properly wrapped and galoshed in inclement weather.

Joseph Mailhot, before joining the Department at a ripe age, had also been a butler in the home of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Mrs. Desbarats, in her Recollections, records that "One who was with the Lauriers longer than anyone was Joseph Mailhot. He stayed with them as a small boy, going to school from their house when they lived in Arthabaska. He came up with them to Ottawa in 1896. He was understudy to the Laurier's very efficient English butler. When this man left, Joseph took over and was every bit as capable. He held that position for many years. Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier had the greatest confidence in and affection for Joseph Mailhot." (p.23).

Prime Minister's Office, and also, in 1922, Mr. Nicol.*

J. Mailhot accompanied, as filing clerk and messenger, Sir Robert Borden, Mr. L. Christie and Mr. A.W. Merriam to the Limitation of Armaments Conference at Washington in October, 1921.

A proposal was made in the earliest years that a certain amount of courier work between the Trafalgar Building and the East Block would be put in the hands of special police messengers. On October 15, 1909, Pope wrote to the Commissioner of Dominion Police:

> In view of the fact that the Trafalgar Building, to which the Department of External Affairs has removed, is occupied almost exclusively by Government offices, I think it would promote the general convenience if a Police Mail Service were furnished. This is particularly true as regards the Department of External Affairs, which is in constant communication with the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and the Office of the Governor General's Secretary. I should be glad if you would let me know what steps I should take to have this service provided.(1)

No reply is contained in the files, and it is not indicated whether such a Police courier service was adopted.

An examination of the Auditor-General's Reports giving the annual expenditures on cabs (or later taxis) for personnel of the External Affairs Department shows that with one or two exceptions, no member except Sir

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* Although Nicol has been indicated as one of the messengrs employed by the Department, he became in fact the Prime Minister's "man Friday". It is recorded that "All his personal wants were supervised by that jewel of a messenger, valet and factotum, John Nicol, who devoted the last thirty years of his life exclusively to King's service. If there were trousers to press, and they were never worn without pressing, Nicol pressed them. If King wanted a book from the parliamentary library, Nicol would get it. If, while travelling, King took a taxi it was usually charged to Nicol's account, paid by the Government, to keep the Prime Minister's expenses low on the public record. King could get along without any of his colleagues. He could hardly have survived without the ubiquitous and silent Nicol beside him, day and night." (Bruce Hutchison: The Incredible Canadian, p.83). (See also pp.428-9).

(1) File 22/1909.

Joseph Pope charged official expenses for cab-hire. Sir Joseph Pope apparently had a relatively open spending account, presumably because he had many trips to make to Rideau Hall on official business, or trips in connection with the meeting or reception of distinguished visitors; the records show that this practice was continued from the earlier days when he was Under-Secretary of State. His annual official expenditures on cab-hires are shown below:

		$
1909-10	...	12.50
1910-11	...	29.15
1911-12	...	40.75
1912-13	...	29.00
1913-14	...	14.50
1914-15	...	42.90
1915-16	...	23.85
1916-17	...	5.50
1917-18	...	35.90
1918-19	...	41.75
1919-20	...	13.00
1920-21	...	35.00
1921-22	...	23.50
1922-23	...	43.00
1923-24	...	No longer itemized
1924-25	...	" " "

The other exceptions were: for Mr.W.H. Walker, 1909-10 - $1.00; 1911-12 - .75; 1913-14 - $6.00; 1919-20 - $1.50; for Mr. F.M. Baker, 1909-10 - .75; 1918-19 - $3.00; Mr. A.L. Cooper, 1915-16 - $1.75; Mr. Buskard, Private Secretary, 1921-22 - $2.75. These special or occasional expenditures were probably for some very particular occasion or emergency, as they are not chronic. The total amounts, regarded as a year's expenditure, are astonishly small, and must represent only one or two sorties in each of the years indicated.

As Sherlock Holmes would say, the remarkable fact is that there were no other messenger expenses for

cabs, year after year, and snow-deep winter after winter. Apparently the ever-increasing clerical and stenographic staff, rising from 3 to 30, were never authorized to take cabs or taxis to and from work on official charge. Nor, apparently, were the regular messengers, even while for five years the offices of the Department were across town from the East Block. and daily shuttle-trips had to be made backwards and forwards. This contrasts with the allowable expenditures for cab-hire by the Governor-General's orderlies and messengers.

On the other hand, the expenditures allowed to be charged to the Department for <u>street-cars</u> steadily increased as the number of staff increased on official business between Departments or various offices of the External Affairs Department increased in volume. The annual departmental expenditures for street-car tickets are shown in the following table:

		$
1909-10	...	28.00
1910-11	...	
1911-12	...	
1912-13	...	
1913-14	...	
1914-15	...	
1915-16	...	37.00
1916-17	...	45.00
1917-18	...	45.00
1918-19	...	62.00
1919-20	...	78.00
1920-21	...	80.00
1921-22	...	60.00
1922-23	...	51.00
1923-24	...	No longer itemized.

The conclusion to be drawn is that, when the the messengers did not move about on foot with their important despatch cases of documents, their general mode of locomotive was by street-car.

Sir Joseph Pope was said to have been very

parsimonious as regards expenses for local transportation, both of himself and his staff. He himself was addicted to walking, and did so whenever possible; he also frequently bicycled around town. The local messengers and other staff, usually moved about on shanks' mare, though it is difficult to imagine this daily messenger service making slow time around town on foot from building to building, distributing the daily flow of inter-departmental despatches, especially when the snow lay deep on the Ottawa streets after a winter blizzard, or in the wilting temperature of mid-summer. There appear in the Auditor-General's reports no records of expenditures on messengers' bicycles. As has been noted elsewhere, Canadian Government offices were widely dispersed in various buildings in the central part of Ottawa, and the small number of messengers must have been kept continuously on the go with the imperative distribution of despatches and other documents.

Passport Office

The staff engaged in passport work is referred to in the chapter on Passport Issuance. As there indicated, the work was first performed by several individuals in the main Department at Trafalgar Building and East Block, later in the Journal Building and elsewhere. But during and after the First World War, it became so voluminous that a special section had to be assigned, and a separate office established. The first reference to a special Passport Office under the Department is made in the Auditor General's Report of 1920-21, when

the number of 48 "temporary" clerks in this branch is listed. In 1920-21, there were 48; in 1921-22, 30; in 1922-23, 29; in 1923-24, 32; in 1924-25, 29; and in 1925-26, 23. A few of these "temporaries" worked only some months, and were replaced from time to time. This number included clerks, stenographers or typists, messengers, and an office boy or two. It did not include the Chiefs of the Passport Branch, (at first Mr. J.J. Connolly and Mr. A.L. Cooper) who were seconded from the Department's main staff, with the designation of Chief Clerk or Senior Clerk. (1921-22).

Temporary Employees

In the early years of the Department, and especially during the First War years, it became necessary to engage "temporary" clerical staff, since these did not have to be confirmed in the limited number of "positions" provided for by Order-in-Council and Parliament. Some of these "temporaries" were on probation - usually four months but sometimes a year - until they qualified by Civil Service examination, and could be incorporated into the Department's permanent staff. Others could be kept on from year to year on a "temporary" basis. During the War, a large number of extras were taken on under a special Wartime Appropriation; they were listed in the Auditor-General's reports as being on the strength of the Department, as "temporaries"; but they received their emoluments from special funds.

The Royal Commission on the Civil Service noted in its report published in 1908 (over the name of Joseph Pope), said:

> The theory of temporary employment is that in times of emergency and pressure, when extra assistance is required, such as the distribution of letters at Christmas, temporary employment should be given to people qualified to do the work. In the examinations made by the Commissioners this idea of temporary employment only occurs in the instance mentioned above. So-called temporary clerks are constantly admitted to the service and remain in the service until their death. There are temporary employees at Ottawa who have been there for over thirty or forty years. In other instances of temporary employment, people who have failed to pass the necessary examination, through political pressure or otherwise, have been unloaded on the departments when help is necessary and to overcome the provisions of the Act are graded as labourers or some such designation.
>
> In Canada where expansion must be the rule for many generations to come, the business of the Government must constantly extend, and the idea of people being employed for temporary emergencies is contrary to fact. At the same time it is desirable for a lower grade employee to be employed in a probationary capacity until after a period of service, and his fitness for work has been proved and certified to by the proper authority. All these temporary employees might be grouped under the heading of what is called "writer class". But as vacancies occur in the higher divisions by selection or promotion a duly qualified member of the "writer class" should have an opportunity to advance to a higher grade. (1)

During the years of the First War, Professor Dawson states, political patronage of the old type crept back, even into the relatively purged Inside Service, and by 1917 had again reached grave proportions. Much of this was due to the expansion in the number of temporary employees. "The lower grade examinations in the Inside Service, e.g., that for messengers, sorters, packers, etc., was still non-competitive, and this grade came under much the same conditions of patronage as the Outside Service. Persons were selected for employment before examination, and so few were chosen from the general lists that the Commission discontinued holding two semi-annual examinations for this grade." "The

(1) Report of the Commission. p.9. Sess. Paper No. 29a. 1908.

effects of the war began to be perceptible in 1915. Although the numbers of temporary clerks under the Act were slightly diminished, there was a large increase in such clerks who did not come under the Act but were paid directly out of war appropriations. . . In the five years of war, the number of civil servants increased from 37,000 to over 60,000." (1)

This was shown in the Department of External Affairs, where, besides the necessary creation and staffing of a special Passport Office, there were numerous additional temporary clerks paid under the War Appropriations Act: e.g. 1915-16, four; 1916-17, fifteen; 1917-18, fifteen; 1918-19, sixty-one; 1919-20, seventy-two. In 1920-21, the number had fallen to fifteen, not counting forty-eight in the Passport Office, and in 1921-22 there were only six temporary clerks, with forty in the Passport Office.

Patronage

Patronage in appointments had been customary throughout the Victorian era, and died hard. But a growing consciousness of its objections, and the introduction of the Civil Service examinations and merit system gradually eliminated this fault. The Department of External Affairs was almost entirely free of it, as all clerical employees had to pass Civil Service tests and be approved by the Civil Service Commission before being permanently appointed.

Professor R. McGregor Dawson, in his study The Civil Service of Canada, comments that political patronage was scandalous in the latter years of the

(1) Dawson. op cit. pp.88-89

nineteenth century, and was only partly improved by the reforms of 1908 resulting from the investigations and recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1907. Sir John Willison claimed that "Sir Wilfrid Laurier had a large toleration for patronage. . . But notwithstanding his own general attitude toward patronage, the first great step towards elimination of partisan considerations in appointments to the civil service was taken under his last administration when the Inside Service was brought under the competitive system. It is true, also, that as he grew older he became less tolerant of looseness in the departments and more concerned to restrain the agencies of electoral corruption." (1) "Nevertheless", remarks Dawson, "the condition of the civil service from 1882 to 1908 was one of stagnation, or if there was any movement, it was in the wrong direction. Successful candidates, according to an official report, were probably of poorer quality in 1908 than in 1882." (2)

The year before the creation of the Department of External Affairs, the Royal Commission on Civil Service had published its voluminous report of 1908, issued by the Department of the Secretary of State under the transmittal signature of Joseph Pope himself, in which many of the defects of Civil Service appointments, promotions and salaries were carefully scrutinized. Certain general recommendations were made by the Commissioners, but most of these were not brought into effect until many years later. This Report, therefore, gives a good

(1) Sir John Willison: Sir Wilfrid Laurier. pp.468-9.
(2) R. McG. Dawson: The Civil Service of Canada. p.74.

indication of the condition of employment of staff as they were when the new Department was created. Mr. Joseph Pope's own contributions as a witness before the Commission are also of interest.

The Civil Service Amendment Act of 1908 brought considerable improvement in the Inside Service, although not in the Outside Service, and by 1911 the Civil Service Commissioners were able to give an optimistic opinion of the improved results. When, in September, 1912, Sir George Murray was brought from England to investigate the Public Service, he found still remaining faults in the examination system: "The system of selection by open competition undoubtedly leaves much to be desired; but in this imperfect world it is not the least imperfect institution; at any rate nothing better has yet, in my opinion, been suggested." (1)

These questions of staff appointments and the influence of patronage barely affected the new Department, where there had been few irregularities or complaints. There were indeed few occasions or opportunities for political patronage. That Department, it was already antibipated in 1909, would be small, with only one or two officers and four or five clerks; most of these came from older Departments, and were not new appointees. Pope himself was an old Civil Servant and had previously been a Deputy Minister in a related Department. Although a Conservative, he served faithfully and continuously under a succession of Liberal and Conservative Prime Ministers, ten in all, and was never

(1) Ibid. p. 84.

the subject of any patronage or political favouritism. Mr. W.H. Walker, having come from the Governor General's Office, was officially a neutral in his political connections. F.M. Baker and A. Brophy, came from the Secretary of State's Department, as did Miss E. Palmer; and the messengers Duggan and Jessup. Others among the lower clerical staff, it was anticipated, were also to be recruited if possible from sister departments, by loan or transfer. If new recruits were needed, the new Civil Service examination system was in operation, and they would have to qualify in the formal way.

Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister were in a slightly different category, and were not required to qualify by examination.

Candidates for clerical grades could, however, be employed on a "probationary" basis before qualifying by examination; and also, clerical staff could be employed as "temporary" extras, and very often that "temporary" status could drag on for years. During the War years, a number of lower grade clerks were added to the Department's staff on this basis, as temporary or "extra" clerks under conditions of emergency.

Related to the question of patronage - for which the political Minister of a Department would be mainly held responsible - was the question of appointment, promotion and dismissal on basis of merit; and in this respect Pope held, in very positive terms, the view that the Deputy Minister, who was the administrative head of the Department, should have wider discretionary power based

on his close familiarity with his staff, and based on his own estimates of their merits or capacities. He made this clear before the Royal Commission on the Civil Service; and their report endorsed this view. When the Department came under the direction of the Prime Minister, who was an excessively busy man, the matter of staff appointments and promotions necessarily fell to the Under-Secretary, and thus we find Pope frequently taking the initiative in proposing to the Prime Minister any changes or staff adjustments in the Department.

There were, as in almost any large department, certain family relationships among the staff, but it is probable that the majority of these were accidental or incidental, and not due to the deliberate practice of patronageor nepotism.

In the senior levels, there may have entered some degree of family influence. The successive and separate Popes in the Government service probably chose their careers on individual disposition and qualities, although perhaps Joseph Pope got his first start in public service by becoming Private Secretary to his uncle, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Sir Charles Tupper, and his son (later Sir) Charles Hibbert Tupper were each Cabinet Ministers and diplomatic envoys, probably on their separate merits. One of Sir John A. Macdonald's Private Secretaries, Colonel H. Bernard, afterwards became his brother-in-law. Sir Robert Borden appointed his brother Henry Borden as his Private Secretary; and for a short time (1921-22) Mr. Meighen

appointed as his Private Secretary Mr. Harold Armstrong, brother-in-law of Mr. Loring Christie, the Legal Adviser to Borden and Meighen. In a later period, Mr. Bennett appointed his brother-in-law, Mr. W. Herridge, as Minister to the United States. But in each of these cases it is probable that the choice was made as much on qualification and merit as on family relationships.

In the more junior ranks, the family relationships were incidental. The merit system and Civil Service examinations governed the recruitment.

Miss Alice Palmer joined the Department some years after her veteran sister, Miss Emma Palmer, had been employed there after long previous service in the Secretary of State's Department. After Mr. J. Gilbert Champagne had been a departmental messenger from 1911, his son Gilbert Champagne, Jr., entered the Department as extra messenger and clerk in 1917, and later, the latter's son also joined. Miss H. Scott's brother-in-law was Senator Hayden; Miss E. Turriff's father was a member of Parliament and later became a Senator; Mr. J.J. Connolly's nephew became a Senator, one of Miss M. Boucher's brothers was a member of Parliament. But it may fairly be said that the Department of External Affairs was singularly free from both patronage and nepotism, and its staff as a whole were carefully chosen, under Civil Service auspices, on the basis of qualifications and merit. It was inevitable, in a Government and Civil Service city such as Ottawa, that Ottawa staff should in many cases have relatives in other branches of Government service; but this would be merely coincidental.

Examinations

As has already been indicated, all the clerical staff appointed to the Department were admitted only after passing a Civil Service examination, although they could be appointed on probation for three months pending the result of the tests. This did not apply, however, to the Private Secretaries attached to the Prime Minister's Office, nor to the category of "temporaries" in the clerical ranks, who sometimes continued year after year as temporaries, but some of whom passed the Civil Service examination and were confirmed in their positions as "permanent" employees.

The high offices had been filled by men already in the Service, transferred from another Department, and thus underwent no new qualifying examination: Pope and Baker came from the Secretary of State's Department, and W.H. Walker from the Governor General's Office. Several of the lady clerks entered the Department by transfer, and apparently needed no requalification by examination. Mr. Christie was engaged by a special Order-in-Council, without examination. This was also the case with such early semi-diplomatic representatives as Merchant Mahoney in Washington, Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Pacaud in London, Mr. Dupuy in Paris, and Dr. W.A. Riddell in Geneva.

The first examination for a diplomatic appointment was held in 1925, resulting in the appointment of Mr. Jean Desy as Counsellor in the Department. Another examination was held in 1927, resulting in the appointment of Mr. D'Arcy McGreer as Second Secretary, and

Mr. James Scott Macdonald as Third Secretary. In the following year a large number (believed to be about 60) of candidates took the departmental examinations for Foreign Service Officers, and, as a result, Mr. L.B. Pearson was appointed a First Secretary in Ottawa, Mr. K.P. Kirkwood, Second Secretary in Washington, Mr. H. L. Keenleyside, Third Secretary in Ottawa, and soon afterwards First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires in Tokyo, and a few months later Mr. Paul Renaud was appointed as Third Secretary in Ottawa. Thereafter, Foreign Service examinations were held fairly regularly and the diplomatic officer staff commenced to increase rapidly as the new Missions were opened abroad and the Department expanded at home.

Language

Canada constitutionally is officially bilingual in the Federal Government, and no discrimination is or may be made. Either French or English language may be spoken; and all public documents which are printed must be in both languages. But in practice, in the public services in Ottawa, English predominates. This may partly be explained by the fact that eight of the nine provinces (prior to Newfoundland's entry) were predominantly English-speaking; and that Ottawa is a city of Ontario and not of Quebec; and that the majority of the public servants, drawn from the Maritimes, Ontario and the West, as well as from Quebec, were primarily English-speaking. Thus in staffing the Department in

the earlier years, the majority of the recruits were English-speaking, although a high proportion of French-Canadian personnel were also engaged. ¤

Moreover, in matters concerning external affairs, most of the dealings were with the United Kingdom and the United States, and therefore most of the Department's correspondence was naturally in the English language. The custom grew up - as in other Government Departments - of utilizing English for most of the internal and external correspondence, although French was not precluded. The Imperial relationship and the proximity to and influence of the United States were the chief factors in this development. Almost all of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's departmental and official correspondence was in English.

¤ For a review of the proportion of French-speaking to English-speaking employees in the Federal Civil Service generally, see Taylor Cole: The Canadian Bureaucracy, pp.89-98.

17.

ADMINISTRATION OF DEPARTMENT

Administration of Department

A few supplementary notes on the general administration of the Department in its earlier years may here be added:

Office Hours

Before the turn of the century, it appears that the official life of government servants was generally a fairly leisurely one. In fact it was so slack that abortive efforts were made to tighten up the routine. An employee in the Post Office Department, for example - no less a person than the poet Archibald Lampman - wrote in a letter of December, 1891: "Our just and enlightened government are just now zealously engaged in extracting the mote out of the eye of the civil service, regardless of that which is in their own eye . . . They propose to lengthen the office hours, to forbid men going home to lunch at noon; they have instituted absurd and troublesome requisitions in regard to obtaining leave of absence. In fact they are removing from the Service the only features of it which were an attraction to a man like me." But a few years later we find in another of Lampman's letters, dated October, 1894, that he had taken four weeks vacation, "spent in climbing hills and paddling canoes," and that "I take a run across the fields every day after four . . ." Evidently civil servants of that period did not work under unremitting pressure; the office hours were shorter, recreation began at four in the afternoon even after summer had passed, and the periods of leave were more generous.

The Civil Service in the early 1900's was relatively small, very largely dominated by political patronage, and was apparently not unduly over-worked. Those who were engaged in it were considered not in the main stream of Canadian activity; as in the United States, the occupation did not have the professional prestige which it had long had in England and Europe. Picturesquely we are told that: "These clerks may have known how to phrase a law or to discover a point of procedure by which one politician might baffle another, but they neither thought about policy nor made it. Ottawa, their home, was uncharacteristic of Canada generally. Modest security based on paper shuffling was alien to Canadian conceptions of the whole duty of man. Poets, like Archibald Lampman and Duncan Campbell Scott, sat at desks in Ottawa, but their deskmates were not unusually party hacks nourishing themselves in retirement upon the bounty of the Government. Life was slow and leisurely." In illustration of this, we are given a glimpse of the Privy Council Office at that period of Laurier's regime: "The clerks of the Privy Council Office commenced their labours at 10.30 in the morning; they adjourned for lunch and billiards at 12.15. At 2.30 they returned to their chambers to perform their duties, but, except in anxious moments when Parliament was in session, they generally played whist, not in their offices, but in a tower room in the East Block.*

* A parallel is found in the old Colonial Office building in Downing Street, around 1875. The Deputy Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Charles Jeffries, notes that "The Colonial Office had its reputed attractions, one of which was that a gentleman employed therein could at least count on a good rubber of whist after luncheon, and another was availability of certain empty rooms for use as fives courts." (The Colonial Office. p.113).

At 4.30 they strolled home through the quiet leafy sreets of Ottawa to cultivate their gardens, to chat, to pray, and to quarrel. Theirs was a life of peace, of intrigue and of routine." (1)

However, in the course of the next half dozen years, reforms were introduced and a more regular observance of government hours was adhered to in most of the "inside" Departments in Ottawa.

Some information has been recorded concerning working hours as they existed in 1907, and it is to be presumed that there was little change in 1909 when the new Department of External Affairs was carved out of the Department of the Secretary of State. When the Royal Commission on the Civil Service was conducting its enquiries in 1907, it asked each of the Deputy Ministers examined for some details as to the current practice concerning office hours in their Departments. Among others, Mr. Mackenzie King answered for his Department of Labour (not yet a separate Ministry, but under the Postmaster-General who also headed the Labour Department), and Mr. Joseph Pope answered for the Department of the Secretary of State.

Q. (Mr. Courtney to Mr. Pope): Do all your officers sign the attendance book?

A. Yes, without exceptions.

Q. What time do you close it?

A. At 10 o'clock.

(1) H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry: The Age of Mackenzie King. p. 48

Q. There are no fixed hours in your department - the officers work till the work is done?

A. They work till the work is done.

Q. In the slack season they get out at four o'clock?

A. Not all. I do my best work after four, and some of my most valuable clerks stay till six o'clock.

Q. How long do you give them for luncheon?

A. I am not very strict as to that. If a man lives at a long distance from the office, I give him an hour and a half - from an hour to an hour and a half. I am generally in my office until half past six. I turn up at 10 o'clock in the morning. Sometimes I come earlier, sometimes a little later, but as a rule my hours are from 10 until 6.30.

Q. The office is always open to the public?

A. Yes, as a rule there is somebody in my department from 9 in the morning until 6 o'clock at night.

Pope had been administering the Secretary of State's Department since 1896, that is, up to the Royal Commission's enquiry, more than eleven years. He was soon to administer the new Department of External Affairs, doubtless according to the same customary principles and practices, whether in the Trafalgar Building or later in the East Block. Naturally, during the war-years, pressure of departmental work everywhere became so enlarged that, whether officially or unofficially, working hours were longer, and in many cases, periods of annual leave were curtailed to some extent. Although on the outbreak of war in 1914, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, despondently said: "The lamps are going out across Europe", in the chancelries and the government offices everywhere the lamps burned later, and among officials and some of

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Royal Commission on Civil Service. Report. pp.45-46

their subordinate staff, there was much "burning of the midnight oil". The East Block, like Parliament itself, was not yet floodlit from without, but was often illuminated in the night hours from within.

