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11.

LANGUAGE SPECIALIZATION

Language SpecializationLanguage Qualifications

From time to time the question was raised in Parliament and elsewhere as to whether Canadian diplomats in foreign countries were expected to know the language of the countries where they served.

The old British practice had been to have senior diplomatic representatives and Heads of Mission chosen and appointed irrespective of their linguistic knowledge of foreign vernaculars, although a few great diplomats, such as several appointed to Turkey, China, etc., became linguistic experts in their fields. In general, however, while language knowledge was an asset in their qualifying examinations, the senior Ambassadors relied on their assistants, their "language-secretaries", or, in the Levant, their dragomans, for the local language, together with indigenous interpreters. In the British Consular Service, on the other hand, which had its Levant Service, its China Service, etc., the chief officers were specially trained in the regional language. While not in all cases essential, in the British Service, a specialized knowledge of a foreign language (e.g. Persian, Arabic, Slavonic, etc.) was, generally speaking, an asset and an additional qualification for a post; either a pre-knowledge aided a candidate for appointment, or a selected candidate, after recruitment, was assigned to take a course of language training, in a selected field of specialization.

The Canadian Government, prior to 1940, rarely

took this attitude. In the first place, the Missions in foreign countries were very few - Tokyo being the only "difficult" language post. It was also assumed that either a well-educated and intellectual secretary, a priori familiar with French and English and one other popular European language (e.g. Spanish or German), could if necessary, readily acquire, while en poste, the rudiments of another local foreign language, - for which, following British practice, he could claim tuition expenses and afterwards a language-knowledge bonus while at that linguistic post; or he could rely on local interpreters and assistants. In other words, knowledge of an alien language (other than the common European languages) was not emphasized or a sine qua non for admission.

In the Latin-American posts, opened during the Second War, almost all officers readily acquired a knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese, which presented no great difficulties. In the Japan post, opened in 1929, most of the officers, including the commercial officers, privately acquired an elementary working or conversational knowledge of Japanese and some passed elementary British tests which qualified them to receive a language bonus; but a professional knowledge was not attempted, since the usual consular training for Japanese language was a full-time three-year course. Moreover, the young Canadian Foreign Service did not contemplate a corps of permanent area specialists such as the British Levant or Arabic Service, the China or Far Eastern Service, etc.

A background of experience in this respect was to be found in the very far-flung Trade Commissioner Service, set up "between 1912 and 1920" by Sir George Foster.⁽¹⁾ Candidates were required to pass Civil Service Commission examinations, and these included commercial languages such as French, German, or Spanish, and possibly others.⁽²⁾ Reference was made in a 1931 debate to the new Trade Commissioner's Office opened in Cairo, to which Mr. Lamontagne had been appointed. After serving in Brussels, he was loaned for nearly four years by the government of Canada to the government of Egypt as an expert adviser in the drawing up of the customs regulations. When his engagement with the Egyptian government expired, he was appointed Canadian Trade Commissioner at Cairo. His territory was to cover the Sudan, Palestine, Cyprus, Iraq, Syria and Persia. Mr. Jacobs said he had suggested to the Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce that "a person more conversant with oriental languages, such as Hebrew, Assyrian, and so on should be appointed, because, after all, we are dealing not with French trade but with oriental trade." Mr. Stevens, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, replied: "Mr. Lamontagne speaks not only English and French most fluently, but also Egyptian and Arabic. That is a fairly well rounded out linguistic qualification for the position." Mr. Jacobs said: "I am particularly interested in knowing whether he speaks Hebrew"; to which Mr. Stevens replied: "I am quite satisfied all the Hebrews will understand him."⁽³⁾

(1) H. of C. Debates, May 14, 1931, p.1607.

(2) Ibid. p. 1606.

(3) Ibid. p. 1608.

Appointment of Japanese Language Officer in Japan*

The opening of a Canadian Legation in Tokyo in 1929 was accompanied by the problem of translator and interpreter service. Several Japanese clerks were engaged (one, Mr. Kimura, was a Canadian citizen and graduate of Toronto University (B.A., B.D.)), but they did not fully meet the requirements.

As early as February, 1930, Mr. Marler made an appeal to the Department for a Japanese language officer. Besides enclosing a memorandum prepared by Mr. Kirkwood, he pointed out that:

The conditions under which a diplomatic mission works in the Far East are quite different from those in any other country in which Canada has a Legation; and the need of a properly trained and competent linguist on the staff of the Legation in Japan cannot be too greatly emphasized. The need will be greater when Canadian relations with the Far East have become closer and more intimate; and as it will take at least three years for a Language Student to become qualified as a Diplomatic Language Officer or Japanese Secretary of the Legation, an early provision for a certain future need is most strongly advocated.

Dr. Skelton replied on October 22, stating that the question had been given consideration but no satisfactory solution had yet been found. In November, Mr. Marler sent another memorandum on the subject, and again on January 27, 1932.

In the latter letter he suggested the possibility of Mr. George S. Patterson, "an officer of the International Y.M.C.A. who had been stationed in Japan as an adviser to the Japanese Association since about 1912. He

(1) File 80-L-30 (Records Centre)

knows Japan, the Japanese people, and the language, and has been a constant resident since his first arrival with the exception of a term of service with the Canadian forces during the World War, and two or three years at different times devoted to study at Columbia University, where he has now received his Ph.D. degree. He is also a graduate of Mt. Allison University. During the past year Mr. Patterson was President of the Canadian Association of Japan and he and his wife are among the best known and most popular members of the Canadian community." (1) *

Another prospective candidate in 1932 was R.M. Wynd, a son of a former Baptist missionary in Tokyo, the Rev. W.O. Wynd; he had served in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and spoke Japanese correctly and fluently. ~~He~~ He obtained recommendations from Hon. Charles Dunning, in 1936 Minister of Finance, and Hon. James G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture in 1938. His application was carefully considered, but he was not appointed.

(1) File 80-L-30

* Mr. Patterson subsequently joined the Department and was assigned to China, where the Japanese were partly in control and his knowledge of that language was useful. He was appointed in February, 1943, Counsellor to the Canadian Legation in Chungkung, and was Chargé d'Affaires there from September, 1944, to March, 1945. He served on the Far Eastern Commission in Washington July-November, 1946, was posted as Counsellor to the Canadian Embassy in Nanking, January, 1947, and served as Chargé d'Affaires there until April. He was Acting Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission, Tokyo, August-November, 1947, and was Canadian Representative on the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea, at Seoul, and at New York in 1948. In April, 1949, he was appointed Canadian Consul General at Shanghai, and then was assigned to the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations in New York, where he died.

** He had also lived in China, India, Egypt, and Palestine and had travelled throughout most of the other countries in Asia and Europe.

C.P.A. Holmes was also considered, in 1935. He had been born the son of a Canadian missionary in Japan, and had lived there for his first sixteen years; and was a graduate (B.A. and M.A.) of the University of Toronto, and was, in 1938, an examiner with the Civil Service Commission in Ottawa.

Also G.A. McIntosh, a graduate of Knox College, Toronto, and a missionary in China, was considered. He took special studies and obtained his M.A. in China from the California College in China, and continued Chinese studies at McGill, and worked for a Ph.D. degree in oriental languages at Harvard. He had also two years study in the Japanese language.

To all these applicants, year by year, a provisional reply was sent, making the excuse either that funds had not been allocated for the appointment, or that the candidate must first qualify at some future Civil Service Commission examination, or that the question of an appointment was still under government consideration.

In August, 1935, E. Herbert Norman made his first enquiry to the Department. He pointed out that he was born and had lived in Japan until he was seventeen, was a graduate of the University of Toronto, (B.A. 1933 in Classics, with first class honours), and of Trinity College, Cambridge University 1935, (with honours in history). He was the son of a very outstanding Canadian scholar and missionary of Japan, Dr. D. Norman, and he himself developed into a leading Japanese scholar.

On October 11, Dr. Skelton replied, saying that "There is no immediate likelihood of an opening in our Tokyo Legation. Appointments to Legations are made by the

Civil Service Commission following a competitive examination. No decision has been reached as to whether and when a further examination will be held. We have had under consideration for some time the possibility of adding to the Tokyo staff a Canadian who would be able to take full charge of the translation from and into Japanese now carried on by Japanese assistants. We have been in touch with a number of men with some training in this field. . . " Norman, while in Canada, called on Dr. Skelton and made a favourable impression; he was also personally recommended, after personal contacts, by Dr. Keenleyside and Mr. Kirkwood in Tokyo. Sir Herbert Marler was consulted regarding the candidate.

Meanwhile, Norman, in October, 1936, was granted a fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation in New York, for Japanese studies and also Chinese studies, and worked at the Harvard-Yenching^{Institute.} Because of this, he passed up the Civil Service examination which was held in October, 1936.

In March, 1938, Dr. Skelton wrote Norman inviting him to serve as an interpreter with the Canadian Government Board of Review^{*} on illegal entry of orientals into Canada, to sit at Vancouver. Norman, wishing to complete his courses of study on a renewed fellowship at Harvard, felt obliged to decline. (Mr. Wynd was subsequently appointed). He continued his Japanese studies at Columbia University and did some research work for the the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York and, for a few months, in Japan. He called on Mr. Bruce, the Canadian Minister in Tokyo. Dr. Skelton wrote to him on

^{*} Headed by Dr. Hugh Ll. Keenleyside, of External Affairs, as Chairman.

June 18, 1938: "No decision has yet been taken as to the appointment of a language officer in Tokyo, but we are still definitely interested in the possibility."

In June, 1939, Norman informed Dr. Skelton that his work with the Institute of Pacific Relations was completed. He returned to Canada and called on Dr. Skelton. Apparently arrangements were then made for his appointment, for on July 11, 1939, Dr. Skelton wrote a letter to Mr. Blair, Director of Immigration, stating that "Mr. Egerton Herbert Norman has been appointed to this Department as Language Officer for the Canadian Legation at Tokyo. It is anticipated that he may be here for several months and that later he will be sent to Tokyo as a member of the staff of the Legation there." Meanwhile Norman completed his Ph.D. degree at Harvard. He also qualified in a Civil Service Commission examination for Third Secretaries.

In January, 1940, Norman proceeded to Japan, where he worked under E.D. McGreer, the Chargé d'Affaires. In June, 1941, he was offered a position as Assistant Professor in the Department of Oriental Studies at the University of Washington, and anticipating early war, probable rupture of Canadian-Japanese relations, and probable evacuation from Japan, was greatly tempted to consider this offer, not wishing to return to Canada to be employed in routine duties in the Department in Ottawa not directly connected with the Far Eastern field. He was, however, dissuaded from this desertion; (1) and

(1) File 80-L-30

in due course, after the rupture and internment in 1941-42, and the "exchange" of diplomats, returned to Ottawa and was employed in Far Eastern work.*

Other Posts

The Japanese post was the most difficult language post until well into the Second War; and, as has been indicated, the problem of having a Canadian-Japanese language expert remained unsettled from 1929 to 1940, when at last, just before war broke out in the Pacific, an appointment was made.

On the opening of the Embassy in Soviet Russia, Mr. Dana Wilgress was appointed Ambassador. He already knew Russian, from his former experience as a Trade Commissioner in Vladivostock. His wife was Russian-born. Other Secretaries appointed either knew some Russian beforehand, such as R.A.D. Ford, or acquired it, as Arnold Smith, John Watkins, and several others did. In the Department at home, George Ignatieff and Boris Wallis were of Russian birth and spoke the language; and J. McCordick had studied Slavonic languages.

The first Canadian Minister to China was Major-General Victor Odlum, who had been educated in Japan, and may have learned a little Chinese later; he was familiar with the Far East. Mr. George Patterson, a Japanese

* E.H. Norman returned to Japan in August, 1946, where he was Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Tokyo. From 1950 to 1953 he served in the Far Eastern Division in Ottawa. In the summer of 1951 he was temporarily Acting Canadian Permanent Delegate to the United Nations in New York. In June, 1953, he was appointed High Commissioner in New Zealand, and in 1956 Ambassador to Egypt and Minister to Lebanon. He died in Cairo in 1957.

linguist, was assigned to China, partly because of the large element of Japanese military forces in the country. Arthur Menzies, (China-born), Ralph Collins, (China-born), and J.J. McCardle, who entered the Service after the war, were orientalists with knowledge of Japanese and some Chinese.

Parliamentary Interest

Apparently the greatest amount of parliamentary interest in the language question, however, was directed toward the Latin-American countries where Legations or Embassies had been opened during the war. Spanish was not a difficult idiom to learn, especially for those who were French-speaking Canadians. Portuguese was also fairly readily acquired by the new staff appointed to Brazil.

Prime Minister King stated in the House in 1943 that: "The Civil Service Commission has held only one examination for appointments to the post of Third Secretary in the Department of External Affairs in the last three years. That examination, held in 1941, was arranged particularly to fill the definite need arising from our increased contacts with Latin America. It was specifically designed for candidates with a knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese. There were 134 applicants for permission to write; thirty actually wrote, and of these five qualified and were appointed to the external affairs service." (1)

On the same occasion, Mr. King, replying to further questions, especially concerning knowledge of Latin-American idioms, replied: "I have just been reminded that

(1) H. of C. Debates, July 12, 1943, p.4666.

our Minister in Brazil, Mr. Desy, speaks Portuguese, and that our Minister in Chile, Mr. Chipman, speaks Spanish. That is a good beginning." *

As to encouragement of language study, or facilities provided for the study of these Latin-American languages, Mr. King said: "We are giving all the encouragement we can to the younger men, but, as I have said, most of the young men have been drafted into the armed forces. There has not been the opportunity to get into the service the number of young men we would like. Those who are in the service now are working for all they are worth and do not have much time for extra study. However, such opportunities as can be afforded are being arranged. . . I see no reason why some (scholarship) arrangements could not be made with the universities to encourage students to take up these special languages." (1)

Interest in this question of language proficiency was shown in questions asked in the House of Commons, and also in the Standing Committee of the House. For instance, in the October, 1945, session of the Standing Committee on External Affairs the following dialogue took place:

Mr. Fraser: In picking the ambassadors for those different countries, I suppose you picked an Ambassador for Brazil who could speak Portuguese?

Mr. Wrong: Not necessarily.

Mr. Fraser: How about his staff?

* In fact, in Brazil, L. Glass, the Commercial Secretary, R.A.D. Ford, the Second Secretary, and M. Belanger, the Assistant Commercial Secretary, also quickly acquired a knowledge of Portuguese. In Argentina Mr. Turgeon spoke Spanish, and in his Commercial Counsellor, J.A. Strong, and Second Secretary, Gilles Sicotte, he had two fluent Spanish linguists. In Chile, Jules Leger, Second Secretary, rapidly became a fluent Spanish speaker.

(1) Ibid. p.4668.

Mr. Wrong: We always try to ensure that there is at least one Portuguese-speaking member on the staff and we encourage them to learn the local language when necessary. We have been fairly fortunate in that respect. The ambassador (Mr. Desy) in Brazil did not know any Portuguese until he was appointed.* Our ambassador in Moscow (Mr. Wilgress) speaks Russian and is rather an exception amongst the diplomatic corps there. If you had to limit your choice to those who could speak a certain language, you might find it very difficult, in the case for instance where a person was required to speak Yugoslav or modern Greek. You might find it very difficult to find such a person.

Mr. Fraser: But you find somebody who could help him to do it.

Mr. Wrong: We have a mission at Athens and we have with the ambassador there a gentleman as a special attaché who can speak modern Greek fluently.

Mr. Fraser: Do you try to pick members of the staff for these embassies who have a knowledge of the country that they go to; I mean, habits and manners of the people, so that they can get along better with them?

Mr. Wrong: We think the best way of acquiring knowledge of conditions is to send a junior member to the country in question and let them move around from post to post in order to spread knowledge among members of the service. So we try to move the junior members of the staff every three years on a rough average. For example, we have one junior officer who has been very nearly four years in Brazil and has learnt Portuguese who is now en route to Moscow. He happened to have some Russian before he joined our service.(1)

Members of Parliament were constantly curious about this knowledge of languages and raised the question both in the House and in Committee. In May, 1947, again, in the Standing Committee, Mr. Coldwell asked "How are we getting along with filling our posts in the various embassies, legations and so on, with people who can speak

* Mr. Desy studied diligently, and three weeks after his arrival in Rio de Janeiro, gave an address in Portuguese. Thereafter he became fluent.

(1) Minutes of Select Standing Committee on External Relations, October 25, 1945, p.8.

the language of the various countries to which they may be accredited?" Mr. L.B. Pearson, then Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, was able to give a reassuring reply:

We are rather fortunate in respect to the ability of our representatives abroad to speak the language of the country to which they are accredited. I think this is a very important advantage. In South America our ambassador in the Argentine is fluent in Spanish and makes all his speeches in Spanish. That is Mr. Chipman. Our Ambassador to Brazil is fluent in Portuguese. He speaks it like a native. Our Ambassador to Peru is as fluent in Spanish almost as he is in English. Our Ambassador to Chile has only reached there recently and he is working very hard at Spanish. He will be able to conduct business in Spanish very shortly. Our Ambassador-designate to Mexico will be able to conduct affairs in Spanish by the time he gets there.

Our representative in Tokyo, we have not an embassy or legation there but we have a representative, is one of the outstanding Japanese scholars on this continent. He speaks Japanese colloquially. He is Mr. Herbert Norman. Our Chargé d'Affaires in the U.S.S.R. is fluent in Russian and has occasionally acted as interpreter between the Russian Foreign Office people and British and American people. . .

(As regards the departmental staff other than the Heads of Mission): We give instructions to those people to learn the language of the country to which they are going as quickly as possible. We try to give them as much notice as possible of the country to which they are going so that they will be able to learn the language. We assume, of course, that they are all able to speak French as well as English in any post. (1)

The Department adopted the British practice of agreeing, in approved cases, to reimburse the officers for the costs of their tuition in foreign languages, and, after they had passed certain qualifying tests (usually the British tests), to grant them an extra language allowance or bonus during the period of their posting in the

(1) Minutes of Select Standing Committee on External Affairs, May 30, 1947, p.220.

foreign country whose language (other than English and French) they had learned. This small bonus was an inducement toward learning the local language.

During the War years, the language question had not become acute, although as has been shown above, the Department kept it under continuous consideration. The Legations in the Netherlands and Belgium, where English or French had sufficed, had been closed. In Greenland, Porsild, the Vice-Consul, was at home in both Danish and Eskimo languages. Many of the new diplomatic relations during the War were with Allied countries whose governments-in-exile were in London, and official intercourse could be conducted in English or French. English of course sufficed for the new High Commissioners' Offices in the other parts of the Commonwealth. The Mission in Tokyo was subsequently closed. For the new Missions in Latin America, Spanish (and in Brazil, Portuguese) offered no great problem, and new officers assigned there were encouraged to learn the language and fairly readily did so.

In the years after the War, diplomatic representation was extended to more and more foreign countries, and the linguistic needs increased. Recruitment of Foreign Service Officers from ex-service men just out of the forces did not provide sufficient linguists in the less common languages, and this gap had to be met as best it could be.

Not until the 1950's did the Department undertake any organized arrangement for the special training of language experts in the more recondite languages. No

system, as in Great Britain and the U.S.A, with their diplomatic, consular and military "language students", was adopted by Canada giving a preliminary two or three year course of special language-training, at home or en poste, until about 1954.

The first such course appears to have been in the field of Arab^{ic} studies. Two junior officers, M. Shenstone and C. Roquet, were successively appointed to take a year's course at government expense at the British Foreign Office Middle East Centre for Arabic Studies at Sheflan in Lebanon. They were subsequently appointed Secretaries in the Canadian Legation in Beirut and the Canadian Embassy in Cairo, respectively.

T.M. Pope, the son of Lieut-Gen. Maurice Pope, former Ambassador to Belgium and Spain, was appointed in 1954 and authorized to take a three-year course in Chinese at the School of Oriental Languages, University of London, and afterwards at Hongkong. He was followed by Small.

More recently, certain junior officers were authorized to attend, while working part time in the Department, the Tri-Service Russian Language School in Ottawa, on a nine-month course.

Proposals were made to train junior officers in Spanish at the Foreign Service Institute of the United States State Department in Mexico City, and in German at the Foreign Service Institute of the United States State Department in Frankfurt.

Lalande, followed by Graham, were authorized to attend the United States Embassy Language School for Japanese in Tokyo. (1)

(1) Confidential Memorandum, Personnel Division, August 5, 1958.

Meanwhile, among the more senior officers were a fair number of good linguists, and others had acquired certain foreign languages during their terms of service in Missions abroad. An increasing number learned Russian, one or two learned Polish, Italian, Greek and other alien tongues. Miss E.P. MacCallum was, by birth, and childhood in Turkey, fluent in Turkish and related languages, and studied Arabic while Chargé d'Affaires in Lebanon. J.B. Watkins was fluent in Danish and the other Scandinavian languages, and became very fluent in Russian. J.A. McCordick spoke many languages, including German, Spanish and Slavonic languages. Norman, Patterson, Menzies, Collins, McCardle and a few others spoke Japanese and some Chinese. A number of officers were fluent in German. R.A.D. Ford had studied Russian before going to Moscow, and acquired a fluent knowledge of Portuguese and Spanish. Sicotte, Leger, and others were fluent Spanish linguists. The list could be extended.

Thus, in the years following the War, the Canadian Foreign Service gradually acquired a corps of linguists who were invaluable in manning the new diplomatic Missions abroad during the period of expansion. That development had been initiated, in a limited way to meet the then limited needs, during the incumbency of Dr. Skelton as Under-Secretary.

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12.

PREMISES

Premises (after 1925)

From the date when the Department of External Affairs moved into the East Block in 1914, there was an unremitting scramble to gain more and more space for its ever-expanding needs. At the end of the War, it became necessary, first, to move the space-demanding Passport Office out of its cramped quarters in the East Block into outside quarters, (1919).

But even with the hiving-off of the Passport Office, the remainder of the Department, with an ever-increasing clerical staff, accumulating archives, and a cypher-establishment, sought more rooms. In this struggle it confronted similar demands or encroachments of various other Departments of Government accommodated in the East Block.

In a memorandum for the Prime Minister (Mr. Bennett), dated February 21, 1931, Dr. O.D. Skelton, the Under-Secretary, wrote:

When in 1912 the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs was established and it was provided that the office should be held by "the member of the King's Privy Council for Canada holding the recognized position of First Minister", rooms were assigned in the East Block in close proximity to those of the Prime Minister. Unfortunately the space in the East Block has always been extremely limited, owing to the fact that old established departments were firmly ensconced there, and the development of the Department has been seriously hampered. With the growing importance of the place which Canada holds in inter-Imperial and international affairs, the work of the Department has multiplied. The secretarial, accounting, filing and other staff of the Department is working in congested quarters such as find no parallel in other Departments.

Dr. Skelton's memorandum then reviewed the usurpations of other Departments of space earlier promised for External Affairs, and approved by the Prime Minister the previous

year, and said: "It is therefore strongly urged that this arrangement should be confirmed, as the Department of External Affairs receives at present a very unfair and inadequate proportion of the office space available."

The available files do not indicate what action was taken in the course of the next five years, although some adjustments apparently were made, for the Department continued to expand and to exist in the East Block without quite "bursting the seams". In 1936, correspondence took place between Dr. Skelton and Mr. Hunter, Deputy Minister of Public Works, concerning the acquisition of space to be vacated by the Department of Justice. Adjustment of allocations was also considered between the space of the Prime Minister's Office and the Finance Department. In September, 1936, it had been agreed that External Affairs was to acquire, or to be confirmed in, Rooms 115, 117, 119, 121, 122, 123 and 124, the first four facing the even number Rooms 116, 118, 120 to be allocated to the Prime Minister's Office (which was largely concerned with, and staffed by, External Affairs). These rooms having been obtained, in April, 1937, Mr. N.A. Robertson moved down from Room 315 to Room 115, Mr. Scott Macdonald from 320 to 119, Mr. H. L. Keenleyside from the Prime Minister's Office to 121, Mr. W.H. Measures, Protocol Officer, from 316 to 315. Room 117 was to be used by stenographers, and 123 as a Conference Room.

In April, 1938, some portion, consisting of

about 130 members of the staff of the Finance Department moved to the new Bank of Canada Building; and the Department of External Affairs put in a claim for a part of that released space. It was indicated that a total number of 37 rooms were required, not counting the Passport Branch, which "might be included in the same building, but which while desirable, is not essential".

In November, 1938, addressing a meeting of the Alliance Francaise, the town-planning expert, M. Jacques Greber, advanced a proposal of a new building, north of Bank and Wellington Streets, exclusively for the Prime Minister and his staff, the Privy Council and the Department of External Affairs.

From time to time thereafter, proposals for a new special building to accommodate External Affairs, the Passport Branch and other sections, were suggested, but without any avail.

In October, 1939, Dr. Skelton described the set-up in his own corner under the main tower. "At present the small room adjoining mine, No. 203, which is occupied by my Secretary, Miss McKenzie, and our Chief Clerk, Mr. Boyce, serves the double purpose of a waiting-room for visitors wishing to see Mr. Beaudry or myself and as the distribution room for mail and telegrams despatched from and to offices abroad as well as from and to Canadian points. This has never been a satisfactory arrangement, but under war conditions it is not only unsatisfactory but dangerous to have the latter activities carried on in a room used at the same time as a waiting-room for visitors.

It is also essential that Miss McKenzie and Mr. Boyce be in close contact with Mr. Beaudry and myself." It was therefore suggested that Mr. Beaudry yield his room, as a visitor's room, and move down the corridor to Mr. Pereira's room, No. 207, which belonged to the Governor General's Office. To this, Sir Shuldham Redfern promptly agreed, and Mr. Pereira, who had been absent, also agreed immediately on his return three weeks later.

Filing Space. (1940).

In a memorandum initialled by Dr. Skelton, dated May 8, 1940, he included the following remarks on filing space. "I have looked over carefully the filing space now in use by Miss Schryer. I have no doubt the filing staff should fill an adjoining room. It is, however, possible to make increased utilization of the existing space by putting cabinets closer together and one tier on top of another. This is what we are forced to do in the Department. Our total filing space consists of two small rooms in each of which the cabinets are piled to the ceiling. Old files or files not much in use have been sent to the Records Building. Some have been put in a small room in the basement. Confidential files covering the last war and the early 20's have been put in Room 124 where they fill the whole space to the ceiling except for one small section. I may add that the whole filing branch of the Department, including staff and cabinets, are crowded into three rooms on the first and second floors with a total floor space of

1099 square feet, containing the files of some twenty years, while the Prime Minister's filing branch has the same number of rooms with 861 square feet, housing the files of, I imagine, a comparatively brief period. I understand the Prime Minister's Office has since obtained from Finance a basement room for storage of correspondence files, and that further basement storage space is being made available by Finance for Prime Minister's Office clippings, close to Miss Shield's quarters." (1)

Allocations, 1941.

By June, 1941, the early part of the Second War years, the Department, then headed by Mr. Norman A. Robertson as Under-Secretary, was expanding rapidly both in respect to numbers and space. A review of the existing situation was set out in a memorandum by Robertson to the Prime Minister, dated June 6, 1941: (2)

The following notes on the office accommodation available for the Department of External Affairs may be of use when you have an opportunity of discussing the question with the Minister of Finance, whose department now occupies the balance of the East Block.

(1) Between September 1st, 1939, and May 1st, 1941, the number of employees on the External Affairs staff in the East Block increased from 54 to 101. In that period it secured the use of three additional rooms - one from the Governor General's Office, one from your Office and one from the Department of Finance. The increased personnel required by the increasing volume of work has been accommodated by closer and closer crowding of officers and clerical staff into room space which does not permit them to do their best work.

(2) The File Room, for instance, has increased

(1) File 4068-1-40 (I).

(2) File 4068-1-40 (I).

its staff from four to ten, but there has been no additional storage space for records or current files, and the staff, which is working very hard and coming back many nights to catch up with arrears, is unable, under present conditions, to give the Department the speedy and accurate filing service it requires. The volume of correspondence handled by the files warrants the employment of two additional clerks, but I have made no recommendation for their employment because there was no room for two additional people to work in the quarters now available for the File Room.

(3) The code and cypher staff has increased from five to thirteen since the outbreak of the war. It has sufficient floor space for its work but the rooms are badly laid out and separated by a public corridor. Proper secrecy requires a self-contained cypher room with a single entrance and exit. No such arrangement can be worked out with the space at our disposition.

(4) We have five Third Secretaries working in a single room immediately below the Council chamber. This arrangement was not altogether unworkable when they first entered the Department as apprentices. Now that they are learning their trade and pulling their weight, it is very difficult for them to do satisfactory work under these conditions.

(5) With Mr. Beaudry's return to the office, we must immediately find another room for Mr. Pearson, who has been occupying Mr. Beaudry's office during the latter's absence. The question of bringing in additional temporary assistance from outside or of retaining somebody like Colonel Vanier for service in the Department may turn, at present, on the fact that we have no room at present in the place for a single additional man. At the same time we should be thinking of bringing into the Department a number of additional junior Third Secretaries to be trained to staff the Latin American Legations.

(6) We have considered whether or not any of the divisions of the Department could be moved outside the East Block into temporary quarters. In view of the closely knit and centralized organization of the Department and of the dependence of each branch of it upon the central filing and records system, I do not think any of the divisions presently in the East Block could be moved outside it without a very grave loss in efficiency.

(7) In the circumstances, all that we can do is to ask the Department of Finance and the Governor General's Office to vacate some of the space in the East Block now occupied by them. The Finance Department is not quite so closely knit as the Department of External Affairs. It comprises a number of more

or less separable divisions, each with their own filing and registry offices, which might, as a wartime measure, be located outside the East Block. I do not like to make any suggestions with regard to the distribution of work in another Department of Government, but I should think that the office of the Inspector General of Banks, the office of the Acting Commissioner of Tariff and the remnants of the Housing organization, none of which is very closely connected with the essential war work of the Department of Finance, could be moved outside the East Block.

(8) The Governor General's Office has now only four rooms in the East Block, two on the second floor and two on the top floor. It has already given up two rooms, one to your Office and one to the Department of External Affairs. Rather than have to relinquish another room I should think that the Governor General might prefer to move his office and records from the East Block to Government House. I should glad to learn whether you think it would be feasible to attempt to find an appropriate reception room which the Governor General could use in wartime on the Senate side of the House of Parliament.

Governor General's Entrance, 1941-42,

Since 1926 the role of the Governor General and his Office as a centre of communication with the Imperial Government had been abolished. A British High Commissioner's Office in Ottawa had been established in 1928. The East Block space formerly reserved for the Governor General's Office could therefore, it was thought, be reduced, and reallocated. Suggestions to this end were initiated in October, 1939, in correspondence between Dr. Skelton and Sir Shuldham Redfern, Secretary to the Governor General, Lord Tweedsmuir (who came to the East Block rarely more than once a week). Nothing apparently was done until the proposals were renewed in 1941, when it was suggested that the "Governor General's entrance" on the west side of the East Block, which had been disused ~~xxxxxx~~ since the outbreak of the war, should be blocked

in "without making any change in the exterior of the building" and "the work being only^{of} a temporary character for the duration of the war"; this would make of this vestibule extra space for one or two small offices. Approval was sought from the authorities at Government House and from the Prime Minister. This being obtained, the project was completed in the first months of 1942. The work required a week for completion and the estimated cost was \$536.⁽¹⁾ The "temporary" arrangement has remained a permanency to the present time.

Tower Space, 1941.

In 1941 some consideration seems to have been given to making a room out of the high open space immediately below the main tower. In a letter from the Acting Deputy Minister of Public Works, Mr. W.P. Harrell, to Mr. Robertson, dated July, 1941,⁽²⁾ the following paragraph appears, which seems to have discouraged any further action in this direction:

So far as making a room in the tower section of the East Block at the south-west corner is concerned, I would hesitate very much to take any action in this respect without your first speaking to the Right Honourable the Prime Minister. You will, I think, agree that there would be a detraction and the dignity and impressiveness of the entrance to the East Block by filling in this tower and lowering the ceiling. The space which would be made available by making a room in the tower of the East Block would amount to only 576 square feet. There would be light only from the west side, and as the present windows are of stained glass it would be necessary to have clear glass placed in this section of the building.

Thus, at the sacrifice of some potential office

(1) File 4068-40-1.

(2) File 4068-1-40(1).

space, the impressive entrance rotunda of the East Block, cathedral-like in its height and stained glass windows and balcony around two sides, was preserved. An architectural curiosity of the original mid-nineteenth century pseudo-Gothic, it nevertheless had an impressiveness and even attractiveness as a vestibule, wherein the receptionist-commissionaire had his desk and small office.

There is a legend in the Department that in the era of Mr. Mackenzie King, a large open water-storage tank for fire protection had been installed in the southwest main tower of the East Block; and although this was not supposed to be used except in emergency, its existence and access was known to some members of the Department, who on certain unbearably hot days of summer, secretly used it as a bathing facility. One day, spurred by an exploratory curiosity, Mr. King discovered this hidden tank, and procuring a key, looked in at a quiet lunch time to investigate. To his utmost astonishment he saw a female member of the staff secretly taking a cooling bath in the tank. He was so upset over this unorthodox encounter that she was very soon separated from the Service.

(This story is said to have been told by Mr. Guy Smith, present Canadian Commissioner to the Federated West Indies, June, 1958).

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PASSPORT OFFICE

Passport Office

The development of a Passport Bureau as a branch of the Department of External Affairs, after the year 1920, has been described in Part I of this survey. Before 1925 the number of Canadian passports issued, or renewals granted, had attained some 25,000 passports annually; and this average number continued during the next ten or fifteen years.*

In addition, Canada began to require visiting or immigrating foreigners to possess entry visas; and several of the Canadian Missions, such as those in London, Washington, Paris and Tokyo, were authorized, under special consular powers, to grant such visas for Canada. These visas came to average between 300 and 500 a year; British subjects entering Canada were exempt, and also United States citizens. Under the Canadian-Japanese Immigration Agreement, re-negotiated in 1929, Japanese immigrant visas to a maximum of 150 per year were authorized to be granted, under careful selection, by the Canadian Legation in Tokyo. A more limited number of visas for Chinese immigrants was authorized to be granted, by a Canadian Immigration and Visa Office in Hongkong, responsible directly to the Department of Immigration in Ottawa.

A general conference on the passport regime was summoned by the Council of the League of Nations and met in Geneva on May 12, 1926, in which Canada was represented

* "In the Department of External Affairs we issue each year 30,000 new passports to Canadians going overseas, besides renewals of old passports still in force. If the number of Canadians going to the United States without passports were included, the total would be many times as great." (Dr. O.D. Skelton: Minutes of Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations, March 25, 1930, p.4.)

by Dr. W.A. Riddell, Canadian League of Nations Advisory Officer, and Mr. J. Bruce Walker, Director of Emigration for Canada in London. The result of the conference suggested no serious change in Canadian practice with regard to passports. (1)

In 1939 the Agreement on the abolition of visa fees for Japanese, which had been introduced in 1929, was suspended, in consequence of the state of war in Canada which was soon (after December 7, 1941) to extend to Japan. Moreover, applications of Japanese for immigrant visas, under the Immigration Agreement, fell off almost completely.

On the other hand, a great demand on the part of European refugees, for visas for entry to Canada, threw a very heavy burden on all the Canadian immigration offices and diplomatic missions in Europe. Generally speaking, where the latter offices acted, applications were forwarded to the principal emigration offices in England or Europe, which passed them on to the Department of Immigration in Ottawa for consideration. In view of this and certain other functions performed by the diplomatic missions, during the war, the Chargés d'Affaires of the Legations in Paris and Tokyo were given the rank and powers of Canadian Consuls in 1940. From 1940 Canadian passports were being issued at Ottawa and the Legations of Washington, Paris and Tokyo, and visas were issued in Tokyo, Vancouver, Victoria and Ottawa.

(1) Department of External Affairs Annual Report, 1926-27.

Mr. Hilborn recalls that, working with M. Cadieux assisting Mr. Beaudry in the Diplomatic Division, a heavy burden of work arose from "exit permit" regulations introduced by Order-in-Council about June 4, 1940, largely as a result of the developments in Europe following the German invasion of the Low Countries and France. The administration of this restriction of "exit permits", especially to women and children, was the biggest item of business of the Diplomatic Division at that period, from June, 1940, until the control was transferred to the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources by Order-in-Council P.C.1841 of March 10, 1942. During that period, the Passport Office was involved to a very considerable extent in daily consultation with the Diplomatic Division (as it later was in touch with the Consular Division after 1947).⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Departmental file 642-40 on this subject.

Owing to new - and temporary - war-time legis-
lation introduced by the United States, announced on
June 6 and effective from July 1, 1940, in connection
with manpower registration and recruitment, every Canadian
citizen was, as already mentioned, required to present a
vised passport before being permitted to enter the United
States. This necessitated the opening of branch Canadian
passport offices in order to cope with the demand. These,
including the principal office in Ottawa, numbered eight:
at St. Stephen (later moved to Moncton), Montreal, Toronto,
Windsor, Sault St. Marie, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. After
a year, most of these offices were closed; but Moncton,
Windsor and Vancouver retained offices for some three
years. Mr. A .L. Cooper has recollections of his period
in charge of the Passport Branch Office in Windsor (June -
October, 1940). During the summer months the heat was in-
tense and there was no air-conditioning. Passport appli-
cants queued up and came in daily by the scores; some
were on urgent business, some were trippers and sight-
seers. At that time, Canadian border-crossing numbered
about 500,000 in a year. Often there was great urgency,
and the issuance of such passports, which necessarily took
some time to check the application and to prepare the docu-
ments, had to be speeded up, with what priorities urgency
demanded. On one occasion a hearse containing a corpse
had to wait in front of the Office until the driver could
obtain his passport; in another case an ambulance taking
a critically ill person across the border had likewise to
stand outside the Office while the documents could be

* Footnote:

Among other recollections of Mr. Cooper are the following:

"You get to hear a lot of fantastic stories in the Passport Office, and it isn't long before you get to be able to pick the phonies. A lot of them are from girls who want to get married in the States, and are mistakenly afraid they'll have trouble getting a passport if they say so. So they make up tall tales about relatives dying and leaving them big estates, or something like that."

During 1936-37, Mr. Cooper ran into another rash of obviously phoney reasons for wanting a passport. "We noticed there was a tremendous increase in the number of truck-drivers and labourers and young chaps with occupations like that, who wanted to go to Europe - just for a trip, they said. It seemed a bit odd that so many of them could suddenly afford to tour around like that, and after it ran into hundreds we realized they really wanted to go to the Spanish Civil War."

At the Windsor Office, during the Second World War, "it was so busy for a while that people used to line up in the street outside all night to get a passport. Even the bus and tram drivers had to get a passport before they could drive their buses and streetcars through the tunnel from Windsor to Detroit - though they just turned around in the yard at the other side and never even got off the bus."

Mr. Cooper remembers a train engineer who worked his way up to the head of the long queue one day and pleaded with him to hurry his passport up as much as possible. "He told me his train was held up on the siding with a load of live cattle. There wasn't any way of feeding them there, and yet they wouldn't let him drive the train through until he got a passport."
(Interview in Ottawa Journal, February 24, 1959).

prepared. Meanwhile batches of application forms for groups of officials or private tourists were sent in by some Member of Parliament or by some high-ranking official in Ottawa; and these had to be dealt with promptly and expeditiously. All this heavy work caused much anxiety and much heart-break. Train and bus-drivers, taxi-drivers and chauffeurs, all had to procure passports before crossing the border. To meet this unexpected emergency caused by United States' requirements, the passports of that period were cheaply printed, on buff paper with limp ~~buff covers~~ brownish ed covers.

Following the announcement of these new regulations on June 6, numerous conferences took place with the competent United States authorities, and in the course of the following three months certain modifications were made in the regulations.

According to Mr. Pierrepont Moffat's diary, under date of August 18, 1940, concerning the King-Roosevelt meeting at Ogdensburg, "the President having grown eloquent about the Canadian-American frontier, was startled to have Mr. King declare that we were 'creating a frontier' by our passport and visa requirements. He explained the situation at some length, and found the President knew very little about it. He said he had been told, he thought, by the State Department, that Canada desired the system as it would prevent men of military age from leaving the Dominion. He promised to speak to Mr. Hull about the matter without delay and try to get the system rescinded in so far as it relates to Canada."⁽¹⁾

(1) The Moffat Papers. p.330.

Passports

As the Prime Minister told the House in February, 1941, "the special passport for travel to the United States only was issued last summer when it was thought the requirement might prove to be a temporary one. As however there is no present prospect of a relaxation of the regulations and as under war-time conditions the strictest care must be taken in the issue of passports to avoid them being granted to improper persons, it has been considered advisable to discontinue issuing the special passport for travel to the United States. Other factors leading to the decision to discontinue the special passport were that the system of issuing two passports - a regular passport and a special passport for the United States only - gave rise to considerable confusion in the public mind and complicated considerably the keeping of records. Moreover it represented a departure from the recognized international practice, Canada being the only country to issue two passports.

"New Canadian passport regulations will come into force on April 1, abolishing the special passport valid for travel to the United States and making certain changes in the regular passport which will hereafter be the only passport issued.

"The change in the regular passport covers two points - the period for which the passport is issued and the fee. The unsettled conditions and stricter supervision of international travel arising out of the war have made it advisable to reduce the period for which passports are issued, thus enabling more frequent checks to be

made. It has been decided to make the initial period of validity two years instead of the five years as at present. Passports will be renewable for four periods of two years each instead of for five years as at present. The passport fee will be reduced from \$5 to \$3. The fee for each renewal will be \$1. It will be noted that these modifications do not change the maximum duration of the passport or the maximum fee that is paid, maximum duration remaining at ten years and the maximum fee at \$7. The new passport will be valid for travel to the United States or any other country or countries to which the applicant desires to travel except, of course, countries with which Canada is at war." (1)

In view of the heavy falling off in applications for passports it was decided to close the branch offices on March 15, 1941, at Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and St. Stephen, N.B., which were opened in July, 1940, to relieve the congestion due to the avalanche of applications which suddenly descended on the Ottawa office. The branch passport offices at Vancouver and Windsor were kept open for a further period, and an office was opened at Moncton to replace of office at St. Stephen, which was less conveniently situated to deal with applications from the various parts of the Maritime Provinces. (2)

In consequence of the desirability of restricting travel to Europe during war-time, especially because of the strain on transportation facilities, certain

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 25, 1941. p.1031.

(2) Ibid. p. 1031.

restrictions were introduced in Canada on March 10, 1942, by Order-in-Council P.C.1841. "Under the regulation that was introduced at that time," Mr. Mackenzie King told the House of Commons in 1946, "and which has been amended on several occasions since, the movement of women and children under the age of sixteen, to destinations outside the western hemisphere, has been limited by the necessity of their securing an exit permit before being permitted to leave Canada." (1)

However, this restriction was lifted as soon as possible after the war was terminated, and the Prime Minister announced in April, 1946, that "In view of the gradual improvement of travel conditions it has been decided to abolish the requirement of an exit permit immediately. The result of the present Order-in-Council (P.C.1272 of April 2, 1946) is that, subject to the existing rules of passport control exercised by the Department of External Affairs, women and children residing in Canada are free to make their own travel arrangements without first obtaining an exit permit from the immigration branch of the Department of Mines and Resources." (2)

Passport Office Staff

The establishment of a separate Passport Office in 1920 had, as has been shown in Part I, necessitated an augmented staff of both permanents and temporaries.

(1) H. of C. Debates, April 3, 1946, p.518.

(2) Ibid.

* The restrictions here referred to by Mr. King were apparently not new restrictions (which had existed since June, 1940), but were the transferring of the responsibility for issuing exit permits to the Immigration Branch of the Department of External Affairs. (G.W. Hilborn).

During the Second World War, this expansion increased, and especially during the temporary establishment of additional branch Passport Offices in various Canadian cities in consequence of United States requirements.

The permanent senior heads of the central Passport Office in Ottawa have been referred to in Part I. ("Passport Issuance", p.20). For most of the period, Mr. J.J. Connolly was Chief Passport Officer, relieved on occasion by Mr. Morphy, Mr. C.C. Slack and Mr. A.L. Cooper. Notes concerning them appear in Part I (chapter on "Staff").

Another senior passport clerk who ultimately became Principal Clerk in that Office was W.M. Pappin, whose services extended over a period of thirty-nine years.

William M. Pappin joined the Department Passport Office at the end of the first war. Born in Pembroke on September 3, 1893, he ^{finished} completed the Pembroke High School and then joined the staff of the Quebec Bank there, and also served for a time with a bank at Port McNicoll. He enlisted in 1917 as a private with the 21st Canadian Light Infantry at Pembroke, and served overseas and with the Army of Occupation at Bonn, Germany, until 1919. On his return to Canada he entered government service, following a Civil Service Commission examination, as cashier in the Passport Office, on September 15, 1919, rising to the rank of principal clerk in the course of thirty-nine years service in that Office, under eight Ministers of External Affairs - Borden, Meighen, Bennett,

Mackenzie King, St. Laurent, Pearson, Diefenbaker and Sidney Smith, and seven Under-Secretaries - Sir Joseph Pope, Dr. Skelton, Norman Robertson, Arnold Heeney, Dana Wilgress, L.B. Pearson and Jules Leger, before he retired in July, 1958. During that period he travelled widely, in Canada and the United States from coast to coast, and on trips to the West Indies and South America. He was a member of the Masonic Order for about 40 years and formerly was a golf addict. (1)

Premises

After several moves into various buildings between 1920 and 1939, the Passport Office finally settled down, in the latter year, in more spacious premises at No. 38-40 Bank Street near the corner of Wellington Street, where it remained for almost two decades.

J.J. Connolly remained as Chief Passport Officer there, from 1920 until 1946. B.J. Sivertz entered the Department on August 6, 1946, and was attached to the consular branch of the Diplomatic Division under Laurent Beaudry in the East Block. A few weeks later he took charge of the Passport Office on Bank St., as Acting Chief Passport Officer, relieving Mr. Connolly. He remained until September, 1947, when he went to Chicago and was in charge of opening new consular offices in the U.S.A. until October, 1948. Mr. Mitchell and then J.W. O'Brien succeeded him. Under them was Mr. Pappin. By these chief officers, the offices were organized on a basis of functional efficiency, with a well specialized personnel, and a growing amount of equipment for speedy service. In 1930 there was departmental correspondence (2) concerning new types of machines for "writing" - i.e. "typewriting" - passports, and for other purposes.

(1) Ottawa Citizen, July 12, 1958.

(2) Departmental file No. 10-D-29.

The premises were not ideal, however, being on several floors of a very old building; and while efficient handling of business was constantly being improved, there were criticisms of the premises themselves. For example, in March, 1946, Mr. Fraser, M.P., said: "Just one further point about the passport office. It certainly is a dismal looking place. One goes up those back stairs - I have been up and down many times. I have always received good service, but I realized that they are working under difficulties. Some change should be made, so far as their office space is concerned." The Prime Minister, Mr. King, concurred, with the remark: "I am very glad the hon. member has raised this point. I wish the Passport Office were the only dismal place in the service. As hon. members know, practically all departments of government are overcrowded, and lacking adequate space." Mr. Reid pointed out further, that "the Passport Office is the only important office in Ottawa in which the chief has not a telephone of his own. When one telephones the chief of the Passport Division he must wait for some time until that official is hunted down and brought to the telephone. I should hope that the chief of a branch as important as the Passport Branch should at least have a telephone of his own."⁽¹⁾

From November, 1946, Mr. B. G. Sivertz was

(1) H. of C. Debates, March 29, 1946, p.394.

Passport Officer. In giving evidence before the Select Standing Committee on External Affairs in June, 1947, he was asked by the Chairman to describe the location and conditions of work of the Passport Office at that time. He replied:

"The Passport Office is housed at 38 Bank Street, on the second and third floors of two separate buildings with communicating doors between. The quarters are, in my estimation, disgracefully inadequate, and inappropriate as an office in which the public should be met. The quarters are also not conducive to good morale of the staff which works in them. They are, however, adequate in size. They were inadequate as to security in that the interior of the building is freely accessible to other tenants in the same building, who are not, however, free to enter the actual offices in which the passport work is carried on. I am not competent to estimate its relative fire hazard with other buildings; it is, I imagine, superior to many wooden buildings, but it is not a modern building."(1) *

If these conditions still existed in 1946, it is clear that they were also open to criticism throughout the preceding war-years and even earlier. On the other hand, there was a genuine appreciation felt.

Mr. MacNicol, M.P., speaking in the House of

(1) Minutes of Standing Committee on External Affairs, June 13, 1947, p.300.

* Mr. Siverts, in oral recollections in April, 1959, recalls using the word "disgraceful". The Bank Street Passport Office was infested with rats, was dirty, and the entrance-way was filled with garbage. A group of Parliamentarians made a tour of inspection the day following the Standing Committee report, and were shocked. Storage of dead and dormant passport files was in the basement of St. George's Church at the corner of Gloucester and Metcalfe Streets; they were in bad order, had no security protection, and were damp. Messengers carried files to and from this depository a couple of times a day. These faults were soon afterwards remedied; the Bank Street offices were cleaned and repainted; the rats were completely exterminated.

Commons just after the end of the war, observed: "I do not think it out of place to say a word by way of compliment to the Passport Office for the way it carried on during very trying times in the last few years. I doubt if any other office in the public service was so crushed with over-work as was the Passport Office. I had a great many contacts with that office, and always experienced the utmost civility. While sometimes I may have thought they were a little slow, when I would go down and see the enormous amount of work they had to do I knew I was being impatient in making an effort to rush them. I want to congratulate the Prime Minister on the way this particular branch of his department carried on during very trying times." (1) This was the general consensus of opinion of those who used the Passport Office. Mr. Blackmore added his words of praise and commendation. Echos were heard from outside Parliament and the government.

(1) H. of C. Debates, March 29, 1946, p.393.

Passports Issued 1925-41

(External Affairs Annual Reports)

	<u>Passports Issued</u>	<u>Passports Renewed</u>	<u>Visas</u>
1925-26	26,000	3,000	
1926-27	27,000	5,000	
1927-28	27,112	3,905	
1928-29	29,222	2,567	
1929-30	29,556	3,194	383
1930-31	25,290	3,139	244
1931-32	27,234	3,720	247
1932-33	22,668	3,710	
1933-34	22,440	3,807	
1934-35	21,116	3,789	
1935-36	24,665	3,974	270
1936-37	26,346	3,963	364
1937-38	22,390	3,427	369
1938-39			
1939-40	161,682	3,373	835
1940-41	211,837	3,420	517

Ownership of Passports

During the 1930's and 1940's, there apparently was some uncertainty as to the principal nature of a passport.

(a) On the one hand, it was held to be a government document temporarily granted to the custody of the bearer^{*}, and a government request to the authorities of other countries "to let pass, without let or hindrance" the named citizen or "subject" of the issuing State. As the document bore a Crown or Government seal, it represented government property. Its validity was specifically limited, to two, or five years, open to renewals, totalling a maximum of ten years. If found in lost condition, it was to be returned not to the bearer as his personal property but to the issuing government or its diplomatic or consular office. No foreign government had the right to lift, detain or confiscate a legitimate passport issued by another country,^{**} on the ground that such a passport was government property of the issuing State.

(b) On the other hand, it was held that the passport document was in fact a card of identity, similar to a birth certificate, and was the personal

^{*} No case is known of a Canadian passport having been refused to a bona fide Canadian applicant. In the United States, on the other hand, passports could be and were often refused to United States citizens, sometimes on political grounds.

^{**} This matter was stated by the Canadian Delegate to the United Nations Passport and Frontier Formalities Conference, held at Geneva in 1947.

property of the bearer, who had bought it, and required it for his personal use as an identification document, for example, at foreign hotels, at banks, and other institutions, for examination by local police, or for the purpose of obtaining a foreign entry visa, etcetera. This condition was supported by the official phraseology that passports were "sold" to the bearers. They having paid their passport fee (\$2.00 or \$5.00) considered that they had been "sold" an identification certificate, analogous to a birth certificate, and that having bought it, it was their own property as long as its validity lasted. When its validity expired, it did not have to be returned to the issuing government, but merely lapsed, and could be retained as a useless souvenir, and if necessary could be replaced by a new passport on application. For a legitimate Canadian citizen, a passport was automatically available on application, whether to be used in immediate travel or not; and there was no case of refusal.

These two points of view, while distinct and controversial, in fact rarely had any repercussions except on academic grounds. They were broadly reconciled, and admitted as both being true.*

* At the Passport and Frontier Formalities Conference in Geneva in March 1947, the Canadian delegate was asked by the French delegate, who was a representative of the French Passport Bureau, whether in his consideration, a passport was a government document or a privately-owned document. The Canadian delegate (Mr. Kirkwood) replied that this was somewhat of an academic question, and declined to be drawn into a controversial or academic discussion of the subject at that moment; the subject under discussion was the right or non-right of a second government to confiscate or temporarily detain the passport of an issuing government held by a foreign bearer or visitor, and in this question it made little difference whether the document belonged, as a permit, to the issuing government, or as an identification card, to the bearer himself.

In later years, however, the view was
*
more clearly enunciated that, at least as regards
Canada, the passport is a government document and
is government property. It is issued by the govern-
ment, bears the governmental imprimature, and can
be cancelled by the government authorities. It
bears, in its letter of request, a statement
addressed by the authorities of the Canadian gov-
ernment to the authorities of another government,
and is merely a recommendation of the bearer, with
identifying description, photograph and signature.