In the later years of Pope's incumbency, it was his practice to leave his office at one o'clock and go to the Rideau Club across the road on Wellington St. for lunch. Often he would not return until about four o'clock in the afternoon, and if he were wanted, enquiries would reveal that he was asleep in one of the comfortable leather arm chairs in the Rideau Club lounge which were so conducive to somnolence. When he returned to his office he worked until about six o'clock, keeping a large part of his staff on duty until then. Being a home-loving man, he rarely worked in the office in evenings. *

Although, even in later years, Pope himself usually maintained a reasonably routine schedule of work in the East Block, to which were added his almost weekly invitations to take Sunday tea or dinner with Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Earl Grey, the increasing burden of work led to a good deal of overtime or late

* Writing in The Nineteenth Century, April, 1909, of his "Forty-four Years at the Colonial Office", Sir William Baillie-Hamilton who entered the Office in 1864, referred to a certain "estimable but crotchy old baronet", a martinet, who was satisfied if his juniors "appeared punctually at 12 and remained untill 5.30, at which hour, without fail, he himself would be tucked carefully into his brougham and driven home to West Kensington. And while enforcing strict discipline on his subordinates, the good old gentleman was careful not to impair his own constitution by overwork.It was his daily habit, after luncheon, to ensconce himself in a cunningly-designed rocking-chair, and for exactly one hour to devote himself, ostensibly, to the perusal of old Quarterly Reviews. During this period he was very properly altogether inaccessible; and it would in fact have been dangerous to disturb him".(Sir Charles Jeffries? The Colonial Office. p. 15).

hours of employment for the staff which was a far cry from the leisurely life of the Civil Servants in the early 1900's. With the increasing use of the cable, telegrams would arrive at the Governor General's Office at Rideau Hall at all hours, would be immediately decoded, and then, if urgent, would be promptly passed on to the Department. Neither international events, nor correspondence relating to them, were any respecters of the clock or the week-end; and, moreover, time differences between various parts of the world made communications received in Ottawa irregular. (This of course became more conspicuous in later years when Canadian diplomatic Missions, scattered around the world, if using telegraphic means, kept the Department code-room on almost perpetual duty).

Mr. Mackenzie King, doing the double work of Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, which tended to merge both in function and in interchangeable staff, kept his Department in the East Block working often in most irregular hours, sometimes far into the late night hours. "His hours of work", we are told, "were no longer than those of his colleagues but they were unorthodox and peculiarly hard on his secretaries. Rising late, reading his Bible, spending an hour on his diary or dallying over a book, he hardly got well under way before noon and was seldom in high gear until evening. As he rarely left his office until seven o'clock, his staff were always late for dinner and the elevatorman in the East Block must remain on

duty to carry him down one story. After dinner the real work of the day began. Almost every evening secretaries and stenographers were summoned to Laurier House and infrequently left before midnight. Being a bachelor, King had no notion of other men's domestic arrangements, worked them unconscionably . . . There was no rest even on Saturday afternoons when all government offices were closed." (1)

Annual Leave

The following questions and answers were made as regards staff annual leave:

Q. (Mr. Courtney). Section 101 provides for the annual leave of absence. Do you find three weeks sufficient to give to your men gathered here in Ottawa from all parts of the Dominion?

A. No; I have always interpreted that to include twenty-one working days. That is what I have done in all cases with the sanction of my Minister.

Q. (Mr. Fyshe). Is that the universal allowance?

A. No, I do not think so; but the question arose, and the minister, Sir Charles Tupper, decided to interpret the section in this way. I believe in treating my clerks generously so far as it is in my power to do so. If they do their work faithfully for eleven months in the year, I would give them the full three weeks'holiday. I believe they would be all the better for a full month's holidays.

Q. (Mr. Bazin). Do you not think three weeks is sufficient?

A. That is all very well in regard to some of them; but I want you to realize that in the case of many men in the Civil Service their hours are far longer than from 9 to 4. They work very hard and long. There are a certain number not bound by any official hours, but who are at work early and late, and such men need a good rest.

Q. I suppose they can easily get leave of absence for a few days occasionally?

(1) Bruce Hutchison: The Incredible Canadian. p.85

A. Yes, but that is not quite the same thing as a regular vacation.

Q. (Mr. Courtney). Would you make the holidays compulsory?

A. Yes, I would make clerks take their holidays.

Q. In your department no abuse has occurred in connection with the holidays?

A. No, no abuse.

As mentioned elsewhere, it was the practice of Pope, even as Under-Secretary heading the External Affairs Department, to request permission by letter, or at least to give a written intimation, to the Minister, Mr. Murphy, or Sir Robert Borden, whenever he proposed to take any leave of absence, even for a week-end visit to Montreal. It is presumed that all subordinates in the Department made a similar application for leave or temporary absence to the Under-Secretary or acting senior officer. This custom has, of course, been maintained.

Hospitality

In the period prior to 1909, official entertaining other than that by the Governor General or by particular departments, was part of the business of the Secretary of State's Office. Later, this ceremonial, protocol and entertainment work was performed in part by the Secretary of State's Department, and in part by the Department of External Affairs, Sir Joseph Pope being an old expert hand in such matters. A great many of the costs of such entertainment, including hotel accommodation, motor-cars, special railway cars, banquets and similar hospitality, and travel expenses of

accompanying Departmental officials, were charged to the Department of External Affairs; and these detailed items reveal the extent of this aspect of the Department's work.

Without going back into earlier years, we find the Department of External Affairs taking the responsibility (financial, at least, and presumably personal) for the following official visits to Canada:

1919-20	Visit of Sir Conyngham Green and his party. The President of Brazil Miss H. Carter Viscount Finlay The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Massey Cardinal Mercier of Belgium The King and Queen of Belgium General Pau, and party
1918-19	British Educational Mission ex-President Taft French Mission (accompanied by Sir J. Pope)
1920-21	Imperial Press Conference Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador to U.S.A.
1921-22	French Mission Premier Massey of New Zealand Hon. J.W. Lowther, Speaker, U.K. House of Commons Admiral Beatty Party of Senators and Congressmen from Washington Marshal Foch Premier of Newfoundland, Sir Arthur Squires. Premier of New South Wales, ~~Hon. Storey~~
1922-23	Premier of South Australia, Hon. H. Barwell and party Minister of French Colonies, M. Sarrault Sir Auckland Geddes, Ambassador at Washington Dr. Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister at Washington Rt. Hon. Srinivar Sastri (accompanied by Sir J. Pope and F.M. Baker)
1923-24	Australian Trade Delegation Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George President Harding Hon. Charles Hughes, Secretary of State, U.S.A. Premier of New Zealand, Rt.Hon.W.F. Massey Premier of New South Wales Premier of Victoria Premier of Queensland Premier of Newfoundland, Hon.W.R. Warren, and party
1924-25	Sir Esme Howard, British Ambassador to U.S.A. Premier of Newfoundland, Hon.Walter Monroe.

Registry

The work of "registry" was an essential function of the Department from its first days. Pope had repeatedly emphasized the need of collecting in his own Department all the scattered documents and correspondence and organizing them for practical and and ready use; and, apart from the daily routine of current affairs - passport issuance, distribution of despatches, preparation of notes and minutes and material for the Privy Council and the Governor General, consular business and similar matters, the registering and collating of files was a most important task.

As we have seen, it required, in a parallel channel, the full-time employment of a trained and educated clerk in the Privy Council, Mr. MacKenzie, for this purpose. With Pope's very limited clerical staff of three or four, it is not ascertained who was assigned the responsibility of "registry" in the Department. Even in those somewhat elementary days, the flow of inter-departmental correspondence must have been considerable, as is evidenced first by the list of confidential prints which were being prepared as fast as staff and time permitted, and secondly, by the voluminous collections of old files of that early period which have been preserved. All of those required a partial staff to register.

In 1909 A.B. Aylesworth referred to the fact that, over a fisheries question, he had found stores of files, not only in the Fisheries Department and the Department of Justice, but also a "portentous file"

in the Secretary of State's Department.

In the early days of the Public Archives, before the new building was erected in 1907, the investigating commission of which Pope was a member, found that besides the basic collection controlled by the Department of Agriculture, stored in the basement of the West Block, there were depositories in the East Block, some of which were under the supervision of the Secretary of State's Office.

It has also been noted, on the authority of an article in External Affairs bulletin (September, 1949, p.14) that a roomful of old files was found in a tower-room in the East Block, the depository of "generations of secretaries".

Consequently the task of the new Department of External Affairs to sort and organize such of these accumulating stores of files as related to external business, must have been a very onerous one. Pope's concern, expressed in 1907, in 1909, and thereafter, over the primary need to bring all this material under proper control, can be readily understood. It is astonishing that with his limited clerical staff, otherwise preoccupied with current business, he was able to do so.

This ever-increasing accumulation of files and documents had to be registered and properly filed away. Although many of them quickly became obsolescent, they had to be accessible for reference in researching on the historical background of various contempary issues. The work of cataloguing and preserving soon became important; and Pope himself had a great penchant

for archives, and did much to organize his own files and correspondence. His previous experience as Assistant Clerk of the Privy Council no doubt had trained him in this direction.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January 19, 1912, Sir Robert Borden said:

> I am told by the Deputy of my own department that there are thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of documents in the upper story of the Eastern Block which are, and have been for a long time, in danger of destruction should fire unfortunately break out in that building. (1)

Some of these were Privy Council papers, long afterwards discovered, which then had to be sorted and indexed; but the External Affairs "post office" quickly became burdened with similar papers, which Pope was responsible to have properly filed for reference.

In May, 1910, Pope visited England to study the records of the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, and the Public Records Office in connection with diplomatic material for his Confidential Prints and his Treaty Collections. While there he had a quick glance at the working of the registration system in the Foreign Office. On his return to Ottawa, he followed up this aspect, for the benefit of his own embryonic organization. He had received from the Foreign Office Librarian, Mr. R.W. Brant, a copy of the rules and regulations for the conduct of the Foreign Office, including "Provisional Instructions for the General Registry, January, 1906". As these were complicated, he wrote to Mr. Brant on July 19, 1910, asking for certain elucidations. He also asked: "How many years is correspondence kept in

(1) H. of C. Debates. January 19, 1912. p.1496.

the Library before being transferred to the Record Office?"

Mr. Gaston de Bernhardt replied in handwriting:

In the absence of Mr. Brant, who is away in Switzerland, I opened your letter to him of the 19th instant.

I am sending you herewith a memorandum which I have had drawn up by our Registrar and which I trust will give you the information which you want concerning the system pursued in our Registry.

With regard to the custody of the correspondence, we have at present at this office papers going back to the year 1870, but there is no fixed rule as to the number of years to be kept in the Library before being transferred to the Record Office. At irregular intervals we send a batch of correspondence to the Record Office in order to make room for the more recent papers."

The memorandum enclosed was as follows:

The practice adopted in the Foreign Office as regards the registration of papers is as follows:

Letters, etc., are opened in the Central Registry. Despatches from His Majesty's Representatives and Consuls must be sent home in jackets which are supplied to them. All other correspondence is placed in jackets in the Central Registry.

When jacketed, the papers are stamped with an indication of the Department to which they are to be sent. They are then numbered consecutively and dated according to date of receipt, and a skeleton docket is entered in the General Registry, but the papers themselves are not docketed in the Central Registry.

The papers are now distributed to the various Sub-Registries, where they are docketed and entered fully in the registers assigned to the Departments. The number given to the paper in the Central Registry is the number by which the paper is subsequently known and runs through the Registers in the Sub-Registries. The Sub-Registries do not give numbers to the papers, and there is no special number for each register, but only an index number to facilitate subsequent search.

There are three Sub-Registries, one on the floor of the Office. Each Sub-Registry attends to the correspondence of the Departments on the same floor as itself.

> The Central Registry and the Sub-Registries are in separate rooms, with distinct staffs, which are interchangeable.(1)

Reference to the development of the Department's Registry in the early years at the Trafalgar Building has been made in a previous chapter ("Staff: File Clerks"). On removal to the East Block in 1914, a more elaborate system was introduced, which the war-time volume of correspondence made imperative; and this task was soon to be put in charge of Mr. W. White, who became Head of Registry, with an increasing staff of assistants.

From 1909 to 1914 it had been the practice to keep a two-volume index, in handwriting, of all incoming and outgoing correspondence. One ledger, like a day-journal, listed serially all such letters and telegrams, with their serial numbers. Confidential correspondence was given an additional "red" serial number. The other ledger contained similar entries arranged not by date but by subject-matter. Mr. F.M. Baker was the Department's ledger-keeper in this matter. The volumes for 1909-1914 are preserved; the volumes from 1915 to 1925 have been lost or destroyed. On August 1, 1914, Mr. White introduced the card index system; but this was principally for Registry use, and Sir Joseph Pope, who did not readily take to the new innovation, continued to use for his own reference the ledger-system. Miss Drysdale, a lady of South African birth who had previously had lengthy experience in Public Library work, joined the Department

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. Vol.95. (Public Archives).

and part of her work consisted of transcribing the index-cards on to typewritten sheets which were later bound into ledger form; and these bound typed sheets, in annual volumes, were maintained into the early 1940's. (1)

Typewriters

We may here interpose a note as to the form in which correspondence was conducted in the earlier days.

As has been shown, the Governor General and the early Prime Ministers, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, maintained the practice of writing mostly in longhand. Very frequently, if their private letters were sent typed, an apology would be expressed, usually with some excuse such as great haste or pressure of time, necessitating dictating. As typewriters, however, came into use in official correspondence, both Grey and Laurier often had their handwritten letters copied in their offices for record purposes, before the originals were despatched. Moreover, such was the courtesy of those days, Grey, if scribbling a handwritten

(1) A.L. Cooper.

letter on a train, in camp, or in some other inconvenient situation, would post it to his Secretary in Ottawa, asking that a typed copy be made for passing to Sir Wilfrid Laurier who might find it more legible to read in type than in a scrawled holograph. This custom of the longhand-written letter was maintained in the personal correspondence between Borden, or Meighen, and such friends as Loring Christie; and it is doubtful whether typed copies were made of many of these private letters, before being despatched.

To a private letter in 1865, to Col. Gray, one of the members of the Government of New Brunswick, Macdonald added in a postscript:

> P.S. This letter is written by my confidential clerk, Drinkwater, whom you know. I am forced, from the amount of my correspondence, to dictate to a shorthand writer, or I should never get through. - J.A.M.D. (1)

It is interesting to note what the historian of the British Foreign Office, Mr. Algernon Cecil, says regarding the introduction of the typewriting machine: "A labour-saving device of far-reaching consequence appeared in 1889. That which Lord Bryce, when Under-Secretary, had desired to see but had not seen - a typist - Lord Salisbury was bold enough to brave convention and introduce. Printing was hardly a greater benefit to the world than typewriting has been to the Foreign Office. All the need for those clear clerkly hands upon which Palmerston had so much insisted, disappeared, and with it the labour of copying the same document three or four times over if

(1) Pope: Memoirs of Sir J.A. Macdonald. p.298.

occasion required. Salisbury, though a Conservative, had proved himself, in fact, to be one of the most radical of administrative reformers. Not so the Queen! To the end, Victoria required papers sent for her inspection to be inscribed with a pen, unless, indeed, they were already in print. (1)

By the time the new Department was created, typewriters were of course in common use in Canadian government offices; and as we have seen, Pope was frequently applying for "typewriters", as he called the typists required to do the official work. Nevertheless, in the early years, most of the accounts, paylists, and registers of mail, were kept in immaculate handwriting, and passports were usually "written" by hand. Commissions and similar documents were of course beautifully engrossed by the hand of Mr. Drouin, who wished to have the official title of "Engrosser" in the Department of State. Copies of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's and Sir Robert Borden's handwritten letters and memoranda were usually made by typewriters for record purposes; and in the Archives are found both the original handwritten letters and typed office copies which were placed in the files.

In the Auditor-General's reports year by year, we find, in the Governor General's Office, the Prime Minister's Office, the Secretary of State's Office, and the Department of External Affairs, items for the purchase of one or more additional typewriters for the use of the ever-increasing staffs, as well as incidental items of renovation of used machines and of "trade-ins"

(1) Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy. III p.607.

of old machines for new ones. The average price of a new standard office typewriter during most of that period was between $100 and $110.

Prior to and during the First War, the method of making extra copies of typewritten letters was peculiar. The letters would be typed, then dipped in water and put on a sheet of onionskin paper in a letter-press. After the impression took, the original letter would be dried out, and despatched; the onionskin copy would be preserved for the file. Sometimes even a triplicate copy would be made by this means, although naturally the second impression would be much fainter. This is why older records of government correspondence often look as though they had been thoroughly soaked, and the typed lettering seems blurred and watery. Some of the old letter-presses used in 1917 and 1918, and prior to that time, are still preserved. For instance, one which was first set up by the Civil Service Commission in 1918 in its early quarters in the Trafalgar Building is still preserved in the basement of the present Jackson Building. (1)

Shorthand

The use of dictation was common from Sir John Macdonald's time, as Sir Joseph Pope has indicated. This meant that every competent secretary was expected to know shorthand - in those days the Pitman system - replaced only sometime afterwards by the Gregg system. Pope himself was a shorthand writer, and thus became an invaluable Private Secretary; and he recommended a knowledge of this skill to all ambitious young men.

(1) Ottawa Journal, December 24, 1957.

According to one press commentary, on Pope, "He was always a kindly man, considerate of those about him, helpful to those who sought his aid, cheerful and good natured." "Learn shorthand", he said years ago to a young man inferior in the service, at a time when letters were written in longhand and typewriters were crude and little utilized. "No one here uses it", the young fellow parried. "Well", said Pope, "learn it anyway. Some Minister some time may want a man who can write it." Just a few years later, the knowledge of shorthand and typewriter acquired, the young man was selected first as assistant secretary and then private secretary to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and afterwards became clerk of the King's Privy Council. Many other instances of helpful counsel could be quoted." (1)

Transmissions

Throughout the years up to 1918, and possibly later, it was customary to send notes, letters, memoranda or other documents from one office to another, enclosed in heavy-weight linen-lined envelopes. This was true in the case of correspondence between the Governor General and the Prime Minister, which amounted to several personal notes a day besides numerous official documents. It was also true between other offices. In 1918, replying to an enquiry concerning economizing in various Government Departments, Pope wrote to Mr. A.K. MacLean, Minister without Portfolio and Vice-Chairman of the Reconstruction

(1) Ottawa Citizen, December 2, 1926.

and Development Committee of the Privy Council:

> A clerk sending a document to another clerk a few doors away need not, as a rule, enclose it in a linen-lined envelope, as he not infrequently does. . . I cannot help thinking that a considerable economy might be effected. . .(1)

On the other hand, when the Editorial Committee set up by the Privy Council wished to discontinue supplying Pope with envelopes printed with the name of the Prime Minister, he made a strong protest against the interference, in a letter to Sir Robert Borden, quoted elsewhere, ("Pope's Discontents").

Cyphering

In the early days of the Department, the majority of telegrams of external character, outgoing or incoming, passed first through the Office of the Governor General's Secretary, where members of that office staff, usually at the Rideau Hall Office, would cypher or decypher them. This work has been mentioned in the fourth chapter, ("Governor General as Channel of Communication"). The Prime Minister's Office was not provided with a Codebook, as Jones, the Governor General's Secretary, noted in a letter to Mr. Lemaire of the Prime Minister's Office. The Department of External Affairs had no regular cyphering staff for many years.

In March and April, 1920, Mr. Christie was sent to London to investigate communication matters with the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office. He took with him a memorandum, which included the following notes to be discussed:

> The existing codes and cyphers used here, outside the Governor General's Office, are not

(1) Pope's Papers, S.O. Vol.100.Doc.743. January 18, 1918.

> safe. If direct communication between the Department of External Affairs and an official in London is to be established, cyphers will have to be provided.
>
> These might be borrowed for the time being, but the development of machinery already contemplated will require us to have our own cyphers. For example, we shall need cyphers for use between Ottawa and Washington as soon as a Canadian representative is appointed. And it would be well to have better cyphers for use with the High Commissioner and possibly in other directions. This should be discussed with the Foreign Office. They might be able to lend us a cypher expert to set up a cypher section of the Department, so that we could make our own.

Christie submitted a report and recommendations on his return to Ottawa, but these have not been located. It is understood, however, that, apart from the occasional outside use of codes, which had no great security, the principal cypher-work remained in the Governor General's Office until 1926, when that channel of communication was abrogated, and J.R.M. Walker, the Principal Clerk and cypher-clerk of that Office - an Englishman with experience in India - was transferred to the Department of External Affairs as a Chief Clerk in charge of telegraphic communications, and, in due course, he had some assistants and a special communications room in which to work in security and privacy. On his retirement, due to ill-health, A.L. Hall became Chief Communications Officer, and was assisted by Mr. Cullen.

18.

PASSPORT ISSUANCE

Passport Issuance

History

The issuance of passports in Canada - or their earlier form of "certificates of identity and naturalization" - passed through several stages. They were first issued by town mayors; then by specially appointed passport agents; then by the Governor General, or after Confederation, the Governor General through the Secretary of State of Canada; and finally by the Department of External Affairs.

A distinction had long been made between British subjects by birth and British subjects by naturalization in the Colonies. Before Confederation, British subjects by birth did not need passports in the United States; for travelling in Europe, British subjects could, where required, obtain passports from the Foreign Office in London - obviously a slow and inconvenient procedure.

British subjects by naturalization, in Canada, had only limited nationality. By an Imperial statute of 1847 (1), the right of a Colonial Legislature was denied to confer British status valid outside the limits of the Colony, and passports as full British subjects were not issued, except through London. However, the mayors of Canadian towns had for some years before Confederation been issuing a form of identification "passport" or certificate to persons naturalized in the Colony. In the Province of Canada, certificates of naturalization were in the form prescribed by an Act of 1859, subject to the Imperial Act of 1847, stating that the bearer "hath

(1) (1847) 10 and 11 Vict. (Imp.)Ch.53.

obtained all the rights and capacities of a natural-born British subject within this Province to have, hold, possess and enjoy the same within the limits thereof"(1) The "rights" referred to included the right to vote.

Partly by reason of the Civil War in the United States, during which Canadians travelling in that territory who had not proper identification might be inducted into the United States forces, or might be suspect as partisans and might be liable to arrest, more adequate Canadian passport documents were required. Lord Monck, who became Governor General in 1861, established in January, 1862, a new system and new passport regulations. Henceforth, instead of the town mayors, special passport agents appointed by the Governor-in-Council were authorized to issue a document in the form of a double certificate in which the Provincial Secretary certified the bearer's nationality and the Governor General certified the Provincial Secretary. This so-called passport contained no request in the name of the sovereign. Instead, it indicated the provincial domicile of the bearer and stated that he possessed the privileges and advantages on the strength of that document. This new system was a step toward the assumption by the Governor General of control over passports. It did not commit the Colonial Office, which could always say that the document was not, in fact, a passport. In a letter to Viscount Monck, dated January 28, 1862, the British Minister at Washington, Lord Lyons, included a copy of the following report he had made to the U.S. Secretary

(1) Cmd. Statutes of Canada.(1859). Ch.8 s.4.

of State, Mr. Seward:

> I have been in communication with the Governor General of Canada upon the subject of the arrangements to be made for the issue of passports to British subjects wishing to pass through the territory of the United States, and I have the honour to inform you that those arrangements are completed. It has been decided that agents shall be appointed at various towns in Canada who shall be appointed to issue such persons as may require them and may be entitled to them certificates of their being British subjects, under the hand of the Provincial Secretary. These certificates will have the force of passports, they will be countersigned by the agent issuing them, and they will, it is hoped, receive without difficulty, the counter-signature either of the United States Consul General in Canada or of the agents of the State Department at the posts in this country, according to the regulations which you have laid down. (An early form of "visa").
>
> These arrangements will at once be put into force, and it will therefore be no longer in the power of the mayors of Canadian towns to issue passports or Certificates of Nationality as they have occasionally done. All such papers will in future be issued either by the Governor General himself or by the authorized agents. (1)

At the time of Confederation, the transition from authority of the Province to that of the Federal Government does not appear to have raised any difficulty. This was no doubt owing partly to the fact that Viscount Monck, who had appointed the passport agents, became the first Governor General of the Dominion; and his authority in connection with passports continued.