* Mr. Glazebrook is under the impression that this
was enunciated either in the Commons or in a meeting
of the Select Standing Committee on External Affairs
some time between 1947 and 1950; but a search has not
revealed the particular reference. (K.P.K.).

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DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION

Departmental Organization

Between 1925 and 1941 the Department, under Dr. Skelton, was still so small that there was little opportunity for a real sub-division of specialized duties or sectors. The allocation of responsibilities was made more or less on an improvised and ad hoc basis, as the needs demanded. Certain officers were given certain special areas of work. The Legal Adviser, of course, had his own circumscription. The passport work, as a special branch, was more or less an office in itself. An outline of the approximate duties of the few other officers as they were on the advent of Dr. Skelton as Under-Secretary in 1925 is shown at the beginning of the chapter on "Departmental Expansion".

"Within the Department the smallness of the staff and the relative simplicity of the issues at stake during the early years rendered unnecessary or impossible an elaborate and systematic organizational structure for the division of labour and of responsibility, such as other foreign offices had developed. Even a high degree of specialization of work and a definite allotment of duties was not easy to secure, although this was attempted so far as possible. Nor was any formal departmentalization, with carefully drawn lines of responsibilities, feasible, and the few members of the Department worked closely with, and were responsible directly to, the Under-Secretary, Dr. Skelton. Senior officers were, however, assigned specific subjects and/or regions, such as the assignment of League of Nations affairs to one man devoting half his time to these matters."(1)

(1) Skilling: op. cit. p. 273

An attempt at specialization was made during the five years following Dr. Skelton's appointment, as soon as a few additional officers had been recruited. Speaking to the Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations on March 25, 1930, Dr. Skelton said: "The work in the Department, so far as our limited staff will permit, is divided partly by subjects and partly by countries. For example, one officer looks after passports; another looks after consular relations; another, the legal aspect of affairs, and we also attempt to divide according to countries. One must specialize in British Empire relations; another must be familiar with the League of Nations, and continental affairs; another is familiar with conditions in the United States, and so on. Our staff is not large enough to permit as great a degree of specialization as we would like, but we hope that it will gradually be made more adequate."(1)

In connection with the functional or area divisions of the Department as they began to develop prior to 1930, Miss Agnes McPhail, M.P., asked about a special division devoted to League of Nations activities. The following dialogue between her and the Under-Secretary for External Affairs is of interest.

I would like to ask Dr. Skelton a question. What has he to say about the possibility, in the near future, of establishing in the Department of External Affairs a League of Nations Section, as has been done in Great Britain. . .

(1) Minutes of Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations, March 25, 1930, p.11.

Dr. Skelton: I think that is a very practical and helpful direction in which to move. In the first place, with regard to the Foreign Office in Great Britain, there is a League of Nations Section in it which is simply a part of its general and administrative organization. It is not, so far as I am aware, connected with the League of Nations Union. . . The British Foreign Office has a section, for example, dealing with Western Europe, a section dealing with Middle Europe, and a section dealing with the League of Nations. It is not educational, but pure administrative.

So far as Canada is concerned, we have made a beginning in the Department of External Affairs; we have assigned one man to give half his time to League of Nations affairs. It is not enough. We would like to have at least one to put his whole time on it, and to assist in preparing the material for the various conferences and delegations. I am glad that Miss MacPhail drew attention to this aspect.

But it should also be remembered that Canada is the only part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, except the Irish Free State, which maintains a permanent office in Geneva. There is no British office there, no Australian office. I understand Australia and South Africa have been thinking of establishing one.

We have Dr. Riddell, together with Colonel Vanier and until recently Mr. McGreer, giving their full time in assisting the government and various delegations.

Miss MacPhail: And they would more or less constitute a League of Nations Section?
except

Dr. Skelton: Exactly, it is in Geneva rather than in Ottawa. I quite agree that it would be desirable if we could also have a separate staff, someone who had a good Geneva background, on full time. (1)

The development of a great specialization of duties and responsibilities, of a compartmentalization of the Department, however, did not take real form until the Second War. This was caused by the new tasks suddenly thrust upon the Department, partly by the enlargement

(1) Ibid. March 25, 1930, p.18.

of personnel and addition of a few officers in Ottawa, and partly by the sudden and rapid establishment of new Canadian diplomatic officers abroad and of foreign Missions in Ottawa. A larger overall personnel naturally required, and permitted, greater specialization and sub-divisional distribution of duties. These took place in 1941, just after Dr. Skelton's death, and therefore extend beyond the limit of this survey, but may be included as a projection of the initial steps. The war-needs, and also increasing staff, made necessary a revision. "With the growth in the number and complexity of foreign questions concerning Canada and the expansion of the Department, the practice of improvisation had to be abandoned in favour of organization." Late in 1941 a fourfold division of the staff under the Under-Secretary was effected. Specialized Divisions were created. An Assistant Under-Secretary, Laurent Beaudry, was put in charge of a Diplomatic Division. This was a broad field, which included commercial and economic matters, under J.S. Macdonald, certain protocol matters under W.H. Measures, and consular matters.

A Legal Division was created, in charge of the Legal Adviser, J.E. Read; a British Commonwealth and European Division was put in charge of an Assistant Under-Secretary, L.B. Pearson, and later Hume Wrong; and an American and Far Eastern Division was placed under the charge of H.L. Keenleyside, who was also made an Assistant Under-Secretary. (1) Later, a separate Economic Division, at first under J.S. Macdonald, and later H.F. Angus, (a special wartime assistant) was set up. Some four to eight persons from the staff were included in each of these Divisions.

(1) External Affairs Annual Report, 1941; Skilling, op. cit. p. 274.

(It is believed that the unusual combination of the two remote areas, America and the Far East, was a compromise or improvisation at Keenleyside's own desire. He had long been a specialist in Canadian-United States relations, to which his Canadian and U.S. university background, graduate work, teaching, and authorship of Canada and the United States, contributed; he also had served for six years in the Legation in Japan, had travelled extensively in Japan, Manchuria, China, Korea, etc., and had co-authored a book The History of Japanese Education, and these experiences had given him a particular interest in the Far East. He wanted to maintain both these interests and specializations, so the two theoretical "divisions" were combined as one, under his aegis. Later they were separated.)

Somewhat similar to a Division was the Administrative Branch, under the Chief Administrative Officer, ^{**}Mr. W.D. Matthews, dealing with all matters of finance, personnel, supplies and salaries. Other autonomous units, more or less dependent on the Administrative branch, were Records, receiving, despatching and recording all mail and keeping the files of the Department; Code and Cyphering, handling the now large volume of telegraphic and cable communications, under J.R.M. Walker and later A.L. Hall; the Library, under Miss Grace Hart and assistants; and a Translator's Office, under J.A. Leblanc. The chief of each Division and branch was responsible directly to the Under-Secretary, who had a small secretariat of his own.

Members of Parliament showed repeated interest in the organization and machinery of the Department of External Affairs during the war period. Notwithstanding the Department's Annual Reports, and statements made to the Select Standing Committee of Parliament by Dr. Skelton in 1930, and in the Annual Report of 1941, the question recurred and was answered by Mr. King in 1943, and by Mr. H.H. Wrong in the Standing Committee in 1945, and again in 1946.*

On July 12, 1943, the Prime Minister stated: "On May 5 Mr. Fraser asked, 'Who is in charge of Latin-American affairs

* A detailed review of its organization in 1931-32 was given in Gerald E.H. Palmer's Consultation and Co-operation in the British Commonwealth. (1934), pages 32-41. A review of its structure in 1937 was given in Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside's article on 'The Department of External Affairs' in Queen's Quarterly, Winter 1937-38, pp.483-495. A review of the Department up to 1945 was given in several chapters of H. Gordon Skilling's Canadian Representation Abroad (1945). In 1951 Miss Heather Harvey gave a description of the Department, as it was then, in Consultation and Cooperation in the Commonwealth (1951) pages 179-186, which was a more up-to-date revision of the above-mentioned study by E.H. Palmer.

** See footnote next page.

Footnote

A native of Toronto, born in 1907, Wilmot Donald Matthews was educated at Ridley College, St. Catherines, Royal Military College at Kingston, the University of Toronto and Osgoode Law College. Trained as a lawyer, he served as an Attaché in Washington, 1929-30. Prior to the Second World War, he practised law with a Toronto firm, 1933-37, and then became a Supervisor in the Foreign Exchange Control Board in Ottawa, 1939-43. He was then appointed in 1943 as war-time Special Assistant to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and as Chief Administrative Officer in the reorganized Department. He was an able administrator, and a gentle, self-effacing man, physically disabled and dependent on crutches, with a kind, sympathetic and thoughtful personality which impressed itself on all the Department personnel who knew him. In April, 1947, he became Assistant Under-Secretary. He served in Washington from 1949 to 1952 as Counsellor and Minister, and as Minister to Sweden and Finland from 1952 to 1955. He then returned to Ottawa, resuming his position as Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. He died suddenly in Ottawa on March 14, 1959, at the age of 52. The Hon. Sydney Smith, who himself died suddenly three days later, stated: "In spite of a painful disability, he came to Ottawa early in the war to help with the many problems of civil administration. At considerable personal sacrifice he stayed on to make his talents available to the Government in peace time. Those who knew him remember and honour not only his devotion to the public but also to the generosity and kindness of his private life."

in the Department of External Affairs?' The Department of External Affairs is, of course, organized in such a way as to give certain officers definite duties in designated fields. In some cases these fields are based on geographic divisions; in others - questions of international law are an obvious example - they are defined according to subject classifications. The work of all the officers of the department, however, is subject to the review and decision of the Under-Secretary and ultimately of the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Thus it cannot be said that any policy or official action of the department is the responsibility of any specified officer, nor can it properly be said that any officer is 'in charge of' any particular field. Thus the only fair answer that could be given to the hon. member's question would be that the under-secretary is in charge of Latin-American affairs, as he is of all other aspects of departmental activity and that he in turn is under the direction of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, who is finally responsible, subject, of course, to review by Parliament for the conduct of our external relations. Under these circumstances, I feel that it would be improper to name any individual or individuals in the Department as being responsible for or in charge of any specific aspect of departmental activities." (1)

Again in 1945, Mr. H.H. Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary, gave a brief resumé of the organization of the Department to the Select Standing Committee on External Affairs. At that time, he pointed out, Norman A. Robertson

(1) H. of C. Debates, July 12, 1943. p.4666.

was Under-Secretary, Wrong was Associate Under-Secretary, Laurent Beaudry was Assistant Under-Secretary, and John E. Read was Legal Adviser. Wrong had the special responsibility of supervising the three political Divisions of the Department, while Robertson, in addition to his legal responsibilities as ^{Under-Secretary} ~~Deputy Minister~~, supervised the other Divisions of the Department directly. (1)

In May, 1946, Mr. Wrong again reviewed the departmental organization, as it had developed since 1941:

"We have sub-divided the Department, but I must say it is not a fixed or permanent division, because it changes according to the pressure of work which shifts rather constantly and has shifted a great deal in recent months. We have the Department divided into eight operative Divisions.

"The Administrative Division, in addition to the Under-Secretary's Office - the Administrative Division contains the largest proportion of all personnel because the accountants, records, code and cypher branch, and so on are all in that Division.* In mentioning the other Divisions I would like to say that in respect of the officers at the present time the arrangement that governs that Division in the Department is on an experimental basis, and subject to constant alteration. We have stuck to the divisions, and I will give you them pretty accurately for the last year or so, but we may change them. They are simply called by numbers, 1st, 2nd and 3rd.

(1) Minutes of Select Standing Committee on External Affairs, October 25, 1945, p.7.

* They were also servicing the Prime Minister's Office, as Mr. Mackenzie King several times pointed out. W.D. Matthews was Chief Administrative Officer, S.D. Hemsley was Assistant Administrative Officer.

"The responsibilities of the Divisions are that the 1st Division is concerned with general questions affecting international organizations and with the conclusions of peace treaties and so on which concern several countries and several other Departments. It is largely a clearing group, although it does a certain amount of initiation. The United Nations Organization provides it with its largest segment of work at the present time.

"The 2nd Political Division is on a geographical basis, and it has a rather large territory which includes the continents of North and South America; that is the United States, Newfoundland and the Latin American countries, and the Far East. By the way that is the 3rd Division, I said it was the 2nd.

"Now the 2nd Political Division deals with European affairs and also with the affairs of the British Commonwealth and takes in African affairs, which did not give rise to a great deal of work in the Department.

"These are the three Political Divisions. Then there is the Legal Division and the Economic Division. In addition, there is the Diplomatic Division which concerns itself with questions of a diplomatic character in Ottawa, with the formal questions connected with the opening and accrediting of our representations abroad. That is what is known in the trade as protocol. It has also under its general supervision the Passport Offices, and handles a great many questions relating to travel and matters of immigration and so on, in as far as they are the concern of the Department of External Affairs.

"Then there is the Treaty Division which is concerned

with the registration and publication of treaties and international agreements; it is a small Division.*

"And then there is the Information Division which is one of the more recent creations and which is largely concerned with meeting the needs of our Missions abroad for information about Canada, and also it is our direct means of constant contact and co-operation with Canadian Information Services.

"Those are what you might call, outside of the administrative branch, the operating Divisions of the Department at the present time." (1)

Appointments and Promotions

In the 1930's, the Department was still small and diplomatic representation abroad was still new. In a meeting of the Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations, Dr. Skelton, a witness, on March 25, 1930, was asked "Do you think the most effective way of getting the best men possible is through the medium of the Civil Service Commission?" He replied:

I think it is desirable to have the opportunity to go outside from time to time. The government has the power, by Order in Council, to appoint men other than those selected by examination. I must say, however, we have found some extremely good men through the Civil Service examination system. . . It was necessary, particularly in the establishment of the first legations when we had not time to train our men, to take men who had acquired experience elsewhere. For example, one member of our Washington staff H.H. Wrong was an Assistant Professor in the University of

(1) Minutes of Select Standing Committee on External Affairs, May 21, 1946, pp.12-13.

* In actuality, this was a "Treaty Section" within the Legal Division. Mr. Renaud was in charge of the Treaty Section.

Toronto, another [E. Beaudry] was the Editor of an important paper in Quebec, and another was a business man who had had experience in Canadian affairs at Washington for some years. We took men who had apparently obtained some training and experience in allied fields. (1)

Later on, in the same discussion, Dr. Skelton was asked: "Has the Department formulated any policy with regard to promotion from the Civil Service as ministerial posts offer, or is it too early in the history of the Department to have formulated any such scheme?" Dr. Skelton replied:

Well, it is rather early, particularly as our legations are as yet on so limited a scale, to have formulated a policy in that respect. My own view would be that a compromise should be worked out. I think there is need for promoting men from the ranks to fill ministerial posts, and that if you are to have an effective, keen and active service, there has to be an occasional opportunity for such promotion for keen and ambitious men. At the same time I think it would be a mistake to have the service too wholly professionalized. I think it will be always desirable to call upon men of political and business experience, which is quite as necessary as technical training, to command particularly some of the more important posts. I think it would be desirable to work out such a compromise.

Q. A university training would not be absolutely insisted upon?

A. Absolutely not. Some posts require special qualifications. (2)

Naturally, the tendency in the early period of expansion and representation abroad was to appoint non-career men because career-men were few, and had not yet acquired sufficient training and

(1) Loc. cit. p. 11.

(2) Loc. cit. p. 13.

experience. This no doubt coloured Dr. Skelton's views in 1930. Both Mr. Bennett and Mr. King, however, looked forward to the time in the near future when trained career-men could be used to head the legations abroad.⁽¹⁾ In general, the insistence of a university degree as a qualification for a Civil Service Commission appointment as Foreign Service officer was adhered to. Also, promotions from grade to grade, even up to Minister or Ambassador, were the normal procedure followed in ensuing years.

On May 26, 1938, Mr. Bennett, then leader of the Opposition, declared:

This foreign or external affairs service of ours is of very great importance; we are at the threshold of the work in all its activities and all its branches, and it does seem to me that we should try to follow, as far as may be possible, a general idea of a measure of permanency. . . . The idea of permanency, the idea of promotion, the idea that men who enter the service in a junior capacity may one day find themselves occupying positions of great authority and importance, I think should be encouraged by every means possible.⁽²⁾

Mr. King replied:

In regard to the desirability of having a diplomatic service so constituted that men entering the service may look forward to a permanent career therein and to recognition by way of promotion for merit, I am in entire agreement. As has been pointed out, however, the service up to the present time is small, and the responsibilities of a minister are great. . . . While it is certainly desirable to find among the younger members of the service

(1) See Skilling: op. cit. pp.268-9, and references therein listed. (Footnote 36, p.283).

(2) H. of C. Debates, May 26, 1938. III. p.3260.

those who merit promotion to higher positions. I submit that with world conditions what they are today a great responsibility rests upon a government with respect to the character, capacity, experience and particularly the sound judgment of the men to be appointed to the post of minister abroad.

Writing in 1949, R. Barry Farrell drew attention to another organizational aspect. "A word of praise is in order for the Department's policy of operating a single career service whose officers serve abroad or throughout the Department at home. Canada has not made the mistake of those countries which divided their Home and Foreign Service. That division has generally produced home office personnel with inadequate familiarity with on-the-spot foreign diplomacy, and personnel abroad with little world-wide perspective and an increasingly oversympathetic approach to the country in which they were stationed. Rotation of personnel has largely eliminated this problem in Canada. It must be noted, of course, that too rapid rotation may not allow officers time to make the most of their opportunities to familiarize themselves with local problems and conditions."⁽¹⁾

Heads of Division Meetings

Soon after the arrangement developed of separation of functions into a series of specialized Divisions, geographic or functional, it was found

⁽¹⁾ R. Barry Farrell: "The Planning of Foreign Policy in Canada". World Politics, Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1949, p.365.

desirable, in order to prevent segregation and undesirable compartmentalization, to have some sort of system of liaison or unification. The four Assistant Under-Secretaries, and at the apex, the Under-Secretary himself, provided, of course, the permanent directing body and topmost channel or funnel for all work done by the Divisions, and the senior link with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, (i.e. Prime Minister). But it was not enough for four or five senior officers to act at the summit and control the separate Divisions. It was not enough for the separate Divisions to remain so compartmentalized as to have little liaison or link one with another, or not to integrate their activities one with another, except through a panel of Assistant Under-Secretaries. Inter-divisional consultation and co-operation had to be preserved.

Consequently, a practice was developed of a weekly round-table meeting of all the Heads of

(1) Ibid. p. 3261.

Division, presided over by the Under-Secretary himself as Chairman. These weekly conferences, usually held on Monday, occupied approximately an hour to an hour-and-a-half.*

Each Division Head was invited to review briefly the current activity of his Division, to state problems, or on occasions to invite general discussion or advice from his colleagues. Any new regulations of concern to the Department as a whole were announced and explained by the Under-Secretary. General discussion of departmental matters was allowed, but was kept strictly within bounds by the Chairman. A secretary was nominated to keep a summary record of the meeting, and for a time the summary minutes were afterwards circulated; but that practice was soon stopped. The meetings were held in camera, and there was no stenographic recorder present.

By degrees, Division Heads were asked, in order to save time at these meetings, to circulate a typed summary of the activities or problems of each respective Division; and these were then taken as read, and any discussion might go on from these prepared notes. They thus provided to each Division Head a sort of confidential weekly bulletin or synopsis of the work in progress in each of the other Divisions, and any problems arising therefrom.

* Reference to meetings of Division heads, and other forms of internal integration and coordination is made by R. Barry Farrell (loc. cit. p.366-7). He emphasizes that, for enumerated reasons, the difficulties of coordination within the Canadian Department of External Affairs are less serious than in the United States Department of State.

As this practice of written submissions extended, it was found that there was less and less Divisional explanation and discussion. The meetings grew shorter, and somewhat more perfunctory. Their main value was that it brought together once a week, the Heads of Divisions which were numerous and becoming more and more scattered in various floors and quarters of the East Block and in various other buildings outside. It also brought all the scattered Division Heads into direct contact with the Under-Secretary and Assistant Under-Secretaries, who, ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ on the second floor of the East Block, were often unmet, invisible or inaccessible in day-by-day department activities, to many of the Divisional Heads and subordinate officers.

Eventually, the business of the Department, its senior executives and its Division Heads, became so heavy and hurried that even the sacrifice of a weekly morning or afternoon hour in such staff meetings were found to be oppressive and a sacrifice of work. The typed and circulated summaries of weekly activities of each Division, of general interest to the others, sufficed for information, integration and liaison, without verbal exposition and discussion. Therefore the meetings were dropped, except on ad hoc matters when the Under-Secretary deemed it desirable to convoke a senior staff conference. The abandonment

of the weekly Heads of Division meetings with the Under-Secretary and Assistant Under-Secretaries, meant a saving of office-time; but it meant a loss of the personal contacts between colleagues working in their own and dispersed compartments. The traditional preference for "paper" in place of "personal contact" once again showed its head. Depersonalization within the ever-expanding and dispersed Department resulted.

Interdepartmental Committees

From the days of Sir Joseph Pope, and through the era of Dr. Skelton, it was inevitable that in various international issues other Departments had to be consulted and interdepartmental meetings and conference held, either ad hoc or on a regular basis.* This practice became more deeply embedded during and after the Second War, when various permanent inter-departmental committees were set up to consult on particular subjects like trade questions or defence questions having international import. In 1949 R. Barry Farrell recorded that "The Department of External Affairs has been

* For example, Pope was chairman of inter-departmental committees or special commissions on Public Archives; of an inter-departmental committee to produce the War Book in 1913-14; of committees dealing with Royal Tours, etc. Dr. Skelton was chairman of even more numerous inter-departmental committees and conferences, of which the records are scant. Possibly the closest coordination by joint committees was maintained with the Department of Trade and Commerce, and also with the Defence Departments. ~~xx major part of its work, however, xx~~
~~xx regarding policy guidance to the G. B. G. International xx~~
~~Services.~~

represented in the past two years on at least forty inter-departmental bodies established to deal with problems of international implications. Such conferences may be called by any minister or deputy-minister to discuss working problems and/or to prepare recommendations for the Cabinet. Though, formally, the official level of inter-departmental communication is that of deputy minister, in practice lower level personnel frequently act as departmental representatives. On the other hand, some ministers may attend inter-departmental conferences in which they are particularly interested. Various factors such as departmental interest, personal competence, and chance determine who will be chairman. There is no custom that any Department should have any special or automatic claims to chairmanship. Conference recommendations are normally made to the Cabinet by the Department calling the conference. If any department so desires it may submit supplementary comments to the Cabinet through its minister.

"Inter-departmental conferences are a fundamental part of the policy planning process for probably the majority of international policies decided upon by the Cabinet. Such conference recommendations of course in no way obligate the Cabinet to accept them. Nevertheless, since the man who represents a department in a conference is quite often the same man who advises its minister and since the Cabinet cannot be expected to go as

deeply into particular matters as do inter-departmental conferences, it stands to reason that the Cabinet will not generally be disposed to reject totally recommendations submitted, to say the least. The widespread use of inter-departmental conferences serves to lessen some of the work pressure which would otherwise fall on the Cabinet, ensures a more thorough investigation than would normally be possible at the Cabinet level, permits the ironing out of disagreements between departments without troubling the Cabinet, and at the same time reserves to the Cabinet its constitutional responsibility for the ultimate determination of policy."⁽¹⁾ *

⁽¹⁾ G. B. Farrell: "The Planning of Foreign Policy in Canada". World Politics, Vol. 1, No.3, April, 1949.

* The participation of the Department of External Affairs in inter-departmental committees and in inter-departmental conferences has become so active that lately a special section or division, for "Political Co-ordination" was created in the Department. This co-ordinates not only with other departments, but also with the Privy Council Office, the Prime Minister's Office, and other bodies. A major part of its work, however, is giving policy guidance to the C.B.C. International Service.

Civil Service Hours

According to a communication recently published in an Ottawa newspaper on the subject of Civil Service work-hours, in 1928, civil servants worked a six-and-a-half hour day five days a week, and four hours on Saturday, a total of $36\frac{1}{2}$ hours a week. If the House of Commons was not sitting, they worked only until four p.m. during July and August. That happy state of affairs went on till the Second World War. Then, from 1939 until 1946, the national emergency sent hours up to $41\frac{1}{2}$ a week. This included four hours on Saturday, and if anyone took it off for sick leave or a holiday it counted as a full day.

In 1948 the Civil Service went back to a $36\frac{1}{2}$ hour week. The Korean crisis, however, lengthened the hours to $41\frac{1}{2}$ again in 1950; but Saturdays were given off during the summer months, so it averaged out to $38\frac{1}{2}$ hours a week.

Between 1952 and 1953, civil servants finally won their fight for a five day week; but in place of the previous $36\frac{1}{2}$ hours spread over six days, they had to work a $37\frac{1}{2}$ hour week spread over five days. There were, generally speaking, no shortened afternoon hours

during the summer months. (1)

While these varied Civil Service working hours applied in theory to the Department of External Affairs, there were in actuality many departures from the general rule. Overtime work, - late hours, sometimes evenings and holidays, - were necessitated because world affairs and urgent diplomatic activities were no respecters of the clock; time differences all around the world meant that messages - many of them most urgent - had to be prepared and despatched or received, studied, and acted upon, often at any hour of the day or night. Officers, and sometimes their clerical staffs, had to work outside of regular hours; the communications section was generally perpetually open; a roster list of night or weekend duty officers was maintained. Theoretically, or "compensatory" compensation/leave was granted for such overtime, but could not always be used; in any case it applied more to clerical staff than to officers (who did not sign a time-sheet and whose excess work was generally voluntary and unrecorded). Members of the Department were provided with identification cards or passes admitting them to the East Block or other premises of the Department "during and after regular hours of work, or at such times as may be arranged." When Parliament was in session, the pressure of work on a still inadequate staff called for considerable overtime.

(1) Ottawa Journal, December 5, 1958.

Although Dr. Skelton did not make undue demands on his staff outside of regular working hours, he himself worked late at night in the East Block, and often over week ends or on holidays. At these sessions he did not need his staff; he enjoyed the quiet lonely hours for personal work free from telephones, intrusions or other interruptions. Often his office light could be seen burning in the wee small hours of the morning. This diligence made its impression on his staff and colleagues; and made them less reluctant to work overtime themselves when exigencies demanded. Mr. King, while Prime Minister, was equally a late worker, and kept some of his staff on duty into the midnight hours, either at the East Block or at Laurier House.

II.

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DEPARTMENTAL LIBRARY

Departmental Library

Sir Joseph Pope, from the first days of the new Department, had envisaged the need and importance of a good reference library on international matters, and had done his limited share in assembling one. Reference to his activities has been made in Part I of this survey, in Chapter 14 on "Sir Joseph Pope". In effect, however, the library was relatively small, and was mostly kept under his personal custody. (He often had his own name gold-embossed on the binding of those books).

In the epoch of Dr. Skelton as Under-Secretary, the departmental library assumed a larger and more useful form. For a time the principal books were kept in the Under-Secretary's room, while others were held in various divisional rooms, but between 1925 and 1928 library expansion, including League of Nations and other official documents, necessitated additional special space, which was found on the third floor of the East Block. In stages, from year to year, more space had to be provided for the increase, and additional rooms on the third floor were made available.

In 1930 was held a stimulating session of the Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations, which devoted its attention in that year to a discussion of international education. Recommendations were made, among others by Sir George Perley, Dean Corbett, of the Law Faculty

of McGill University, Dr. H.M. Tory, and Professor R.A. MacKay, that a more complete library and research centre on international affairs might be set up in Ottawa, possibly with Federal Government aid, and in conjunction with the Department of External Affairs. Sir George Perley said rather tentatively: "Perhaps the best thing would be to have an annex to the Department of External Affairs where there could be a library on all these matters." (1) "The Government might be willing to spend some money upon a central establishment in Ottawa. Of course it would be necessary to give the Department of External Affairs some help, and perhaps create a new branch of the Department."

Dr. Corbett supported this opinion; and the Committee's Chairman, Mr. C.R. McIntosh, commented: "I am rather inclined to think that such an idea should appeal to any federal government, apart from its political connection, because such a policy would work in admirably with a Department of External Affairs - a Department which many would like to expand as far as possible." (2) Dr. Tory, a founder of the National Research Council and President of the League of Nations Society, also recommended the government creation of a great central library in Ottawa as a research centre. "A complete collection

(1) Minutes of Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations, April 4, 1930, pp.55-56.

(2) Ibid. p.56.

of historical documents on international relations, covering Western Europe and America could, at a reasonable cost, be made available. To have them in Ottawa would have the great additional advantage that the material would be available to the Department of External Affairs."⁽¹⁾ While it would appear that nothing practical in this form resulted from this parliamentary discussion, the interest was considerable.

It seems that as an indirect result, Dr. Skelton was enabled, through an available parliamentary appropriation, to furnish and further equip the small departmental library, partly for departmental reference use and partly for the intended use of students and research scholars in that field of study. Tables, chairs, and appropriate shelving were acquired, in addition to an enlarged collection of books and periodicals.

Organized Direction

From July, 1910, J.A. Leblanc had been employed as senior Translator, with E. Handy (1928 -) as his typist and assistant; but in order to raise his status and emolument, he was also designated Librarian, and had under his charge a certain number of government documents, other than the general books which were shelved in officers' rooms, and documents which were kept in the files.

(1) Ibid. p.66.

It was gradually found desirable, however, to have a full-time professional librarian, and on June 1, 1928, Miss Grace Hart, a graduate of McGill University in library science, joined the Department as Departmental Librarian Grade 2 at Dr. Skelton's request to organize the library. She reported directly to him. The duties to which the Under-Secretary attached most importance were cataloguing, reference, and bibliography.

Books from the office of the Under-Secretary and the Assistant Under-Secretary were sent up to the new library. The Department started to acquire current books and periodicals for circulation to the staff. The Library of Congress Classification was introduced with Dr. Skelton's approval; typed book accession lists were circulated; a serial receipt-checking card file and a card circulation record were kept. Selected periodical articles were indexed while a few leading periodical indexing services were subscribed to. Certain exchanges of publications were effected with the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, etc. Book ordering, binding, the marking of newspapers, the distribution of External Affairs' publications and of those from foreign governments, all took much time.

Space.

The problem of space has always been acute. Until 1931 the Librarian shared the Translator's Office, Room 301, where books were shelved. Room 380 housed League of Nations Official Records and periodicals.

few shelves in Room 303 (used by diplomats as an office) and Room 305 (then a stenographic pool) held sessional papers of Canada and some British official publications. Accounts and Library contended for wall space in a storeroom 374, while Records occupied the floor central area.

When the Auditor General's staff left the East Block in 1931, the library took over Rooms 301, 303 and 305 as nucleus. Steel shelving was erected in these interconnecting rooms and in officers' rooms in 307, 317 and 318. Wood shelving was built in Rooms 319, 320 and 321, and newspapers were filed in a storeroom 322. Room 380 was surrendered to the Finance Department but periodical space in steel hall cabinets was borrowed from Finance.

In 1939 a confidential storeroom 302 was bequeathed by the Governor General's Office. During the war the Finance Department moved reluctantly in instalments from the East Block. Publications and shelving from Rooms 317, 318, 319 and 320 were moved to Rooms 304, 306 and 383 nearer the library. Wall shelving in Rooms 321 and 322 remained at the library's disposition.

In 1949 and 1950 the library moved room by room to its present quarters centring on Rooms 307-372. The care of the distribution stock of departmental publications was transferred to Supplies and Properties, which saved time and space.

Staff

In 1938 the first assistant, Miss McElhinney, was appointed to work half-time in the library, filing periodicals and newspapers and bookplating.

In 1939 the Laberge survey of Dominion Departmental libraries for the Civil Service Commission recommended increasing the staff of the library.

During the war Miss McElhinney left part-time library work for full-time work in the Clipping Service. A succession of temporary part-time assistants spent from two to six or eight months in the library until the early fall of 1944 when the first full-time assistant, also the first library school graduate, was appointed in the person of Miss C. Allan.

In October, 1946, Miss A. Laycock replaced Miss Allan, who had accepted a post at Dalhousie University Medical Library. At the same time, Miss L. Pearson as Clerk Grade 2 jointed the staff to file periodicals and United Nations documents.

On Miss Pearson's marriage in 1947 Miss R. McDougald as Clerk Grade 3, later as Reference Assistant, concentrated on United Nations material. In October, 1947, Miss P. Caron entered the library to file French language copies of U.N. documents. In October, also, Miss De Blois came as Clerk Grade 2 to file periodicals and handle circulation. Miss Carisse arrived in November, 1947, as office girl to collect and deliver mail and to assist in bookplating and circulation work.

On Miss McDougald's marriage in 1950, Mr. Watson was posted to the U.N. Section of the library.

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In September, 1950, the R.M. Hamilton report recommended the appointment of two cataloguers and a typist-filer..

On January 22, 1951, Miss De Blois was posted to the Control Registry Main Index and Miss Châtillon from the Establishments and Organization Sub-Registry took over Miss De Blois' former work.

Clipping Service

In 1930 lack of time to continue marking newspapers led the librarian to request assistance in the library. As the Department could not afford this at the time, each diplomatic officer thereafter was responsible for the marking of a newspaper. Messengers clipped the papers and mounted the cuttings. Miss McKenzie circulated and filed them in cabinets in the Records Room across the hall from her office. During the war, Miss MacCallum entered the Department to compile a press summary and to relieve Miss McKenzie of press clipping work. On Miss MacCallum's transfer to the European Division, Miss MacGillivray took charge of the Clipping Service reporting to the Administrative Division and later to the Information Division.

Library Committee

During the war, before the creation of the Information Division and prior to the absorption of the Canadian Information Service, the library handled in large part book ordering for missions and correspondence regarding publications for missions. Political Divisions and the Administrative Division were actively

interested and also in receipt of correspondence on these matters. In 1944 the Library Committee was established by the Under-Secretary primarily to centralize the responsibility for the procurement of publications.

The Librarian, at first, was Secretary of the Committee and later an ex officio member.

In December, 1947, the library became part of the Information Division. The Head of the Information Division for a time was Chairman of the Library Committee; subsequently the second in command of the Division became Chairman.*

During late 1948 and early 1949, the bulk of the C.I.S. collection, which consisted of clippings, was amalgamated with the Clipping Service. C.I.S. books and periodicals inherited by the Information Division were transferred to the East Block library.

Mrs. Cogle, Mrs. Munro and Miss Ferguson, in the autumn of 1948, left the New Post Office to work in the library on book orders for missions and periodical ordering for missions and the library. They reported to the Chairman of the Library Committee.

In December, 1950, P.E. Renaud was appointed head of a new Division of Historical Research and Reports. To this Division the library was attached, and he became Chairman of the Library Committee.

* In addition to the Chairman of the Library Committee, who changed from time to time, other members were extremely valuable and influential. These included, particularly, R.M. Macdonnell, T.W.L. MacDermot, F.H. Soward, S.F. Rae, and E.B. Rogers.

Archives Unit

At that time there was a separate section known as the Archives Unit, which was organized and headed for several years by G.W. Hilborn. At first it was not attached to the Division of Historical Records and Reports. Mr. Hilborn reported to the Head of the Archives Committee, who was Head of the European Division. Later he reported to Mr. Renaud, Head of the Historical Records and Reports Division, but apart from reporting to him, the Archives Unit had no connection with historical records and research proper, which Renaud handled directly. He considered the various parts of his Division (a) Library, (b) Clipping Service, and (c) Archives Unit as entirely separate and unconnected sections, the only loose connection being that they all reported to him. He also made it clear that he was responsible primarily for historical research and that the Archives Unit was not involved in that activity. (1)

Subsequent Library Changes

Within the library as space, staff and publications increased, sections were created:- the order section, which purchased books and periodicals for the department and posts abroad; a cataloguing section, a circulation and inter-library loan section; a United Nations documents room and a government documents section.

When the Legal Division moved to the New Post Office Building, a number of legal publications

(1) Personal notation by G.W. Hilborn, March, 1959.

from the library accompanied them. The remaining books on international law, at K. Burbridge's request in 1950, were transferred from the East Block to the Legal Division collection. ⁽¹⁾

Although not intended for public use, foreign diplomats and accredited research students were, on occasion, privileged to use the External Affairs library facilities to a limited extent.

Although Dr. Skelton, as Under-Secretary, did not live to see the development of the External Affairs Library in its greatly expanded form, it became the materialization of his dream for a great reference centre, as an adjunct of the Department, - as it had also been the more rudimentary dream of Sir Joseph Pope.

Besides the establishment of a centre of current books and reference material on foreign affairs, the Departmental Library became the depository of essential current documents, such as those of the United Nations and all its auxiliary agencies, and also the centre of distribution (carried over from the Canadian Information Service) of publications to Canadian posts abroad. It also maintained close connections with the inter-parliamentary system - i.e. the Parliamentary Library, the National Library, and other repositories in all aspects of Canada's international relations. In

⁽¹⁾ The foregoing historical notes are from a memorandum prepared by the Departmental Librarian, Miss Grace Hart, dated May 15, 1951, entitled "The Library of the Department of External Affairs: A Historical Outline".

this respect it was a fulfilment of the aspirations expressed in the discussions of the Select Standing Committee of 1930 referred to above.

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16.

DOCUMENTS

DocumentsTransmission of Legislative Acts

Speaking in the House of Commons in 1940, Mr. Pouliot referred to "the absurd situation in which this parliament is placed when certified copies of the acts passed by parliament, meaning the House of Commons and the Senate, and assented to by His Excellency the Governor General who is the representative of His Majesty the King of Canada, are forwarded, in accordance with section 56, to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. I will read the section:

56. Where the governor general assents to a bill in the Queen's name, he shall by the first opportunity send an authentic copy of the Act to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, and if the Queen in council within two years after receipt thereof by the Secretary of State thinks fit to disallow it the act since disallowance (with a certificate of the secretary of the day on which the act was received by him) being signified by the houses of parliament or by proclamation, shall annul the act from and after the day of such signification.

"Section 57 is to the same effect. The absurd situation is this: In May of last year His Majesty came to Canada and gave his personal assent to certain bills. Of course we presumed that this was final, that the bills assented to by the king of Canada would not be sent by the governor general's secretary to the secretary for the dominions in London, and that the King of England would not have two years in which to disallow the legislation to which he had given his own assent as king of Canada. That is a most amazing situation. We may be told, of course, that these sections are spent, that they are not in force at the present time. But if certified copies of our acts are sent to the secretary for the dominions, now that Canada is enjoying the so-called benefits of the

statute of Westminster, just the same as they were when Canada was recognized as a colony at the time the British North America Act was passed, what has been our progress?"(1)

Mr. Mackenzie King did not reply to the question of transmitting copies of Acts to the Dominions Office, which if performed was merely a routine practice for informational purposes mainly; but as to the prerogative of the King in disallowance of Canadian statutes, he said: "The answer to the hon. member for Temiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) with respect to the power of disallowance is that it was unanimously agreed at conferences in 1929 and 1930 that the present constitutional position is that the power of disallowance of dominion statutes could not be exercised without the consent of the dominion. The United Kingdom's power of disallowance is thus recognized as being constitutionally dead, if not legally buried." (2)

This did not, however, preclude the transmission to the Dominions Office in the United Kingdom, as in previous times, for informational purposes only, of copies of all important Canadian legislation. These documents, however, were no longer forwarded through the Governor General's Office, but were despatched by the Department of External Affairs, after they had been assented to by the Governor General or in rare cases, personally by H.M. the King.

Prime Ministers' Files

It would appear that Mr. Mackenzie King was in the habit of hoarding a good many telegrams and despatches

(1) H. of C. Debates, August 6, 1940, p.2532.

(2) H. of C. Debates, August 6, 1940, p.2534.

that came confidentially to him. Whether they were shown to Sir Joseph Pope or Dr. Skelton is not clear. Certainly they were no longer shown, during 1921-1923, to the Legal Adviser, Loring Christie. In a letter in April, 1924, to Mr. Meighen, concerning the Lausanne Treaty negotiations, Christie wrote: "The telegrams were exchanged from October to December, 1922. I did not leave the Department until May, 1923. Until I read King's statement in the Hansard you sent me, I did not even know of the existence of these telegrams."⁽¹⁾ It is probable that many other telegrams received by Mr. King were withheld, if not from the Department, at least from the Legal Adviser.

Miss Ida B. Schryer, who joined the External Affairs Filing Division on December 10, 1922, rose to be Head Clerk of the Division with a staff of thirteen under her direction, and for nearly thirty-five years was in charge of the Filing Division of the Prime Minister's Office and the Privy Council Office referred to this practice. She served under Mr. Mackenzie King for three different periods totalling nearly 22 years, Mr. R.B. Bennett, Mr. L. St. Laurent, and Mr. Diefenbaker. She also was in close touch, as regards documentary filing, with a succession of Private Secretaries to Prime Ministers and Clerks of the Privy Council. Mr. Bennett once said to her, 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 1958

(1) Meighen Papers, Series 4. No. 177. Part II.

that about 35,000 pieces of correspondence pass through the Prime Minister's Office and the filing division each year, and, together with that from the Privy Council Office, keep about 30 filing cabinets going all the time with "active" material.⁽¹⁾ While much of this material was on domestic matters, a certain amount was on external affairs, and it may be assumed from this large filing organization that many documents concerning foreign policy and external affairs remained securely in the Prime Minister's Office. The vast collection of Mackenzie King papers transferred to Laurier House for sorting and analyzing, after his death, are likely to reveal that many documents dealing with External matters were retained by him and did not find their way to the Department.

At the time of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's efforts to come to terms with Hitler at Munich, King, who had himself visited Hitler in . 1937 , was kept privately informed by the British Prime Minister. Bruce Hutchison relates that "Laid up at Kingsmere with sciatica, his first real illness, he watched the climax of appeasement, the flight of Chamberlain to Berchtesgaden and Godesberg, the final surrender of Munich and the last convulsive death dance of Europe. He watched it so secretly that, as he told this writer, he did not dare to let his Cabinet colleagues or even his secretaries read the coded cables from London. He said that, in his brass bed, wracked with pain, he had decoded the messages himself. This was one of his frequent flights of imagination. He knew nothing of codes

(1) Ottawa Citizen, January 2, 1958.

and could not have decyphered Chamberlain's communications, but certainly none of them reached the Cabinet. (1) *x

While Mr. King's statement might not have been strictly accurate, and the decyphering or decoding of telegrams addressed to the Secretary of State for External Affairs and received in the East Block must have been done there, with the knowledge of at least Dr. Skelton, it is quite probable that the copies of the messages passed on to him were kept in his own private hands and not shown to others except perhaps his intimate colleague the Minister of Justice, Mr. Lapointe.

Foreign Office Prints

Foreign Office prints, somewhat similar to the Confidential Prints of External Affairs which Joseph Pope inaugurated on the British model, were printed copies of despatches exchanged between the United Kingdom Foreign Office and its representatives abroad, and occasionally also of Foreign Office memoranda or

(1) Bruce Hutchison: The Incredible Canadian, p.237.

* "Such was King's control of Government and nation, such the numbed state of his colleagues, that he could take foreign policy into his own hands and direct it as he pleased. He doubtless talked to Lapointe and to Skelton, the operating head of External Affairs Department, who was saying that Czechoslovakia was not worth the life of a single Canadian soldier. It can be said on the authority of Ministers who attended the Cabinet in these hours that it never discussed the European crisis. Two Ministers raised the question in Council. No answer came from Kingsmere." (Ibid, p.237).

other material concerned with specific aspects of foreign affairs. At the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in 1921, the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, offered to send the Prime Ministers of other Commonwealth countries, once a week, a selection of what he called "these extremely confidential Foreign Office papers which are now seen only by the Cabinet and circulated to our representatives in our Embassies and Legations abroad". The purpose of the arrangement would be to keep the Prime Ministers in touch with what was going on in the world of foreign affairs. Lord Curzon stressed the importance of keeping the prints in safety. He cautioned:

I would add that, if you favour the idea, firstly, I think it would be desirable that such papers should not be circulated in your Departments or in your Ministry. I think they should go to the Prime Minister and be in the hands of his private secretary, or be used by him, of course, in confidential communications with his Ministers, but not circulated in the Departments. Further, I would make the suggestion that when you leave office you should either destroy them or send them back. I make that suggestion for this reason: it would be a very unfortunate thing if these records, existing, we will say, in your Department at Pretoria, were afterwards got hold of by some historian - amateur or professional - who might in a corner of the Empire construct a partial history of the Empire for the period during which he had access to the documents. I think it would be desirable to accept an obligation either to destroy them or return them here.*

It is probable that Mr. Meighen, who represented Canada at the Prime Ministers' Conference of 1921, complied with the conditions laid down by Lord Curzon. It is unlikely that Mr. King, when he succeeded Mr. Meighen, was aware of these conditions; certainly he did not comply

* It will be recalled that when Pope introduced the Canadian Confidential Prints, he limited their circulation to about twenty-five Cabinet Ministers, certain Department heads, and some representatives abroad, and emphasized their strictly confidential nature. The Canadian Prints were apparently discontinued after 1922. (?)

with them. The conditions were obviously unsuited to the needs of any government which possessed an effective Department of External Affairs, and were based on the assumption that, so far as the Dominions were concerned, foreign affairs could be treated as a minor activity of the Prime Minister's Office. In 1924, when Dr. Skelton was appointed to the Canadian Department of External Affairs, Mr. King adopted the practice of sending him the weekly packet of Foreign Office Prints, for examination and safekeeping. This practice was approved by Mr. Meighen during his brief term of office in 1926, and has continued, with the modification that in 1927, when bags from the Dominions Office began to be addressed to the Department of External Affairs instead of to the Governor General's Office, External Affairs retained the packet of Foreign Office Prints addressed to the Prime Minister, instead of sending it to him and having him send it back to the Department, and if any print was considered by the Departmental authorities to be of unusual importance, a copy of it was made and sent to the Prime Minister. Within the Department, the prints were circulated for information to the officers concerned with their various subjects, but rarely, if ever, copied for distribution to any other Government Department or for sending to an office abroad. After circulation, they were filed, according to subject, in a confidential filing-cabinet in the Under-Secretary's room. Mr. Wrong, during his term as Associate Under-Secretary, decided that the filing of these prints separately from the normal departmental files was

undesirable, and gave instructions that in future each print should be placed on the Departmental file dealing with the subject of the print. (1)

Foreign Office Prints to High Commissioners

After the Imperial Conference of 1926 the status of Dominion High Commissioners in London was enhanced by a greater recognition of their diplomatic and representative character. Accordingly, as a contribution to the aim of improving imperial consultation and information, a plan was adopted by the British Government of showing to the High Commissioners such confidential Foreign Office prints, telegrams, and other documents as were regularly sent direct to the Prime Minister or Secretary of State for External Affairs of the Dominion concerned.

On March 24, 1927, Mr. P.C. Larkin, the Canadian High Commissioner in London, wrote to Mr. King:

Mr. E.J. Harding, the Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Dominions Office, called on me a few days ago to tell me that they proposed carrying out with myself what they have been doing for some time with the other High Commissioners, i.e. delivering for my perusal copies of all Foreign Office despatches. The enclosed copy of a memorandum they sent me will show you the procedure they are adopting. These, of course, I presume you have received for some time and some of the other High Commissioners have told me they have been having them and find them rather voluminous and not particularly interesting. Do I understand that you want me to receive and look over these despatches?

Two days earlier, on March 22, Mr. L.S. Amery, wrote from the Dominions Office to Mr. King a similar

(1) "Secret" Memorandum, dated April 25, 1954, by Miss M. McKenzie, formerly Private Secretary to the Under-Secretary for External Affairs.

letter:

You will remember that just before you left London you told me that you agreed that it was desirable that arrangements should be made for the communication to Mr. Larkin of Foreign Office prints and confidential telegrams on foreign affairs.

It took a little time to settle the details of the necessary procedure, and Mr. Larkin has, of course, only recently returned to London after his visit to Egypt. Arrangements have, however, now been made whereby he will receive these papers every week. The enclosed memorandum will show the procedure which has been adopted.

The Personal and Confidential "Memorandum of Procedure for Communication of Papers on Foreign Affairs to Dominion High Commissioners" was as follows:

Telegrams and despatches on foreign affairs contain information which is of a most confidential and secret nature. Accordingly special precautions are essential in order to ensure the safe custody of such papers, which should always be kept under lock and key when not actually in use. In the following Memorandum this object has been kept in view, but it is desired to emphasize at the outset the great importance which is attached to the maintenance of secrecy with regard to these documents.

The detailed procedure proposed for adoption in the case of Foreign Office papers circulated to Dominion High Commissioners (which are to be available solely for the High Commissioner) is as follows:-

(1) Copies of all Foreign Office prints sent weekly to the Dominion Prime Ministers to be forwarded to the High Commissioner from the Offices of the Cabinet every Thursday morning. Copies to be supplied from the Foreign Office to the Cabinet Offices for this purpose. The papers to be placed in a special box with a label addressed to the High Commissioner by name. A key to these boxes to be supplied to the High Commissioner personally.

(2) Copies of telegrams communicating to the Dominion Prime Ministers secret information on foreign affairs to be sent to the High Commissioner from the Offices of the Cabinet every Monday and Thursday morning in the same manner. Copies to be supplied from the Dominions Office to the Cabinet Offices for this purpose.

(3) The prints and telegrams so sent to be returned by the High Commissioner to the Offices of the Cabinet in special boxes. If possible, the papers to be returned

(in the boxes in which they were sent) by the evening of the Wednesday or by midday of the Saturday following the Monday or Thursday on which they are issued.

(4) In special cases, copies of the telegrams referred to under (2) to be sent to the High Commissioner at more frequent intervals. The procedure to be as above, and the telegrams to be returned to the Cabinet Office as soon as possible.

(The next paragraphs deal with instructions as to use of boxes and special keys).

(7) Issue of the papers to be suspended if the High Commissioner is absent abroad, or away from London for any considerable time. The Private Secretary to the High Commissioner to be asked to notify the Cabinet Offices of intended absence of the High Commissioner abroad, and also to notify his return. (1)

(1) File 844-24.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

17.

DIPLOMATIC UNIFORMS

Diplomatic Uniforms

The Problem

It would ordinarily seem that a question of proper dress is one of those minor matters barely worthy of historical record. Yet it has played an entertaining and interesting part in the history of early American diplomacy, as Beckles Willson showed in his study America's Ambassadors to England, and in various other studies of diplomatic practice and in diplomatic reminiscences and memoirs. Canada entered the tradition-bound field of diplomacy comparatively late (1927), and was for twenty years caught between the claims of tradition and the claims of a more modernistic New-World nonconformism. The uncertainty in Canada over the question of diplomatic uniform - as symbolistic as the flag question - provides an entertaining story.

It should be noted that "diplomatic uniform" was in reality the "civil dress" authorized by the King. Mr. Wrong, in a memorandum of July 25, 1944, wrote:

Strictly speaking there is no British diplomatic uniform. The so-called diplomatic uniform is really a civil uniform, which can be worn on appropriate occasions by all civilians who serve His Majesty, in accordance with their official rank. There are five classes in the civil uniform with differing insignia.

Ministers Plenipotentiary, like Canadian Privy Councillors, generally wore the second class of the civil uniform. This consisted of two styles: the full dress, with gold oak-leaf embroidery on front, tail and sleeves of the coat, and breeches, white or black; and the levee dress, with a strait buttoned jacket and gold braided collar, and trousers with gold braid down the sides. In practice, the full dress was more often used than the levee dress by Heads of Mission. More junior diplomatic officials

wearing the 4th class civil uniform, had only levee dress and no full dress.

Mr. Measures wrote to Mr. Chipman on October 23, 1944:

The name of the United Kingdom Civil uniform worn by the United Kingdom Privy Councillors, Ambassadors, Ministers Plenipotentiary, civil servants, and others, is Civil uniform, not Windsor uniform. (The Windsor uniform, as the term suggests, is a uniform worn by the royal family and by certain officers of the King's Household and is worn only at Windsor Castle).⁽¹⁾

The practice to be followed by Canadian diplomats, once a separate Foreign Service was created, was never clearly formulated. In the earlier years, the use of diplomatic uniforms was acquiesced in, but not encouraged (except by reimbursement to the officer concerned for the cost of his uniform); later the practice, while left optional, was gradually discouraged, and, during the Second War, fell into abeyance and was not revived. There was, indeed, within the Department and among the Canadian diplomats, divided opinion.

Theories in General

The theory of use of diplomatic uniforms was discussed from time to time. Those who argued in its favour were partly influenced by the established domestic practice of Privy Councillors, Lieutenant-Generals and other senior officials at home; and partly by an antipathy to wearing alternative full evening dress at State functions, especially in the day-time.

In favour of uniforms in general, Mr. Chipman, while Ambassador in Chile, made the following comment:

(1) File 627-29.

* See Mr. Bennett's views: cit. p.16.

Uniforms of one kind or another, like the poor, are always with us. In childhood one puts on different uniforms for every sport. I have spent my life as a lawyer doing my work in a uniform before uniformed courts. The same applies to the Church and, of course, to our Universities. None of us gets a degree without wearing a uniform on the appropriate occasion. The very young men who will have to be looked to as recruits for our diplomatic and consular services will have just shed a uniform. There can be no doubt that in the Universities, in the Church, and at the Bar, uniforms have made for dignity, decency and decorum . . . It is hard to see why something that human nature has always regarded as valuable in other walks of life, from the lightest to the most serious, should come under adverse criticism only in the case of diplomatic representatives. It is interesting to note that the country from which the objection mostly comes is a country which is always inventing uniforms for unofficial bodies, as witness such bodies as the Shriners.