As British subjects by naturalization were the only ones in Canada in need of certificates or passports, their position was under consideration at various times. It was decided that such documents should contain the statement that the bearer was a British subject naturalized in the Colony. Holders were advised that

(1) "Minister at Washington to Governors." G.6. Vol.10.p.32.

if they wished to travel elsewhere abroad, other than the United States, they might exchange their local passports for Foreign Office passports, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The applicant was to send a Certificate of Identity accompanied by a description of the applicant, signed by a Justice of Peace, and a fee of $1.00 to the Secretary of State of Canada.

The history of passports for the first fifteen years after Confederation is difficult to trace because of the small numbers issued and the relative unimportance of passports in relation to the volume of work of the Governor General and the Secretary of State. In the annual reports of the Secretary of State for the first ten years, passports are not even mentioned. In 1878 a practice was adopted of including a statement of departmental revenue. The report of that year listed "passports . . . $50" and for the next four years the annual receipts varied between $35 and $50. As the fee for a passport was $1, it would appear that for the first fifteen years after Confederation, there was probably an average of about forty naturalized Canadians a year who applied for and obtained the Governor General's form of passport, exchangeable for a Foreign Office passport in London, if required.

The Colonial Secretary sent out a circular from Downing Street, on September 23, 1891, to the Governors of the Colonies, empowering them to issue passports to British-born persons. The form suggested

was that which had been used by the Governor of Victoria, Australia, containing the national status of the bearer and the request for assistance when necessary. Canada began issuing passports to British subjects by birth for the first time in 1893. The suggested form was in reality intended for British subjects by birth only, and a form of passport for all Canadians did not come in until 1915. At the Imperial Conference of 1911, it was agreed that persons naturalized in Canada were to be accorded the same status as persons naturalized in England. To implement the Conference recommendation, the Imperial Parliament passed the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914, and each of the self-governing Dominions enacted similar legislation. A common period of five years' residence in the British Empire was required; the Canadian Act of 1915 provided for residence in Canada for one year preceding the date of the application and for four years during the previous eight years either in Canada or other parts of His Majesty's dominions.

Since 1895 the power of granting passports to those naturalized persons entitled to them had been withdrawn from the Provinces and the Provincial Secretaries, and were centralized and restricted to the Governor General. In practice, this duty was charged to the Secretary of State of Canada, until transferred in 1909. Prior to the First World War, the number of passports issued continued to be relatively small.

For Where Required

As has been mentioned, around 1862, the Civil War years in America, passports, duly vised, were required for naturalized British subjects in Canada travelling to the United States. This requirement was later relaxed, and no passport, and merely an identification document, was needed by travellers from Canada who were British subjects.

In the rest of the world, only a few countries then required travellers to have passports, sometimes merely for utility of identification, and sometimes on which to get the foreign visas - and more or less "permits to enter" - of the respective countries.

In the Annual Reports of the Department of the Secretary of State prior to 1909, and of the Department of External Affairs after 1909, the passport requirements for various countries were set forth. These were supplied to the Canadian Department by the British Foreign Office.

In the Secretary of State's Report, 1901, the Passport Regulations included therein stated:

> N.B. Although British subjects are now free to enter most Foreign Countries without passports, and the rules about passports have been virtually relaxed, nevertheless Colonial British subjects travelling abroad are recommended not to omit to provide themselves with passports, for even in those countries where they are no longer obligatory, they are found to be convenient as offering a ready means of identification, and more particularly when letters have to be claimed at a poste restante. For residence in Germany or Switzerland, a passport is indispensable.
>
> Travellers who may have any intention of visiting the Russian Empire, the Turkish Dominions, the Kingdom of Roumania, or Persia,* at any time

* In the 1903 S. of S. Report, this list was augmented by the addition of the words "Venezuela, or Hayti". In 1904 Eritrea was added.

> in the course of their travels, should first have their passports vised at the nearest Russian, Turkish, Roumanian, or Persian Consulate as the case may be. . . Travellers about to proceed to any other country need not obtain the visa of the Diplomatic or Consular agents of such country, except as an additional precaution, which is recommended in the case of passports of an old date.

The first annual report of the Department of External Affairs, reviewing the work from July 1, 1909, to March 31, 1910, included among the passport requirements of foreign countries: "Corea - Passports are not required within a radius of 100 li (33 miles) from the open port. Persons travelling in the interior must obtain a passport through the British Consul. (Fee 3.50 yen, about $1.75)." (1)

In the Secretary of State's Report for 1907-8, appeared this comment of Joseph Pope's, dated April, 1908:

> Although the total is largely in excess of former years it is not at all commensurate with the volume of foreign travel and shows that the great majority of Canadians travelling abroad are unaware of or indifferent to the advantage of possessing passports. Their value has frequently been demonstrated, and although in some countries they are not required, in others they are absolutely indispensable, whilst everywhere it is well to carry them if only as a ready means of identification both individual and national in cases of accident or other emergency.

Broadly speaking, prior to the First World

(1) From the seventeenth century, in Japan and probably also in Korea, interprovincial "passports" were required at all the barriers and toll-gates within the country, even for natives of the land. Professor Skene-Smith has published old documents describing these "check-points" in seventeenth century Japan, in one of which a barrier-notice stipulated that "all persons passing through the barrier must remove their head-coverings (straw hats and zukin). The doors of palanquins must be opened on entering. Women travellers must be strictly examined in relation to their passports, and those riding in carrying chairs must be taken to the lodge of the barrier guards for examination." Passports were required for wounded persons, dead bodies or other suspicious burdens, "persons suffering from insanity, prisoners, decapitated heads (male or female) and corpses (male or female)."
Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan. (Tokyo, Vol.XI.1934); cit. in K.P. Kirkwood: "Renaissance in Japan", Tokyo. 1938. p. 154.

War of 1914, the system of passport and visa requirements was exceptional rather than universal, and in this respect travel formalities were simple. Except for the Russo-Japanese War and the Balkan Wars, the world was more or less at peace. Travel was generally unobstructed. Nearly one-fifth of the inhabited globe was under the British flag; the United States half continent was a friendly neighbour. Travel of political undesirables from country to country was so far uncontrolled by visa permits and inspections. And from the point of view of the modern science of demographics and statistics of migration, border-crossings, travel patterns, and tourist revenues, - for which the system of passports, visas, and frontier immigration registers is an essential statistical procedure - this factor has not yet come into play.*

Transfer to External Affairs

As indicated previously, one field of activity which immediately was transferred from the Secretary of State's Office to the new Department of External Affairs was the administration of Canadian passport issuance, still performed in the name and on behalf of the Governor General.

This transfer was not specifically mentioned in the 1909 Act, but by Order-in-Council P.C. 1391, dated

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* One recalls that when the Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin became British Foreign Secretary in .1946 , he was asked to state his foreign policy. He is alleged to have said something to the effect that he hoped to work for a return to the peaceful state of the world when passports would not be needed to travel between foreign countries, as it was in the happy days prior to 1914.

At the International Conference on passports at Paris in 1920, at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1926, and at Geneva again under the auspices of the United Nations in 1947, there were repeated nostalgic references to the period before 1914 as a sort of golden age when travel was, generally speaking, unrestricted, and a passport desirable but not a necessity." (Departmental memorandum: "Historical Sketch of Canadian Passports" p. 10).

June 21, 1909,

> The Committee of the Privy Council on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, advise that the administration of Consular matters and the issue of passports, hitherto appertaining to the Department of the Secretary of State, be conducted through the Department of External Affairs.

This was submitted to and approved by the Administrator, acting for His Excellency the Governor General who was at that time visiting England. On June 30th Mr. Pope notified all his colleagues, the Deputy Ministers of the other Departments, of the new arrangement concerning consular matters and the issue of passports.

Mode of Issuance

The passports, containing all the pertinent details of the bearer, were, in the earlier days of the Department, usually "written" by Mr. F.M. Baker, although sometimes other clerks assisted him. They were examined by Mr. W.H. Walker or Mr. Pope. Pope usually took them personally to the East Block to the Governor General for his personal signature. They had also to bear the Secretary of State's seal, and were countersigned by Walker or Pope, representing the Department of External Affairs.

In the early days there seems to have been, for a short time, a difficulty in that the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs had no independent seal of his Department, and passports and other documents had to be sealed with the seal of the Secretary of State. In a letter to Mr. Borden, the new Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, Pope wrote on December 30, 1911, complaining of this circumlocutory

procedure (with the Trafalgar Building remote from the East Block) and suggested that the Secretary of State for External Affairs be entrusted with a separate seal for this and kindred purposes. (1) He again raised the matter almost a year later.

In a memorandum for Mr. Borden, dated September 13, 1912, Pope wrote:

> On the arrival of a new Governor General a Seal with his Arms is ordered by the Department. The Governor General never sees it, and when he leaves the country the Seal remains behind. It is employed to sign instruments of lesser importance than those which pass the Great Seal. Among such documents are passports. Now passports are issued by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and these passports have in each case to be sent up to the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada to be sealed, which, apart from questions of convenience, scarcely comports with the dignity of a Department of State presided over by the Prime Minister. When in England a short time ago, the underigned brought this anomaly to the attention of the Colonial Office, and was informed that there could be no objection to the Secretary of State for External Affairs having a special Seal in his department which would obviate the necessity of sending documents for sealing to another department.
>
> . . . The undersigned asks the sanction of the Prime Minister to procure and use such a Seal to facilitate the issue of passports.

This request was repeated in another letter from Pope to Borden on October 17, 1912, asking that "a duplicate of the Privy Council Seal or special signet or seal-at-arms of the Governor General be entrusted to the Secretary of State for External Affairs to obviate the necessity for sending documents for sealing to another department".*

All passports to which reference has been made were, between 1915 and 1946, issued and countersigned by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, sealed by the Secretary of State, and ~~personally~~ signed by the Governor General. But for a period, the

(1) Departmental file 666-1912.

* " " " " .

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. F.H. Keefer, was empowered to sign passports on behalf of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, according to the Memorandum on his Duties accompanying the Order-in-Council for his appointment. He had direction of the Passport Office in 1919-1920. Passports were not signed by him personally but were stamped with a rubber stamp facsimile of his signature. The title Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs printed on the passports was amended by hand by adding Parliamentary. At that time Mr. C.R. Morphy was the Acting Passport Officer. He was transferred to Customs when Mr. Connolly returned to the Department in 1920.

After August 31, 1915, the official seal of the Governor General was omitted, and the Coat of Arms of his hereditary dukedom was substituted. With the first passport attested solely by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on April 12, 1946, the Coat of Arms of the Dominion of Canada was substituted.

After August 31, 1915, also, the Governor General's signature, formerly by his own hand, was lithographed, down to April 12, 1946, after which the "prayer" or "request" was made on behalf of His Majesty under the name of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, whose lithographed signature was substituted on the same date.

Commencing on August 31, 1915, all Canadian passports were numbered, and a ten-section single sheet folder, bearing photograph and description of the bearer, was instituted. This form was adopted simultaneously throughout the British Empire, and became the distinctive type of British subject passport; but after 1920, Canada, like the United Kingdom, adopted the international book-type passport recommended by the Conference on Passports held at Paris in 1920.

(1) File 2-EA-1957.

All passports issued for several years prior to January 1, 1947, had had blue stiff covers and blue paper, a combination which may be designated for convenience as the double-blue passport. Double-blue passports continued to be issued in Canada to persons who were British subjects but not Canadian citizens until July, 1948, when they were no longer obtainable from Canadian authorities but from the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Ottawa.

From January 1, 1947, a new passport with double-blue cover and pale pinkish pages was issued to Canadian citizens. Starting in June, 1947, three types of Canadian passports were adopted: a red-covered one for diplomatic officials; a green-covered one for official or "special" holders, (equivalent to the "passports de service" of other countries), and the dark blue one for all general Canadian citizens.

After the opening of Canadian Legations, and later Embassies and High Commissioners' Offices, and Consulates abroad, passports could be issued to Canadian citizens applying in those areas, by those Offices; and also in some cases, by Trade Commissioners' Offices abroad acting under Canadian consular powers and instructions. Elsewhere in foreign countries, British consular authorities continue to issue "British subject" passports to Canadian applicants, indicating thereon that the bearer is also a "Canadian citizen"; such British passports may be exchanged at convenience, if so desired, for Canadian passports.

After 1947 the passport work of Canada, at home or abroad, through the Passport Office, has been under

the supervision of the Consular Division of the Department of External Affairs.

Passport Fees

The fees for Canadian passports have varied from time to time, probably influenced to some extent by the production costs. At times the passports have had cheap cardboard covers, at other periods, imitation leather, at other times cloth. Generally speaking, the fee has been in excess of the cost of printing and manufacture, so that both the former Secretary of State Department and the Department of External Affairs annually recorded a revenue, which, however, does not accrue to the Department's budget but goes as Casual Revenue into the Consolidated Revenue Fund controlled by the Receiver General.

Before 1895 the fee for a "passport" or "certificate" was $1.00. From 1895 to 1908 the fee for a passport was $4.00. If more than one name was included in the same passport, the charge usually was a single fee.

On August 13, 1904, the Auditor-General, J. L. McDougall, raised a question:

> In the accounts of 1903-4, several instances occur of a passport covering two persons having been issued and only $4.00 accounted for. In several other instances, $8.00 was charged when the passport covered two persons, and in one case where three persons are covered, $12.00 has been charged.

On August 16th, the Acting Under-Secretary, P. Pelletier, replied:

> With regard to your observations concerning the fees upon these documents shown in the accounts 1903-4, I may say that in every instance the charge has been at the rate of $4 for a passport whether in favour of one or more persons. Wherever $8 have been charged there have been two passports issued, and wherever $12 have been charged there have been three passports issued. (1)

(1) Auditor-General's Report. 1903-4. Sess.Paper 1905.

From 1895 or before, until 1908, the passport had no limit of duration and therefore no need of renewal.

From 1909, when the control was transferred to the Department of External Affairs, the passport fee was reduced to $2.00 and the validity was limited to two years. Renewal cost $1.00, and four renewals of two years each could be made.

This $2.00 fee was reasserted by P.C.1460 of April 30, 1921.

In February, 1923, the passport fee was raised to $5.00, and the validity was for five years. Each passport could be renewed once, for a further period of five years, at a fee of $2.00.

When the United States brought into force on July 1, 1940, a regulation requiring visitors from Canada, other than United States citizens, to be in possession of a passport bearing a United States Consular entry visa, the Department of External Affairs adopted a special passport good only for travel to the U.S. to be issued British subjects including Canadians wishing to visit the United States. The passport had a validity of one year. There was no provision made for renewal. The booklet had a reddish brown cover and contained eight buff coloured pages. These passports were numbered in red with the letter A preceding the number. The passport contained printed spaces for the name, nationality, photograph, description and signature of the holder, date and place of issue of passport. Branch Passport Offices were opened at St. Stephen, N.B., Montreal, P.Q., Toronto, Ont.,

Windsor, Ont., Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., Winnipeg, Man., and Vancouver, B.C. The issue of the special one year validity passports ceased March 31, 1941. None were issued thereafter. The Offices at Montreal, Toronto, Sault Ste. Marie and Winnipeg closed at the end of 1940. The Office at St. Stephen closed March 31, 1941, but was replaced by another at Moncton, N.B. The Offices at Moncton, Windsor, and Vancouver were authorized to issue the regular or double blue passport. They closed, however, early in 1943. The Passport Office at Ottawa then again became the only Office in Canada where Canadian and other British subjects might obtain passports.(1)

However, P.C.995 of February 13, 1941, cancelled all previous regulations and stated that passports would be valid for two years and renewable for four further periods of two years - fees, $3.00 for each passport and $1.00 for each renewal, effective April 1, 1941.

Later this war-time measure was rescinded, and the five-year passport, with a $5.00 fee, was re-introduced, with the privilege of a single five-year renewal, at a renewal fee of $2.00. This has remained the status to the present date.

(1) Details provided by Mr. A.L.Cooper, who was Passport Officer in Windsor at that time (June-October, 1940).

(See Chapter 13 "Staff")

Passports Issued

	Numbers			Revenues	
	Aud. Gen. Report	Secy. of St. Report	Fee $	Aud. Gen. Report $	Secy. of State Report $
1895-96	99(names)	116 (names)	4.00	408	-
396-97	106	82		440	-
1897-98	73	93		300	-
1898-99	75	110		308	-
999-1900	114	146		476	-
1900-01	110	123		444	-
1901-02	124	128		508	-
1902-03	139	147		564	-
1903-04	167	175		668	-
1904-05	145	190		596	-
1905-06	165	222		676	-
1906-07	-	346		1,052	-
1907-08	-				
1908-09	-	239		740	190
		Ex.Affrs. Rept			Ex. Affrs. Rept
1909-10	-	(Approx.330)	2.00		482
1910-11	-	(" 340)		739.50	. . .
1911-12	-	(" 400)		819.50	. . .
1912-13	-	(" 450)		911	. . .
1913-14	-	(" 550)		1,112	. . .
1914-15	-	(" 500)		1,078	. . .
1915-16	-	(" 2,000)		8,052	. . .
1916-17	3 renewals	10,800		19,273	. . .
1917-18	-	(Approx.3,000)		6,035	. . .
1918-19	2,998 ppts. 113 ren.	(" 3,000)		31,147.42	. . .
1919-20	-	(" 3,500)		71,909.36	. . .
1920-21	-	30,641		61,407.17	62,954,79
1921-22	-	22,000		51,893.42	50,000
1922-23	-	25,000	5.00	46,010.86	45,000
1923-24	-	25,000 6,500 ren.		56,772.04	117,000
1924-25	-	26,000 6,000 ren.		121,514.50	142,000
1925-26	-	26,000 3,000 ren.		157,591.54	139,738.37

Volume

The volume of passport business can be indicated only approximately, as there are many discrepancies in the statistics. The following partial table has been compiled from various sources. The Auditor General's Reports listed the names of recipients until 1906, on the basis of a fiscal year July 1 - June 30; the Secretary of State's Reports listed the names of recipients until 1909, on the basis of a calendar year January 1 - December 31. From 1909 the Secretary of State's Report ceased listing names, and the External Affairs commenced publishing names until discontinued in 1917; these were on the new basis of the fiscal year April 1 - March 31. The revenues collected, as shown in the Auditor General's Reports and External Affairs Reports from 1920, show wide discrepancies, for which no explanation has been found. Another source of confusion results from some multi-person passports being apparently issued for a single fee, and others being issued, under a single heading in the name-lists, for a double fee.

In the first Annual Report of the Department of External Affairs, covering the nine months from June 1, 1909, to March 31, 1910, the names of passport recipients are listed, and number nearly 350, and this increased slightly, up to around 500, until the First War.

In 1916, Sir Joseph Pope reported to the Hon. R. Rogers, Minister of Public Works, "that the monthly issue of passports has risen from something like 40 to something like 1300," which seems, however, an exaggeration. On January 18, 1918, Pope wrote to Hon. A.K. Maclean,"Whereas there were about 500 passports issued in 1914, there were 10,800 in 1916". (1)

(1) Pope Papers. S.O. Vol.100,Doc.743 (Public Archives).

In his Departmental Annual Report for 1915-16, Sir Joseph Pope wrote on August 31, 1916:

> I might remark that the requirements imposed on the travelling public by the war have very largely increased the department's business in regard to the issue of passports. The increase up to the end of the fiscal year as compared with the previous year was almost seven fold, and this rate is still further increasing.

In the next year's Report, he wrote, on October 15, 1917:

> The danger attending travel across the submarine zones has made it necessary for the Canadian Government severely to restrict such travel in the case of women and children. It has been arranged to allow it only in special circumstances, approved by a Sub-Committee of the Privy Council, as justifying exceptional treatment. The measures connected with the carrying out of this procedure have added very considerably to the work of the passport office.

The next year, Pope wrote on April 30, 1919:

> The heavily increased volume of business in the Passport Office continues to be maintained, and, considering the indications of a very general intention on the part of the European Governments to exercise control over immigration, which will be most readily facilitated by the passport system, there does not seem to be any reasonable prospect of an early slackening of this business.

In a letter to Mr. Loring Christie in London dated July 5, 1918, Sir Joseph Pope said: "We are going along here much as usual. Walker is on holidays, and I have a good deal more to do than I care about in the matter of passports, but it is all in the day's work."(1)

Mr. F.M. Baker in a memorandum of May 7, 1925, stated that "Mr. Connolly is in charge of six permanent and fourteen temporary clerks. This office is a very busy one, issuing from 1600 to 2000 passports per month, besides answering innumerable enquiries and conducting correspondence in relation to applications which may or may not be granted."(2)

(1) Pope Papers. S.O.

(2) Departmental file EA-2-57.

In the Annual Report of 1922-23, Pope wrote:

Efforts to obtain a dispensation from passport requirements for Canadians travelling to Great Britain have proved unavailing, His Majesty's Government representing that owing to the necessity of providing for the due supervision of aliens entering the United Kingdom - a purpose most efficiently served by the enforcement of the passport system - it was found impracticable to dispense with the requirement of passports for persons coming from Canada. Foreign European countries also generally enforce the same requirement; and it might be emphasized that contrary to a prevalent disposition in the Dominion to attribute responsibility in the matter to the Canadian Government, it is on the action of these outside authorities that the necessity of carrying passports depends, and not on any Canadian regulation.

Passport Office Staff

When the business of passport issuance was transferred to the Department of External Affairs in 1909, - which was for the next five years located in the Trafalgar Building, the 300-400 passports issued per year were first dealt with by Mr. Baker under the supervision of Mr. Walker, but very soon (November 8, 1909), Mr. J.J. Connolly joined the Department and was made responsible for the passport work, and, on occasion, Miss K.A. McCloskey assisted. From 1917, he had as his assistant Mr. A.L. Cooper.

When Mr. Connolly enlisted in 1917 and went overseas until 1920, Mr. Morphy became Acting Chief Passport Officer, with Mr. C.C. Slack as his second-in-command. When Mr. Morphy moved to the Customs Department, Mr. Cooper became Acting Chief Passport Officer, until Mr. Connolly's return.

While acting as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (1918-1920) Mr.F.H. Keefer, M.P., was nominally in charge of the passport work, but there is no indication that he actually performed any duties in this regard. His facsimile signature, however, was stamped on passports in 1919-20.

In the year 1920, so heavy had become the issuance of passports by the Department that it became necessary to create a special branch, and, for the first time in the Auditor General's annual reports, this subdivision of "Passport Office" was shown separately. Besides its seniors drawn from the regular staff of the Department, it had a special clerical staff of clerks and stenographers, which in the next few years varied:

in 1920-21 - 48; 1921-22 - 40; 1922-23 -30; 1923-24 - 29; 1924-25 - 32; 1925-26 - 29; and 1926-27 - 23. Thereafter, with separate outside offices since 1919, the number of its personnel continued to increase.

Organization of Passport Office, and Duties, 1925.

See Blue-print Chart on File 2-EA-1957 (from Miss McKenzie's files).