In any event, the question will always be, not as between a uniform and no uniform, but as between an appropriate and an inappropriate uniform. The evening-dress that has to be worn by the United States diplomat on certain state occasions is a uniform. I know from conversations with several who have had to wear it in broad daylight that they certainly do not consider it a fitting uniform. Nor, it may be added, is there anything particularly democratic about it. It is, in my opinion, an atrocity. (1) *

Mr. Chipman's arguments could have been reinforced by greater stress on the parallel traditional and still unquestioned tradition of the Church. For ceremonial occasions, Cardinals and Prelates and priests have always worn their robes and canonicals; and there have been few proposals for their abolition; they represent, as Mr. Chipman said, "dignity and decorum". Indeed, in many instances the modernistic clergy of some denominations who have ventured to discard their canonical dress for a more secular garb while "off-duty" have often been under censure.

(1) Chipman to Measures, November 22, 1944. File 627-29.

* For other comments on the diplomatic use of evening dress see Part I, chapter 14 (Sir Joseph Pope"), pp.17-18.

Regimental dress uniform among officers in the military services has declined because of infrequent use and personal expense; but in most of the older established permanent regiments it has not been abolished. Nor has it been adjudged over-ornamental or ludicrous, as the gold-braided diplomatic uniform has so often been. Mr. R.B. Bennett, when in Opposition, scoffed at gold-braid but, when Prime Minister, allowed his brother-in-law, Mr. W. D. Herridge, Minister to Washington, to wear it. Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, in the Department, scoffed at members of the Diplomatic Service "decked out like Christmas trees in diplomatic uniform", yet recognized the practice among his contemporary colleagues. And numerous critics have revolted against the alternative "uniform" of evening-dress worn at any hour of the day.

Ever since 1926, the Canadian authorities, faced with these inconsistencies of argument, have hesitated to make a firm decision on the question.

The theory concerning diplomatic uniforms could be based on two alternative approaches: the custom of the sending country, and the custom of the receiving country.

Attitude re the Sending Country

As regards the custom of the sending country, - e.g. Canada, - the choice was between: (a) following not only the practice in domestic political circles in Ottawa, where Civil uniform was traditionally worn on appropriate occasions, but also the traditional British practice in this, as in analogous respects (e.g. the ceremonial formalism of the Governor General and his retinue and establishment, of Lieutenant-Governors, of Privy Councillors, Ministers

and Deputy Ministers on formal occasions), equally in the diplomatic field; or (b) adopting a contrary practice of greater informality which generally characterized Canadian life. From this latter view, Miss Marjorie McKenzie, herself antipathetic to uniforms, and generally reflecting the views of her respected chief, Dr. Skelton,^{*} commented in a note on Mr. Chipman's "telling and persuasive arguments":

The prime duty of a diplomat is to be representative of his country and its people. While there has in recent decades been a great increase in the petty bourgeois population, the people of Canada are still predominantly farmers, with a good deal of the pioneer mentality. This mentality prefers the plain to the ornate. At the sight of expensive finery it is likely to be moved not so much to awe as to derision. It respects a man for what he is rather than for what he wears.

The wearing of a civil uniform is natural in the representation of a different type of community from ours - a community in which court life plays a dominant part. It is, generally speaking, unsuitable and misleading in the representation of a community where the pioneer strain is still powerful. Canadians are as proud of their traditions and have at least as much reason to be proud of them, as any other nationality. A Canadian representative abroad should seek to represent in the eyes of foreigners the typical outlook and way of living of Canadians. . . (1) (2)

^{*} See Chapter ("Dr. O. D. Skelton") p. for Dr. Skelton's views.

(1) Memorandum by Miss M. McKenzie, Dec. 7, 1944. File 627-29.

(2) Dr. Skelton, in his Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (II, pp. 360-61) eloquently emphasized the role of the "common man" in the foreign relations and diplomatic life of Canada.

"Premier and President had their parts, and played them in full footlight glare, but perhaps the final shaping came from hundreds of thousands of humbler and more unconscious diplomats. The young Prince Edward Island fisher lad seeking fame and fortune in Boston, the habitant's daughter finding a place in a Lowell mill, the Iowa farmer selling his two-hundred-dollar-an-acre land and buying Saskatchewan prairie at twenty, the Pittsburger rejoicing in the trout of an New Ontario stream and the Toronto matron joining in the Easter parade on Fifth Avenue or the Boardwalk, the

(Cont.-

This reflected the attitude of a number of senior officials of the Department, especially during the Second War period. Mr. Howard Measures wrote to Mr. Chipman in 1944:

The wearing of uniform by diplomats is regarded by some as a luxury and a relic of Old-World and pre-war diplomacy which Canada, in its present and future role of a young and energetic nation of the New World, can very well do without."(1)

Several times reference was made by Canadian representatives to the adoption of a diplomatic or civil uniform by even such an anti-czarist people's or proletarian democracy as Soviet Russia. Mr. Chipman remarked that "I understand that the Russians have already devised a diplomatic uniform and that this was very much on view recently in Washington." (2) Commenting on this, Miss McKenzie wrote:

The case of Russia, which, as Mr. Chipman points out, is adopting diplomatic uniform, and which is, in fact, putting everybody into uniform, is interesting but hardly conclusive. The Russians seem at present to be passing through a nouveau riche stage, in which they take a somewhat childish pleasure in returning to the toys discarded during the revolution.(3)

The example of certain republican countries in South America was also mentioned. Mr. Chipman noted that: "Quite a number of South American diplomats wear uniform."

(1) Measures to Chipman, October 23, 1944. File 627-29.

(2) Loc. Cit.

(3) Loc. Cit.

(Cont'd) Massachusetts manufacturer opening a branch in Hamilton, the Canadian railway seeking a terminus in Boston or Chicago, the baseball hero or the movie actress worshipped by the youngsters of a united continent, the journal circulating on both sides of the border, the international trade unions - these and countless other unprofessional representatives built up the relationships, prejudices, friendships, which were the stuff that foreign affairs were made of."

It is not a question of America versus Europe." (1)

E.B. Rogers, Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro

reported in 1945 that:

By a Decree-Law of the 13th May the Brazilian Government has re-established the optional use of diplomatic uniforms by the members of the Brazilian diplomatic and consular service. The use of the Brazilian diplomatic uniform, which dates from the time of the Empire, had been abolished by a Decree-Law of the 14th October, 1938. This was due to the influence of Mr. Oswaldo Aranha, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had just returned from several years as Brazilian Ambassador to Washington, and wished to organize the Brazilian Foreign Office along the lines of the American State Department. Commenting on the decree, A. Manhã of the 16th May states . . . "The allegation in favour of the uniform is traditional. The North American example, invoked by Oswaldo Aranha, is not a precedent since there the non-use of the uniforms was made in protest against tradition. . . The law re-establishing the diplomatic uniform is in accordance with the traditional Brazilian spirit, particularly since its use is made optional." (2)

Miss McKenzie's comment, made the year before, was:

As for South American practices, we have there outstanding instances of countries, which, both by their inheritance from the conquistadores and by their inheritance from the native races, differ radically in tradition and outlook from Canada. (3)

Attitude re the Receiving Country.

The other theoretical approach to the general question of uniform was, not of the custom of the sending country, but of the custom of the receiving country. To many it seemed logical and reasonable to apply the maxim "When in Rome, do as the Romans do". There is no

(1) Loc. Cit.

(2) Rogers to Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, May 16, 1945.

(3) Loc. Cit.

hesitation in wearing formal dress at formal parties, according to the host's practice or indication.⁽¹⁾ Certain invitations to official functions stipulate that dress will be "uniform", (although often an alternative formal attire is also stipulated). To dress contrary to such social or official convention is to be unconventional or discourteous. Therefore, where the conventions of Court or State ceremony of another country adopt Court dress or uniform, guests or official visitors are expected to conform by wearing an appropriate official Court or State uniform; but where the conventions of a more democratic, plebian or republican milieu omit formal attire, there is no call to wear formal attire or uniform, which in those cases would appear non-conformist, unconventional and presumptuous. It would seem to many to be rational, as well as proper or obligatory, that uniforms should be worn in such formal Courts of monarchical countries, when on state occasions such Courts themselves wear Court attire, and even in non-monarchical countries where the trappings of old tradition and custom are still in vogue and de rigueur.

earlier

Thus a number of the/Canadian diplomats chose, with the acquiescence of the Department, to possess, and wear on appropriate occasions, diplomatic uniforms, not so much on the basis of practice at home, but in compliance with the usage and custom of the State to which they were accredited. The Assistant Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps in London informed the Canadian Government, through the United Kingdom High Commissioner, in 1936, that the style of British civil uniform for

(1) Cf., also St. Mathew 22, vs. 11-13, where the lack of proper wedding garments was censured.

Ministers Plenipotentiary "is governed by local custom at each post." (1) In the United Kingdom itself, the rules of Court dress for high officials, including "colonials" and foreigners, were laid down in regulations entitled "Dress and Insignia Worn at Court", approved by the King and issued by the Lord Chamberlain. Presumably similar regulations covering the local custom were issued by other governments. It was expected that those attending such official functions would comply and conform to the local practice.

Canadian Practice

Washington. With the inauguration in 1927 of diplomatic representation abroad, the question of the wearing of diplomatic uniform immediately came to the fore. Because the question had not been considered in Ottawa, acquiescence was given to the practice of following traditional British diplomatic practice - the wearing of special diplomatic uniforms on appropriate formal or state occasions.

Thus, Mr. Vincent Massey and also his senior Legation Secretaries, were permitted to obtain and wear diplomatic uniforms in Washington. He wore it when presenting his credentials, for he found that this was the customary practice among the foreign diplomats there and also of the British Minister.

(1) Coverley-Price to Measures, October 6, 1936. File 627-29.

"There are many posts abroad where the Ambassador or Minister never wears the Levée coat but only the full dress coat with trousers. . . The wearing of the Levée coat would still depend on local custom at the various posts abroad. . ." (Ibid)

On March 5, 1929, Mr. E.J. Garland, M.P., asked the following question in the House of Commons:

May I direct the attention of the Prime Minister to a news despatch to the effect that the Canadian Minister at Washington was one of the few diplomats who appeared in full regalia at the recent inaugural ceremony. Is it the policy of the government that our diplomatic corps shall be properly garbed in regalia of a distinctive character, and if so, of what character is it likely to be?

The Prime Minister replied:

I assume that the Canadian Minister at Washington appeared in a diplomatic uniform similar to that of the British Minister. Wherever we have Legations and there are also British Legations or Embassies there I think it is probable that our Ministers will wear uniforms similar to those worn by members of the British diplomatic corps. (1) *

On March 13, 1929, Mr. Massey wrote to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs:

In view of the question which was asked within the last few days in the House of Commons regarding diplomatic uniforms at the ceremonies in connection with the Inauguration of the new President on March 4th, the following facts may be of interest.

There are fifty-one nations, republics as well as monarchies, represented at Washington by diplomatic missions. The heads of more than half of these habitually wear uniform on appropriate occasions.

In the Note sent by the Secretary of State inviting diplomats to the Inauguration, the following paragraph appeared:

"The Chiefs of Mission are expected to attend the ceremonies at the Capitol in uniform".

In 1940 Sir Herbert Marler wore his diplomatic uniform when presenting to the President of the United States his Letter of Credence as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Canada. (2)

(1) H. of C. Debates, March 5, 1929.

* Mr. Massey wore his Canadian Privy Councillor's civil uniform, which was the same as a British Minister's.

(2) Measures to Chipman, October 23, 1944.

It may be noted that this practice was not so much in accordance with United States tradition (whose diplomats abroad normally do not wear uniform), as in accordance with British practice, and the practice of many other foreign diplomats, in Washington. The United States Government authorities had one practice for their own diplomatic representatives, and a different practice for foreign diplomats in Washington.

Tokyo

Mr. Herbert Marler, on his appointment as first Minister to Japan, procured a new diplomatic uniform and wore it on presenting his credentials to the Emperor of Japan and on subsequent Court occasions. His three Legation secretaries also possessed the uniforms of their rank.

On September 7, 1936, after his designation as second Canadian Minister to Japan, Mr. Randolph Bruce, wrote to Dr. Skelton:

When lunching with the Prime Minister on Tuesday last, the point was discussed as to whether I should be strictly in order in wearing my diplomatic uniform at the Court of the Emperor in Tokyo. I have been assured by Mr. Vincent Massey and Sir Herbert Marler it has been their custom to wear diplomatic uniform, which uniform I find is exactly similar to that which I wore as Lieutenant-Governor and which I now have with me.

The Prime Minister kindly offered to secure if necessary from the King or his deputy the necessary authority, perhaps you would also kindly lend your assistance in this matter. I understand that I shall have to don Levee Dress when presenting my credentials to the Emperor which ceremony I understand takes place a few days after my arrival in Tokyo.

Naturally I do not wish to make a mistake, but at the same time I should not like to lower the status of the Canadian Legation in Tokyo. . .

The following reply, based on a memorandum by

Mr. Measures, was sent by Dr. Skelton, on September 10, 1936:

In reply to your letter of September 7, you will be quite in order in wearing the civil uniform authorized for His Majesty's ministers plenipotentiary, when you present your Letter of Credence to the Emperor of Japan. I do not think it is necessary to secure permission from the King for you to wear the uniform of the diplomatic service. Such permission is implicit in the Letter of Credence which you will bear. . . (1)

London

The Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, having about 1926 acquired more or less of a diplomatic status, and a ceremonial precedence after Secretaries of State and before British Cabinet Ministers, was also authorized by the British authorities to wear civil uniform on appropriate occasions.

On October 6, 1936, the following letter was received by Mr. Measures from Mr. Coverley-Price of the British High Commissioner's Office in Ottawa:

You will remember that you asked me last month about the occasions on which levée dress and full dress should be worn. I have now received the following information from the Assistant Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps:

"Levée dress (not full dress) is worn in London when an Ambassador or Minister is received by the King for the purpose of presenting his credentials to His Majesty. Levée dress is also worn at Levées and at official dinners at the Foreign Office. The full dress coat is worn at the State Opening of Parliament, and it was worn both at the Silver Jubilee service at St. Paul's Cathedral and at the Funeral Service at St. George's Chapel for His Late Majesty. Full dress with white knee breeches, etc., is worn at Courts, State banquets, balls at Buckingham Palace, and this dress was also worn at the Coronation in 1911.

"So far as the Foreign Diplomatic Corps are concerned, the majority of Heads of Mission in

(1) File 627-29.

London who wear uniform do not possess a Levée coat and therefore they wear the full dress coat on all occasions when uniform is worn. When full dress uniform with knee breeches is worn they are expected to wear the full dress uniform of their country,* but they are not expected to wear white knee breeches if this is not part of their uniform. Members of Missions for whom no official uniform is prescribed wear ordinary evening dress with trousers when Levée dress or full dress with trousers is worn, but, on occasions when white knee breeches are worn, they are expected to wear black knee breeches, etc., with evening dress. . . (1)

It is not known what formal dress or uniform was worn by the Canadian High Commissioner, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Sir George Perley, Hon. P.C. Larkin, and Hon. G. Howard Ferguson. As members of the King's Privy Council of Canada, they would be entitled to wear, in London as in Ottawa, the Civil Dress of the Second Class. The Hon. Vincent Massey likewise wore, on appropriate occasions, the Privy Council uniform which he had worn in Washington.

On June 19th, Lord Cromer, the Lord Chamberlain wrote to Viscount Willingdon, Governor-General of Canada:

The King, some time ago, approved a new Schedule of Civil Uniform for use in this country and, inter alia, approved of the High Commissioners for the Dominions in London wearing the 1st class Uniform (which is the highest except the Privy Councillor's Uniform) and the High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia and the Agents General for the Australian States wearing the 2nd class Uniform. (2)

Canberra

On January 31, 1940, E.B. Rogers signed a letter from Canberra, on behalf of the Canadian High/Commissioner

* This phrase indicates to some extent that the form of dress is in one sense that of the receiving country, but in another sense that of the sending country.

(1) File 627-29

(2) Ibid.

to Australia (Mr. C.J. Burchell):

From informal conversations that I have had with officers of the Department of External Affairs and others, I gather that there is a certain amount of feeling against the wearing of uniforms here although I do not think that there would be any open criticism if it should be decided that I and my Official Secretary should follow the lead of the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in this respect. On the other hand, I do not think that anybody would consider that we were incorrect if we wore only morning coat or evening dress at official functions. My personal preference is against the wearing of a uniform.

The Department telegraphed a reply on March 6, doubting the advisability of using uniforms in Canberra.

South America

In 1941, when Legations in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires were opened, Mr. Desy, Minister to Brazil, wore his Ministers Uniform on presenting his Letters of Credence; but Mr. Turgeon, not having a uniform, wore evening dress. When Mr. Chipman was appointed in 1942 Minister to Chile, he had in his possession a diplomatic Minister's uniform which had been worn by the late Sir Herbert Marler.

In Santiago, Chile, Mr. K.P. Kirkwood, temporarily appointed Chargé d'Affaires there and Special Canadian Envoy for the Inauguration of President ^{Rios} in 1942, did not wear uniform, but evening dress, at the ceremonial functions, while the British Ambassador, and all his Embassy staff, wore uniform. Most of the other foreign diplomats, but not the U.S.A. representatives, wore uniform. The Canadian inconsistency was somewhat conspicuous.

Ministerial Opinion

It is not precisely clear what opinion Mr. Mackenzie King, as Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, held concerning diplomatic uniforms. Although in outward seeming he was a democrat of great simplicity, he developed a penchant for royalty, and was proud of all his contacts with the Royal Family. While dedicated to the interests of labour and social reform, he was attracted, like Rt. Hon. Ramsay Macdonald, to high society, the American plutocrats like the Rockefellers, and the aristocracy and royalty of England. On appropriate occasions he enjoyed wearing his Imperial Privy Councillor's civil dress. (In this he was the antithesis of Dr. O.D. Skelton). With this nature, it is unlikely that he would object to the wearing of gold-braided civil uniform by his Canadian diplomatic representatives abroad.

It appears that Mr. Bennett likewise had been more or less converted from his antipathy in 1927 to a justification in 1931 when he was Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, maintaining in office Mr. Marler (whom he later recommended for knighthood) and Mr. Philippe Roy, and placing in office as his emissaries Mr. Herridge and Mr. Ferguson, all of whom were authorized to wear their uniforms and "gold-lace".

In 1928 Mr. P.B. Bennett, then Leader of the Opposition, had spoken mockingly of diplomats in gold lace: "It is idle boasting to talk about our position in a foreign country because some representatives over there can wear gold lace and a uniform." (1) When he became

(1) H. of C. Debates, January 30, 1928, p.29.

Prime Minister, and in 1931 expressed his support for both Mr. Massey, the former Minister to Washington, and Mr. Marler, Minister to Japan, Mr. King, then in Opposition, thanked him, but twitted him about "gold lace". Mr. King went on to justify the practice of diplomatic uniforms:

I notice that when the present minister (Mr. W.D. Herridge) went to Washington with his letters of credence, he turned up dressed in a Windsor uniform, which certainly has lots of gold lace and feathers and all that sort of thing. This was done in the most democratic country in the world by a representative from another of the most democratic of countries. My rt. hon. friend must have had some knowledge that a uniform would be of some value, and if it would be of value in Washington it would be of far greater value in Tokyo. I submit that our ministers with their paraphernalia of office have been able to accomplish very much. . ." (1)

Mr. Bennett replied:

I said that the wearing of gold lace was not what constituted merit or value in the discharge of duties as a minister, and it is perfectly true that members of His Majesty's Privy Council (as both Mr. Massey and Mr. Marler were, but Mr. Herridge was not) are entitled to wear a second-class uniform. It is expected that when they visit representatives or heads of other states they will do so in the uniform of the rank or position they occupy. This is a part of diplomatic usage which has grown up through the centuries. It is true that the United States is a democratic country and no uniform is worn by their representatives abroad; they appear simply in evening dress. . ." (2)

Character of Uniform

The practical question of procurement and style of diplomatic uniforms came up only after the first Canadian Mission was opened in 1927-29.

As regards Washington, Mr. Massey raised the

(1) H. of C. Debates, July 30, 1931. pp. 4342-3.

(2) Ibid.

question as early as 1926. No specific ruling was given, but apparently the acquiescence was given to following the British practice, and allowing the wearing of a British dress. On October 14, 1926, Mr. M.M. Mahoney, Canadian External Affairs Agent in Washington, wrote from the British Embassy:

In the event that the Canadian Minister is to equip himself with the appropriate diplomatic uniform of the British Diplomatic Service, I would recommend that the uniform be bought in London. There is no tailoring establishment in New York or Washington capable of turning out such equipment.

Accordingly, when uniforms were adopted for Canadian representatives, they were procured in England, and had the style and design of British diplomatic uniforms. From time to time the question of a distinctive Canadian uniform was raised. As already mentioned, Mr. E.J. Garland asked the House of Commons on March 5, 1929 - "Is it the policy of the government that our diplomatic corps shall be properly garbed in regalia of a distinctive character?" Mr. King replied: "Wherever we have legations and there are also British Legations or embassies there I think it is probable that our ministers will wear uniforms similar to those worn by members of the British diplomatic corps."

There were three reasons for this adopted practice. First, there was the latent desire to maintain, in the early stages, the myth of imperial diplomatic unity in foreign countries, and this could be symbolically manifested by a common style of uniform. Secondly, there was the practical consideration that, as such uniforms were not produced in Canada or elsewhere,

they had to be purchased from military and diplomatic outfitters in London, who had only the British designs.

Thirdly, it was recognized that all such ceremonial uniforms were not prescribed by governments, but by the Crown. They were "royal" uniforms, and their styles were laid down in regulations issued by the Lord Chamberlain on instructions of the King, and had application in all His Majesty's dominions. What was to be worn by British officials was also to be worn by Canadians holding the King's commission.

On August 12, 1929, General Hertzog, Prime Minister of South Africa, cabled the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs:

Have you prescribed or do you intend to prescribe any uniform for your diplomatic representatives abroad?

To this enquiry, Mr. King replied on September 24:

We have not prescribed any uniform for diplomatic representatives abroad. Members of Washington and Tokyo staffs are at present however using the same uniform as British representatives. Question of distinctive variation has been under consideration but no action taken. (1)

On August 20, 1929, Dr. Skelton wrote to Mr. Massey:

The question on which I would particularly like to have your view is as to whether the Canadian uniform should be in any way distinct from the uniform worn by the British representatives. I think it was your view that some small emblem, such as a maple leaf, should be worn as a distinguishing mark. The question arises, however, whether there is any more ground for making a distinction in the uniforms worn by our representatives abroad than in the case of the uniforms worn by Canadian ministers at home. If any change were to be made, presumably it would have to be made by His Majesty on advice from his Canadian ministers.

(1) File 627-29.

Mr. Massey's reply at that time is not on record.

Thus, as indicated above, Mr. Massey was permitted to wear his Canadian Privy Councillor's uniform (which was the same as the British Minister's) in Washington; Mr. Herridge wore his civil uniform; Sir Herbert Marler purchased a diplomatic full dress uniform; and afterwards in Tokyo Mr. Bruce was authorized to wear his former Lieutenant-Governor's uniform (which was identical with the British diplomatic uniform).

Moreover, without much real consideration as to "policy", the senior secretaries (Keenleyside, Langley and Kirkwood) in the Tokyo Legation were authorized to possess themselves of diplomatic uniforms, and also Jean Desy, Counsellor in the Canadian Legation in Paris. Several secretaries in Washington also were permitted to do so. A Minute of Treasury Board, P.C. 13/1927, dated July 20, 1929, apparently retroactive, approved by the Governor General-in-Council, provided

that authority be granted for payment of an amount up to \$250 each to officers of Canadian Legations for the purchase of staff uniforms - such amount to be charged to the Legation to which the officer is attached. (1)

Dr. Skelton informed Mr. Philippe Roy, Minister to France that:

The Minute provides for their purchase by those members of the Minister's staff entitled to wear diplomatic uniforms, i.e., Counsellor, First Secretary, Second Secretary or Third Secretary. The purchase should be approved in each case by the Minister and the amount will be the actual cost of the uniform not exceeding in any case, however, \$250. The uniforms purchased by members of the Washington Legation under this Minute averaged \$200. (2)

(1) File 627-29

(2) Ibid

Mr. Marler asked that the privilege of diplomatic uniforms be extended to the Commercial Attachés of his staff (Grew, Doull, Manion) and his private secretary (Irwin) on the ground that they were included in the local Diplomatic List; but he was informed that as they were members of another Department, on temporary attachment, they were not fully members of the diplomatic staff of the Legation, and the matter "might be allowed to await further consideration." That implied a negative answer. (1)

Mr. Marler also reported that the Secretaries' uniforms "were purchased second-hand through Messrs. Hill Bros., 3 Old Bond Street, London. That firm in turn procured them from Messrs. Moss Bros., Covent Garden. That firm also supplied the uniforms for certain of our Legation at Washington." (The fact that they were second-hand - in order to keep the cost within the limit authorized by the Treasury Board Minute - was another reason why the British design, instead of a special Canadian design, was used. ^{appointed}

After Mr. Massey had been ~~transferred~~ appointed as High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Dr. Skelton wrote to him on April 13, 1939:

Some years ago the question of diplomatic uniforms for officers of the Canadian External Affairs Service was considered and in centers where it was found necessary that such uniforms should be worn, authority was given for the purchase.

Such arrangement was made in the case of Mr. Pearson and, as Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Mayrand both belong to the above Service, if you deem it necessary that these officers should be provided with such uniforms, payment may be made from the High Commissioner's vote.

(1) Ibid.

* It is believed that, through the same channel, Mr. Marler procured for himself a new, specially tailored Minister's uniform, at a cost around \$1000. There is no record as to whether he was departmentally reimbursed for this personal expenditure.

While a refund of not more than \$250 will be paid, in the past it has been found that these uniforms could quite well be purchased second-hand at an amount considerably lower than the above sum. I should be glad if you would let me know if you feel that such expenditures should be made from the London vote.

It is of course understood that if a man leaves the Service within ten years after such purchase was made, the uniform would be returned to the Department.

The practice of wearing uniforms continued somewhat irregularly until the years of the Second War. No new Legations were opened until those in Belgium and the Netherlands in 1939; and on that occasion the Minister (Mr. Desy) and senior secretaries (Kirkwood, Langley, Renaud) had uniforms from previous times. During the early part of the War, new posts were rapidly opened, but the question of diplomatic uniforms was generally left in abeyance.

Development of Policy

On January 31, 1940, the Canadian High Commissioner in Canberra, Mr. Burchell, by a letter signed by E.B. Rogers, wrote:

I have the honour to enquire whether it is your desire that I and my Official Secretary should wear uniforms at important state functions during my tenure of the post of High Commissioner for Canada in the Commonwealth of Australia. In this connection I have to inform you that the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom and his Official Secretary do wear uniforms at such functions as the Opening of Parliament.