Passport Office Space

The overcrowded conditions of the expanding Department in the Trafalgar Building made the passport work difficult and congested.

Even after the Department moved back into the East Block, in 1914, it was not long before even the new quarters were found inadequate for the increasing business brought about by the war. Not only was Pope's clerical staff increased insufficiently to cope with the expanding duties, but he found himself once more "cribbed, cabined and confined" and was troubled by lack of space for departmental activities, not least of which was the passport business.

On October 8, 1916, during the war years, Joseph Pope wrote a letter to Hon. Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works, complaining about space in the East Block for his Department. In this letter he said:

> The volume of work in my Department is increasing rapidly, as you can imagine when I tell you that the monthly issue of passports has increased from something like 40 to something like 1300. Now you cannot issue 1300 passports in the same space as you can deal with 40. It requires a larger equipment all round.

Subsequently, because of further requirements of space for this business, which had reached over 26,000 passports and 5000 renewals a year, the Passport Office, under the Department, had to be moved to another building.

In 1919 it was established as a separate branch of the Department, in the Thorburn-Abbott Building on Sparks Street. In 1920 it moved into the adjoining Birks Building. In 1922 it moved into the Journal Building on Queen Street west of Bank Street. It next occupied quarters in the building on the corner of Sparks and Metcalfe, now occupied by the Royal Bank, and for a time the Treasury Department. It moved into the Elgin Building on the corner of Queen Street. In 1939 it moved into its present quarters in an old building No.40 on Bank Street, near the corner of Wellington.

Letters of Introduction

On the occasion of a visit of an officer of the Department of Trade and Commerce to China and Japan in 1913, the question of credentials or letters of introduction was raised, and passed from Mr. Blount, the Prime Minister's Private Secretary, to Mr. Walker, Acting Under-Secretary. On February 11, 1913, Mr. Blount wrote:

> Mr. Grigg of the Department of Trade and Commerce will shortly leave for China and Japan. He wishes to obtain letters which he can present to the Government officials of China and Japan. Who should write these letters? Should they be written by the Department of External Affairs or through the Consul General for China and the Consul General for Japan in Ottawa, or by the Minister of Trade and Commerce or Secretary of State?

Mr. Pope replied:

> Referring to your letter of the 11th instant, regarding Mr. Grigg's visit to China and Japan, I may say that the regular method of accrediting officials to foreign Governments is by letter from His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the British Representative in the foreign country concerned, that representative in turn introducing the official to the officials of the foreign Government. As time isshort in Mr. Grigg's case, a telegraphic request might be made to His Majesty's Government to have the necessary letters or telegrams sent to the Ambassador at Tokyo and the Minister at Pekin.
>
> If it were thought desirable to supplement this action, letters to the Ambassador and Minister might be given to Mr. Grigg by the Governor General.

It remains impressively evident even up to this time that no Canadian Government official or Minister might dare address any formal communication,even a Letter of Introduction, to a foreign Government direct, or even to a British Ambassador or Minister in that foreign country. Such a communication had to be made, on behalf of Canadians, through the British Colonial Office and Foreign Office in London, or, under urgency, by the Governor General in Canada to the British diplomatic representative in the foreign country.

It has been mentioned that both in the case when Mr. Lemieux and Mr. Pope were going on a special mission to Japan, and in the case when Mr. Preston was going to Japan as Canadian commercial agent or trade commissioner, Earl Grey did not hesitate to give them Letters of Introduction to British officials in Japan and to write personally concerning them to the British Ambassador in Tokyo, Sir Claude Macdonald.

(The available correspondence ends here). Borden Papers 2997(1), Public Archives.

Chart Showing Organization of

PASSPORT OFFICE
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

as of 1-8-25

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

PASSPORT OFFICER

Hon. J. Y.

PRINCIPAL CLERK

Handling [illegible] contentious cases, & matters dealing with general public & Govt. and S. of S. Consular Agencies. Deals direct with public, & through Department. with Departments and Consulates

ASST. PASSPORT OFFICER

13 A. L. Cooper

CLERK Grade 4

If application incomplete, it comes here for handling. Obtaining missing or supplementary information. Confirmation from voucher of his signature. (people of standing only accepted as vouchers) 2nd in command & attends to all chiefs functions in his absence

SENIOR CLERK

73. C. C. Slack

Receiving Public

PASSPORT WRITERS

CLERK Gr. 2

46. A. F. Jackson

Write passports, stick photo and spec'm of signature on. (2nd check on elegibility for passport.)

CLERK Gr. I

M. Valiquette
M. Jackson
O. Morse

FILE ROOM

CLERK Gr 2

70. C. Pinhey

Making file or attaching (one file for every applicant for passport.) (Name index only.)

CLERK Gr. 2

38. P. Page

CLERK Gr. I

A. Binks
W. Alexander

STENOGRAPHER Gr. I

13. Miss N. Cooper

OFFICE BOY

M. Fleher

STENOGRAPHIC POOL

STENOGRAPHER Gr. 2

20. Miss H. Scott

General Stenographic duties & dispatching passports accompanied by receipt for fees remitted & other matter: Passports 80-90 per day 2700 new - 10,000 renewals per-annum. Receipts $400 per day (Fees are prescribed by law)

STENOGRAPHER Gr. I

Miss E. M. Heisler
" N. Malloy
" H. McCarthy

O.K. SECTION

CLERK Gr. 3

59. Miss E. Mc. Colgan

Check applications. Br. nationality forms, properly filled in - vouchers for qualifications, Card indexing names of qualified vouchers, counter checked by passport writers as to whether voucher is known or in acceptable class.

CLERK Gr. 2

43 J. Macnee

CASH SECTION

CLERK Gr. 3

65 Wm. Pappin

Opening mail, extracting and recording cash, makes out receipts, and lists same. Daily average - 400

TYPIST Gr. I

J. Johnson

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CANADIAN PASSPORTS

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

A passport was originally a document by which one sovereign prayed another safe-conduct for one of his subjects. The modern Canadian passport issued to Canadian citizens in 1948, contains on the inside of the front cover:

> "The Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada requests, in the name of His Majesty the King, all those whom it may concern to allow the bearer to pass freely without let or hindrance and to afford him or her every assistance and protection of which he or she may stand in need".

Here, on the face of our modern passport, is obviously the lineal descendant of the original document issued by the King; and it might be thought that the history of Canadian passports would resolve itself into a simple account of the growth of details as the modern passport developed, with appropriate reference to the changes over a period of years in the manner in which the Royal Prerogative was exercised.

It is somewhat disconcerting, therefore, to find that the earliest Canadian passports were not issued in the name of the Crown, were not in the form of a "Letter of Request", and were not even issued to subjects of the Crown, at least in the eyes of the Colonial Office.

They were not issued in the name of the Crown, because it became necessary for travellers naturalized in Canada to carry evidence of their identity before the Colonial Office had seen fit to confer any power on Governors of Colonies to issue passports. They were not in the form of a "Letter of Request" because the mayors of towns, who assumed the right to issue passports to naturalized persons residing in their neighbourhood, considered a form of certificate more appropriate. Finally, they were not issued to subjects of the Crown because the Imperial Parliament, by the Act of 1847, had denied the right of a Colonial Legislature to confer the status of a British subject outside the limits of the Colony itself, and consequently, in the eyes of the Foreign Office and British Consuls abroad, Colonial subjects by naturalization were not entitled to any protection when travelling abroad.

It is evident, therefore, that any attempt to trace the history of passports from the original document by which the King prayed safe-conduct for one of his subjects (with appropriate reference to Magna Carta, Blackstone's Commentaries and the Foreign Office), down to and including the first assumption by the Governor General of the right to request in the name of the King, would find us in the middle of Canadian passport history, not at the beginning.

It is expedient, therefore, to defer consideration of the traditional form of "Letter of Request" passport until a later stage, and to examine, in the meantime, the beginning of Canadian passport history in the decade before Confederation.

CHAPTER II

Canadian Passports before Confederation

The period of the Civil War in the United States, 1861 to 1865, was a trying one for the Governor General of the British Colonies in North America. Lord Monck became Governor General in 1861, charged with the task of leading the British Colonies through this troublesome period, and it is in the files of his correspondence that the early history of Canadian passports is preserved. During the war the United States imposed passport restrictions, and Lord Monck found himself under the necessity of devising some system which would satisfy the United States Government and also the Colonial Office, which had never recognized the right of any Governors in a British Colony to issue passports.

When Monck took office, the mayors of Canadian towns were already issuing a form of passport to persons naturalized in the Colony. British subjects by birth did not need passports in America, and when travelling in Europe could get them from the Foreign Office. In the Province of Canada, Certificates of Naturalization conferred rights within the Province only. These rights included the right to vote. Possibly with one eye on that fact, but also from a desire to assist naturalized persons in travelling abroad, the mayors had started issuing a form of certificate which conveniently omitted all reference to the geographical limitation.

Certificates of this type were not acceptable to the United States Government, which had already made it a penal offence, by Act of Congress in 1856, for local or state authorities to issue passports in the United States.

The period of the Civil War, when the passport-issuing proclivities of the mayors of towns were curbed and a system of passport agents was established by the Governor General, is a fascinating one. Monck's correspondence gives much of the historical setting in which the first passports were issued.

The first foreign Consulate was established by the Hanseatic Towns at Quebec in 1842. During the fifties a number of other Consulates were recognized, and by 1862 there were nine at Quebec and ten at Montreal, representing foreign governments other than the United States. The United States established a Consulate at Montreal in 1854 and at Gaspé in 1856. In 1861 and 1862, there were a number of other United States Consulates opened owing to the exigencies of the American Civil War.

The new United States Consulates included Quebec, Montreal (Vice-Consul), Hamilton, Kingston and Clifton, all opened in 1861, and Lacolle, Worpeth and Coaticook, opened in 1862.

The growing friction between Canada and the United States was stimulated in Canada by resentment at the manner in which Canadian youths were induced to enter the United States army. In November, 1861, passport regulations were imposed by the United States Government against persons entering the United States from Canada. In January, 1862, Viscount Monck established Canadian regulations. He decided to appoint passport agents who were authorized to issue a passport in the form of a double certificate. In this the Provincial Secretary certified as to the bearer's nationality, and the Governor General certified as to the Provincial Secretary. It will be seen at once that there is an entire absence of anything resembling a request in the name of the King, or in fact in the name of anybody.

The new system was significant in two respects. It was a step in the direction of centralization in the Governor General of control over passports, and the Colonial Office was in no wise committed to the right to have passports issued in Canada at all. It could always say that the document was not, in fact, a passport. The language used by Lord Lyons, British Minister at Washington, in reporting to Mr. Seward, United States Secretary of State, is significant:-

> "I have been in communication with the Governor General of Canada upon the subject of the arrangements to be made for the issue of passports to British subjects wishing to pass through the territory of the United States, and I have the honour to inform you that these arrangements are completed. It has been decided that agents shall be appointed to issue such persons as may require them and may be entitled to them certificates of their being British subjects under the hand of the Provincial Secretary. These certificates will have the force of passports; they will be countersigned by the agent issuing them, and they will, it is hoped, receive without difficulty the counter signature either of the United States Consul-General in Canada or of the agent of the State Department at the posts in this country, according to the regulations which you have laid down.
>
> "These arrangements will at once be put into force, and it will therefore be no longer in the power of the mayors of Canadian towns to issue passports or Certificates of Nationality as they have occasionally done. All such papers will in future be issued either by the Governor General himself or by the authorized agents."

Apparently, from the wording of the regulations, no distinction was made between passports to be issued to British subjects by birth and to naturalized persons. Lord Lyons did not see fit to direct this fact to the attention of the United States Secretary of State, but he called the attention of the Governor General of Canada to a ruling of the Foreign Office, made in response to an enquiry from the British Consul at Buffalo, January 21, 1861. The Consul had sought instruction as to whether he could grant a passport to a foreigner naturalized as a British subject in Canada. The ruling was that "foreigners naturalized in a British Colony can only enjoy the benefits of naturalization within the limits of such Colony, and when they travel beyond those limits, they must be considered as subjects of the power to which, even in Canada, they would have been subject if they had not been naturalized in that Province."

The United States passport requirements were lifted in 1862, but by 1864 the Civil War had become more bitter, and Lord Monck was concerned repeatedly with charges by the United States Government of alleged assistance rendered by Canadians to the rebel forces near the Great Lakes. Many of the charges were groundless but relations were very strained, and by the end of the year the United States re-imposed the passport restrictions. It was at this time that a real effort was made to stop the mayors of towns from issuing passports. The correspondence of the Governor General, however, shows that the conduct of the passport agents themselves came in for criticism, and their passports were also questioned. The United States passport regulations were lifted again, in so far as Canada was concerned, in March, 1865.

In attempting to assess the significance of pre-Confederation passports generally, two conclusions may be drawn:

Firstly, that the earliest passports issued by mayors of towns were certificates intended to assist naturalized Colonial subjects. It cannot be said that no passports were issued by mayors of towns to British subjects by birth, but such persons did not require passports in America until the Civil War, and when travelling in Europe, could obtain them from the Foreign Office.

Secondly, that the double certificate passport issued by passport agents was an emergency document designed to assist British subjects generally in complying with the passport regulations. The issue of these passports to naturalized persons, however, was discouraged.

After the United States passport requirements were removed in 1865, the problems of British subjects by birth disappeared: they could either travel without passports or could obtain them from the Foreign Office. The problems of Colonial subjects by naturalization, however, remained and persisted for more than forty years, until after the Imperial Conference of 1911.

When the governors of British Colonies were first authorized by the Colonial Office to issue passports to persons naturalized in the Colonies, in 1866, the existing practice in Canada was ignored. It may be that the documents issued by the passport agents were not officially regarded in London as being passports at all. It is extremely probable, however, that the experience gained in the period of the United States Civil War helped to induce the Colonial Office to authorize the governors of Colonies to issue passports to persons naturalized in the Colonies, and it is in this respect that the period has its chief significance.

CHAPTER III

Canadian Passports for Naturalized Canadians, 1867-1893--Dominion-Provincial Jurisdiction

Lord Monck, Governor General of the British Colonies in North America before Confederation, also became Canada's first Governor General after Confederation. This probably had some influence on the history of Canadian passports and may have been a contributing factor in the assumption of jurisdiction over passports by the Dominion shortly after Confederation.

Lord Monck had already been in correspondence with the Colonial Office on the subject before 1867. As early as July 28, 1863, the position of naturalized Colonial subjects was under consideration. On that date the Duke of Newcastle, writing to Monck, referred to the inconvenience experienced when foreigners, naturalized in British Colonies, claimed British protection from His Majesty's representatives abroad. He pointed out the effect of the Imperial Naturalization Act of 1847 and observed: "When such aliens pass beyond the limits of that Colony, they lose all claim of being considered, for any purpose whatever, as British subjects. But in order to ensure that this is distinctly understood by the person naturalized, it is desirable that all certificates of Colonial Naturalization should bear on their face an unequivocal announcement of their purely local character." Monck replied to the effect that it had not been necessary to take any steps because "Certificates of Naturalization granted to aliens, contain on the face of them an announcement that the rights conferred by them are exclusively conferred to this Province."

On May 21, 1866, the Foreign Office issued a circular letter to British Consulates directing them "to extend to persons naturalized in British Colonies, and holders of passports either from the Colonial Governors or the Foreign Office, bearing on the face of them the place of naturalization and the period for which the passports are good, the same protection during that period as they are now in the habit of extending to persons holding passports in which they are described as 'naturalized British Subjects.'"

In other words, although there was still no change in the status of Colonial subjects by naturalization, it had been decided to do away with the distinction between a "naturalized British subject" and a "naturalized Colonial

subject" insofar as Consular protection was concerned. A copy of this circular, together with the form of passport to be used, was forwarded by the Colonial Secretary to Viscount Monck. The passport was to be signed by the Governor, was to contain an express statement that the person receiving it was a naturalized British subject in the Colony, and also a statement of the period for which the passport was available, which was not to exceed twelve months. A memorandum was to be given to the holder, along with the passport, in which he was informed that it might be "exchanged in London for a Foreign Office Passport on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

The form of passport and memorandum was included in the new edition of the Colonial Regulation published in July, 1867.

Whether any of these new passports were issued before Confederation is doubtful, but apparently the Colonial Office was still receiving complaints, for another circular was despatched on April 25, 1867, stating that foreigners naturalized in the Colonies were continuing to apply for passports in England without being in possession "either of a passport from the Governor, or any official document from the Colony to establish their identity and character." The Colonial Secretary suggested a notice be published in the newspapers, but on the eve of Confederation, nothing was done. However, the Secretary of State for the Dominion published the Colonial Office letter together with a notice to the effect that parties requiring passports were to apply to his department in 1868. The applicant was to send a Certificate of Identity accompanied by a description of the applicant signed by a Justice of Peace and a fee of $1.00.

It is worthy of note at this point that at the time of Confederation, there does not appear to have been any question raised as to the jurisdiction over passports as between the Dominion and the Provinces. This was no doubt partly owing to the fact that Viscount Monck, who had appointed the Passport Agents, became the first Governor General of the Dominion. By 1867, the Passport Agent at Toronto had died, and another man applied for the position. His letter, dated July 15, 1867, was addressed to the Secretary of the Province of Canada, and found its way at once into one of the earliest files of the Secretary of State of the Dominion where, however, it was apparently left unanswered. In the following year the same individual applied again for the agency at Toronto, and on this occasion the Secretary of State replied: "I am directed to refer you to a notice published in May last in the Toronto 'Leader' wherein you will see that all parties requiring passports must apply, until further notice, to this Department."

The Secretary of State wrote in very guarded words and for good reason. It was an anomalous situation. The letter from the Colonial Office, which he had published, related solely to Colonial subjects by naturalization, and the only passport which the Governor General had been authorized to issue was to naturalized persons. The passport agents had been in the habit of issuing passports of the double certificate type to British subjects generally, including British subjects by birth. In fact, the passport agents had not been encouraged to issue them to naturalized persons.

The explanation seems to be that British subjects by birth did not need passports at all, and the practice of issuing passports to them in Canada simply died out. As suggested earlier, the Colonial Office probably never officially regarded the double certificate as being a passport at all. British subjects by birth henceforth apparently got any passport they might need for use in foreign countries either in London or from British Consuls abroad.

The history of passports for the first fifteen years after Confederation is difficult to trace because of the small number issued and the relative unimpor-

tance of passports in relation to the volume of work of the Governor General and the Secretary of State. In the annual reports of the Secretary of State for the first ten years, passports are not even mentioned. Starting in 1878, a practice was adopted of including a statement of departmental revenue. The report of that year listed "passports... $50," and for the next four years the annual receipts varied from $35 to $50. (The fee for a passport was $1.00).

In 1882 the Colonial Office issued instructions for a revised form of passport for persons naturalized in the Colonies. The new form followed the general wording of the form adopted in 1866, except that it was no longer necessary to insert a reference to naturalization in Canada, this being covered by the words "in this Colony", or to any period of validity of the passport. Passports could now be issued to naturalized Canadians without time limit instead of for a stated period "not exceeding one year." The most significant change, however, was the elimination of the requirement by which a naturalized Canadian was obliged to exchange his passport for a Foreign Office passport in London. This had been covered by a memorandum which was given to the bearer along with the passport, and this memorandum was now dispensed with.

The memorandum had included a warning that "the passport confers on the bearer no claim to British protection in the country of his birth." It will be recalled, that in 1863, the Colonial Office had requested that naturalization certificates contain "an unequivocal announcement of their purely local character". The Foreign Office passports, which naturalized Canadians had obtained after 1866 in exchange for their Canadian passports, may have contained a similar warning. In any event, it is in 1882 that a warning for the first time appears on a Canadian passport itself:-

> "This passport is granted with the qualification that the bearer shall not, when within the limits of the Foreign State of which he was a subject previously to obtaining his Colonial Certificate of Naturalization, be entitled to British protection, unless he has ceased to be a subject of that State in pursuance of the laws thereof or in pursance of a Treaty to that effect."

This warning was dropped during the period 1898-1915, but reappeared in later Canadian passports issued to naturalized persons, either as part of the original form or else by a stamp, until the coming into force of the Canadian Citizenship Act on January 1, 1947. It is still included in modified form in the regulations on the back of passports issued at the present day.

The instructions of 1882 were accompanied by a letter to the Governor General stating that the authority to issue passports to naturalized persons extended, in the case of Canada, to the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces. The Governor General was requested to notify the Lieutenant-Governors to this effect. The suggestion was probably not well received by the Canadian Government. The letter was printed along with the form of passport etc. in the "Canada Gazette" of September 30, 1882, but was omitted when they were published among the Governor General's proclamations in the Dominion Statutes for 1883. What was done by the Governor General with regard to notifying the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces is a matter for further research. The Secretary of State had issued thirty passports in 1882, and the next ten years showed a gradual increase in the number issued. There is nothing to indicate that the revenue of the Dominion decreased by reason of the jurisdiction conferred on the Provinces.

The exclusive jurisdiction of the Dominion was restored in 1895 after an incident which showed the advisability of having the authority centralized. The matter was brought to the attention of the Privy Council and the Minutes contain the following recommendation from the Minister:

"The Minister suggests that advantage be taken of the opportunity to acquaint Her Majesty's government that in the opinion of Your Excellency's advisers, it is advisable, in order to prevent possible complications and misunderstanding, and to secure uniformity of regulations and fees throughout the Dominion, that the power of granting passports should be so restricted to Your Excellency."

July 1, 1895, was subsequently fixed as a date beyond which Canadian passports would be recognized by British Consuls abroad only if signed by the Governor General.

CHAPTER IV

The Two-Passport Period, 1893-1915

It was not until 1893 that passports were first issued in Canada to British subjects by birth with the approval of the Colonial Office. The anomalous situation by which they could be issued to naturalized persons but not to British subjects by birth had been considered by the Colonial Secretary in 1891. He wrote to the Governors of the Colonies that "the power to issue passports to naturalized persons would seem to imply the power to issue them to British-born persons, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with whom I have communicated on the subject, informs me that he sees no objection to the issue of such passports, which indeed appear to have been frequently issued by the Colonial Governors". A form of passport used by the Governor of Victoria was enclosed, and also "a copy of the regulations under which passports are issued by the Foreign Office here, which will indicate to you the rules to be observed in this matter".

After an interval of about twenty months, the Privy Council decided to adopt the form of passport used in Victoria and, at the same time, passed regulations modelled after the Foreign Office regulations. British subjects by birth could at last obtain passports in Canada. There resulted, however, a period of great confusion.

The difficulties appear to have originated in the Colonial Office, which evidently intended the form of passport used in Victoria to be a model for passports issued to British subjects by birth only, and not to British subjects by naturalization, but which did not say so in the circular letter. The regulations used in the Foreign Office applied to applications for passports by all British subjects regardless of their origin, and the first Canadian regulations of May 13, 1893, were in similar terms.

An example of a passport issued to a naturalized Canadian during the period of confusion is afforded in the case of Lee Chong, a Chinese who had been granted a Certificate of Naturalization by the Circuit Court of the District of Montreal and who was granted a passport on September 17, 1896. This passport followed the form of "Letter of Request" of the Governor of Victoria passport, but also included the warning contained in the passport for naturalized Colonial subjects authorized in 1882.

That naturalized Colonial subjects were not intended to receive a passport on the traditional "Letter of Request" form, was made clear in a circular letter sent by the Colonial Office to the Governors in 1898. The letter substituted a new form of passport for Colonial subjects by naturalization to replace that of 1882, without in any way referring to the form they had recommended in 1891, which had apparently been intended for British subjects by birth only.