He added that "my personal preference is against the wearing of a uniform. If it is your desire that I should wear one, however, I shall of course fall in with your request." The Under-Secretary replied on March 6:

I would be inclined to doubt the advisability of using uniforms in Canberra, and in any case would suggest that no immediate decision be taken as it is possible that a review of the whole question of policy involved may be undertaken in the near future.⁽¹⁾

By 1944 a mood prevailed in the Department opposed to the principle of diplomatic uniforms, although this did not find formal expression. The question was discussed informally by a sub-committee on Administrative Procedure, but "while everyone seemed to agree that uniforms should be abolished, no formal recommendation was made." Mr. Wrong, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Macdonnell, Miss M. McKenzie, and other members of the Department in Ottawa were in favour of abolition. Dr. Skelton himself never favoured the principle of "gold lace", ornamentation, or uniforms. Apparently while in Washington in the early days, Wrong and Matthews did not acquire uniforms.*

As has been noted above, Mr. Chipman, in 1944, while Ambassador to Chile, favoured the wearing of diplomatic uniform, at least in his particular post. He said in a letter to Measures, Protocol Officer, dated July 20, 1944:

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 two only shows down here, and certainly it is pleasant to be relieved from the necessity of wearing evening dress in the morning.

To this letter, Mr. Measures replied at some

(1) Ibid.

* In a memo of July 17, 1944, to Wrong, then Assistant Secretary, Matthews said: "I could dig up an old picture of the Legation in Washington which would strengthen this argument. In it the two not in uniform, H.W. and W.D.M., were the most presentable."

length on October 23, after the Committee on Departmental Administrative Procedure had met, had considered the policy, and had submitted tentative recommendations to the Prime Minister on October 12 (see below):

No definite and general policy has been adopted by the Department with reference to the wearing of civil uniform by Canadian diplomatic representatives abroad. The question has arisen from time to time ever since Mr. Massey's appointment to Washington as the first Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary abroad. Mr. Massey and some other heads of mission, i.e., Sir Herbert Marler, Mr. Randolph Bruce, Mr. W.D. Herridge, have worn the civil uniform authorized by the United Kingdom for British diplomats. Some of our junior officers were, before the present war, authorized to wear the United Kingdom civil uniform of their grade at posts abroad, and, where it was considered necessary by the head of the mission that such uniform should be worn, a refund of \$250 was paid from public funds to such junior officers.

I think that during the period of the war the Department would prefer not to make a decision on the general question of uniform for Canadian representatives abroad.

I have discussed the question with some of my colleagues in the Department, and I find that, while there has not been opportunity during the present busy days of wartime duties to give the matter full consideration, there is a very definite feeling, which existed during Dr. Skelton's regime and has increased rather than diminished, against the adoption of an official policy of encouraging the wearing of civil uniform by members of the Canadian diplomatic service.

The wearing of uniform by diplomats is regarded by some as a luxury and a relic of Old-World and pre-war diplomacy which Canada, in its present and future role of a young and energetic nation of the New World, can very well do without; and it is said that in the post-war days, when our diplomatic and consular service will have to be considerably expanded by the addition to our strength of men who will have served Canada so recently on the battle-fields of the world, there will not be time, inclination, or even the funds, for ornamental accessories.*

* This argument of course overlooked the fact that diplomatic uniforms would be worn rarely, while returned officers and men, on a reserve, would unhesitatingly don their military uniforms again at various ceremonial occasions at home, or adopt uniforms of other kinds in many other professional walks of life. The Corps of Commissioners, elevator men, and many other bodies of veterans were willing to wear uniform after the war.

Another incidental observation I have heard is that in any case Canadians should not wear the uniform of another country. -**

The present position appears to be that heads of mission, and senior as well as junior officers, who already have the civil uniform may wear it on suitable occasions, if the protocol authorities at their posts approve wearing uniform in wartime, and that after the war consideration may be given to the advisability of adopting a civil uniform for the Canadian diplomatic service which would perhaps be similar to the United Kingdom uniform but would at the same time be distinctive of Canada.

. . . My experience in recent years is that people here are not inclined to pay much attention to questions of uniform. However, this may not be the case in Chile. Perhaps after the war there will be more interest in the subject.

Along with these considerations of policy, which seemed to have been given attention most actively in 1944, there was the incidental consideration of practicability, which seems ~~to have~~ not to have been discussed in writing, but was a very obvious factor at that time. A great expansion of Canadian diplomatic representation had taken place in the early period of the War, and for the most part - except for the older Foreign Service officers - the new diplomatic officers did not adopt uniforms. This was for the practical reason that they were no longer procurable in London during the war years. Gold braid and fine materials were scarce, what little gold brocade was available was reserved for military uniforms; ornamental swords and ostrich plumed hats were not produced. This was a real and contributory factor in the suspension of diplomatic uniforms during that period.

**This argument overlooks the fact that the civil uniform was that prescribed for the Commonwealth by the Crown, not by the Government of another country. It is still worn on ceremonial occasions by Ministers in Ottawa.

On July, 1944, Mr. Matthews submitted a memorandum to Mr. Wrong, in which he said:

You suggested that this might not be an appropriate time to make a final decision on this matter. I wonder if it is not easier to make a ruling now when few members of the service own uniforms and none have been able to purchase them in the last four years. If we wait until after the war, some persons may go ahead and purchase uniforms on their own and it would be rather difficult to prohibit the use of uniforms after someone had incurred a fairly substantial expense in obtaining one.

This clearly revealed the tendency toward some ultimate "prohibition" or abolition of uniforms. But the Department still moved hesitatingly.

On July 25, 1944, Mr. Wrong wrote a memorandum for the Under-Secretary, Mr. Robertson, urging a more specific decision:

It is, I think, desirable that a settled policy should be adopted before there is further expansion in the Service and the formalities suspended during the war in most countries are restored. While this is not a matter within the terms of reference of the Committee on Departmental Administration, we might give it consideration. . .

While we might lay it down that Canadian officials should not wear uniform in foreign countries and presumably also in British Dominions, it would, I think, be difficult to impose such a ban in the case of Canadian officials stationed in London, since the rules of the Court prescribe the wearing of uniform on certain occasions for all officials who are British subjects.

We could go as far as this (excluding possible special treatment for London):

- (a) No further allowances will be granted for the purchase of uniforms;
- (b) Those who now possess uniforms may continue to wear them on the proper occasions when stationed abroad, but this is strictly a matter of individual choice;
- (c) Anyone who desires to purchase a uniform at his own expense should be discouraged from doing so by being at least asked to consult the Department.

Another solution would be for us to adopt a Canadian diplomatic uniform of different design. This does not commend itself to me. I suppose that when we had prepared a design which was acceptable to us it would have to be submitted to the King for approval.

It will be seen in this memorandum that no decision on policy had been reached, after a period from 1926 to 1944; that Mr. Wrong and others were in favour of abolishing diplomatic uniforms; and that the alternative of a distinctive Canadian uniform might be considered but in his opinion was undesirable. (The adoption of a distinctive Canadian uniform would be a further expression of autonomy and independence ^{from} ~~of~~ Great Britain; but it would first have to be "acceptable" to Canadians - a matter resembling the flag question, and, also, as a uniform of the Crown, would have to receive the approval of the King as Sovereign of Canada.)

On August 8, after the Committee had met, Mr. Macdonnell stated that:

There is complete unanimity on the part of members of the Committee on Administrative Procedure with regard to the undesirability of having members of the Service decked out like Christmas trees in diplomatic uniform.

A further memorandum, prepared by Wrong, summarizing the current views, was given to Robertson, the Under-Secretary, on October 12, 1944, and was passed on by the latter to the Prime Minister "for his approval". The text of this is as follows:

The Committee on Administrative Questions has been giving some consideration to the policy which should be adopted with regard to the provision of diplomatic uniform for members of the External Affairs Service. All the members of the Committee would prefer that uniforms should not be worn. If for the reasons referred to below it appears desirable that uniform should be worn they

would prefer that a distinctive Canadian uniform should be authorized.

This cannot be regarded as an important matter but it is one which it is not easy to settle. A general trend seems to be toward the adopting of official uniform by countries which have previously not used them. While our knowledge is not complete, it seems probable that the United States, Switzerland and Ireland are the only countries in which no uniform is authorized. We have treated the matter as a voluntary one but have authorized the payment of an allowance of \$250 to diplomatic personnel who felt that they required to procure a uniform. I think that the wearing of uniform is also voluntary in the case of representatives of Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand.

At a large number of posts the alternative to the wearing of uniform on state occasions is the wearing of evening dress even if the function takes place in the morning. This seems to be the case in Latin American posts, in China, and in most European posts. As it is necessary for Canadian representatives to follow the local rules the choice presented is between wearing a uniform or wearing full evening dress. I think that in Washington alone of our posts abroad is a morning coat regarded as the proper dress on such occasions in daytime.

With the opening of new missions and the probable restoration of formal state functions which have been suspended or modified during the war we should issue some instructions for the guidance of members of the Service. The Committee considers that it would be unwise to raise at this time the question of the design and acceptance of a distinctive Canadian uniform and, therefore, feels that all that can be done at present is to temporize. The adoption of a separate Canadian uniform would raise some difficult problems. The existing uniform is not strictly speaking a diplomatic uniform but is a civil uniform authorized to be worn by officials throughout the British Commonwealth with insignia depending on their rank in the public service. Canadian officials stationed in London have on certain occasions to wear this uniform if they attend court functions, and their situation presents special problems.

The Committee recommends that Missions abroad and members of the Service in Ottawa should be informed that consideration is being given to the question whether uniform should be worn by Canadian representatives abroad and if so whether it should be the existing civil uniform or a distinctive Canadian uniform; until a definite decision is reached, no allowance will be granted to

members of the Canadian Service for the purchase of uniforms; those who already possess uniforms may wear them on the proper occasions when stationed abroad but this is a matter of individual choice; until some instructions are issued anyone purchasing a uniform at his own expense may do so at the risk of authority to wear being withdrawn.

It would appear that, despite the personal urgings of successive Under-Secretaries and Assistant Under-Secretaries - Robertson, Pearson and Wrong - to make a firm decision, no ruling was ever formally announced. Unofficially, departmental opinion was averse to uniforms for Canadian representatives; those who had them from earlier years might use them on appropriate occasions, but the practice was not encouraged; no further uniform grants or allowances were to be authorized; those who wished to procure uniforms at their own expense were advised to consult the Department beforehand.

By these informal tactics, the use of diplomatic uniforms after the War fell into desuetude. Canada joined the increasing number of countries - many of them democratic republics in revolt against old monarchical forms and Court traditions - which chose the anomaly of even^{ing} dress uniform* instead of the gold-braided Court uniform with sword and plumed cocked hat. This change was aided, not only by theoretical policy of the bourgeois, in place of the aristocratic tradition, but also by the prohibitive cost of gold braid and accoutrements, so seldom worn. The change was anachronistic inasmuch as it substituted what Mr. Chipman had called an inappropriate

* Many are the stories of diplomats in evening-dress being mistaken for butlers, flunkeys and late-night boulevardiers. For day wear, consequently, the wearing of morning coat is gradually being substituted.

uniform-evening dress* - for what he termed a more appropriate - though less frequently used and more costly - uniform of tradition. Meanwhile other Canadian officials representing the Crown, - the Governor General and Lieutenant-Governors - preserved the traditional ceremonial trappings of their high and dignified position. The Canadian policy was at first undefined, and subsequently inconsistent.

* On this aspect, Miss McKenzie noted in her memorandum of December 7, 1944, with respect to Mr. Chipman's arguments:

Mr. Chipman will find many to sympathize with his views on evening dress, which is an absurd and grotesque costume even when everybody else is wearing it, and doubly so when nobody else is. At the same time it is considerably less expensive than civil uniform - at least I should think it would be - and can be used on many occasions when uniform would be out of place. This was the principal consideration when, at the coronation of King George VI, the precedent was set, largely at the instance of the Canadian Government, of permitting evening dress to be worn instead of uniform. (Maybe it was morning dress; the principle is the same). The ideal system would of course be the general use of lounge suits, a type of garment that does not look altogether unworthy of a reasonable being; but as a first step in that direction, evening or morning dress might be acceptable.

One may, however, refer to Beckles Willson's America's Ambassadors to England, (pp.191; 234-5; 299-300; and 361), for examples of the embarrassment of not wearing customary civil uniform at that post.*

* The following passage from United States Ambassador Grew's Tokyo diary is also of amusing interest. "The new Chinese Minister made his formal call this morning. He has me stumped as to dress (that important element of diplomacy) because he came in a short black coat and a top hat. If I return his call correctly clad in a tail coat and top hat I shall be exceeding his procedure, whereas if I wear a short coat and bowler I shall clearly be jeopardizing the good relations between China and the United States. In any case I refuse to commit so heinous a breach of sartorial convention as that of which the Minister was guilty. This is a real problem with which I shall have to wrestle during the next few days, for of such stuff is diplomacy made". (Joseph C. Grew: Ten Years in Japan. pp.35-36).

II.

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18.

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION ABROAD

FROM 1925

Representation Abroad from 1925.

In Part I of this survey, covering the period of Sir Joseph Pope, a review was given of the early stages of Canadian representation abroad up to the years just following the end of the First World War, and the appointment of a Canadian Advisory Officer at Geneva in 1924.

As has been shown, Canada had before 1924 developed a system of special semi-diplomatic representation; the Office of the High Commissioner in London, the Commissioner-General in Paris, the International Joint Commission with the U.S.A., the Canadian War Mission in Washington, the representative attached to the International Labour Office in Geneva who later became the Canadian Advisory Officer accredited to the League of Nations. All these, established for purely practical purposes, in successive stages had come to fall under the jurisdiction of the Department of External Affairs. Besides, there was an expanding Canadian Trade Commissioner Service, scattered in many countries in the world, and, while occasionally performing limited consular duties under the direction of External Affairs, did most of their reporting to the Department of Trade and Commerce. There were still a few Emigration Agents, who reported to their own Department of Agriculture and later Department of Immigration. Various provinces maintained, mainly in London, their own Agents-General, whose work was largely emigration but included information and trade promotion; but these were not related to the Federal Government. (The League of Nations Secretariat, an international body, and its auxiliary agency the I.L.O., had built up a cadre of specialists and clerical staff who were "international civil servants", and these

included a fair number of Canadians, but they had no connection with the Canadian Government).

For other diplomatic business, the British machinery was still widely used; that of its far-flung embassies and legations in the foreign capitals, and that of its innumerable consular posts in other towns and seaports of the world. Canada contributed nothing financially to the expenses of these "imperial" services. (As regards consular services, moneys received from Canadians in official fees went to the British Government).

In 1920 the constitutional right of the dominions to establish their own independent diplomatic missions, at first with the United States, had been conceded by the British, American and Commonwealth Governments. Canada and Australia expressed, in 1920, their intention of doing so, but postponed action for several years; the Irish Free State was the first to do so, in 1924. Canada finally designated a Minister to Washington in November, 1926, and he opened his new Legation there in February, 1927.

The reasons for Mr. Mackenzie King's long delay in implementing the 1920 decisions are not fully explained. Professor Skilling has given the fullest analysis of speculative reasons.⁽¹⁾ These included opposition among some part of the British Government; lack of enthusiasm or misgiving in certain official quarters in Washington; opposition in Canada among sections of the die-hard Imperialists; the precarious political situation in Canada with complicated electoral and constitutional issues; Mr. Fielding's ^{opposition} ~~appointment~~ within the Cabinet; reluctance to face the inevitable, proliferating costs of

(1) Skilling: Canadian Representation Abroad.

a new diplomatic service and Mr. King's penchant for government economy; and possibly the lack of properly qualified and wealthy men available to take up a diplomatic position abroad. Whatever the basic reason, the step contemplated and approved was not implemented for nearly seven years.

Thereupon it extended in successive spurts, with a hiatus during the economic depression and the Conservative regime of Mr. R.B. Bennett in 1930-35, and with a sudden impetus on the approach of the Second World War.

These steps may be recapitulated:

- 1921-27 - Agent of Department of External Affairs, Washington: Mr. Merchant M. Mahoney.
- 1922 - High Commissioner to the United Kingdom: Mr. Larkin, new High Commissioner.
- 1924 - Canadian Advisory Officer, League of Nations, Geneva: Dr. W.A. Riddell
- 1927 - Canadian Minister to U.S.A.: Mr. Vincent Massey.
- 1928 - Canadian Minister to France: Mr. Philippe Roy.
- 1929 - Canadian Minister to Japan: Mr. (Sir) Herbert Marler.
- 1939 - Canadian Minister to Belgium: Mr. Jean Désy.
- 1939 - Canadian Minister to the Netherlands: Mr. Jean Désy.
- 1939 - Canadian High Commissioner to Australia: Mr. C.J. Burchell.
- 1940 - Canadian High Commissioner to Eire: Mr. J. Hall Kelly
- 1940 - Canadian High Commissioner to South Africa: Dr. H. Laureys.
- 1940 - Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand: Dr. W.A. Riddell.
- 1940 - Canadian Consulate, Greenland: Mr. K.P. Kirkwood.
- 1941 - Canadian Consulate, St. Pierre & Miquelon: Mr. C. Eberts.

- 1941 - Canadian Minister to Brazil: Mr. Jean Désy.
- 1941 - Canadian Minister to Argentina: Mr. W.F.A. Turgeon.
- 1941 - Canadian Ministers to Chile: Mr. Turgeon, Mr. Chipman.
- 1942 - Canadian Minister to U.S.S.R.: Mr. L.D. Wilgress.
- 1942 - Canadian Minister to China: Maj. Gen. V.W. Odlum.
- 1942 - Canadian Minister Accredited to Allied Governments-in-exile in London, of Belgium, Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia: Brig. G.P. Vanier.
- 1943 - Canadian Consulate General in New York: Mr. H.D. Scully.

Almost all the diplomatic missions required an "establishment" of local premises and staff, and, in consequence, it was inevitable that the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa should have to expand its own headquarters staff correspondingly, as has been outlined in other chapters. This rapid growth of diplomatic missions abroad, and recruitment and appointment of diplomatic staff for them, formed a very real and important part of the history of the development of the Department.

It is not necessary to review in detail the development of each of these missions; other published studies have narrated the story and the implications; and the "inside" history of each mission, from the High Commissioner's Office in London, onwards, has still to be compiled from the missions' and the Department's confidential records and documents, not yet fully assembled. The present outline is merely a sketchy review. Emphasis in the present pages must be confined to the impact of those extraneous developments on the Department at home.

Foreign Service Officers

By 1929 the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa supervised offices or legations in London, Washington, Paris, Geneva and Tokyo. It was still a modest establishment with only nineteen officers of Foreign Service rank, seven serving in Ottawa and twelve abroad. Its entire cost for the fiscal year 1929-30 was still less than three-quarters of a million dollars.

To man the new missions, new specially qualified men had to be appointed, many of them directly and with no prior Departmental experience. Dr. Riddell was appointed without examination, in Geneva; Mr. Dupuy was appointed in Paris, without examination; Mr. Beaudry, Mr. Wrong and Mr. T.A. Stone were appointed in Washington, without examination. With the exception of Mr. Désy, almost all the Heads of Mission, prior to the outbreak of war in 1939, were gentlemen drawn from outside the regular Civil Service, and who were termed outside, "non-career" or "political appointees". (Mr. Philippe Roy, formerly a Senator, had by long representative service in Paris since 1911, virtually qualified as a permanent official, but he was not a Civil Servant and did not contribute to, or enjoy, superannuation privileges, until an annuity was granted by special Act of Parliament). There was up to that time no permanent "career" staff of sufficient seniority and experience to take charge of the new missions, except in 1939, the joint representation in the new Legations of Belgium and the Netherlands. While the first senior officers appointed at missions abroad came in by

Order-in-Council without examination, several others, such as E.D. McGreer who soon went to Geneva, H.L. Keenleyside who soon went to Tokyo, K.P. Kirkwood who immediately went to Washington and the next year to Tokyo, were admitted to the new Foreign Service after passing the newly introduced Foreign Service competitive examinations; and thereafter, except for Heads of Mission, this became the normal practice.

For the obvious reason of the lack of sufficient experienced Departmental men, a high proportion of the Heads of Mission in these new posts consisted of "outside" men, many appointed politically. The Departmental men included Mr. Mahoney (seconded from Trade and Commerce), Dr. Riddell, Mr. Desy, Mr. Wilgress (transferred from Trade and Commerce) and Brigadier Vanier, who had been Official Secretary of the High Commissioner's Office in London. (1)

In 1938, when the opening of our Legations in Belgium and Holland was intimated, Mr. Bennett expressed the hope that a career man from the Department might be selected as Minister. "I believe there are within the service itself a number of men who are qualified by their long experience to fill with distinction such an appointment and thereby indicate, at least, that there is a career in that branch of the public service." (2)

Apart from Desy, it was not until 1944 or 1946 that several of the early Foreign Service Officers of

(1) See Skilling. op. cit. pp. 267-270.

(2) H. of C. Debates, May 26, 1938.III. p.3272.

External Affairs had reached the promotional stage of Ministers and Ambassadors and High Commissioners. As Skilling commented prior to 1946: "When the expansion of the diplomatic service took place after 1940, it was almost imperative to go outside the service for some of the heads of mission, although a few of the senior members of the Department could by that time be promoted to ministerial or high commissioner rank. Of the ambassadors and ministers appointed since 1940, only four have been Departmental men: Major General G.P. Vanier, accredited to the Exiled Governments, later to the French National Committee; Jean Desy, to the Brazilian Government; H.L. Keenleyside, to the Mexican Government, and L.B. Pearson to the United States Government, at first as Minister, then as Ambassador. . . Some [of the "outside"] appointments, however, were in a sense promotion within the system of external representation, Wilgress having served in the Commercial Intelligence Service, Odlum and Laureys having been High Commissioner in Australia and South Africa respectively [before Odlum went as Ambassador to China (1942), and Laureys went as Ambassador to Peru (1944)] and Turgeon having held two previous diplomatic posts [before going as Ambassador to Belgium]. Mr. Massey had served as Minister in Washington for three years (1927-1930) before spending eleven years (1935-1946) as High Commissioner in London. Among Departmental men who became High Commissioners during

the war-period, was Dr. W.A. Riddell, first High Commissioner to New Zealand, and Mr. J. Scott Macdonald, High Commissioner to Newfoundland, succeeding to Dr. H.L. Keenleyside's temporary position there.

The Advisory Office, Geneva.

In Part I of this survey, it has already been indicated how the Canadian representative attached since 1920 to the I.L.O., Dr. W.A. Riddell, was appointed, in 1924, Canadian Advisory Officer attached to the League of Nations at Geneva. He was one of the first of Canada's full-fledged diplomatic representatives abroad, under the Department of External Affairs. In view of his many years of service in Geneva on the governing board of the International Labour Office, an agency of the League of Nations, he could henceforth be regarded as a "career" appointment, rather than an ad hoc political nomination.

In August, 1928, E.D. McGreer, a Second Secretary in Ottawa since 1927, was appointed to Dr. Riddell's Mission, with the rank of Second Secretary. He remained at Geneva until he was transferred to Paris a year later, on October 14, 1929.

His place was immediately filled, in October, 1929, by Paul E. Renaud, coming from Washington as Third Secretary. He remained in Geneva for the next ten years, till 1937.

In October, 1937, H.H. Wrong, who had been First Secretary, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires at Washington from 1927, was appointed in Riddell's place, as Canadian Advisory Officer to the League of Nations and Canadian Government representative on the Governing Body of I.L.O. In April, 1938, his designation was changed to that of Canadian Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations. "This new title brought the Canadian Officer into line with the similar representatives of other countries and was more in accordance with his actual functions than the earlier designation. Those who held the office believed that they were in Geneva, not in an advisory capacity as the title and their instructions implied, but in a representative capacity, performing the same functions as those performed by the representatives of other countries, who were called, not advisory officers, but "permanent delegates".⁽¹⁾

High Commissioner in the United Kingdom

Comment on the earlier period of the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom has been given in Part I of this survey. At the end of the First World War, Sir George Perley resigned and returned to parliamentary life in Canada. Mr. Mackenzie King appointed a close friend of many years, the 64-year-old Mr. P.C. Larkin, an internationally known business man of considerable wealth, to the vacant post in London.

Hon. Peter C. Larkin was born in Montreal in 1856. He organized the Salada Tea Company which became

(1) Skilling: op. cit. p.166. (In later years, the Canadian Permanent Delegate to the United Nations carried with him the personal rank of Ambassador).

the largest tea company in the Western Hemisphere, and was its Vice-President. For ten years he was a director of the Toronto Globe, and was one of the founders of the Ontario Liberal Club. He collaborated with Sir Richard Cartwright in framing the Annuities Bill, providing old age pensions, and was an intimate friend and consultant of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and was frequently his host on his visits to Toronto. In 1911 he was appointed Canadian representative on the Royal Commission to investigate the resources of the Empire. He was widely travelled and had a thorough acquaintance with Europe. He was a great patron of arts and letters, with special interest in architecture, economics and education. In 1920 he was appointed High Commissioner for Canada in Great Britain to succeed Sir George Perley, and was appointed a Member of the Canadian Privy Council.

Mr. W.L. Griffith remained an Official Secretary until his retirement in 1922, when Mr. Lucien Pacaud, who had been Assistant Secretary since 1922, became Official Secretary, until his own retirement in 1931. Mr. E.P. Luke was Assistant Secretary.

Mr. Larkin bought and furnished for his residence a building at 94 Lancaster Gate; and up till 1924 the offices were on Victoria Street. In that year the old Union Club in Trafalgar Square was purchased by the Canadian Government and was renamed "Canada House", being opened by H.M. King George V.

Even Mr. Bennett, who was opposed to diplomatic missions other than Trade Commissioner Offices, and who deprecated the "gold lace" and any ambassadorial status

of the High Commissioner, had a word of praise for Canada House, although he prefaced his remarks by reading an outsider's criticism of its internal aspect and services. Speaking in the House of Commons on April 13, 1927, he said: "The Canadian building is admirably located. It is a magnificent structure, beautifully built and quite appropriately furnished, and I desire here and now to pay tribute to the generous, disinterested patriotism of the High Commissioner. He has spent his own money with lavish freedom on the building, which he has partly furnished at his own expense. On the walls he has placed almost priceless works of art. Altogether, in my judgment, he discharges the duties of his office in an excellent manner, and, it will be interesting to note, he has purchased^{at} 94 Lancaster Gate a splendid residence upon which he has spent thousands of pounds. It is a house which is in every way dignified and eminently worthy of the finest traditions of the country for which it stands. The hospitality which the High Commissioner dispenses is nothing short of princely, and no munificence could surpass the extent to which he has expended his own money and the willingness he has displayed in going to any pains in the world to assist his fellow citizens from Canada in obtaining such information as they may at any time be in need of." (1)

During the early part of Mr. Larkin's tenure of office there were in Great Britain Canadian representatives of the Department of Agriculture (5 cargo inspectors and an Agricultural Produce Marketing Agent); of the

(1) H. of C. Debates. April 13, 1927. p.2464.

Public Archives (staff of 8 in the Public Record Office); of the Department of Customs and Excise (2 investigators of valuation; of National Defence (Royal Canadian Air Force Liaison Officer in the Air Ministry); of the Postmaster-General (2 officials); of Trade and Commerce (5 Trade Commissioners and 1 Assistant Trade Commissioner); of Immigration and Colonization (79 officials in all); of the Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment Department (15 temporary employees to control the medical treatment of veterans and to perform duties concerning pensioners); and of the Department of Health (1 Immigration Medical Adviser and 2 temporary officials).⁽¹⁾ This was apart from representatives of the Department of External Affairs, under the jurisdiction of which the High Commissioner's Office had been placed by Order-in-Council in 1921.

In Canada House itself, in 1927, besides housing the Office of the High Commissioner, this building accommodated the offices of Emigration, Trade and Commerce, Agriculture, Customs, Health, Secretary of State, Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment and the Land Settlement Board.⁽²⁾ As various of these offices expanded, however, they moved out into other quarters or annexes elsewhere in London.

On the appointment of Mr. Larkin the duties of the High Commissioner were re-defined. In an Order-in-Council P.C. 330 of February 10, 1922, recommending Mr. Larkin's appointment, attention was called to the existence of representatives of other departments, having "practically independent and separate offices", and to the fact "that the same matters were dealt with by different

(1) Canada Sessional Papers, 1924. No. 275, not printed. See Skilling, op. cit. p. 121.

(2) External Affairs Annual Report, 1927-28.

offices and agencies at the same time, thus producing confusion and injury to Canada's reputation and the effectiveness of its administrative methods." (1) It was recommended therefore that "all the official activities of the various agencies of the Canadian Government in the United Kingdom should be placed under the supervision of the High Commissioner", and that the latter "should in all matters of public policy communicate direct with the Prime Minister." Henceforth the High Commissioner's Office would be the medium of communication between the Canadian Government Departments and the British Government. (2) (This of course was supplementary to the conventional channel of communication through the Governor General and the Dominions Department of the Colonial Office, which did not lapse until 1927).

The Governor General sent the following despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. Mackenzie King cabled the text of it to Mr. P.C. Larkin, on December 12, 1924:

With respect to all matters requiring consultation, my Ministers are very strongly of the opinion that no change involving a departure from the methods at present accepted should be made or sanctioned without ample opportunity in the first instance for interchange of views between His Majesty's Government and the Governments of the several Dominions and as part of the machinery of inter-imperial relations agreed to as a result thereof.

(This was a precautionary advice that no change in the existing arrangements for consultation between

(1) This has been pointed out by L.C. Christie in a letter of 1920; see Part I: ("Representation Abroad").

(2) H. of C. Debates, March 27, 1922. pp.413-5.

Great Britain and the Dominions should take place until the holding of the intended Imperial Constitutional Conference in 1924, which was subsequently cancelled).

My Ministers are of the view that where, in matters of consultation on foreign policy, it is advisable to secure expedition, communications might be made without reference to the Colonial Office and be between the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain and the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the self-governing Dominions or between Prime Minister and Prime Minister. Where, as is the case at present in Canada, the office of the Secretary of State for External Affairs is combined with that of Prime Minister, it would be a matter of indifference to which of the two offices the communications were addressed.

The Canadian Government would welcome an understanding and arrangement where copies of all such communications and indeed all other communications passing between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Canada should be supplied to the High Commissioner for Canada, as representative of the Canadian Government in London, that he may be kept adequately and accurately informed with respect to all these matters.

Whilst welcoming for the High Commissioner the right and privilege, on behalf of his Government, and immediate and direct approach to the several ministers of the Crown in Great Britain with regard to matters which may be of special concern to their respective departments, the Government of Canada would not view with favour any procedure which might tend to obscure or lessen the full responsibility of Ministers of the Crown in Great Britain and Canada of themselves deciding upon the questions that may demand consultation, the most appropriate methods of consultation and upon the extent of their interest and obligation in all such matters. (1)

These instructions made it clear that the High Commissioner was to be regarded as an agent of the government, but was not to usurp the role of a responsible Minister of the Crown.

(1) File 844/1924.

A further attempt to tighten the control exercised by the High Commissioner was made in the early years of the Bennett premiership, (1930-35), when Government Departments were required to forward their correspondence with their representatives in London by way of the High Commissioner, and when "questions of policy" were involved to communicate such matters to the High Commissioner only through the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

After the close of the Bennett regime, the former practice of direct correspondence between the Departments and their officials in London seems to have been resumed,

but the High Commissioner was kept informed and consulted on important matters, and exercised authority on all questions of policy. The authority of the High Commissioner to supervise the activities of the officials of other Departments was re-stated in the 1938 Statute concerning the High Commissioner.⁽¹⁾

Mr. Larkin died on February 3, 1930, and Mr. Pacaud served ad interim as Acting High Commissioner. Mr. King thereupon, on July 24, 1930, designated by Order-in-Council, Hon. Vincent Massey, Minister at Washington, as High Commissioner; but before he could take up his new appointment, the King Government was defeated in the election, and the Bennett Government took office.

Mr. Bennett, believing that the London post was a political one and should be held by a representative of the party in power, procured Mr. Massey's resignation⁽²⁾ and appointed the Conservative Premier of Ontario, Hon. G. Howard Ferguson, as new High Commissioner to fill the vacancy so opportunely available by Mr. Larkin's death. Mr. Ferguson was appointed on November 29, 1930, and took up his duties in London on February 3, 1931.

The Hon. George Howard Ferguson, P.C., K.C., was born in Kemptville, Ontario, on June 18, 1870, the son of a medical doctor who was also a member of the Canadian House of Commons from 1873 to 1896. He graduated in 1891 at the University of Toronto, and then studied law at Osgoode Hall. In 1894 he was called to the Bar of Ontario, and was created a K.C. in 1908. He practised

(1) Skilling: op. cit. p.122.

(2) See Chapter 19: "Effect of Change of Government".

law in Kemptville, and became town Councillor for three years and reeve for three years. In 1905 he was elected to the Ontario Legislature for Grenville, and was repeatedly re-elected. From 1914 to 1919 he was Minister of Lands and Mines, and on December 2, 1920, was elected leader of the Liberal-Conservative Party. From 1923 to December, 1930, he was Premier and Minister of Education of the Province of Ontario. On being appointed by Mr. R.B. Bennett as High Commissioner for Canada in London, he pretended to take a very independent line, declaring that he was not going there as a commercial agent to sell wheat and other goods, but to "re-vivify the British nation",⁽¹⁾ and that he was merely closing his Toronto home temporarily, carrying the key in his pocket and a minimum of baggage;⁽²⁾ but it was not very long after his arrival overseas that he was delegated to attend a Wheat Conference in Rome,⁽³⁾ where incidentally, although a staunch Orangeman, he had an audience with His Holiness the Pope;⁽⁴⁾ and his successful incumbency in London lasted five years.

In 1931, also, Lieut. Col. George P. Vanier, M.C., was appointed Official Secretary to the High Commissioner's Office, remaining until 1938, (when he was appointed Canadian Minister to France).

Following another election and the return of the Liberals under Mr. Mackenzie King, Mr. Ferguson relinquished his post on November 8, 1935, and on November 13 Mr. Vincent Massey was reappointed as High Commissioner in London, continuing in that office for over eleven years.

(1) H. of C. Debates, May 15, 1931, p.1668.

(2) Ibid. p.1674.

(3) Ibid. p.1668

(4) Ibid. p. 1671.

In the same year, 1935, L.B. Pearson, First Secretary in Ottawa, was appointed, with the same rank of First Secretary, to the High Commissioner's Office in London.

In 1936 the Assistant Secretary, E.P. Luke, resigned and was succeeded by Col. F.M. Stanton. The Accountant, T. Allen, also resigned in that year.

When in 1938, Lieut.-Col. Vanier was transferred to Paris, L.B. Pearson became Official Secretary to the Office in London, remaining until May, 1941, when he returned to Ottawa as Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. He was replaced "as a war-time arrangement" by the senior Trade Commissioner in Britain, Mr. Frederick Hudd, as Official Secretary; and at the same time Major D.C. Unwin Simson was appointed to act as Assistant Secretary.

The work performed by the High Commissioner's Office and its auxiliary offices need not be recapitulated here; it has been reviewed in the successive Annual Reports of the Department of External Affairs. (1)

As the Second World War approached, measures were prepared for safety of the Office by means of bomb-shelters and other security provisions, and even for evacuation if the British Government were obliged to disperse into other areas. The war-time duties necessitated a considerably increased staff in the Office, and by 1940 Canada

(1) See also Skilling: op. cit. pp.122-23
Canadian Annual Review, 1922-38;
Sir George Perley: "The Duties of the High Commissioner in London", (Canadian Club Year Book, 1921-22, pp.128-34).
P.C. Larkin: "The Work of the High Commissioner's Office in London", (Proceedings, Canadian Club of Toronto. 1924-25, Vol.XXII, pp.38-45).
G.H. Ferguson: "Some Impressions of My Stay in England". (Empire Club Speeches, 1935-36, p.176).
Vincent Massey: Address (Proceedings, Canadian Club of Toronto. 1936-37). Vol.XXXIV. pp.33-43.

House was congested with officers and temporary personnel.

Canadian Legation, Washington

As has already been indicated, Mr. Mackenzie King decided by 1926 to take the long contemplated step of establishing a Canadian Legation in Washington, having already been anticipated in this step by the Irish Free State in 1924. One of the alleged reasons for his delay was his difficulty in finding the right person, of suitable qualifications and sufficient private means. He finally chose Mr. Vincent Massey, a wealthy industrialist, a leader of cultural life in Canada, and, for a brief period, a Minister without Portfolio in the Liberal Government.

Mr. Vincent Massey, P.C., C.H., Toronto-born on February 20, 1887, was educated at St. Andrew's College, University of Toronto (B.A., 1910), and Balliol College, Oxford, (B.A. 1913, M.A., 1918). From 1913 to 1915 he was lecturer in Modern History at Toronto and Senior Tutor in residence of Victoria College, and directed the building of Hart House of Toronto University. During the First War he was on the staff of the Toronto Military District, and in 1917-18 was Associate Secretary of the Cabinet War Committee in Ottawa. From 1921 to 1925 he was President of the Massey Harris Co., Ltd., of Toronto. He was appointed Minister without Portfolio in the Liberal Government of Mr. Mackenzie King in 1925, and in 1926 he attended the Imperial Conference in London. Five years subsequent to his term as first Canadian Minister to the United States (1927-1930), he was appointed Canadian High Commissioner to London, where he served from 1935 to 1946. (In February, 1952, he was appointed by the Crown, on the recommendation of the Canadian Privy Council, first Canadian Governor General).

On November 5, 1926, Mr. King informed the British Foreign Secretary through the Dominions Office that the Canadian Government proposed to advise His Majesty to appoint Mr. Massey as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, to have charge of Canadian affairs and to serve as the ordinary channel of communication with the United States Government in matters of Canadian concern, acting upon instructions from the Canadian Government and reporting to it." The British Government were further informed that it was not intended to renew the provision of the 1920 agreement whereby the Canadian Minister would be a member of the British Embassy and would, in the absence of the Ambassador, have charge of the representation of imperial as well as Canadian affairs. The formal act of advising the King to take this step was performed five days later through Order-in-Council P.C. 1780, similar in wording to the letter.⁽¹⁾ The British Government thereupon proceeded to inform the United States Government of their desire to have matters relating to Canada handled by such a Canadian envoy, accredited by the King to the President of the United States.

Meanwhile, Mr. Massey attending the Imperial Conference in London, had an audience with the King and made contacts with the British Foreign Office.

Mr. Massey was formally appointed on November 25, 1926, ~~and began to draw a salary from that date.~~ He did not take up his duties in Washington, however, until February 18, 1927, when he presented his credentials to

(1) Text published in A.L. Lowell and H. Duncan Hall:
The British Commonwealth of Nations. pp.653-5.

President Coolidge. On that occasion, unlike Professor Smiddy, the Irish Minister in 1924, Mr. Massey was accompanied by the British Ambassador, Sir Esme Howard. His Letters of Credence were issued by the King, on the advice of the Canadian Prime Minister, naming the Honourable Charles Vincent Massey as Minister "with the special object of representing in the United States of America the interests of our Dominion of Canada." (1)

On his appointment, Mr. Massey commenced to receive a salary as Minister, together with various allowances. In the House of Commons on April 13, 1927, Mr. Mackenzie^{King}, to a question by Mr. Guthrie, Leader of the Opposition: "May I ask what the salary of the Minister is?" replied: "The Government is giving to the Canadian Minister at Washington the same salary that has been paid to our representative in Paris, Hon. Philippe Roy, \$12,000 a year. The High Commissioner in London will have the same salary. . . (Also) An allowance for house and representation, for rent of building, entertainment and the like." (2)

The additional living and representational allowance initially was at the rate of \$18,000 for the first two months, but thereafter was at the rate of \$10,000 a year, plus a motor-car allowance of \$2000. (A Lincoln seven-passenger limousine was purchased for him by the Department of External Affairs in 1926-27, costing \$6827, and a chauffeur was engaged, with a uniform grant of \$165.50). (3)

(1) Text of the Letters of Credence in W.P.M. Kennedy: Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1713-1929. (Toronto 1930) p. 712.

(2) H. of C. Debates, April 13, 1927. p.2467.

(3) Auditor General's Report, 1927-28.

Among the many other details, such as title, uniform, housing, staff, and general Legation organization, the question of salary of the new Minister was one that had to be discussed. In this connection, an interesting memorandum, unidentified in authorship, was prepared apparently in about January, 1927, in Washington for Ottawa's consideration.⁽¹⁾ A section of this memorandum, relating to salary, is worthy of quotation:

Salary and Allowances of Minister:

The Washington appointment is our first experiment in diplomacy. That makes it both more necessary and more difficult to set a proper standard in the appropriations for Minister and staff, and in the provision of quarters. . .

In the first place, representation of one's country abroad is an expensive business at best. National prestige demands a good front; some of the expenditure should be written off to advertising and assurance of stability, as with the palatial quarters of our Canadian banks. Long established usage and the standard set by other countries cannot be ignored. The Minister is dined and wined, and must retaliate in kind. This does not constitute any excuse for extravagance or ostentation. The Minister is "sent to lye abroad" for the good of his country, not to give other Ministers and their wives a good time. Washington, with its easy money and heiresses in search of diplomat husbands, is one of the most expensive of diplomatic centres. At the same time, in Washington more than in any other centre, it is not foreign diplomats nor general society that it is necessary to impress, but the common ordinary Senator and Congressman, as well as the President and Cabinet; Senator Borah (Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee) is not to be caught with gold plate such as the British Ambassador flashes in Rio de Janeiro. Our jobs in Washington are our own

⁽¹⁾ It exists, without identification, date, or other comment, in departmental file No.603-19C, Part Two.

and call for little of that daily hobnobbing with other legations which is inevitable in European capitals where everyone is playing the same game - how to tilt the balance of power a little more his own way - and is interested in every move and intrigue of every other representative. In the last analysis, it is the man that counts, not his house; knowledge of human nature or a sense of humour will go farther than tapestried walls and elaborate soirées such as some Latin-American legations give.

Again, in a true democracy this burden should not be thrown on the Minister himself. If niggardly salaries are paid, it means that none but rich men can take the job. That unduly restricts the choice of men and involves serious political dangers. The state should foot its own bills. That of course does not mean that if a Whitelaw Reid wishes to live at the rate of half a million a year, his country should pay that: it should provide as much for a rich man as for a poor man, leaving it open to anyone who can and will to spend more than this standard sum, as the High Commissioner in London does and would, whatever the appropriation. . . .

The practice of Great Britain and of the United States affords a study in contrast. Britain, with its aristocratic traditions, its high standards of salaries for cabinet ministers, judges, bishops and other pillars of state, and its European background has always paid its diplomats handsomely; the United States, with its frontier traditions, its Jacksonian democracy view that any man could tackle any job, and its exaltation of the business man as against the public servant, has until lately paid salaries on which any but millionaires or misers would starve and even yet comes far below the British standard. The inadequacy of United States salaries has been notorious from the beginning of things. . . .

During the period February 16 to June 1, 1927, Mr. Massey and his family stayed at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, the Department paying his hotel costs; this was while new permanent premises for a Legation were being sought, found and furnished. The Legation was soon established, both residence and Chancery, in a large house at 1746 Massachusetts Avenue,*

* This house has been described in a preliminary recommendation from Washington, (about June, 1927): "Wichfield property, 1746 Massachusetts Avenue; a very fine 5-story house, splendid marble and wood-

purchased by the Canadian Government for approximately \$500,000, concerning which expenditure there was acrimonious debate in the House of Commons in 1927.⁽¹⁾ Mr. Bennett was as vehemently opposed to this as he was appreciative of the new Canada House in London. But Mr. Mackenzie King was able to justify the expenditure and finally won Parliament's acquiescence (by 90 to 54 votes) in the proposed item of \$500,000. Among other arguments, regarding dignity and prestige, he gave practical reasons:

If we lease premises we have to pay taxes on them, both on the residence for the minister and the office. . . Under the regulations at Washington, buildings owned in that city by other countries and other governments are tax-free. By purchasing outright, we are in a position to acquire property that will be exempted from taxation and having regard to its location in the city will prove an asset to the Dominion, increasing in value year by year. . . In looking about we have discovered that there is a chance to secure immediately a building, now for sale, that is exceptionally good value, a building erected shortly before the war and admirably adapted for a legation. We tried to secure a lease of it but we could not get a lease of it. We were told it was for sale, not for lease or rent. We have had the building carefully appraised, the site and the building itself. To give us an opportunity to purchase, if parliament approves, we have taken an option on it. . . Should the building in question be purchased we will be acquiring an asset for the Dominion. It is located in a part of the city which is both near the business portion and near the residential section. . .⁽²⁾

(1) H. of C. Debates, April 13, 1927, pp.2467-2484.

(2) Ibid. April 13, 1927. p.2470.

* Cont'd:

carving, well adapted for offices first floor, reception second, living third, staff fourth and servants fifth floor; in first-class condition; room for further building on back of lot; belongs to a Swift heiress now abroad; asks \$500,000; Spanish Government reputed to have offered \$400,000; believed would take \$450,000; enquiries being made whether would lease for 3 years, furnished, at \$35,000 a year." (File 603-19C. Part Two.)

Mr. Dunning backed up the Prime Minister's argument by interposing:

It is simply a matter of good business. The opposition in this house, with all their talk characterizing us as extravagant for proposing this vote, are themselves prepared to spend each year an amount which would be gone if spent in rent but which if used in the way I have indicated would amortize the cost of the whole proposal inside of a period of about twenty years. I will leave it to the judgment of the Canadian people which is the business like proposition. . . As a result of this proposed expenditure we can take \$30,000 off from the ordinary vote for the maintenance of the Legation. The total cost may not, and in all probability will not, reach the maximum figure of \$500,000. (1) *

Staff

In the above-mentioned unsigned memorandum, apparently written in January, 1927, from Washington when the new Legation was about to be opened, the question of staff was discussed. (2) The relevant section read:

Secretaries: It is necessary first to decide upon the classification of posts in the secretariat or general administrative branch. Here there is little difficulty. The British Service has recently revised its system into very logical shape and the United States has adopted the same scheme. In brief, both systems provide (1) for the adoption of the same grades and the same salaries in all foreign posts and in the Foreign Office or State Department as well; (2) for entrance into the Service at the lowest grade (Third secretaries in England, unclassified grade in the United States), and filling of higher posts, including latterly the Ministers and Under-Secretaries by promotion; (3) and for payment of foreign allowances and house allowances to those on foreign service according to the relative needs of the post.

(1) Ibid. p.2478.

* Mr. St. Laurent, as Secretary of State for External Affairs, said in 1947: "The premises which were acquired a good many years ago in Washington for the Canadian Embassy were acquired, I understand, at a cost of something like half-a-million dollars. You could not replace it today for anything like a million and a half dollars." (Minute of Select Standing Committee on External Affairs. May 20, 1947. p.127).

(2) File 603-19C. Part two.

This would appear to be the proper system for us to work toward. For the present, of course, appointments will have to be made from outside and to higher grades. At the outset three or perhaps four "secretaries" or executive members should suffice. . . . The clerical staff might include four clerks and stenographers, two messengers, and a chauffeur would also be needed. A staff of this size would require approximately \$12,000 in Washington.

On June 11, 1926, in anticipation of his appointment to Washington, Mr. Massey wrote confidentially to Dr. Skelton:

Will the appointment to the Legation staff come under the Civil Service Act? Whether this is the case or not, it is, I feel, most important that the Minister should have reasonable freedom in the selection of his staff. After all, the relationship between the members of the staff and their Chief is so intimate and the work so delicate that they must be acceptable to the responsible head. With this you will of course agree.

Dr. Skelton replied on June 14:

As to Legation appointments, it is true that as the law at present stands, they would come under the Civil Service Act. This would be highly unsatisfactory in the case of the more important appointments. I asked the Prime Minister the other day whether he contemplated bringing in legislation dealing with staff matters in all the Canadian agencies abroad, and he stated that it was not desired to do so this session. The alternative means to secure exemption is to induce the Civil Service Commission to agree to exempt the posts from the Act, which they may do in a case like this.

Actually, with one exception, Civil Service Commission examinations for External Affairs or diplomatic offers were not fully introduced until 1927, after the Legation in Washington had been opened and staffed.

Staff

The original staff, from February, 1927, consisted of Laurent Beaudry, a former editor of a Quebec newspaper, who was appointed on February 21, 1927 at a salary of \$5,000 plus \$3,500 living and representational allowance; Merchant M. Mahoney, who had prior to February 17 been External Affairs Agent in Washington, who joined the Legation as Commercial Secretary although paid by External Affairs at the same salary and allowance as Beaudry's; and from February 14 Thomas A. Stone as Third Secretary, at a salary of \$3,000 plus \$1,250 living and representational allowance. In October, 1929, Stone

was promoted to the rank of Second Secretary. On April 10, 1927, H.H. Wrong was appointed as additional First Secretary, on the same basis as Beaudry and Mahoney.

It was probably mere coincidence that with the exception of Beaudry and Mahoney, the senior staff (joined in the following year by Kirkwood and Pearson and afterwards by K. Crowther) were all University of Toronto graduates. Mr. Massey, Mr. Wrong and Pearson had each been formerly teachers of history at Toronto; Stone was a Toronto graduate of Political Science and a graduate of the Ecole Libre de Sciences Politiques, University of Paris; Kirkwood, after graduating at Toronto, had taught history in Turkey and at Columbia University, New York. Occasional comment was heard that the Canadian Legation in Washington was largely a "University of Toronto faculty of history"; but this situation was purely coincidental. The personnel in the Department in Ottawa was not predominantly Torontonians, and it was accidental that the "Toronto influence" in the first few years existed in Washington. It was soon rectified by the adjustment of non-Toronto officers.

It is further noted that originally neither the Minister nor his first staff had been in the Department of External Affairs, though the Commercial Secretary, M. Mahoney, had been previously the Department's "Agent" in Washington since the closing of the Canadian War Mission.

The understaffed Department had no officers to supply to Washington, and new men, like Beaudry, Wrong,

Kirkwood, Stone, and Crowther, had to be recruited. In the opening year, 1927, the officer staff in Washington alone was larger than that of the Department in Ottawa.

Miss Beatrice Carter had been a secretary to the Canadian War Mission in Washington the previous year, at a salary of \$1,860; and on the creation of the Legation was appointed on February 18th as clerk-book-keeper. Other staff were quickly collected. Miss B. McGregor was appointed Librarian-file clerk, S. McCool principal clerk, E.A. Ewen senior stenographer, and others included H. Brown, S. Watson, and M. McCool. T.W. King, a Canadian newspaper man, was attached as resident correspondent. Corporal H.M. Lamont, R.C.M.P., was attached as attendant, orderly, doorman, and guard, and, wearing his scarlet uniform, lent great distinction and dignity to the new Legation. A caretaker, H. Johnson, was employed. Later in 1927 or early in 1928, the staff was enlarged by Miss A. St. Denis, Miss McPherson, J. Deschamps, an office boy, some messengers and janitors, a switchboard operator, and several temporary stenographers. Miss Beatrice Winters soon was added to the staff.

On September 1, 1928, K.P. Kirkwood was appointed to the Washington Legation as Second Secretary, remaining until April 1, 1929.

L.B. Pearson, First Secretary, was temporarily loaned to the Washington Legation for two months, June and July, 1929, and then returned to Ottawa.

On May 13, 1929, Norman A. Robertson was appointed

to Washington as Third Secretary; and on August 12th Keith F. Crowther was appointed Third Secretary, being promoted to Second Secretary on August 1, 1930. He resigned, however, two years later.

E.D. McGreer, coming from Geneva, joined the Legation staff in March, 1932. From August 1 to September 19, 1931, J.S. Macdonald was temporarily attached to the Mission.

These successive increases of staff were necessitated by the great volume of work which fell on the new Legation from its inception, largely transferred to it from the British Embassy. It is recorded that in the first 10½ months between February 18 and December 31, 1927, 1098 despatches were sent to the Department of External Affairs, and 306 notes were addressed to the Secretary of State of the United States, in addition to more informal communications with those offices. There was also a large and increasing volume of correspondence with government departments in Washington, with business firms and private individuals, as well as with other diplomatic missions.

During July, 1930, Mr. Massey relinquished his position as first Canadian Minister in Washington, after three and a half years of pioneer service. He had been designated by Mr. Mackenzie King as High commissioner to London, but before he had assumed his new post, the Liberal Government was defeated, and under the premiership of Mr. Bennett the appointment of Mr. Massey was withdrawn. Humphrey

Hume Wrong acted as Chargé d'Affaires until Mr. Bennett appointed Mr. William D. Herridge, his prospective brother-in-law, as Minister to Washington.

The Hon. William Duncan Herridge, K.C., D.S.O., M.C., was born in Ottawa on September 18, 1888, the son of the one-time Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Very Reverend William Thomas Herridge, D.D. After early education in Ottawa schools and collegiate, he graduated in 1909 at the University of Toronto, and completed his law studies at Osgoode Hall, and became a Barrister. During the First World War he served overseas as Major, and was awarded the D.S.O. and M.C. for bravery on the field. He returned to law practice after the War.