The new form differed considerably from the forms authorized in 1866 and 1882. The operative parts of the latter were the same, "This passport is granted to...to enable him to travel in foreign parts..." In both cases the form had been prescribed with the intention of extending Consular protection to British subjects by Colonial naturalization in the same manner as to British subjects naturalized in England. But there was no recognition of Colonial naturalization as conferring any status of a British subject beyond the limits of the Colony. The fact that no legal status was recognized, however, was not stated on the passport.

The new form of 1898 no longer left any room for doubt. It read in the form of a certificate that (the bearer) "is within the limits of (Canada), a British Colonial subject by naturalization", and also said, "This certificate is granted with the qualification that the said (name) is only entitled beyond the limits of (Canada) as a matter of courtesy to the general good offices and assistance of Her Majesty's Representatives abroad". Since the holder could receive Consular protection only "as a matter of courtesy", this meant that he could never ask for it as of right, and therefore, it was no longer considered necessary to warn him of his special position on entering the country of his original nationality, and the warning in the 1882 form was now dropped.

It is unfortunate that files are not available to show the fight that was undoubtedly going on behind the scenes between the Dominion Secretary of State and the Colonial Office. It is clear, however, that the attempt to obtain a uniform type of passport failed insofar as Canada was concerned.

The form of passport prescribed in 1898 probably continued to be used for naturalized Canadians until the folder type of passport was first used in 1915. At the same time, it is clear that the "Letter of Request" type of passport was equally well established for British subjects by birth.

It is reasonably clear from the available evidence that a misunderstanding occurred when Canadian passports were first authorized for British subjects by birth in 1893. The Canadian Government was also in error in issuing the "Letter of Request" form for naturalized persons, and ultimately confined its use to British subjects by birth only. We are therefore justified in assuming that the passport issued to Lee Chong, a naturalized Chinaman, in 1896 was a mistake, and a product of what has been termed the period of confusion. In general, it may be said that the period 1893 to 1915 was a two-passport period in which a "Letter of Request" form was used for British subjects by birth, and a Certificate of Colonial Naturalization form for naturalized Canadians.

A uniform type of Canadian passport was not achieved until persons naturalized in Canada were accorded the same status as persons naturalized in England. This was accomplished by the Imperial Conference of 1911.

To implement the recommendations of the Conference the Imperial Parliament passed the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914 and each of the Dominions enacted similar legislation. A common period of five years' residence in the British Empire was required. The Canadian Act provided for residence in Canada for one year preceding the date of the application, and for four years during the previous eight years either in Canada or other parts of His Majesty's dominions.

CHAPTER V

The Letter of Request and the Prerogative of the Crown

Following the Empire-wide recognition of naturalization under the Acts of 1914, there was no longer any reasonable basis for a two-passport system. Starting August 31, 1915, with the introduction of the folder type of passport, all Canadians were granted passports on a common form, in which the formal part was a "Letter of Request" by the Governor General of Canada in the name of the King.

It is now apparent that the "Letter of Request" form was introduced in Canada for British subjects by birth in 1893 and for British subjects generally in 1915, and also that His Majesty had been unwilling to "request" free passage and assistance for a person whose only claim to the protection of the Crown was based on a Colonial Certificate of Naturalization.

Because of this history and also the fact that it is the "Letter of Request" which connects our modern passport with the document given by the Sovereign to one of his subjects in the earliest time, no history of Canadian passports would be complete without some further discussion of this "Letter of Request".

The traditional form of British passport in use throughout the Commonwealth today (except in Canada), after reciting the titles of His Majesty's chief Minister for Foreign Affairs or Governor General, as the case may be, continues: "requests and requires in the name of His Majesty all those whom it may concern..." The words "and requires" have never been used in any Canadian passport. The explanation appears to be that when H.M. Privy Council for Canada first decided to use the "Letter of Request" form in 1893, they adopted the form of passport which was in use in the Colony of Victoria and which had been recommended by the Colonial Office. Why the words were omitted in the sample passport of Victoria is a secret which remains embedded in the Archives of the Colonial Office.

Some countries have reduced the "Letter of Request" to a minimum and have even dispensed with it entirely. Thus the Czechoslovakian passport since 1938, the Argentinian since 1927, and the Norwegian since 1928, provide in varying degree for the usual particulars of name of bearer, national status, description, etc., but do not include any "Letter of Request".

These variations in form illustrate the fact that a passport at the present day is simply a Certificate of Identity -- nothing more and nothing less.

The fact that the "Letter of Request" has persisted on British passports has more than historical significance. Throughout the Commonwealth passports are issued by virtue of the Royal prerogative. This means, in Canada, under regulations passed by the Governor General in Council, which in practice means the Cabinet, which is responsible to Parliament. It is of the essence of the Royal prerogative that no individual subject can complain of the was it is exercised. No applicant who is refused a passport has any redress in the Courts. It is interesting to note that the right of refusal of a passport, associated under our law with the Royal prerogative, has been preserved in the law of the United States.

All passports to which reference has so far been made were personally signed by the Governor General and bore his official seal. After August 31, 1915, his signature was lithographed down to April 12, 1946, after which date the request was made on behalf of His Majesty in the name of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, whose lithographed signature was substituted on the same date.

After August 31, 1915, the official seal of the Governor General was omitted, and the Coat of Arms of his hereditary dukedom was substituted. With the first passport attested by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on April 12, 1946, the Coat of Arms of the Dominion of Canada was substituted.

CHAPTER VI

Modern Passports
1915-1948

The era of modern passports, for the purpose of this article, begins from the time when it became the practice to include a multitude of particulars in passports throughout the world. This occurred as a result of the First World War, and was accompanied by a tightening up in visa requirements.

At the International Conference on passports at Paris in 1920, at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1926, and at Geneva again under the auspices of the United Nations in 1947, there were repeated nostalgic references to the period before 1914 as a sort of golden age when travel was, generally speaking, unrestricted, and a passport desirable but not a necessity.

Throughout the records of these conferences there is obvious also the emergence of pressure against the new restrictions. Tourist associations, travel agencies, the International Chamber of Commerce, railway companies, steamship companies and latterly, air transport companies, have all sought to exert their influence against passport and visa requirements.

In a period of two world wars and two crises in relation to international refugees, there has also been a conflict between humanitarian considerations and considerations of security. Considerations of security have generally prevailed, sometimes to the inconvenience of the individual traveller.

At the end of the two-passport period, the need for further details on passports had already arisen. It was in 1915 that the form of the Canadian passport caught up with the new requirements. Commencing on August 31, 1915, all Canadian passports were numbered and a ten-section single sheet folderwas adopted. This form was adopted simultaneously throughout the British Empire, and became the distinctive type of British subject passport. The plan was to have all information, including endorsements of the issuing country, on the front, and visas of other countries on the back.

The Passport Conference of 1920 recommended a booklet bype of passport which became known as the "International" passport and this was adopted in Canada in 1921. During the first two years of its use no space was provided for the inclusion of the mane of the bearer's wife, nor for her photograph, but these were added in 1923. With the introduction of the booklet form, particulars of age were omitted. This was clearly superfluous as it was covered by date of birth. At the same time, particulars of height, forehead, nose, chin, complexion and mouth were abandoned. With the exception of height, these particulars were of little practical value. Particulars of face were continued in Canadian passports until 1931, at which time they were omitted and particulars of height restored.

The Conference of 1920 also recommended that all passports be written in at least two languages, one of which was to be French. French was apparently selected because it was the most generally known language in Europe. Thereafter countries which adopted the International passport printed it in both their national language and French. Some countries included English also; a few were printed in four or five languages. Although the recommendation called for printing in at least two languages, the practice was frequently adopted, particularly in the case of countries using a number of languages, of having the individual particulars filled in by hand in the national language only.

The United Kingdom, like Canada, adopted the International type of passport. Foreign Office passports, however, have always had the "Letter of Request" and regulations in English only. Particulars required by foreign authorities for visa purposes are printed in both French and English.

Canadian passports were printed at first in the same manner as the United Kingdom passports, but shortly after the booklet form was first issued, a fly was pasted over the regulations, substituting regulations in both French and English. It was not until 1926 that the "Letter of Request" was also printed in both French and English. Since 1926, all Canadian passports have been printed throughout in French and English.

The Conference of 1926 recommended further improvements in the International passport. It may be said that Canada has been consistently cooperative in adopting recommendations of international conferences. In respect of visa restriction she has been equally cooperative, except where immigration factors were concerned.

For example, the Passport Conference of 1920 proposed that the validity of passports be for at least two years and preferably for five. This proposal was again advocated in 1926, and once more by the United Nations Sub-Committee in 1947. Since 1909, however, Canada has consistently issued peacetime passports on a five-year validity basis. The maximum life of Canadian passports has been ten years, allowing for renewals.

A change in Canadian passport regulations in 1930 reflects Canada's growth to national status. The paragraph relating to renewal of passports abroad had previously referred the holder to the nearest British Consulate. In 1930 (passport of September 26, 1930) the regulation was changed to read, "to the Canadian Legation in the country in which he is residing or to the nearest British Consulate".

A further reflection of Canada's new status is seen in the termination of the Governor General's connection with Canadian passports, from April 12, 1946, and the substitution of the name of the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the "Letter of Request" on behalf of His Majesty. Just as United Kingdom passports are now issued by the British Minister of Foreign Affairs on behalf of the King of the United Kingdom etc., Canadian passports are issued by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on behalf of the King of Canada.

Canadian passports were formerly indexed and numbered at the Passport Office in the names of the Governors General; recent Canadian passports are known by the names of Secretaries of State for External Affairs -- e.g. "Mackenzie King" or "St. Laurent" passports. The first issue of "Mackenzie King" passports occurred when the Canadian Citizenship Act was before the House of Commons. The Act came into force less than a year later, on January 1, 1947, and it was with the issue of "King" passports that the practice of endorsing a warning as to the effect of loss of domicile on the passports of naturalized Canadians was discontinued.

When the Canadian Citizenship Act became effective, a new passport for Canadian citizens was issued. All passports issued for several years prior to January 1, 1947, had had blue backs and blue paper, a combination which may be designated for convenience as the double-blue passport. Double-blue passports continued to be issued to persons who were British subjects but not Canadian citizens until July, 1948, when they were no longer obtainable from Canadian authorities but only from the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Ottawa.

Since January 1, 1947, a new passport with blue backs and a pale pinkish sheet has been issued to Canadian citizens, and starting in June, 1947, diplomatic and official passports have had red and green backs respectively.

FOREIGN CONSULAR AFFAIRS UNDER

THE DEPARTMENT

Foreign Consular Affairs under the Department

Foreign Consuls in Canada

The Acts of 1909 and 1912 provided that the control of the "foreign consular service" was to be transferred to the Department of External Affairs.

Canada, of course, did not itself have any Canadian consular service in its true sense, being a Colony only, although its commercial agents abroad often performed quasi-consular functions.* Dr. H. Gordon Skilling has drawn attention to the fact that Nova Scotia appointed an Agent-General to Britain in 1761; New Brunswick appointed an Agent-General in 1786; Upper Canada appointed an Agent-General in 1794, and Lower Canada appointed an Agent-General in 1816. These separate Colonial agencies were abolished in 1833, and were superseded by the joint Crown Agents Department, appointed by the British Colonial Secretary and representing many of the colonies of British North America, New Zealand, New South Wales, Western Australia and later South Africa. The main work of these Agencies-General was no doubt concerned with the promotion of emigration and the export trade, although general work was done for other departments of the Provincial Governments.(1) They were not, however, Consuls. There

* Dr. Brunet, co-director of Public Archives of Canada, claims to have traced a history of "consuls" appointed in very early times by the French colonies in North America, to represent their regions in certain foreign countries. This material has not yet been published and has not been investigated by the present writer.

(1) Skilling: Canadian Representation Abroad. p. 107. F.C. Wade. "High Commissioners and Agents-General". (The Empire Review. Vol.XXXIII. 1919-20. pp.324. ff, 359 ff.)

was no Canadian consular service proper before 1940.(1)

There had, however, been foreign consuls appointed to the Canadas from as early as about 1850. It was these foreign consular representatives - this "consular service", what would now be called the foreign "consular corps" in Canada - to which reference was made in the two Acts.

According to Mr. Ericksen-Brown, the first foreign Consulate in Canada was established by the Hanseatic Towns at Quebec in 1842. During the fifties a number of other Consulates were recognized, and by 1862 there were nine at Quebec and ten in Montreal, representing foreign governments other than the United States. The United States established a Consulate at Montreal in 1854, and at Gaspé in 1856. In 1861 and 1862 there were a number of other United States Consulates opened owing to the exigencies of the American Civil War. The new United States Consulates included those in Hamilton, Kingston and Clifton, all opened in 1861, and Lacolle, Warpeth and Coaticook opened in 1862.(2)

According to Professor Glazebrook, "to facilitate trade relations with Canada, a number of countries appointed residents of Montreal as consuls, these receiving

(1) As early as 1904 a suggestion was made in the Canadian House of Commons by a French-Canadian member, Honoré Gervais, for the establishment of a Canadian consular service. No debate followed and no action was taken by the Government. (H. of C. Debates, August 6, 1904. pp.8753-6).

(2) Departmental Memorandum: "A Historical Sketch of Canadian Passports."p. 2.

exequaturs from the British Government. In 1850 Belgium, Portugal and Denmark all took this action, and in 1851 the Hansa towns and Hanover followed suit. In 1856 the Executive Council recommended that France should appoint a consul-general in place of its consular agencies at Quebec and Montreal. The British Government was willing for the change and approached the French Ambassador, who, however, reported that his Government could not at that time take such action.(1) But at the very time that the reply was made, a French Mission under M. Belvèze, Commander of a French man-of-war, was touring Canada with the object of establishing commercial relations. Great enthusiasm greeted the French party, and an elaborate survey of the conditions of the province was made. As a result of the trip, the French tariff was modified so as to admit Canadian wood and ships, and a Consul-General was appointed in 1859 who came to live in Quebec."(2) (3)

This form of one-sided consular representation in Canada expanded over the next fifty years, until in 1909-10 a list of foreign consuls and consular agents represented thirty-two states. This indicated the growing importance of the Dominion in matters of commerce and immigration. In most cases there were several officers of a country stationed at different Canadian cities. It is probable that the majority of the representatives were permanent local residents, or Canadian citizens, and

(1) Public Archives of Canada: Series G.Vol.151. pp.92,196.

(2) Belvèze's report is printed in Le Pays, September 2, 4, 6, 9, 1856.

(3) Above are cited in Glazebrook's "Canadian External Relations." p. 73.

became what are to-day called "honorary consuls" or "consular agents". In most cases only the consuls-general or senior consuls were foreigners and de carrière, sent by their respective governments on appointment for longer or shorter terms to Canada. Many of the principal consular offices, then as today, were either at Ottawa, for semi-diplomatic and political consultation, or at Montreal, for commercial purposes.

Recognition

In the official appointment, recognition and status of such official foreign agents, the procedure was the following: Consular officials holding a commission from a head of state required an exequatur, which was granted by the Imperial Government in London. In the case of those who were residents of Canada, the Canadian Government was consulted by the foreign state through Downing Street as to whether the appointment would be acceptable and free from objection. In the case of those sent specially to Canada, that is, consuls de carrière, the appointment was made without consultation or prior agrément. For the local consular officials appointed by a government or by a superior consular officer, a formal recognition, instead of an exequatur, was granted by the British Government after consultation with or at the request of the Canadian Government. Temporary appointments might be accepted by the Government of Canada, pending reference to the British Government. The Canadian Government was consulted as to the establishment of new consulates, and

on occasion it took the initiative in suggesting that approaches should be made to that end.(1) When a foreign State wished to appoint a local resident as "honorary consul", it asked the Government of Canada to recommend a suitable person, and this was done by the Prime Minister.

The matter of the issue of exequaturs to foreign consuls in the Dominions was reviewed again in 1926 and dealt with in the following passage of the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Imperial Conference of 1926 - a report which was unanimously adopted by the Conference on November 19 of that year:

> A question was raised with regard to the practice regarding the issue of exequaturs to Consuls in the Dominions. The general practice hitherto, in the case of all appointments of Consuls de Carrière in any part of the British Empire, has been that the foreign Government concerned notifies His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, through the diplomatic channel, of the proposed appointment and that, provided that it is clear that the person concerned is, in fact, a Consul de Carrière, steps have been taken, without further formality, for the issue of His Majesty's exequatur. In the case of consuls other than those de Carrière, it has been customary for some time past to consult the Dominion Government concerned before the issue of an exequatur.
>
> The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs informed us that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accepted the suggestion that in future any application by a foreign Government for the issue of an exequatur to any person who was to act as Consul in a Dominion should be referred to the Dominion Government concerned for consideration and that, if the Dominion Government agreed to the issue of the exequatur, it would be sent to them for counter-signature by a Dominion Minister. Instructions to this effect had indeed already been given.(2)

(1) G. Glazebrook, op. cit. p.232.

(2) Cited in Toynbee: The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations. p. 71.

(a) German Consul

An illustration of the manner in which the Imperial British Government consulted the Dominion Government in the proposed appointment or recognition of a non-career consul is shown in the case of a local resident of Toronto, representing Germany in a consular capacity.

Among the Borden Papers of 1913, there is a letter from the Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. W.H. Walker, to the Prime Minister, pointing out that, after a period of recognition as Acting German Consul in Toronto - which had been granted over the objection of one Cabinet Minister - the Colonial Office, (probably at the request of the German Government through the Foreign Office) directed the Governor General to recognize the official as German Consul "if there is no local objection." The final confirmation of appointment had to be approved by the Privy Council. Walker wrote to Sir Robert Borden on April 17, 1913:

> I enclose departmental file having at the top a despatch from the Colonial Office directing the Governor General to recognize Mr. Heinrich Peters as German Consul at Toronto if there is no local objection to his appointment.
>
> You may remember that in January last Mr. Peters was recognized as Acting German Consul at that place though when such recognition was under consideration, Mr. Kemp was disposed to think the appointment not altogether desirable. As, however, the appointment to be Acting Consul was approved, it would seem almost a matter of course that we should now pronounce his permanent appointment unobjectionable, and if that is your view it would perhaps be unnecessary again to refer the matter to Mr. Kemp.(1)

(1) Borden Papers. 2997(2). Public Archives.

Two days later Walker sent to Mr. A.E. Blount, Private Secretary to the "First Minister" a report concerning the recognition of Mr. Heinrich Peters as German Consul at Toronto, and asked that it be placed before Mr. Borden, as "he wishes it to go before Council today."

(b) Honduran Honorary Consuls

A somewhat more complicated problem arose when the Honduran Government wished to have designated two Honorary Consuls in Canada. Through the usual circumlocutory channels, indicated below, the request for recommended names was laid upon the Prime Minister.

The British Charge d'Affaires in Guatemala - presumably the nearest British diplomatic representative to Honduras - had to pass the Honduran Foreign Ministry's request through the Foreign Office and Colonial Office to Ottawa.

Treaty
No.1

British Legation, Guatemala,
February 15, 1913.

Sir:

I have the honour to report that I have received a note from the Honduranean Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that His Government are anxious to enter into closer commercial relations with the Dominion of Canada, and requesting to be furnished with the names of any suitable persons who might act as the honorary Consuls of Honduras in Toronto and Vancouver.

I have, etc.,
(Sgd)Godfrey Haggard

The Right Honourable
Sir Edward Grey, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

This despatch went from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, which thereupon transmitted it to the Governor General.

Canada
Confidential

Downing Street,
19 March, 1913.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to Your Royal Highness for the consideration of your Ministers a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Guatemala respecting the desire of the Honduranean Government to be furnished with the names of persons suitable for appointment as Honorary Consuls of Honduras at Toronto and Vancouver.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Royal Highness's most obedient,
humble servant,

(Sgd) L. Harcourt

Governor-General
His Royal Highness
The Duke of Connaught and of
Strathearn, K.G., K.T., K.P.,
G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.,
G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., etc., etc.,etc.

The Governor General's Secretary's Office evidently passed this correspondence to the Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Walker, who passed it on to Mr. Borden, not as Secretary of State for External Affairs but as "First Minister".

I enclose with this a copy of a Confidential despatch to the Governor General from the Colonial Office of the 19th March, 1913, in regard to a request of the Government of Honduras that names of persons be suggested for appointment as Honorary Consuls of Honduras at Toronto and Vancouver.

It is a somewhat unusual request - the only similar one of which I know being that of Guatemala made last summer in which on the recommendation of Mr. Monk, Mr. L.G.A. Cresse of Montreal was suggested as Consul at that place and received the appointment - and I think you will wish to give special directions in the matter.

The next day, April 4, this was acknowledged by Mr. Borden:

Your letter of the 3rd instant is before me, and I will send you the necessary information respecting Honorary Consuls of Honduras at Toronto and Vancouver at the earliest possible date.

Borden's later reply, on April 30, read:

> With respect to your enquiry as to the nomination of fit and proper persons for appointment as Honorary Consuls of Honduras at Vancouver and Toronto, I am advised that Mr. R.R. Maitland, Barrister, Rogers Building, Vancouver, would be a fit and proper person for such appointment in the Province of British Columbia, and Robert Leo Defries, Barrister, 15 Toronto Street, Toronto, would be a fit and proper person for such appointment in the Province of Ontario.

Although the recorded correspondence ends here, presumably Mr. Walker prepared a communication for the Governor General to pass on to the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office, thence to the British Charge d'Affaires in Guatemala, and thus to the Honduran Foreign Ministry. The appointments, through the same channels would thereupon be made.

Numbers

According to the Canadian Parliamentary Guide of 1909, the following list of foreign countries were, as of February 28, 1909, represented in Canada by Consuls General or Consuls who were members of the regular consular services in their respective countries and known as members of "the classified service" in the United States, as "Consuls de Carrière" as distinguished from "merchant consuls" in most continental services, and as officers of the first Categoria in the Italian service:

Argentine Republic	(1)	Italy	(1)
Austria & Hungary	(3)	Japan	(5)
Belgium	(2)	Norway	(1)
Brazil	(1)	Russia	(1)
China	(2)	Spain	(2)
France	(3)	Sweden	(1)
Germany	(1)	U.S.A.	(5 Consuls General and 26 Consuls) (1)

(1) Can. Parliamentary Guide. 1909. pp.498-500.

As already stated, most of the foreign consular representatives were local persons designated to perform some consular duties, and would be now termed "honorary consuls" or "consular agents". The foreign consuls de carrière, of more senior rank, were much fewer in the early days of the Department. In 1911 two Consuls General were appointed; in 1912, three; in 1913, two career Consuls, and in 1914, two.

In the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, there were 304 foreign consuls general, consuls and consular agents established in Canada of which 112 were agents of the United States of America. The main centres where foreign consuls were located were Montreal (30), Victoria and Vancouver (23), Toronto (18) and Ottawa (10).Halifax also had a good quota.* It was natural that the seaport cities would have a good proportion of consuls to take care of their immigrant nationals, their commercial travellers and businessmen, the formalities of shipping, and the problems of seamen. It was also natural that, acting as trade agents, the most flourishing commercial cities like Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver would be centres for foreign consuls or agents concerning themselves with trade relations and commercial information. By 1919-20 the total foreign consular representation listed by the Department had risen to 389, of which 93 were agents of the United States.

The work involved in the Department of External Affairs in connection with the appointment and recognition of foreign consuls in Canada, - which entailed

* Curiously enough Gaspé was a favourite place for Consuls in the early days and quite a number of countries had Consuls there. (Annual Report, 1910).

correspondence through the Governor General's Office with London - can be imagined when it is recorded that new appointees of all grades numbered 17 in the years 1909-10; 11 in 1911; 6 in 1912; 19 in 1913; 16 in 1914; 18 in 1915; 32 in 1916; 27 in 1917; and 43 in 1918. The War caused the larger number of appointments in 1916, 1917 and 1918.

The lists of consular officials in Canada, published annually in the Departmental reports do not differentiate between consuls de carrière sent out from abroad and locally-nominated honorary consuls. Of the large numbers listed, therefore, it is not possible to state how many were actual foreigners. It may be assumed that the majority of consuls general at least were foreigners appointed by their governments, while the more junior grades may have been locally appointed residents of Canada.

Quasi-Diplomatic Status

Over a long period the question of status of foreign consular representatives, more than the methods of appointment or formalities of recognition, exercised the concern of both the Canadian and the Imperial authorities. Consuls were in principle not diplomats or plenipotentiaries, and lacked those prerogatives and privileges accorded to diplomats. Nevertheless, they sometimes tried and perhaps were obliged to assume the diplomatic role and function, since Canada was not a sovereign State to which plenipotentiary ambassadors or ministers could be accredited. This intrusion by consuls and their claim for special consideration, was disapproved in the early days, but in later years, after 1910 especially, this position was unofficially accepted. After Confederation, as before it, the general rule of the British Government was that

consuls were simply foreign residents. Special courtesies might well be extended to them, but none such as to entail change of status. They were not, for example, granted their request to have private entry to the Governor General's Drawing Room, for this was a privilege conferred on diplomats.* From time to time one or more of the consuls protested that they did in fact occupy a position not analogus to that of consuls in sovereign states, but were doing diplomatic work that would otherwise be handled by embassies. For some years attempts by the consuls to act as diplomats were quashed. In 1876, for example, the Danish consul was discouraged from acting as an intermediary in discussions over mutual rights of Danish and Canadian ships in the coasting trade. Again in 1881 Sir John Macdonald gracefully intimated to the French consul that the latter's views on trade negotiations were for the ear of Her Majesty's Government.(1)

In later years, however, principles were tacitly ignored to allow for the convenience of utilizing a representative of a foreign power resident in the Dominion. In what were at first described as "informal negotiations", the Canadian Government discussed with the German consul general the tariff quarrel between the two countries, and in 1910 the Minister of Finance and the consul reached an agreement for a settlement.(2) As early as 1906, tariff

(1) Glazebrook. op. cit. pp.232-233.

See Farr. The Colonial Office and Canada 1867-1887. p. 228, and references there enumerated.

(2) Report of the Department of External Affairs, 1909-10; 1910-11.

Canadian Sessional Papers, 1910. No.10.G.

* See footnote next page.

* Footnote re para 13:

Consuls.

The older British attitude toward the non-diplomatic character of foreign Consuls is amusingly shown in a note from the Master of Ceremonies of the English Court to Washington Irving, while United States Chargé d'Affaires. For the ceremony of the Coronation of King William IV, score of Americans in London were eager to receive invitations, amongst them the Consul General. Irving received a note:

> Sir Robert Chester presents his compliments to Mr. Washingington Irving and will be much obliged if he will be kind enough, at his earliest convenience, to favour Sir Robert Chester with the names of the Persons, from the Court of the President of the United States of North America, for whom Mr. Washington Irving may wish to receive tickets of invitation to the ceremony of the Coronation of His Majesty in Westminster Abbey on the 8th September next.

Chester then took the occasion to point out that:

> Ambassadors, Ministers and Foreigners of Distinction are eligible for invitation, and that a Consul-General or Consul is neither considered a Foreigner of Distinction nor a Diplomatic Character.

(Beckles Willson. America's Ambassadors to England. p.192).

negotiations had taken place in Canada,(apparently quite independently of the Home Government), though the German Consul in Montreal, and Lord Grey, anticipating questions by the Colonial Office on this irregular arrangement, wrote Lord Elgin to assure him, on Sir Wilfrid Laurier's authority, that they were only unofficial talks and were not likely to result in any change in existing commercial arrangements. In a letter dated March 26, 1906, Grey wrote:

> In case reports reaching England that my Ministers are negotiating with the German Consul with the view of altering the tariff, I wish to inform you that I have enquired from Sir Wilfrid Laurier whether there is any authority for these reports, and he has assured me that although the German Consul has had talks with him, and with Mr. Fielding, the Minister of Finance, these talks give no reason to believe that there is likely to be any change in the commercial relations between the Dominion and Germany.
>
> I have informed Sir Wilfrid Laurier that His Majesty's Govt. expect to be kept informed of any formal discussions on any matters of importance between the Dominion Govt. and local Consular officers. He readily agrees with the reasonableness of this expectancy and has assured me that he will keep me fully informed if at any time there should be matter to communicate.(1)

When, however, in 1910, further discussions on tariff and trade matters were held with the German Consul in Canada, which resulted in a bilateral tariff agreement, the Colonial Office took a rather dim view of this procedure, and on March 30, 1910, Lord Crewe wrote unofficially to Lord Grey:

> With reference to my despatch No. 222 of 30th instant, as to the provisional Agreement between Canada and Germany, Sir E. Grey has suggested that,

(1) Grey of Howith Collection. Vol.13. Folder 8. (Document 003530).

> if any Convention of a more permanent nature than the Agreement now concluded should be later negotiated for, regulating the relations between Canada and Germany or any other foreign state, it would be desirable that it should assume the form of a contract between the King and the Head of the State in question, and should be signed by Plenipotentiaries appointed under His Majesty's Seal and Sign Manual.
>
> This is clearly the right course, and the only course which is free from objection, but Grey agrees with me in thinking that it is better to say so in a private letter than to give the appearance of admonition to your Ministers by embodying it in a despatch.(1)

In the same year, 1910, the Prime Minister signed an agreement with the Italian Consul on tariff concessions.(2)

It has already been noted that during Earl Grey's tenure, the Governor General maintained direct correspondence with, and received for personal interviews the Japanese Consul General, at that time (1906-7) Mr. Nosse. He received reports on Canadian-Japanese trade, on anti-Japanese riots in Vancouver, on Japanese immigration problems, and on the project of a Canadian bakery and showroom in Japan to encourage the sale of Canadian flour.(3)

As a consequence of disturbances in Vancouver in 1907 resulting from anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese demonstrators and exclusionists, partly instigated by provocateurs and exclusionists in the western United States, the Governor General expressed his concern, and

(1) Grey of Howith Correspondence. Vol.16. File 41. (Document 004300).

(2) Canadian Annual Review, 1910. p.619.

(3) Grey of Howith Correspondence. Vol.26.(Document 006395 et al.)

Sir Wilfrid Laurier conferred in Ottawa with Mr. Ishii, the Japanese Foreign Office representative who was in Vancouver at the time of the riots, and with Mr. Nosse, the Consul-General. On October 12, 1907, the Canadian Government appointed W.L. Mackenzie King, at that time Deputy Minister of Labour, as a Royal Commissioner to investigate the losses suffered by the Japanese in Vancouver; and announced that Mr. Rodolphe Lemieux, Postmaster General and Minister of Labour, would leave for Japan to discuss matters with the British Ambassador at Tokyo, Sir Claude Macdonald, and with the Japanese Government. Mr. Lemieux was accompanied by Mr. Joseph Pope. They remained in Japan some five weeks, and with the cooperation of the British Ambassador, and after conferences with Count Hayashi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other officials of the Japanese Government, succeeded in negotiating what was afterwards known as the "gentleman's agreement" regarding Japanese immigration into Canada. Details for the implementation of this were subsequently worked out in Ottawa in 1908 between the Canadian Government and Mr. Nakamura, the new Japanese Consul General.(1)

After the Conservative Government of Sir Robert Borden took office in 1911, the question of Japanese immigration, as well as of trade, was discussed for the next two years, in correspondence between Mr. Borden and Mr. Nakamura, and this led to vigorous controversy and

(1) See Woodsworth: Canada and the Orient. pp.79-80.

debate over the interpretation of the Consul-General's note of assurance to the Canadian Government.(1) After the War, a further agreement was reached in 1923, which was communicated, in the name of Count Uchida, Minister for Foreign Affairs, by Mr. T. Ohta, the then Consul-General of Japan in Ottawa, in a note addressed, not to the Department of External Affairs, but to the Hon. James A. Robb, Minister of Immigration.(2)

Meanwhile, there were similar problems regarding Chinese immigration into Canada. At that time, 1907, no Chinese consular officials or government representatives were as yet established in Canada, and the Chinese chargé d'Affaires in London, Mr. Ivan Chen, had consultations with the British Foreign Office. Following the investigation and settlement of the Japanese claims for damages, Mr. Mackenzie King investigated in Vancouver the losses also suffered by the Chinese. An attaché from the Chinese Legation in London and the Chinese Consuls from San Francisco and Portland attended sessions of the King Commission.

In 1909 Mr. King represented Canada at a meeting of the international Opium Commission at Shanghai; and, at the suggestion of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Lord Grey, who wished to see the head tax on Chinese entering Canada abolished, he negotiated a draft agreement with the Chinese Government under which a passport system, with the restriction of numbers in the hands of the Canadian Government, would be substituted for the tax. The appointment of the first Chinese Consul-General to Canada in that

(1) See Woodsworth. op. cit. p. 97.

(2) Ibid. Appendix. p. 295.

year, (Kung Hsin Chao arrived at Ottawa in June, 1909), was expected to facilitate its operation. The agreement, however, was not finally concluded. The recognition and ~~interview~~ reception of the Chinese Consul-General must have been one of the first tasks of Joseph Pope in his new capacity of Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and his responsibility under the new Act, for relations with foreign consular officials in Canada.

An amusing letter on the privileges of foreign consuls was "privately" written by Pope to Col. Sir John Hanbury Williams, Secretary to the Governor General, on September 4, 1909:

> Have you seen Colonial Office despatch No. 515 of the 14th August, 1909, notifying us that the Imperial Government will in future grant customs facilities to foreign consuls in the United Kingdom, or in the language of the Foreign Office "will accord to consular officers the usual privileges granted to an Ambassador with regard to examination of their luggage and effects and those of their suite"? "Suite" sounds very imposing, doesn't it? I suppose this means that we must give up the fight, for if consuls are to be considered as Ambassadors in one respect, and if their clerks are accounted a "suite", it is only a matter of a short time before they will be "Your Excellency" - and another British tradition will have disappeared.(1)

These examples show the tendency of the foreign consuls to perform diplomatic functions with the result that they rose in official importance and prestige. In fact the contrast between the formal status of consuls and the functional role they actually played in the diplomatic field was very marked, and received official attention.

(1) Pope Papers. Semi-Official Correspondence. Vol. 94.

Answering a question in the House of Commons in 1909 as to the refusal of consuls to attend the Drawing Room, Sir Wilfrid Laurier observed: "The question . . . is an important one, not perhaps so much on account of the drawing-room as on account of the duties which Consule-General now discharge in Canada. We have no diplomatic service in Canada, and the consuls general are exercising, by tolerance, some, I shall not say diplomatic powers, but powers very often cognate to such. The question is one which should be settled, and the matter is now engaging the attention of the government."(1) In the following session the position of consuls again came up in the House, and on that occasion Laurier went further than he had before. The position of consuls in Canada, he said, like the status of Canada, could hardly be defined. Although Laurier had "often taken the view that we are now a nation", it was true that "we cannot have under present conditions diplomatic agents amongst us other than the consular agents who are entrusted by their governments with commercial functions. . . . By the force of things these consuls general have become with us semi-diplomatic agents, and many of the consuls have really performed diplomatic duties." Citing the cases of German, Italian, and American consuls as exercising diplomatic functions, Laurier admitted that "all this has been done without authority, and is contrary to the rules that apply among civilized nations."

(1) H. of C. Debates. 1909-10. p.853.

The position, he went on, must be regularized. "I think we should have an understanding with the imperial government that the consuls should have semi-diplomatic recognition amongst us".(1) Looking back at a practice with which he had been familiar, Sir Robert Borden, a few years afterwards, concluded that it had been "both convenient and advantageous", and cited a case during his own period of office: when in 1913, he had negotiated with the Consul-General of Japan over Canada's adhesion to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911.(2) Laurier's suggestion that the practice be regularized was never taken up, probably because the War of 1914 brought Canada nearer to participation in the more conventional diplomatic procedure.(3)

Attention has been given at some length to this position of foreign consuls in Canada because of the clauses in the Acts of 1909 and 1912 transferring "the administration of all matters relating to the foreign consular service in Canada to the Department of External Affairs". This alone would appear to have placed a large burden of business on the Under-Secretary and his senior assistants, with all the informal discussions and formal correspondence which it entailed.

Channel of Communication

One result of the "reform" in the new Act was that the foreign consuls were notified that instead of

(1) Ibid. 1910-11. p. 953.

(2) Sir Robert L. Borden: Canadian Constitutional Studies. p. 128.

(3) G. P. de T. Glazebrook: A History of Canadian External Relations. pp.232-234.

approaching different departments on their various items of business, their approach to the Canadian departments was henceforth to be through the Department of External Affairs, a source of simplification and benefit to them.

When Senator Lougheed asked on April 29, 1909, during the Senate's discussion of the Bill, "May I ask in what department the consular service is now?" Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright, the Government spokesman in the Senate, replied: "Practically speaking, it has been with half a dozen departments. That is one reason perhaps for the introduction of this new measure. The foreign consuls have communicated rather indiscriminately."(1)

In words already quoted elsewhere, Senator Dandurand, speaking on the debate on the 1909 Bill on the same date, adverted to the uncertainty of foreign consuls as to where to address their communications or where to call. "There is a number of subjects that cannot be easily classified by the representatives of those foreign nations, and I know that very often I have been approached by some of them to know to whom to address themselves, and in most cases, when not exactly au fait, they have addressed themselves to the Prime Minister. . . I think there should be a branch of the Department of State organized with a special name, which will herald to the world who is the official with whom the outsider should correspond."(2)

(1) Senate Debates. ~~1909x10~~. April 29,1909. p.401.

(2) Senate Debates. ~~1909~~. p.400.

It is said that the foreign consuls rejoiced at the new arrangement, partly because they were accustomed in their own countries and elsewhere, to having access to and connections with a Foreign Office for transacting their business, and partly because they felt that through a special External Affairs Department they would be dealing with an agency trained in the business of foreign relations and diplomatic problems, which would be more understanding and perhaps more sympathetic to their representations; and the Permanent Under-Secretary, Mr. Pope, was probably better known personally to them than the Deputy Ministers of other Departments, who were often "unknown quantities", and partly because they now knew "where to go" instead of wandering uncertainly to this and that department to transact their particular business. In Murphy's time, this new arrangement relieved certain consular business from the Department of the Secretary of State to the Department of External Affairs; in Borden's time, the routine business continued under Pope, but personal diplomatic transactions by the foreign consuls apparently were conducted with the Prime Minister who was Secretary of State for External Affairs.

In the Senate debates on the 1912 Bill, again there was some discussion concerning the department to which the foreign consuls-general or consuls should have access. Mr. Power objected to use of the channel of the Prime Minister, acting as Secretary of State for External Affairs:

> The consular service is not a diplomatic service. It is a commercial service, and I think it will be found that the Prime Minister of the day would have more trouble in dealing with the subject matter of this clause than with everything else covered by the Bill. . . I think the wise course would be to strike out Clause 6 and leave the consular business with the Minister of Trade and Commerce with whom, I think, it would more properly rest.

Mr. Dandurand took the opposite position:

> We have been making history pretty fast in Canada the last ten years, and I do not suppose the Right Hon. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain would take the same stand today as he attempted to take some few years ago in the House of Commons in England, when he seemed to doubt that the government had taken upon itself to correspond with the German Consul, Mr. Boppe, over German matters. It seems to me, therefore, we may as well recognize that there are consuls-general here who can approach our government on diverse matters pertaining to the affairs of Canada.

Senator Lougheed endorsed this view:

> It seems to me that any approach which the foreign consular service would make to the Government of Canada would be on behalf of the nation they represent, and must necessarily be through the highest channels of our Government. True, the matters may be referred to other departments which may be more strictly concerned in them, but the channel through which they would come, I venture to say, would be the Prime Minister of Canada.

Mr. Dandurand, confirming the views expressed in 1909, concluded the discussion by saying:

> I may inform my hon. friend that the consuls-general were very happy when this Department was created a few years ago because for the first time they were informed of the channel through which they could reach the government. Up to that moment, they never knew to what minister they should address their communications.(1)

It would seem, nevertheless, that the "consular" clauses (section 6) of the Acts of 1909 and 1912, had

(1) Senate Debates, 1911-12. Feb. 1, 1912. pp.126-7.

not fully taken the effect that was intended, for later in the latter year a departmental memorandum noted that the desired uniformity in foreign consular approaches still did not sufficiently prevail. "Some communications are made to this Department, others to the Governor General's Office, or to various Departments of Government."

Nor had the question of temporary recognition of consular appointments been satisfactorily clarified. There was, some months after the Act of 1912 had been passed, apparently an intention to issue a revised Order-in-Council clarifying some of these points. A memorandum found among Mr. W.H. Walker's files of 1912, but bearing no date or signature, though probably written in the latter part of 1912 after Foreign Office instructions dated July had been received in Canada, refers in part to these consular problems:

> Consular matters having been assigned to the Department by Section 6 of the Act, the amended Order-in-Council might with advantage deal with the question of communications between foreign Consular officers and the Canadian Government in the direction of introducing greater uniformity than now prevails. At the present there is no consistent practice. Some communications are made to this Department, others to the Governor General's Office or to various Departments of Government. It would seem desirable and in accordance with the intention of Parliament to designate the Department of External Affairs as the channel through which these consular officers should approach the Canadian Government, at any rate in matters where they assume a quasi-diplomatic standing, as e.g., in notifying consular appointments and applying for temporary recognition of such appointments, making requests for extradition or asserting the rights of their nationals.
>
> In the matter of temporary recognition of consular appointments, such recognition has heretofore been conveyed by the Governor General's Secretary, after report by Ministers to the Governor

> General, on the assumption apparently that such report, though formally approved in the form of a Minute of Council, was not in the nature of advice but of information only, the Governor General acting in making the recognition merely as the agent of the Imperial Government.
>
> Such a view however finds no countenance in a recent memorandum (20th July, 1912) issued by the Foreign Office dealing with the matter of consular appointments which speaks of such temporary recognition as made "by the local Government", and the imposing of a share of the responsibility for advice in these matters upon the Dominion Governments is quite in accordance with the existing tendency to expand the sphere of those Governments. In this view of the case it would better accord with constitutional usage that the Canadian government's recognition should be conveyed through His Royal Highness' responsible Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Order-in-Council might be amended to make provision for this.

The conclusion of this brief survey shows that from early times there were foreign consuls appointed to and recognized by Canada; that for pragmatic reasons, though unofficially, they performed diplomatic functions and were gradually treated in Canada as diplomatic agents of their governments, in negotiations but not in treaty-signing, and that after 1909 their activities came under the jurisdiction of the Department of External Affairs, both in questions of form and protocol, and in matters of substance. This development gave one more task to the new Department of External Affairs over which Sir Joseph Pope presided as Under-Secretary.

CONFIDENTIAL PRINTS

Confidential Prints

To a man like Pope, concerned so much with the proper ordering of documents and archives for easy reference, the original connotation of the term "diplomacy" would peculiarly appeal. Etymologically, a "diploma" (from the Greek verb διπλόω) was simply a doubled or folded thing. In mediaevel Europe the term came to be used for certain types of official documents, relating in the main to a state's external affairs, which were folded for pigeon-holing in its archives. Diplomacy was then the the archivist's job of keeping such documents in good order. Later, by extension, the work became the jurist's job of studying and interpreting the archival collection of documents. Only toward the end of the eighteenth century was the word "diplomacy" first used to denote the actual conduct of foreign relations.(1) In its mediaeval sense, the collection of documents was the main task of the diplomat.

It had long been the practice in Great Britain, and also in Australia, to collect and "print" confidential dossiérs of correspondence and other official documents on specific topics, for circulation to officials or other departments concerned and to Missions abroad. These were commonly known as "Foreign Office Prints". Pope introduced this practice as soon as possible, which meant as soon as his Department was able to collect and assemble relevant papers. Among the first of a long series of these collections was one on the North American Fisheries Arbitration. These prints were only for the confidential use of Ministers and their confidential officials directly concerned, and were not to be laid

(1) Harold Nicolson: Diplomacy; Lord Strang: The Foreign Office, p. 168.

before Parliament or made public in any way. The number of copies printed was usually about twenty-five, and was never more than fifty. Sir Wilfrid Laurier cordially approved the system and appreciated the value of such background reference material in his consideration of current diplomatic questions; and later Sir Robert Borden was equally appreciative.

Since much of the diplomatic correspondence with the United States or other foreign countries necessarily had to pass through London, or was initiated in London, Pope asked the Governor General's Secretary to request permission of the British Colonial Office and Foreign Office to include their relevant correspondence in his own compilation, and asked if he might be provided with copies - as well as copies of the Governor General's own correspondence on the subject, "except of course when they contain nothing of a personal or confidential nature such as His Excellency might not care to communicate even to his Ministers."

Naturally, a large proportion of the material in these "prints" was from non-Canadian sources. As Pope wrote, "We have the despatches from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Ambassador's despatches, the Ministers' reports, and the various Minutes of Council, and I think we should have the Governor General's despatches as well." The objective was to make a complete documented dossier of the official correspondence and reports on any particular subject, in order "to study the questions

of which they treat as a connected whole and with comparative ease." Sir John Hanbury-Williams, the Governor General's Secretary, replied to Pope confidentially on July 19, 1909, expressing his concurrence in the new project, which "will be of the greatest value". It was a work, he said, "which I feel sure will be much to the convenience of the Governor General and Ministers, We shall, when questions of external affairs arise, have at our hands a complete record instead of having to hunt about different offices to obtain it."

Thereupon, on July 20, Pope addressed letters to all the Deputy Heads of Departments, explaining the proposed practice, and emphasizing their confidential nature. "They are communicated for the information of the Minister, the Deputy Minister, and the expert officers who deal with the subjects to which they relate, but are not intended for general perusal or for communication outside the Department." These notifications were duly acknowledged. By October, 1909, the first five sets of confidential prints had been compiled, printed and distributed; this shows the diligence of the officers of the small Department in its roving quarters during the first summer. Pope sent a complete set of these five to Mr. Murphy, saying: "As despatches come in they are printed on separate sheets. If Mr. Murphy so desires they will be regularly sent to him and he might instruct his Private Secretary to add each one to the file on receipt. By this means the series will be kept complete." (1)

(1) File 48/1909.

The "laborious" task of preparing the Confidential Prints was entrusted to Mr. W.H. Walker, whose previous experience in the Governor General's Office stood him in good stead, and, as Pope wrote, "whose long acquaintance with public questions has made him thoroughly expert in the process of selection." (1) In 1910, while in the Trafalgar Building, Pope asked his Minister's approval for a special telephone for Mr. Walker: "The preparation of our Confidential Prints, which is his special work, involves almost hourly communications with the Governor General's Office. At present his only means of doing this is through the messengers' telephone in the third room from his, and in respect of which no privacy is possible."(2)

In May, 1910, Pope made a special visit to England to study the Foreign Office and Colonial Office organization, and filing and registry system, and also to collect copies of documents concerning Canadian external affairs which he might be able to utilize in his own compilations. From London he wrote privately to Mr. Murphy, on May 2, 1910:

> I have gone over many papers in the Library of the Foreign Office, and indicated a number of confidential prints dealing with various public questions in which Canada is interested, reaching back 70 or 80 years. I have asked for copies of these papers and my request is now under consideration of some of the numerous Under-Secretaries I have met. Some of the documents I don't think they will give me. Some they can't, for the reason that they have no copies, but I hope to secure a number of interesting and important papers." (3)

(1) Pope to Rowell, May 10, 1920. (Borden Papers.O.C.552)

(2) File 48/1909.

(3) Departmental file 48/1909.

Printing Problems

The printing of these compilations of documents, which were confidential or secret, was a constant "production" problem for Pope and Walker, and, like other departments, his Department was frequently impatient with the over-worked Printing Bureau.

During January, 1910, Mr. Pope had some argument with the King's Printer over the apparently exorbitant bills to his Department for the printing of certain "Confidential Prints". This complaint centred on a bill charging $121.65 for twenty-five copies of an unbound document of sixty-two pages, entitled "Inland Fisheries No. 1"; and $21.75 for an unstated but probably the same number of copies of a ten-page document, "North Atlantic Fisheries No.5". "These charges", he wrote, "appear to be enormous and no ordinary contingencies can stand them." Mr. Parmelee, the King's Printer, replied that on enquiry "our charge for composition is considerably lower than that charged by outside offices. . . I fancy the only way for you will be to secure a larger appropriation." This correspondence was both verbally and in a letter of January 29, 1911 referred to Mr. Murphy.(1)

Pope made the suggestion that the larger and less urgent Prints be printed by the printer of the Civil Service Commission, who had a small printing press "over my head" in the Trafalgar Building, and whose time was not fully occupied. Professor Adam Shortt, head of the Civil Service Commission "interposed no

(1) Departmental file 48/1909.

difficulty in the way," and Pope added "I understand that I can get this work done free gratis and for nothing".

> It would take a small fortune, he wrote, to do the printing I require done at the ruinous rates charged by the Printing Bureau, and there is this additional advantage in the plan I suggest, that having the printing done in the building will save a lot of copying as the printer can set direct from the files.

As the letter was marked in ink "Approved, C.M., S.S." Mr. Pope was doubtless relieved, his Department was saved "ruinous" costs, and the production of Confidential Prints was expedited. It was a great convenience and satisfaction to him to know that this portion of his busy labours was actively progressing in a printing room "over his head".

In the first Annual Report of the Department of External Affairs for the year ending March 31, 1910, Pope commented that "In addition to the current business of the Department, a highly important and laborious part of its work is the laying of foundations for its greater usefulness by collecting and arranging the papers recording the history of Canada's external relations. Good progress has been made in the work, especially as regards the more recent papers, but much remains to be done."(1) More than two years after this practice had been initiated, Mr. Pope reviewed its operation, not without satisfaction, but said "This system is yet in its infancy." He attributed whatever success it had achieved largely to the encouragement and practical help accorded to him by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and used this argument, among others,

(1) Report of Department of External Affairs, 1909-10, p.7.

to urge the new Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, to assume the personal direction of the External Affairs Department.(1)

Pope's Review

In a memorandum dated January 10, 1912, and given to the Hon. R.L. Borden, Pope said:

> The series of Confidential Prints initiated by the Department of External Affairs enable one to form an idea of the present position of any international question in a few minutes. The back numbers of this collection have been compiled from the files of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, the Governor General's Office, and in some instances from the departments generally. I very much doubt whether apart from the labour involved, it would have been possible to have constructed these prints without having recourse to the authority of the Prime Minister, who most kindly authorized me to use his name, and encouraged the work in every possible way. This system is yet in its infancy. I hope that ultimately we shall possess records of past negotiations that will compare favourably with those of the Foreign Office. To ensure success however in this and other directions, it is essential that the Department be placed under the Prime Minister.(2)

In this brief review of the system of Prints introduced by Joseph Pope, his own later summary, set forth in a memorandum dated May 10, 1920, for the President of the Privy Council, may be quoted in part:

> When Sir Wilfrid Laurier, appreciating the manifold inconveniences of the old system, established the Department of External Affairs, these despatches no longer came direct to Council, but to the External Affairs Department, which distributed them to the various Ministers and Departments in the manner in vogue at the present time.
>
> These despatches were studied here, and intelligently grouped and combined according to subjects. To aid in this work and to facilitate acquaintance by new Ministers and others of the

(1) Pope to Borden, January 10, 1912.

(2) Departmental file 48/1909.

> questions with which they were called upon to deal, I instituted, with the cordial approval of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the system obtaining at the Foreign Office, of confidentially printing and afterwards binding together such despatches as dealt with important diplomatic questions, for the convenience of the Ministers and of the Departments especially concerned. The system has worked well. I send herewith one of these volumes for inspection. Mr. Rowell will observe that a busy Minister, with the aid of this volume, could get a very fair idea of what has taken place in regard to the important question to which (it) relates, in the course of a few minutes. Under the old system I do not see how he could even do so, for the papers were nowhere in one place (except the Privy Council Office) and nowhere at all under one view. To get together all the despatches on any one important subject would be a difficult task at the date when this Department was instituted, and at the present day when the number of despatches has increased more than ten-fold since 1909, a well-nigh impossible one. Various Ministers, including Sir Robert Borden, have expressed to me their appreciation of the present system. Sir Wilfrid Laurier told me on several occasions his only regret was that the Department of External Affairs had not been started ten years earlier than it had been. (1)

This series of Confidential Prints was continued as time, staff and facilities permitted; but apparently was interrupted during the latter part of the First World War, because of the pressure of other duties and an inadequacy of senior staff. In the Department's Annual Reports, Pope referred to the extra war-time work which prevented the continuance of certain other work. In the Annual Report of the Department for 1914-15, signed by Pope on July 30, 1915, he wrote: "Canadian cooperation in the necessary military measures and the number of new questions of administration naturally arising from a state of war involved a very great increase in the correspondence passing through the department, though the consideration of other matters

(1) Borden Papers. O.C. 552. Public Archives.

of external concern necessarily fell to some extent into abeyance;" and in one of his letters he excused the high cost of printing his Confidential Prints by pointing out that the costs covered "three years of arrears" of suspended printing. *

More Problems re Printing

In 1920 this enterprise of Pope's once more ran into difficulty as regards printing. In the autumn of 1917, on the recommendation of Sir George E. Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, a Joint Committee of both Houses was set up to examine the costs of public printing of Parliament. In September the Joint Committee made its report which included the proposal for an Editorial Committee composed of three senior members of the Civil Service and a Privy Council Committee of three to advise and approve the suggestions of the Editorial Committee. The latter Committee was ultimately composed of Mr. Fred Cook, Assistant King's Printer, Mr. F.C.T. O'Hara, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Mr. Francis C.C. Lynch, of the Department of the Interior.(1)

It is not clear to what extent the Editorial Committee, thus set up, supervised the printing by External Affairs during the next two and a half years. No difficulties appear in the records. In fact, until 1920, the Editorial Committee apparently had no knowledge of the Confidential Prints. But in March, 1920, it submitted a report recommending the discontinuance of the printing of the series of Confidential Prints, on grounds of their cost, and suggested mimeographed copies instead.

(1) Borden Papers, O.C. 552. (Public Archives)

* An index of the subject matter of Confidential Prints from 1909 to 1927 is contained in Departmental file 997-L-1-A-40, Vol. 1.

In their submission of March 25, they wrote: "Most of these papers pertain to the operations of other Departments of the Public Service and which have evidently passed through the Department of External Affairs as the medium of communication with the British Government and the British Ambassador at Washington through His Excellency. The reason advanced for printing these papers is that they are required in printed form 'for the necessary purposes of the Department and of the Cabinet'. The requisitions for the printing of these documents sometimes call for 25 copies, but never exceed 50. During the present fiscal year seven such manuscripts have already been printed, but it is only recently that your Committee was aware of this fact. The total cost of printing these papers since April last is $2,330. Two further bulky manuscripts have reached the Printing Bureau, and the Editorial Committee deems it its duty to call the attention of Council to them. Our view is that for the purposes for which these documents are required, mimeographed copies would suffice, and as the Department of External Affairs is in possession of a mimeograph machine, the recommendation of the Editorial Committee is that no further documents of this character be printed."

Pope took violent exception to this interference, and wrote heated letters to Mr. Newton Rowell, President of the Privy Council, on May 10, to Sir Robert Borden on June 11, and to Sir George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, who administered the Printing Bureau, on

June 19. In these, he protested (a) that the members of the Editorial Board had no right to see at all the restricted Confidential Prints, sent to the King's Printer under the seal of secrecy, which were for the use of Privy Council Ministers in strictest confidence; (b) that they had no jurisdiction to interfere with the work of the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who "is, under the Minister, or ought to be, a better judge of what documents emanating from his Department should or should not be printed, than the members of the Editorial Committee;" (c) that the Order-in-Council setting up the Editorial Committee referred only to Parliamentary public documents, and not to secret and Confidential Prints; and (d) that, while the price charged by the Printing Bureau was admittedly excessive, the total expenditure, covering the past three years of arrears of war-time suspended printing, was not unreasonable. In a longer memorandum, Pope reviewed the whole history of the need for unification of external documents, which had been one of the raisons d'être of the Department of External Affairs. To have this principal task "disparaged" and discontinued, on the suggestion of the Editorial Committee comprised of Civil Servants from other Departments, was to have the axe laid at the root of the Department. But, while vigorously objecting, and defending his Confidential Prints, Pope, like any Civil Servant under unwelcome instruction, submissively wrote: "If the Minister thinks it desirable, I am prepared to acquiesce in the suggestion of the Editorial Committee that the remaining copies shall be made on the mimeograph machine. I submit,

however, that for a variety of reasons, notably the great convenience of having a number of spare copies of these prints on hand, the present system of printing these confidential despatches be not interfered with."

To Sir George Foster Pope wrote: "Before the issuing of any direction on so important and confidential a subject, the matter ought to have been submitted to me for necessary consideration." To Sir Robert Borden he concluded his letter by saying: "In the meantime all work thereon is stayed, and the manuscript which I sent to the Bureau three months ago is lying untouched. I would respectfully ask that a decision might be reached on this question as soon as possible."(1)

The records do not reveal what response Pope had from Mr. Rowell, Sir George Foster, or Sir Robert Borden. Nevertheless, some action apparently took place which prevented the Prints from being discontinued, or even mimeographed. In a "private" letter to Borden dated December 7, 1920, at the end of the same year, regarding another grievance with the Editorial Committee (and Mr. Cook in particular, who, to Pope, seemed to be the "higger in the wood-pile"), Joseph Pope said: "I do not wish you to understand from this letter that I am making any complaint. Your kind intervention saved my confidential prints from extinction. Their continuance was almost vital to the proper conduct of this Department."

(1) Borden Papers. O.C. 552.

Treaty Collection

In addition to the regular series of Confidential Prints on special subjects, which were kept up to date by supplementary volumes, or additional prints to be attached, Walker undertook an onerous and slow task of compiling in one volume a collection of all Treaties of Great Britain and the United States affecting Canada. This work came to fruition in 1913, when the compilation was printed in fifty copies, and subsequently in a much larger edition. This useful work was received with acclaim; Sir Robert Borden repeatedly asked for additional copies; and asked that a copy should be sent to each Minister and to some of the Departments.(1) In the same year, another volume was prepared by Mr. Walker on the treaties and correspondence between Great Britain and the United States, from 1906 to the end of 1912, relating to International Boundaries and Boundary Waters.(2)

Annual Reports

Related somewhat to this matter of prints, may be mentioned the Annual Reports of the Department of External Affairs which were prescribed in both the 1909 and 1912 Acts. They were in fact a continuation, in separate form, of the Annual Reports of the Secretary of State.*

(1) Borden Papers. 2997. (1). (2). (Public Archives).

(2) Ibid.

* While in the Auditor General's annual reports, the Department of External Affairs fiscal report, from 1909 to 1914, was included under a sub-section of the Secretary of State's fiscal report - which made Pope feel that his Department was nothing more than a subordinate sub-department or "branch"; there was nevertheless, from 1909-10, a separate report by the Department of External Affairs itself, equal and parallel to that of the Secretary of State's Department, but distinct from it; and after 1914 the Auditor General's report presented the fiscal report of the Department of External Affairs as a separate section or chapter.

While the first Bill creating the Department was under discussion, as has been indicated, Pope and Walker raised objections to the requirement of submitting an annual departmental report, for the reasons, first, that this was not a revenue earning Department, and second, because external affairs were matters often confidential, and the progress-reports on diplomatic negotiations should not be made public. The objections, however, were overborne, and reports, though reticent and brief, were regularly issued.

They very tersely summarized the subjects of external negotiations during the previous fiscal year; made no comments on problems of departmental administration; included as annexed schedules lists of all foreign consuls or consular agents in Canada, with their ranks, dates of appointment, and location; full passport regulations and a list of all persons issued with Canadian passports during the year; and a list - each year slightly longer - of the staff of the Department; (this latter list was discontinued in 1914, but remained in the Auditor General's annual reports).

Note: According to traditional government practice, these annual reports were issued in blue paper covers, the customary "blue books", which is still characteristic of most of the Canadian Government reports. In the nineteen-forties, however, when Mr. L.B. Pearson was Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, an innovation was introduced of issuing these reports in multi-coloured covers, doubtless with the object of making them more attractive to the reader, both at home and abroad. An effort also was made to brighten their style and readability without sacrificing succinctness and economy.

[redacted]

21.

DEPARTMENTAL CONFLICTS

Departmental Conflicts

Inter-Departmental Relations

The creation of a new Government Department almost inevitably results in some difficulties of adjustment and reallocation of various functions. Activities which had formerly been performed by the previous Departments were in part transferred to the new one; and until these reallocations took regular form, there were bound to be some overlapping and some confusion. There was a switch in the channel of correspondence for distribution; there were two partly related Under-Secretaries instead of one. The older Departments had to get used to the new apparatus, and sometimes misdirected their approaches. Inter-related Departments had to accommodate themselves to the integration of a new supplementary Department. In many points of detail the instructions or regulations were not sufficiently specific.

It is remarkable, however, that in these new circumstances, the work quickly fell into the new pattern and the inter-departmental relationships adjusted themselves, - with the exception for some years, of the Secretary of State's Department.

Governor General's Office

Reference has been made to the misgivings of the Governor General over the questionable term "conduct of official correspondence" by the new Department, which he held might imply the usurpation of his constitutional prerogatives. This contretemps, however, passed over.

Failing statutory clarification, private assurances that no change in the Governor General's role was contemplated sufficed to satisfy both Earl Grey and the Colonial Office. The Department did not presume to take over the conduct of Canada's external relations; but only the care of the correspondence. After Earl Grey left, the misgiving ceased. It was resuscitated briefly by the Colonial Office, and through the Duke of Connaught, in the amending Act of 1912, but again private explanations were reassuring, and no further dispute arose.

The only other difficulty encountered in the first few years was the routing of correspondence from the Governor General's Office to the two Departments. This was largely due to lack of explicit instructions, to misunderstandings, and to inadvertent errors in address. They were, on the whole, of little importance, and were rectified on each occasion and, in the end, remedied by closer agreement. But for a time they seriously irritated Pope, jealous of his own prerogatives and position, and he made an issue of them in acrid correspondence with Mr. Mulvey, the Governor General's Secretary, and ultimately Sir Robert Borden; but even in this matter, the Governor General's Secretary was absolved from blame; apologies were made where necessary, and more specific instructions clarified any errors of distribution.

Relations with Other Departments

It does not appear that either under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, or under Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Arthur Meighen who were concurrently Secretary of State for External Affairs, there was any friction between their Prime

Minister's Offices and the new Department. The personal relations between Pope and the Prime Ministers were most cordial, and almost intimate, and the relations between Pope and Walker, and the Prime Ministers' Private Secretaries, were also devoid of any confusion or misunderstanding. Pope indeed was, somewhat unusually, free to take many of his departmental troubles direct to the Prime Minister, could discuss them, or leave memoranda for him to consider, and generally received his sympathetic consideration and occasionally his beneficial intervention.

Nor were there any serious difficulties between the Privy Council and the Department of External Affairs. Questions of proper passing of papers to and from the various Departments and the Privy Council had been implicitly settled by the legislative reforms of 1909, and no friction seems to have arisen in this respect.

Note has already been made of Pope's quarrels, on several occasions, with the Printing Bureau, over costs and delays of printing, and over supplies of particular stationery. Pope chose to refer his complaints to the Prime Minister. He apparently was chiefly critical of the Assistant King's Printer, Mr. Cook. With the Editorial Committee, upon which Mr. Cook also sat, Pope had serious friction, on account of its interference with the printing of his Confidential Prints; and again he took his complaint to the Prime Minister, as well as to the President of the Privy Council, Mr. Rowell, and to the Minister of Trade and Commerce under whose Department the Printing Bureau operated. But these clashes with

the Printing Bureau were not limited to Pope's Department; other Departments also lodged complaints, and Mr. Mulvey called together a meeting of the Deputy Ministers of many of the Departments to discuss the common problems.

The Department's long struggle with the Department of Public Works over premises has been fully described. It does not seem that there was any serious friction in this matter, for it was recognized that the Department of Public Works was not itself responsible for space shortage, and in fact was very sympathetic and as cooperative as possible, and earned Pope's thanks and appreciation for the efforts that were made - in the East Block when work on windows was suspended so as not to disturb Pope, in adapting the Trafalgar Building to Pope's needs, and in endeavouring to provide suitable quarters in the East Block later, for which Mr. Hunter was thanked.

Thus the new Department of External Affairs, young and embryonic as it was, maintained reasonably good relations with each of the other Departments, except with that from which it had branched off. In the nature of things, the early difficulties with the "parent" Department of State were confused.

In certain respects, the reallocation of functions was made specific, and no difficulty arose. Certain fields of work, such as consular affairs and passport issuance, were indubitably transferred, although in the latter work there was some problem over the utilization of the seal, needed for passports but held in the custody of the

Secretary of State. But in other areas, there was divided or inadequately deliniated responsibility. This was largely because neither in the Statute, nor in the Order-in-Council, creating the new Department, nor in any other formal manner, were the allocations of separate responsibility clearly or completely stipulated; they were to be apportioned by later adjustment and mutual agreement. Controversies then arose, accentuated by the rivalry between Mr. Pope and Mr. Mulvey as co-Under-Secretaries under a single Minister - at least until the separation of the Secretary of State from External Affairs.

A further example of this difficulty of allocation is shown in a letter from Mulvey to Pope dated April 19, 1911:(1)

> A few days ago, while I was in the Minister's Office, I happened to hear him say that he was signing a paper relating to the Royal Bounty for triplets, and, as it has not reached this office, as I assumed it should, I asked for further information, and found that the matter had been entirely dealt with by your Department. The subject, of course, is a very trivial one, but if dealings with trivial matters are not regulated by some principle, there will shortly be confusion between your Department and this. It appears to me that the matter of the Royal Bounty to triplets is one which should be dealt with by this Department, and not by yours.
>
> While upon this subject, I should like to understand more fully the exact method of distributing papers which prevails with the Governor General's Office and your Department, and I am writing to Mr. Malcolm upon the subject. It appears that he distributes directly to the Department quite a number of matters, for instance, those connected with the London Examinations, some extradition matters, and others. Why, for instance, London Examination correspondence should come directly here and not to your office, I cannot understand, because the correspondence originates out of Canada, although it is to be dealt with by

(1) File 466/11.

the Lieutenant Governors of the Provinces. If subjects arising out of Canada are sent directly to this Department by the Governor General's Office, then I think that the practice should be uniform, and that everything that is to be so dealt with here should be sent directly; and correspondence relating to the Royal Bounty to triplets, I think falls within this category.

Distribution of Statutes

A number of cases of misunderstanding arose out of mistakes made in the Governor General's Secretary's Office as to the proper addressing of despatches and reports for distribution. When they were addressed to the Secretary of State, as head of both Departments, they were normally opened by Mr. Mulvey, the Under-Secretary of State, when they properly should have gone to Mr. Pope, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. By protests or friendly letters to the Governor General's Secretary, these errors were gradually minimized by more careful addressing. In some cases batches of British reports, which should first have gone to Mr. Pope, went to Mr. Mulvey, were passed on to Mr. Pope for distribution to other Departments concerned, and then a few copies were returned to Mr. Mulvey for distribution to the Provincial Lieutenant-Governors. This confusion caused numerous letters exchanged between Mulvey and Pope. In one of

them, the question of payment of postal costs was raised. Mr. Mulvey, for example, wrote to Mr. Pope on April 29, 1911:

> The enclosed reference from the Governor General's Secretary indicates still further the necessity of the revision of the mode by which references are made by the Governor General's Office. This file was handed to me by Mr. Brophy, with an enquiry as to who would pay the expense of forwarding about fifty volumes of Statutes to your office. I have enquired of Mr. Roy whether he distributes these Statutes, and he informs me that he does, and that he has done so ever since the establishment of your Department. This, of course, means that the Statutes are sent to this office, following the Minister's instructions, to be transmitted to your office and then returned here. I should be glad to take the matter up with you, for the purpose of discussing it with Mr. Malcolm as soon as he returns to Ottawa.(1)

The dispute continued into the following year. In June, 1912, Mr. Mulvey complained to Mr. Pope that one of the latter's clerks, Mr. Leblanc, on his own and without formal authorization from above, had asked Mr. Mulvey's clerk, Mr. Roy, for a Distribution List of the Imperial Statutes, which arrived from London and went to various Canadian departments and in some cases to the Provincial Governments. Mr. Mulvey said:

> I think that the clerks should be given to understand that Government business cannot be carried on in this way. It would be intolerable if permitted. The statement was also made that your Department had these Statutes for distribution. If this be so, I am exceedingly surprised, as such distribution has always been made through this Department. I may say that I am communicating with Colonel Lowther* respecting the very unsatisfactory methods adopted by his office in distributing matters between this Department and yours - methods quite contrary to what I understand to be decided upon some time ago.

(1) File 466/1911.

* Lieut. Col. H.C. Lowther, C.M.G., M.V.O., D.S.O., Governor General's Secretary.

Mr. Mulvey's letter of the same date to Colonel Lowther read:

> I hope you will pardon my persistence, but this appears to be necessary in adjusting the distribution of business from your office which must be attended to by either the Department of External Affairs or the Department of the Secretary of State.
>
> Some months ago I discussed this subject with you and with Sir Joseph Pope, and I understood that a few rules were laid down which were to be adhered to as well as they could be in distributing business. One of these rules I understood to be that matters originating in Canada should be dealt with by this Department, while matters originating out of Canada should be dealt with by the Department of External Affairs. This is, of course, an arbitrary division, and one which should be elastic, but it was considered at the time to be a reasonable one, and it should be adhered to, with such special exceptions as may from time to time be necessary.
>
> (Several examples of erroneous addressing and handling were then quoted, pointing out that what should have been sent to the Secretary of State's Department by custom were now going to, and were being handled by, the Department of External Affairs.)
>
> Personally it makes not a whit of difference to me how papers are distributed from your office. I think you will agree with me, however, that public business should be carried on under well defined rules, and that it is my duty to do what I can to see that this is done. With respect to the division of duties of the Department of External Affairs and the Department of the Secretary of State, it is especially necessary that a well-defined division should be made. This is in the public interest, as well as in that of the Departments. The public should readily know with whom they deal, and, so far as the Departments are concerned, mistakes and delays cannot otherwise be avoided.
>
> I shall be glad if you will discuss this matter with the officials of your Department, and to hear from you whether my views are in accordance with yours. Some time ago I had occasion to discuss the subject with you, as I did several times with your predecessor in office, and matters remain very much what they were.

This letter was followed the next day, June 11th, by one from Pope to Colonel Lowther:

Mr. Mulvey, the Under-Secretary of State of Canada, has sent me a copy of a letter which he has addressed to you with reference to the distribution of despatches from your office. I am not now going into this subject in any detail. It seems to me sufficient to enclose copy of a Minute of the Privy Council approved by the late Governor General on the 1st June, 1909, directing that all despatches of a nature to be communicated to Ministers (and necessarily their enclosures) be referred to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to be by him distributed to the Departments to which they relate. It was on this under- that the Department of External Affairs was founded. I drew this Minute myself, and discussed it clause by clause with Sir Wilfrid Laurier who approved it. It is the only possible basis on which the department can be successfully administered, and in any case I respectfully submit that the enclosed Minute should be the guide of the Governor General's Office until changed or modified by the Governor-General-in-Council.

Colonel Lowther, writing from Montreal on June 12th, replied to Sir Joseph Pope:

I should be very sorry indeed if your Department had been short-circuited in any way. As far as I am aware, the only documents which have been sent direct to departments have been routine matters relating to services of officers or other unimportant details in the Militia Department. Sometimes for the convenience of the Prime Minister copies of despatches or telegrams have been sent to the Prime Minister simultaneously with their transmission to yourself.

P.S. I have had nothing from Mulvey.

Pope hastened to acknowledge this on June 13th:

I apologize for not having signed my letter of the 10th instant.

In writing it I assumed you had before you Mr. Mulvey's letter, as he wrote me on the 10th he was sending it.

Let me make quite clear to you that it is not I who am complaining of the Governor General's Office. Little inadvertences may sometimes happen, and I recognize that every rule has its exceptions, but my relations with your Office, and with every member of your staff are of the most pleasant description, and have always been so.

It is Mr. Mulvey who is dissatisfied with your course in referring everything to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. My point is

that in doing so you are merely carrying out the provisions of the Order-in-Council of the 1st June, 1909, and if he wants the procedure there laid down changed, his proper course is to address his remonstrance to the Government and not to the Governor General's Secretary.

Sir Joseph Pope thereupon wrote a long letter raisonnée to Mr. Mulvey reviewing this whole problem. The arguments continued in an exchange of further letters with increasing acerbity, and it was agreed by both that the matter at issue should be referred respectively to the two Heads of Departments - the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, who was the Prime Minister.

Sir Joseph's letter to Mulvey, dated June 13th, read:

> I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, enclosing copy of a communication which you have addressed to Colonel Lowther on the subject of distribution of business between this Department and your own.
>
> To begin with, I scarcely see what the Governor General's Secretary has to do with the subject of your complaint. His duty is plain. The Order-in-Council of the 1st June, 1909, constituting the Department of External Affairs, directs that all despatches hitherto communicated to Ministers (and necessarily their enclosures) are to be sent to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The Governor General's Secretary has, therefore, no discretion in the matter. This Order-in-Council in draft form received the approval, in the first place, of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and afterwards of Mr. Murphy. The provision you take exception to (which in my opinion is essential to the success of this Department) was one of the conditions upon which I vacated the office now held by you, for the position I now hold, and is the ground work of my Department.
>
> There remain to be considered the adjustment of functions between this Department and yours. I agree with you as to the desirability of having this matter definitely settled. I never really discussed the subject either with Sir Wilfrid Laurier

or the present Secretary of State, or his predecessor, or Mr. Borden, partly from lack of opportunity and partly because I was always hoping that things would (as in the case of most if not all the other departments with whom I originally had more or less friction at the start) adjust themselves. That hope has not been fulfilled, and we must now address ourselves to the task of obtaining an authoritative decision on our points of difference. There is no probability of being able adequately to discuss this question with Mr. Borden before his departure for England, but as soon as practicable after his return I propose doing so.

I think perhaps the root of the difficulty is to be found in the erroneous view generally held in this community that the office of Secretary of State is necessarily one and indivisible; that the Secretary of State of Canada is the Secretary of State, and that the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs is, if not exactly subordinate, at any rate a lower dignity which has been evolved from the former. I need not of course remind you that under the British system there may be, and are, in England several Secretaries of State of equal rank. Now the Secretary of State for External Affairs (as such) is as much a Secretary of State as the Secretary of State of Canada (who is the Secretary of State for Home Affairs), and the Department over which the former presides, is as truly and properly a department of state as the Department hitherto more commonly associated with that name, or any other department of the public service. A glance at the statute and constituting Order-in-Council of the Department of External Affairs will I think bear out this view.

Going to particulars. I observe that you object: tmx

(1) to my distributing the Imperial Statutes, on the ground that such distribution has been made from your Department in the past. Of course it was, because the Department of External Affairs did not exist. When that Department was called into being, it naturally had assigned to it certain duties which up to then had been performed by other departments, particularly yours. The argument you use in this regard and that of Police Medals would apply equally to passports and consuls. The Order-in-Council of the 1st June, 1909, directs the Governor General's Secretary to send these statutes to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, for distribution. Is he, a Secretary of State, not competent to send a copy of these statutes, say to the Department of Finance? The very suggestion savours of absurdity.

In this connection I may observe that I did not know of Mr. Leblanc's request to Mr. Roy. At the same time I am afraid I do not attach as much importance to it as you appear to think the incident calls for. Mr. Leblanc did not know there was any principle at stake, and I suppose did not consider it necessary to approach you or me on such a trivial detail as the obtaining of a mailing list. Personally I am always careful, in view of my relations with your staff, when I have occasion to consult a file or a book of your Department, to address my request to you personally. In larger departments such intercourse in routine matters is commonly had between the officials immediately concerned, without troubling the Deputies.

With reference to the distribution of Imperial publications in general, when last I discussed the question with you, I promised to see that you were furnished with two copies of every document that reached my hands for that purpose. That promise I have faithfully carried out. In all cases when there is enough to go round my instructions are to see that you are first served, for the reason that I am almost as much interested in your Library, which I founded, as you are yourself.

I have already told Mr. Roy that if there are any gaps in his Treaty Series or other collections I am always glad to help him fill them.

(2) As regards Police Medals, all I have done is to acknowledge the receipt of a certain recommendation addressed to me in that behalf, and forward it to the Governor General. I take occasion to say however that I consider all matters connected with Honours, Titles, Precedence and the like to appertain to the First Minister, and should be administered under his direct control.

These I understand are your principal grounds of complaint. I too have many grievances. I will only mention one here, as this letter has already grown to an inordinate length. Although the rule of communicating with the provinces through your Department was made long before the Department of External Affairs was thought of, and although its observance is attended by a good deal of practical inconvenience to me, I recognize its propriety and am willing to conform to it. I submit, however, that your Department is in such cases merely the channel of communication and that you are not justified in dealing with the replies you receive from Lieutenant Governors as you did with the Naval Reserve Lands Order-in-Council of British Columbia of the 27th March, 1912, leaving me quite in the

> dark as to that Province's action in respect of the complex matter I was dealing with. If such a practice became general, how could I possibly carry on the business of my office?
>
> I trust that these little differences on official matters may in no way affect the pleasant relations which have hitherto existed between us. I have no doubt we shall get disentangled after a while, and pursue our respective courses without danger of collision.(1)

In September, 1912, Pope decided to bring this whole matter to the consideration of his chief, Sir Robert Borden. In a letter dated September 14 he wrote to "The Secretary of State for External Affairs": "I take the liberty of submitting to you a short memorandum upon the administration of this Department, and the need of having its functions more clearly defined. I have tried to put my views in a brief compass, and would ask you to do me the favour of giving them your consideration." Notwithstanding Pope's claim that it was "short" and in "a brief compass", the memorandum was long, and is therefore placed as an appendix to this chapter. In it Pope adverted to the ill-defined apportionment of functions and duties and to the need of their clarification, and referred specifically to the distribution of correspondence, the channel of communication with Provincial Governments, matters relating to honours, titles and precedence, the apportionment of official seals, and finally and incidentally, to the question of Departmental premises.

The matter of distribution of statutes and other routine documents seems to have ultimately solved itself, for there is little further critical correspondence on the subject after 1912.

(1) File 666/1912.

Communications with Lieutenant-Governors

There had been in 1880 a dispute whether the Secretary of State of Canada, representing the Federal Government, should-for the sake of convenience and to avoid delays - correspond with the Provinces directly with the Provincial Secretary, instead of through the Lieutenant Governor; but the latter channel, already agreed to in 1869, was retained.

But later, after 1909, a lengthy dispute arose as to whether, with external documents, the Under-Secretary of State (Mr. Mulvey) or the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, should communicate directly with the Lieutenant Governor. The old practice* was preserved, but with increasing dissatisfaction on Pope's part because of delays and lack of "follow-up" by the Secretary of State's Department, - which injured the External Affairs Department's prestige vis-a-vis the Colonial Office and foreign Governments. This problem perturbed Pope for a year or two, and came to a head in 1911.

On November 29, 1911, for example, we find Mr. Pope writing Mr. Borden in part as follows:

> Referring to my letter of the 25th instant on the subject of the title of this Department, may I add one word in support of my desire that you would confirm by Parliamentary sanction the present title of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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* The medium of formal communication between the Federal and Provincial Governments through the Lieutenant-Governors was a relic of the Office of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, which existed only from 1867 to 1873 and was distinct and separate from that of the Secretary of State of Canada, and was occupied by different incumbents from the latter. (C. Stein to J. Leger, letter dated April 23, 1958).

> A considerable portion of the correspondence that passes through my hands relates to matters in respect of which reference to the Provinces is necessary - for example questions concerning local laws, including education, the laws of property of inheritance, etc., besides a number of routine despatches containing invitations, requests for reports for the War Office and Admiralty, for verification of documents, births, marriages, deaths, and so forth. Then again there are questions partly Dominion and partly Provincial, e.g., the Labrador Boundary.
>
> So far, observing the implied instructions of my late Minister, I have communicated with Lieutenant-Governors in respect of all such matters, through the Secretary of State of Canada, making his department the channel of transmission. With the head of this Department a Secretary of State, it would be quite fitting for his Under-Secretary to communicate with Lieutenant-Governors direct in respect of external affairs, thus obviating a very considerable amount of perfectly needless circumlocation and consequent delay. I am afraid that without drawing upon the paramount authority of the Prime Minister, the Department of External Affairs, with more occasion, would have no more justification to communicate with the Provinces direct than any other Department of the Government.

Borden's reply is not available; he had just taken office as Prime Minister and was no doubt hard beset with numerous other urgent matters. Nevertheless, Pope continued to nurse this idea for another year or more.

In Pope's opinion, law and practice would permit any category of "Secretary of State", as by designation one of the superior officers and ministers of the Crown, to have the right to correspond with Lieutenant-Governors. This had traditionally meant the Secretary of State of Canada, because there was no other Secretary of State. But when a Secretary of State for External Affairs was additionally recognized, he held that this Minister equally had the right, as another "Secretary of State",

to communicate directly with the Lieutenant Governors. Pope did not introduce this proposed practice, and adhered to the old form; but he asked the Prime Minister, first to confirm "by Parliamentary sanction", i.e. by statute in place of Order-in-Council, the title of Secretary of State for External Affairs, and secondly, to empower this latter officer, on an equal basis as that of the Secretary of State of Canada, to correspond directly with the Lieutenant-Governors. One reason for this suggestion was to expedite correspondence and avoid circumlocation; another reason was that Pope thought that his Department's work was being unduly delayed; and a related reason was that he felt that Mr. Mulvey, deputy head of the Secretary of State's Department, was negligent in following up correspondence with the Lieutenant-Governors and in pressing for replies, which Mr. Pope, deputy head of the ~~Secretary of State for~~ Department of External Affairs, ~~Department~~, could more effectively accomplish.

In an undated memorandum found in departmental file 311/1912 and marked in pencil "From Mr. W.H. Walker's papers", the following extract is taken:

> In order to the more effective working of the Department and to make the terms of the Order-in-Council of the 1st June, 1909, regulating its procedure correspond with the Act of last session it would be expedient to amend that Order-in-Council by substituting the "Secretary of State for External Affairs" for "Secretary of State" as head of the Department, and by the addition of a clause authorizing direct communication with the Provincial Governments by the Department in respect of matters with which it is properly concerned. The advantages of such direct communication, obviating the unnecessary delay involved in the present practice of communicating through the Secretary of State of Canada, are obvious; and no reason against the adoption of such a procedure can be alleged apparently except that it has not previously been followed.

Apart from Mr. Borden's reply of October 5, 1912, requesting a copy of the Order-in-Council referred to and a draft Order-in-Council "such as you think should be passed", which Pope promptly provided, it does not appear from the records so far seen that any action was taken on Pope's long memorandum of September 13th. Pope enclosed the Order-in-Council, P.C.1242 of June 1, 1909, setting up the new Department of External Affairs, and a draft of an amending Order-in-Council, as follows:

To His Royal Highness the Governor-General-in-Council:

The undersigned has had under his consideration the working of the Department of External Affairs, and in relation thereto he finds that the directions laid down in that regard in the Minute of the Privy Council, approved by Your Royal Highness's predecessor on the 1st June, 1909, do not appear in all cases to have been observed with that uniformity and regularity which is indispensable to the effective discharge of the duties of his Department. He therefore recommends that in all cases where a despatch or other document, calling for action, is referred by him to a public department, the head of that department shall communicate his views thereon, either directly to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, or through his deputy to the Under-Secretary as may be most convenient, and that the necessary report in the premises to the Governor-General-in-Council or Governor-General as the case may be, shall be made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The undersigned also recommends that, in order to give effect to the provisions of the Act constituting the Department, whereby responsibility for correspondence with outside Governments is entrusted to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Your Royal Highness may be pleased to direct that all requests or recommendations to the Governor-General for communications to outside Governments should be made through the medium of the Department of External Affairs.

The undersigned also recommends that, with a view to the more expeditious despatch of public business, the Secretary of State for External Affairs be authorized to communicate direct with Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces in respect of such external affairs.

Humbly submitted:

Secretary of State for External Affairs

Ottawa, 17 October, 1912.

But there is no record that Borden took any action toward submitting this draft to the Privy Council.

There is a hiatus in the file correspondence until 1915, when the question of channel of communication with Lieutenant-Governors - apparently not yet regularized,-was revived by Pope. In a "Memorandum for Sir Robert Borden" dated September, 1915, he wrote again:

> With reference to the complaint of the United States Consul-General in the matter of the alleged shooting of James Peck, of Alexandria Bay, New York, I desire to say that the papers in this matter were sent to the Under-Secretary of State of Canada on the 7th May last, for transmission to the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, with a request that he would furnish a report on the case "with all convenient speed". On the 27th of the same month, certain further affidavits in the matter were forwarded to the Under-Secretary of State. No answer having been received in three months, on the 2nd September I wrote pointing out that the United States authorities were pressing for a reply in the matter, and asking if steps could not be taken to expedite the Lieutenant-Governor's answer. On the 3rd instant the Under-Secretary of State informed me that he had drawn His Honour's attention to the matter on the 5th August with no result, and that he was again bringing the subject before him.
>
> Sir Robert Borden will recall that on more than one occasion I have called attention to the remissness of the provincial authorities, and particularly the Provincial Government of Ontario, in replying to enquiries made of him. The discredit connected with such of these delays as relate to external affairs, falls on this Department, which has no part in the correspondence. While I attach no blame to the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada in this matter, I am inclined to think that the evil complained of would be minimized if the Department of External Affairs were authorized to hold direct communications with the Provinces in respect of such external affairs. There is, in my opinion, no constitutional objection to such communications by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.
>
> If I have not recently said anything on this subject, it is not for lack of matter, but for the reason that in the grave crisis we are passing through, representations about matters of procedure can commonly afford to await a more convenient season.

Moreover, I am naturally so conservative that I would not willingly disturb the system under which the Secretary of State of Canada is the sole channel of communication between the Dominion and the Provinces. This system has theoretical advantages, but these are, in my judgment, over-borne by practical considerations. Under the present system, delays are the rule. The Colonial Office frequently has to call attention to unanswered despatches, which in most cases are unanswered because the Provinces will not send in the necessary information to enable us to answer them. This is bad enough, but complaints from a foreign Government are more serious, and it is particularly unfortunate that we should appear to show any discourtesy to the United States at this time. With five years' experience of the present system, I see no prospect of improvement unless Sir Robert will give effect to my suggestions as to the channel of communication. In that hope I submit a draft report to the Governor-General-in-Council recommending that the Secretary of State for External Affairs be authorized to communicate direct with the Provinces in respect of such external affairs.

I feel reasonably sure that if I were authorized to communicate direct with the Lieutenant-Governors, I should be able to get some sort of answer out of them.

(Sgd) Joseph Pope(1)

Ottawa, 18th September, 1915.

(Enclosed draft) -

To His Royal Highness the Governor-General-in-Council:

The undersigned, with a view to the more direct and expeditious despatch of public business, has the honour to recommend to Your Royal Highness that the Minute of the Privy Council, dated 16th February, 1880, laying down the procedure to be observed in the conduct of correspondence between the Government of Canada and those of the Provinces, be amended to provide that so much of this correspondence as relates to external affairs of the Dominion, be conducted by the Secretary of State for External Affairs direct with the Lieutenant- Governors.

Humbly submited: -----

Secretary of State for External Affairs.(2)

Ottawa, 18th September, 1915.

(1) File 666/12

(2) File 666/12

It is not known what the result of these representations were, or what Sir Robert Borden's reply or action was. It does not appear, however, that any change was made. The Secretary of State continued, ~~and still continues~~ to be the sole official channel of communication between the Dominion Government and the Provincial Lieutenant-Governors.*

* Note: No deviation from the constitutional practice of the Secretary of State channel of communication with Lieutenant-Governors appears to have been made until 1958. In an External Affairs departmental notice dated May 2, 1958, it was announced that "the practice of channelling all official communications to the provincial governments through the Department of Secretary os State is to be discontinued". In future, communications on subjects of imperial or foreign concern, the participation of the provinces in international conventions, information requests from the United Nations Organization or its agencies or of Commonwealth or of Foreign Governments, and similar matters, were to be carried on directly between the Department of External Affairs and the provincial governments "for the time being." In a letter of April 23rd, Mr. C. Stein, the Under-Secretary of State wrote to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs in this connection: "A further simplification can no doubt be achieved in the distribution to the provincial legislatures of United Kingdom publications. I understand that the London Gazette, House of Lords and House of Commons debates and Public General Acts are no longer distributed to the Provinces through this Department. Enclosed is a list of a number of United Kingdom publications, such as Treaty Series and Command Papers which are still received by us from your department for distribution to the Provinces. I suggest that this distribution by your department could be made direct to the provinces."

APPENDIX

Confidential Memorandum for the Prime Minister, touching the administration of the Department of External Affairs

This Department was erected by Statute in 1909 (8 & 9 Ed.VII. c. 13).

On the 1st June of that year a Minute of Council was passed outlining its functions. This Minute was originally framed on the expectation that the Department would be presided over by the Prime Minister. The subsequent change of policy in this respect was the main reason for avoiding too precise definition of the terms of this Minute, until sufficient time had elapsed to indicate how the new arrangement would work. The reversion to the original plan of placing the Department under the Prime Minister, together with the experience acquired during the past three years, render expedient - nay, necessary - a revision of the terms of this Order in Council.

The establishment of a second Secretaryship of State naturally gave rise to some confusion at the time, which was heightened by the circumstance that both departments were presided over by the same Minister.

Upon the constitution of the Department of External Affairs, it was inevitable that certain duties, which in the past had been discharged by other departments, should be taken over by the Secretary of State for External Affairs. This was especially the case as regards the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, which sustained the loss of certain functions hitherto discharged by it. Consular matters were transferred by Statute. The issue of passports went as a matter of course. Beyond these, however, there has been no authoritative division of functions between the two secretariats, and some friction in consequence has arisen which it is not in the public interest should continue. The undersigned is of opinion that the time has arrived when there should be, as contemplated by Section 5 of the constituting Act, a specific allocation of powers to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and in particular that the functions of his Department and those of the Secretary of State of Canada should be clearly differentiated.

With special reference to the relations between these two Departments, he desires to offer the following suggestions:

1. The existing Minute of the 1st June, 1909, provides that all despatches which the Governor-General desires to communicate to his Ministers shall be sent in the first instance to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, who shall deal with them in a prescribed manner. Among these despatches are those involving communication with the Provinces. By a Minute

of Council passed many years ago, it is laid down that the Secretary of State of Canada shall be the channel of communication with the Lieutenant-Governors, and that any department desiring to correspond with the Provinces, shall do so through the Secretary of State of Canada. Under the old order of things this was an excellent provision but the undersigned submits that the changed conditions effected by the establishment of the Department of External Affairs calls for a modification of its terms, the literal observance of which by his Department entails a duplicate set of correspondence and much consequent circumlocution and delay. He feels that it would greatly facilitate the business of his office if he were authorized to correspond direct with the various Lieutenant-Governors in respect of External Affairs, instead of as at present through the circuitous route indicated above. In so doing there would be no departure from constitutional usage, for Secretaries of State are co-equal and co-ordinate. They are the authorized channels through which the Crown communicates to any part of the body politic, and Todd expressly lays down that "either of them may be empowered to convey the King's commands at any time, to any person." (Parliamentary Government in England. Vol.II, p.609. See also Anson's Law and Custom of the Constitution, Vol.II. pp.168-9).

2. It is suggested that all matters relating to Honours, Titles, Precedence and the like, so far as they are dealt with departmentally, should appertain to the Prime Minister. Sir John Macdonald kept them primarily in his own hands - Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the other hand would have nothing to do with them, and under his administration, so far as they were dealt with at all, they drifted in a loose and indefinite sort of way to the Secretary of State of Canada. They are not, however, strictly speaking, subjects for collective ministerial advice, but are rather matters for informal communication between the Governor General and his chief adviser, in whose hands they should remain. The fact of the First Minister being the Secretary of State for External Affairs, renders this extremely easy to effect, for he has merely to retain in his own hands the despatches that reach him on the subject.

There remains to be considered the question of Seals. The Secretary of State of Canada is the custodian of the Great Seal, which was adopted by Order-in-Council at the time of Confederation and renewed on the various demises of the Crown. In addition, there is kept in his Department what is styled the "Privy Seal", that is, a small seal having the Arms of the Governor-General of the day engraved thereon. The use of this Seal is governed altogether by custom.

On the arrival of a new Governor General a

Seal with his Arms is ordered by the Department. The Governor General never sees it, and when he leaves the country the Seal remains behind. It is employed to sign instruments of lesser importance than those which pass the Great Seal. Among such documents are passports. Now passports are issued by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and these passports have in each case to be sent up to the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada to be sealed, which, apart from questions of convenience, scarcely comports with the dignity of a department of State presided over by the Prime Minister.

When in England a short time ago, the undersigned brought this anomaly to the attention of the Colonial Office, and was informed that there could be no objection to the Secretary of State of External Affairs having a special Seal in his department, which would obviate the necessity of sending documents for sealing to another department. It was pointed out to him that in England all Secretaries of State have seals of office, which are delivered on appointment, personally by the King. When a Secretary of State resigns his office, he hands them back to the King who keeps them until the new Secretary of State comes to receive them. Apart from reasons of convenience, it would therefore be eminently fitting that the Secretary of State for External Affairs should have in his keeping a Seal for sealing documents issued under his advice. The Colonial Office further pointed out that inasmuch as the use of the present Privy Council Seal rests altogether on usage, no Order-in-Council or other formal Act would be necessary to authorize the use of a second Seal. The undersigned asks the sanction of the Prime Minister to procure and use such a Seal to facilitate the issue of passports.

With reference to the general subject of the functions of the Department of External Affairs, the undersigned suggests that, following out the policy embodied in the constituting Act and Minute of Council of the 1st June, 1909, and in harmony with their provisions, it should be formally laid down that requests to the Governor General from other departments for communication to outside Governments, should be made only through the medium of the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The undersigned ventures to hope that these suggestions may receive the consideration of the Prime Minister, and that in the event of their commending themselves to him, that the Minute of Council of the 1st June, 1909, may be amended accordingly. In any event the undersigned would seek to impress on Mr. Borden the extreme desirability of having some definite rule of action in respect of the above mentioned matters,

authoritatively laid down for the guidance of the departments concerned.

In conclusion, the undersigned cannot refrain from calling attention to the wholly inadequate nature of the accommodation provided for the Department of External Affairs, which Department, he further submits, should be in close proximity both to the office of the Prime Minister and that of the Governor General's Secretary.

Respectfully submitted:

(Sgd) Joseph Pope

Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs(1)

Ottawa, 13th September, 1912.

(1) File 666/12.