Major Herridge accompanied Mr. Bennett to Washington in January-February, 1930; and again accompanied the Canadian delegation, headed by Premier Bennett, to the Imperial Conference held in London which opened on October 1, 1930.⁽¹⁾

The appointment of Major Herridge as Minister to Washington was made by Order-in-Council on March 7, 1931.⁽²⁾ On April 14 he married, as his second wife, Miss Mildred Bennett, the Prime Minister's sister and his official hostess. Major Herridge and his new wife visited England, and returned to Canada on the maiden voyage of the Empress of Britain,

(1) Canadian Annual Review, 1930-31, p.30, p.308.

(2) H. of C. Debates, February 10, 1936, p.67. Canadian Annual Review, 1930-31. p.357. (Who's Who in Canada (1934-35)), however, gives the date of appointment as June 1, 1931).

sailing from Southampton on May 27 and arriving at Quebec on June 1.⁽¹⁾ On June 17 he was appointed a Canadian Privy Councillor, and on June 19 he was formally installed at the Canadian Legation in Washington.

Mr. Herridge presented his Letters of Credence to President Hoover in June, 1931. He continued in this office until the next change of government in Canada in 1935, which resulted in his resignation on October 23, again leaving Wrong as Chargé d'Affaires.

On October 20, 1936, Sir Herbert Marler, formerly Minister to Japan, presented his Letters of Credence to President Roosevelt.

R.M. Macdonnell, from the Department of External Affairs, joined the Washington Legation staff as Third Secretary in January, 1935.

In October, 1937, Hector Allard was transferred from the Department to Washington, and in October of the same year Wrong exchanged places as Canadian Advisory Officer in Geneva with Dr. W.A. Riddell, who went to Washington as Counsellor.

Sir Herbert Marler was obliged, on account of serious illness, which soon afterwards proved fatal, to resign in 1939, and he was replaced by Loring C. Christie, Counsellor of the Department of External Affairs, who presented his Letters of

(1) Canadian Annual Review, 1930-31, p.428.

Credence to President Roosevelt on September 25, 1939.*

Christie himself, however, suffered grave sickness at the end of 1940, and died in New York on April 8, 1941.⁽¹⁾ A month before, on March 14, 1941, Mr. Leighton McCarthy, K.C., appointed Minister in Mr. Christie's vacated place, presented himself to the President. (Subsequently, in 1943, the Legation was elevated to an Embassy, and Mr. McCarthy became Ambassador of Canada).

Prior to Christie's death, the position of Mr. McCarthy as Minister at Washington was exceptional if not anomalous. On February 19, 1941, Christie had written to the Prime Minister from a New York hospital that his recovery and convalescence might be prolonged, and in these circumstances he asked for extended leave of absence. To this Mr. King agreed, at the same time proposing to replace him at Washington, without loss of rank to Christie as "a Minister in Canada's diplomatic service". Mr. King explained to the House how the adjustment was to be made: "His Majesty the King was of course duly

* As Sir Herbert Marler's sudden illness (pneumonia) incapacitated him at a crucial moment, almost the day Canada entered the war, when the American Neutrality Act automatically came into force, thus complicating relations between Canada and the United States, on matters of unofficial defence cooperation. L.C. Christie, who was in charge of such American matters in the Department in Ottawa, was hurriedly appointed and transferred to Washington to meet the emergency at a highly critical moment. Although there may have been other weighty considerations in favour of Christie's appointment, - e.g. his past connections and familiarity with the Washington scene, it seems that his hurried appointment to replace Sir Herbert Marler was largely due to emergency.

(1) See Chapter 9: "Loring Christie".

advised of the wishes of the government with respect to the appointment of Mr. McCarthy to Washington, and has been pleased to signify his approval of the appointment and of the course it was proposed to adopt with respect thereto. I mention this because a procedure somewhat different from that which is customary has been adopted in the case of Mr. McCarthy going to Washington. As a rule, a new minister presents the letters of recall of his predecessor and his own letter of credence. But as Mr. Christie will remain a minister, although absent, it has not been thought necessary to have Mr. McCarthy present any letters of recall or letters of credence. The President of the United States and the Secretary of State are agreed that an oral communication by Mr. McCarthy, on his arrival, to the president who understands the special situation and approves of the arrangement contemplated, will suffice. Mr. Roosevelt who, as I have already mentioned, knows Mr. McCarthy very well, has informed me that he will be only too pleased to receive Mr. McCarthy with the full authority and status of minister the moment he arrives in Washington, without any special letter of credence from His Majesty the King." (1)

Following Mr. Christie's death in New York, Mr. McCarthy's position as Acting Minister in Washington had to be regularized by credentials. On April 11, 1941, the Under-Secretary, Norman Robertson,

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 25, 1941.

submitted the following memorandum for the Prime Minister:

Credentials for the Minister in Washington

I was speaking with Mr. Wrong this morning about the technical situation created by Mr. Christie's death. From a conversation which Mr. McCarthy had the other day with the Chief of the Protocol Division of the Department of State, it appears that the United States Government is quite prepared to recognize Mr. McCarthy's de facto position as Minister indefinitely. He is listed as Canadian Minister in Washington from the date on which he was received by the President, and his precedence in the official list will be determined by that date.

There is, nevertheless, something to be said for formalizing arrangements and securing the usual letters of credence from His Majesty. If we get the letters of credence for Mr. McCarthy from the King, they would be communicated to the Secretary of State under an official note. It would not be necessary to go through any ceremony of presentation or to give any publicity whatever, either in Washington or here, to the fact that they had been presented.

I gathered from a practical point of view it will not make much difference which course is followed. I should, however, be glad to have your instructions. From a reference in the press conference on Wednesday, I thought you might be under the impression that the King had already been asked to issue formal letters of credence for Mr. McCarthy. This, in fact, has not yet been done. (1)

The Hon. Leighton Goldie McCarthy, P.C., K.C., L.L.D., was born in Walkerton, Ontario, on December 15, 1869, and studied law. He was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1892, and, after wide practice, was appointed

~~(1) House of Commons Debates, February 25, 1941.~~

(1) File 46-L-40 (Christie). (The subsequent action taken does not appear on this file).

K.C. in 1902. He was a member of the firm McCarthy and McCarthy, Barristers and Solicitors, Toronto, and became a director of innumerable companies. He was Chairman of the Board of the Canada Life Assurance Company and National Trust Company, Ltd., a member of the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto and Board of Trustees of Toronto General Hospital, and a governor or trustee of various other institutions. He was elected to the House of Commons for Simcoe in 1898, was re-elected in 1900 and 1904, and retired from parliamentary life in 1908. He was a Liberal and an Anglican.

Both the Liberal Government, of course, and Mr. Hanson on the Opposition side, approved the nomination of Mr. McCarthy. Mr. King said: "Perhaps I should tell the committee that some years ago I tried to get Mr. McCarthy to take the office of minister at Washington. Mr. McCarthy could not see his way at the time to sever his business connection in Canada to the extent of giving himself to the diplomatic service. He has indicated to me off and on since the war began that if he could be of service in any way he would be glad to consider any proposal that might be made to him. As soon as I found that Mr. Christie's recovery would unfortunately likely take some time, I got in touch with Mr. McCarthy and, after having considered the matter carefully, he has agreed to accept the position of minister for such time as he is able to give his services at Washington. Mr. McCarthy is a former member of this House of Commons. He took a prominent part in the discussion of public

affairs when he was a member of parliament. He is head of one of the largest insurance companies in Canada and has had a great deal to do with private business. He has also an exceptionally high standing in his own profession, that of law. He has always been interested in international affairs. With respect to his appointment at Washington there is a circumstance which I believe to be of great value to us all; it is that Mr. McCarthy and the president of the United States have been very close friends for many years and know each other intimately. I feel that no better appointment to Washington could possibly have been made. . . Mr. McCarthy goes to Washington not merely as a minister but also as a member of the privy council of Canada." (1)

It is customary that when a man is appointed Minister or Ambassador who is not "of career" and has not had practical experience in the techniques of diplomacy, a senior career officer trained under the Department of External Affairs is assigned to him as an assistant. Merchant Mahoney had had long and continuous experience in Washington, and under the Department of External Affairs as well as under the Department of Trade and Commerce; he had held the rank of Commercial Counsellor; but Mr. King announced that ^{he} was to be designated a Counsellor of Legation in view of his wide duties. (2)

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 25, 1941. p.1003.

(2) Ibid.

Note: Unlike Mr. Bennett, the new Conservative leader, Mr. Hanson, approved the Washington Legation and the appointments which Mr. King had made of Mr. McCarthy, Wrong and Mahoney. He even went further, and hoped that the Prime Minister "might see his way clear to raise the new minister to the rank of ambassador". Mr. King replied in 1941: "I am far from being averse to a step of the kind—

(Cont'd.)

At the same time, taking effect in March, Hume Wrong was re-appointed to Washington, with the higher rank and title of Minister-Counsellor. "Recognizing the importance of the work to be done at Washington, and in order to give Mr. McCarthy the best assistance we possibly can, the Department of External Affairs has arranged to have Mr. Hume Wrong accompany Mr. McCarthy when he goes to Washington. Hon. members will recall that Mr. Wrong was associated with the legation at Washington for ten years altogether, and he is therefore familiar with the Washington scene and has many friends in the different departments of government there. Mr. Wrong has been at the League of Nations as permanent delegate from Canada. That particular position has been abandoned for obvious reasons. Since October, 1939, he has been special economic adviser in London, dealing with matters of economic warfare and with financial questions. He is therefore familiar with many aspects of the situation in London and will bring that added knowledge to the discharge of his duties in Washington at this time. . ." (1)

During Mr. McCarthy's incumbency, the Commercial Attaché, Mr. Harry A. Scott, three Attachés of the Canadian Armed Forces, were appointed, with three Assistant Attachés, and a Financial Attaché, Mr. A.F.W. Plumtre.

(1) W.L.M. King: H. of C. Debates, February 25, 1941. p.1003

(Cont'd) being taken. I unfortunately labour under this difficulty, that whatever I do is certain to be looked at from different angles, some of them quite the opposite of what I would feel was justified. I have had to ask myself again and again what would be the reaction in this country and overseas, if we were to create an embassy at Washington at the present time." (Op. cit. p.1005).

Paul Reading and George Magann were Attachés. H. Allard and R.M. Macdonnell were Second Secretaries, and J.A. Chapdelaine Third Secretary. Thus in 1941 there were sixteen officers in the Washington Legation.

Paris Legation

With regard to the elevation of the Commissioner-General's Office in Paris to a Legation in 1928, Mr. Mackenzie King said: "It was in 1888 that Sir John A. Macdonald appointed a high commissioner or commissioner-general to Paris. For forty years Canada has been represented in Paris by a commissioner-general. In the intervening period there have been cataclysmic changes. In the recent past no less than four empires have disappeared, no less than twelve or thirteen new republics have come into being. The whole complexion of the map of Europe has altered. A League of Nations has come into existence. This Dominion of Canada is a nation in the League of Nations, as it is a nation in the community of British nations. Not only is Canada represented in the Assembly of the League of Nations but it has a representative on the Council of the League. I say therefore that conditions, so far as Europe is concerned, are entirely different from what they were at the time of the commissioner-general to Paris was appointed. I think it will be conceded by all who have been in Paris and have met Hon. Mr. Roy the Commissioner-General, that he has established there a position very different from the one which it was expected a commissioner-general would

hold, and that his position is in reality much more nearly that of a minister. . . We feel that Canada's interests, which have grown so largely in the course of the years, will be safeguarded more effectively, that the business interests of this country in relation to France and the government of Canada in her relations to the government of France will all be in a better position if our representative in France is given a standing similar to that which a number of other countries, many of them much smaller than Canada, enjoy in France at the present time, and, I might add, the British government correspondingly relieved of a measure of embarrassment and expense." (1)

Hon. Philippe Roy was born at St. François, Quebec, on February 1, 1868. He was educated at Sta Anne de la Pocatière College, and at Laval University, and became a physician and surgeon. He was summoned to the Senate on March 8, 1906, and had been appointed as Commissioner-General to France in May, 1911. Mr. Roy, on being designated Canadian Minister at Paris, presented his ^{new} Letters of Credence on September 29, 1928, at the Chateau Rambouillet, afterwards accompanying the Prime Minister and Mr. Dandurand in the ceremony of laying a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Soldier at the Arc de Triomphe.

In 1927 Mr. King told the House that the Commissioner-General's Office in Paris was then in a rented building on the Boulevard des Capucins, the Canadian

(1) H. of C. Debates. January 31, 1928. p.60.

Government having previously bought, and later sold, a building known as the Hotel Scribe on rue Scribe.⁽¹⁾ He asked, however, for a supplementary vote of \$45,000 to meet in part the "necessity of acquiring further premises" as well as some alterations. Subsequently a Legation residence was rented at Rue François Premier, overlooking an open space which came to be known as Place Canada.

A press announcement by the French Foreign Ministry on June 10, 1928, said in part:

The Canadian Legation will occupy the ground floor of No. 1. Rue François Premier, Cours Albert Premier, Grand Boulevard, overlooking the river Seine. The Legation's headquarters will be a stone's throw from the Grand Palais and the nearest Legation to the British Embassy and French Foreign Office, and will be ready for occupancy in April. It is understood the Canadian Trade Commissioner's Office and the Canadian Archives Office will be moved to the Canadian Legation's quarters. Ample accommodation will be provided there for Canadian visitors to register, receive their mail, write letters and read the newspapers. The present facilities for this are inadequate.⁽²⁾ [The commercial office of the former Trade Commissioner remained, however, on rue Scribe.]

Later, a large new building at 72 Avenue Foch was leased as a Chancery and Consulate. Mr. Roy's functions as Minister scarcely changed, but by this new diplomatic status, he was able to have more direct and independent contacts with the Quai d'Orsay and other French Government departments. As Minister, he was granted a salary of \$12,000 a year,

(1) H. of C. Debates, April 31, 1927, p.2484.

(2) A.P. cable to Montreal Gazette, January 11, 1928. File 901-A.

plus living representation and rent allowances of \$10,000 and a car allowance of \$3,000, an official car and chauffeur being provided also at External Affairs expense.

The Montreal Star of June 27, 1935, wrote:

To those whose memories carry back to an earlier day, the work which Mr. Roy has done for Canada in France is especially clear. The Canadian Commissioner's office, before his day, was a small upstairs affair on a street little known to strangers in Paris, with an almost non-existent staff, with facilities so restricted as to cripple any work it might have hoped to do, either for Canadians abroad or for Canadian business. Mr. Roy changed all that. He moved the Canadian office to the Grand Boulevard; he made it a comfortable and spacious place where the "Canadian errand" was made welcome and happy; he "put Canada on the map" of boulevardier consciousness; he was personally the soul of generosity and hospitality and, withal, a shrewd and able business man with Canadian interests always before his mind. . . The splendid Cité Universitaire project was very largely his plan, a contribution to an intellectual and cultural bond between Canada and France that cannot be estimated from blue-books or trade returns."(1)

In September, 1928, Jean Désy, who had been Counsellor in Ottawa, was appointed Counsellor to the new Legation in Paris, remaining there until 1938, (when in January, 1939, he was appointed Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands).

Pierre Dupuy, already in the Paris agency, was reclassified in 1928 as Second Secretary to the Legation.

On October 15, 1929, E.D. McGreer, who had been in Geneva, was appointed Second Secretary to the Paris Legation, (remaining until he was transferred to Washington in March, 1932.)

(1) H. of C. Debates, April 13, 1927, p.2484.

On March 1, 1932, Thomas A. Stone, from Washington, joined the Legation in Paris, until he returned to Ottawa in December, 1934, and temporarily resigned from the Service.

On December 31, 1938, Mr. Philippe Roy, by then almost totally deaf and seventy years of age, retired,⁽¹⁾ after an experience in the Paris Office of twenty-seven years, and with great respect and honours. As he had not been a contributor to any Superannuation Fund, a vote of Parliament was passed granting him a special retirement annuity of \$5000 a year in recognition of his long public service.⁽²⁾

He was succeeded in 1939 as Minister, by Lieut. Col. (later Brigadier, and Major-General) George P. Vanier, who had been Official Secretary in the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in London since 1931. Subsequently, when the Mission was raised from a Legation to an Embassy, General Vanier became Canada's first Ambassador to France.

On January 18, 1940, Major-General L.R. LaFlèche was appointed Military Attaché to the Legation and took up his duties in Paris on March 23.

Following the intensification of the German drive through Northern France in May and June, 1940, arrangements were completed for the evacuation of the Legation from Paris. On June 10, 1940, owing to the critical military situation and the consequent decision of the French Government to transfer their headquarters to Tours and later to Bordeaux, the Canadian Minister

⁽¹⁾ (See Chapter 19: "Effect of Change of Government".

⁽²⁾ See H. of C. Debates, May 26, 1938, III, pp. 3257-3263.

requested the United States Ambassador to take over the Legation and to assume the protection of Canadian interests. On the same date, the Minister and staff of the Legation left Paris for Pernay, and later arrived at Cantenac near Bordeaux on June 14. On June 24 the Minister and staff of the Legation arrived in London where further work was carried on. In October, Col. Vanier returned to Canada on leave of absence, and a temporary assignment. Pierre Dupuy, First Secretary on the staff of the Canadian Legation in Paris, remained in London, as Chargé d'Affaires, to look after the interests of Canadian nationals who were unable to leave France, and generally to act as liaison officer with the Vichy Government.

On November 9, 1942, when the Vichy Government, with which Dupuy had kept in official contact, ordered resistance to the North African invasion, the Canadian Government ceased to recognize Vichy as the de jure Government of France, thus putting an end to the function of Dupuy in London in that connection.

Brig. Vanier, returning from Canada to England, was appointed Canadian "representative" (not minister) to the French National Committee in London, and took up his duties in April, 1943.

When the French Committee of National Liberation began functioning in Algiers, in the summer of 1943, and was given conditional recognition by Great Britain, the United States and Canada, Vanier was instructed to proceed

to Algiers and to maintain liaison with General de Gaulle. On the occasion of his reception by de Gaulle, the President of the French Committee, the Canadian Government underlined the importance which it attached to his mission by announcing that Vanier, promoted to Acting Major-General, had been given the "personal rank of Ambassador" - a phrase used to indicate that the French Committee was still not considered technically a "government".(1)

After the transfer of Vanier to Algiers, he remained technically Minister to the other Allied Governments in London, and in the case of the Greek and Yugoslav Governments, in Cairo, although Dupuy returned to London as Chargé d'Affaires ad interim to those Governments, pending the appointment of a new Minister. The latter's staff was enlarged to include a Military Attaché and a Third Secretary. (When in September 1944 Dupuy was assigned as Chargé d'Affaires to the re-opened Embassy in Brussels, T.A. Stone, of the High Commissioner's Office in London became Chargé d'Affaires a.i. to the remaining Allied governments.)

In the summer of 1943, General de Gaulle was back in the liberated Paris, and set up a Provisional Free French Government. The Canadian Mission in Algiers promptly moved to Paris, and one of its members, Saul F. Rae, was actually in the French capital by September 3. Two months later Maj.Gen. Vanier presented his Letter of Credence as Canadian Ambassador. A Canadian military mission was also sent to Paris and established its offices

(1) H. of C. Debates. April 17, 1944. p.2125 (King).

in the Embassy building. Thus the former Legation, after its interruption, was re-opened in Paris as an Embassy.

Tokyo

In 1928 Mr. Mackenzie King announced the Government's intention to open a third Legation, in Japan. "We intend to appoint a Minister to France who will be the sole representative on the continent of Europe, and one to Tokyo, who will be the sole representative on the continent of Asia. To appoint but one representative in Europe, one in Asia, in addition to one in America, each of whom will have the standing of ministers and be in a position to meet the diplomats and members of governments of other countries on an equal footing, is surely not, in the present stage of our international relations, proceeding with undue haste." (1)

The Governor General's Speech from the Throne, announcing the Government's policies, on January 26, 1928, had stated that "By agreements between the governments of France and Canada and the governments of Japan and Canada it is proposed that each of these countries shall be represented in the other by a minister plenipotentiary." (2)

Mr. R.S. Bennett, the Leader of the Conservative Opposition, as usual opposed strenuously the proposal to open a legation in Japan. (3) "What this country wants in Japan and in all other foreign countries are trade

(1) H. of C. Debates. January 31, 1928. p.60.

(2) Ibid. p.2.

(3) Ibid. p.29.

commissioners, under the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to carry forward Canada's trade. . . It is idle boasting to talk about our position in a foreign country because some representative over there can wear gold and lace and a uniform. That does not advance the interests of the country a single sou." (1)

Mr. King justified the appointment of a Canadian representative to Japan in saying to Mr. Bennett: "My hon. friend turned to the Speaker (Mr. Lemieux) yesterday and complimented His Honour upon his visit to Japan and the result of his diplomatic mission some twenty years ago. Does my hon. friend think we would have succeeded even at that time in getting the reduced numbers we succeeded in getting if the whole matter had been left to despatches or to the roundabout process of dealing through the Foreign Office in Japan. It is because we are able to send from Canada one of our own citizens, one of our own ministers, and have him deal at first hand with the Japanese Government that at that particular time we were able to make the arrangement we did." (2)

As early as November, 1927, the Canadian Government had contemplated the opening of Legations in France and Japan, as well as in the U.S.A.. In a confidential telegram to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, dated November 22, 1927, the Secretary of State for External Affairs said:

The Canadian Government has been considering the question of further diplomatic representation

(1) Ibid. p.29.

(2) H. of C. Debates, January 31, 1928, p.61.

abroad. It is of opinion that it is not desirable to enter into direct diplomatic relations with any considerable number of countries for some time to come and that appointments of ministers when made should be on a reciprocal basis. It is however not desired to limit exchange of Ministers to the United States alone. There are certain other countries of which diplomatic relations in the near future would be very desirable. In the case of France there are many reasons for changing the status of Canadian Commissioner-General to that of Minister Plenipotentiary, and our Pacific interests indicate that an exchange with Japan in the near future would be to common advantage. (1)

Senator Dandurand, who was then visiting London, discussed the matter, under Ottawa instructions. On December 6, 1927, the Secretary of State for External Affairs cabled:

We have been pleased to learn of Sir Austen Chamberlain's comments on our proposed Japanese immigration policy and of his readiness to aid in securing exchange of ministers between Canada and Japan. We should therefore be obliged if the Foreign Secretary could inform Japanese Government that Canada desires to effect such exchange if satisfactory to Japan. This possibility discussed with former Consul-General Matsunaga before his return to Japan in October; he will be in position to explain Canadian situation fully to his Government. We should also desire it to be added that Canadian Government hopes that immigration agreement can be concluded on basis suggested in our last communication to Consul-General and that we would propose to entrust to Canadian Minister in Japan viseing passports of Japanese emigrating to Canada in accordance with agreement. (2)

The Foreign Office instructed its Ambassador in Tokyo, Sir John Tilley, to make the approach, and on January 19, 1928, the Dominions Office notified the Canadian Government that "today His Majesty's

(1) File 901-B-27.

(2) Ibid

Ambassador at Tokio has telegraphed that he was informed by Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs last night that the Government of Japan will be happy to receive a Canadian Minister in Japan and to send a Minister to Canada."

There was some delay in nominating a Canadian Minister. The intention was first widely rumoured, and may possibly have been officially considered, to appoint ~~Hon.~~ G.W. Stephens, but this prospect faded. Dr. J.H. King, Minister of Pensions and National Health, was offered the appointment but declined. During 1928 a sum of \$50,000 was voted for the proposed new Legation, but was not used during that fiscal year. The absence of Sir Austen Chamberlain from England, and the illness of the King, contributed to the delay. On January 7, 1929, the proposed appointment of the Hon. Herbert Marler, M.P., P.C., was confidentially communicated to the Dominions Office for reference to Tokyo and acceptance of the Japanese Government. On January 11, 1929, P.C. 37 recommended that "His Majesty the King be humbly moved to appoint the Honourable Herbert Meredith Marler as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tokio, with the special object of representing in Japan the interests of the Dominion of Canada, and to issue the necessary letters of credence." (1)

Mr. Mackenzie King issued a statement to the

(1) Ibid.

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press on January 11th (which was drafted by Mr. Marler himself) as follows. It may be noted that this was done before formal notification of acceptability had been received from the Japanese Government.

The Prime Minister announced this evening that the Canadian Government proposed recommending to His Majesty the appointment of Hon. Herbert M. Marler of Coaticook, Stanstead County, and Montreal, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in respect of the Dominion of Canada at Tokio.

Mr. Marler is a member of the Privy Council of Canada, having been a member of the Cabinet in 1925. He belongs to a family which has lived in Canada continuously since 1768. He was educated at McGill University, from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law with first-class honours. He is by profession a notary of the Province of Quebec, and is the son of Mr. W. de M. Marler, D.C.L., LL.D., of Montreal, who was for many years a professor of the law of real estate in McGill University, and who founded the firm of W. de M. and H.M. Marler of Montreal, in which he and his son have been associated for over thirty years. In 1902 Mr. Marler married Beatrice Isabel Allan, a granddaughter of the late Andrew Allan, one of the founders of the Allen Line, and of the late Matthew Henry Gault.

In addition to his extensive professional and business experience, Mr. Marler has a long record of activity in the public life of Canada. For many years he was a member of the Council of Education of the Province of Quebec, and in 1917-18 held the post of Fuel Administrator of that Province. In 1921 he was elected to the House of Commons of Canada for the constituency of St. Lawrence-St. George (Montreal). In 1922 he was Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Soldiers' Pensions and Civil Reestablishment. In 1925 he served as Chairman of the Committee on Transportation in the negotiations in the trade agreement between Canada and the British West Indies. Mr. Marler took an active part in the last revision of the Bank Act, and made several extensive studies as regards Dominion and railway finance and tariff questions. In 1925 he was sworn of the Privy Council of Canada

and called to the Cabinet of Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, but was defeated in the general election of that year, and resigned from the Cabinet. In 1927 he was National Treasurer and Chairman of the Finance Committee of the National Committee for the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.

The appointment of the first Canadian Minister in the Orient is considered of special importance at this juncture in view of the increasing significance of the Pacific in international relations and the possibilities of rapid growth in Canadian trade with Japan. (1)

As Mr. Marler could not proceed to Japan before September, 1929, the Canadian Government decided, and notified the Dominions Office on April 30, to open the Legation in May under Dr. Hugh Ll. Keenleyside of the staff of the Department of External Affairs as First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires, and James A. Langley, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner in Japan, as Commercial Secretary. Keenleyside had been chosen because he had been brought up in British Columbia, and was a graduate of the University of British Columbia, and thus could represent the interests of the Canadian West and Pacific province. Mr. Langley had served in Kobe for the preceding five years.

Accompanied by Miss A.M. Baird as secretary, Dr. Keenleyside arrived in Tokyo on May 20, 1929. Although in close cooperation from the first day with the British Ambassador Sir John Tilley and the Embassy staff, he declined, under Ottawa's instructions, to accept the Ambassador's invitation

(1) File 901-B-27.

to be his guest, and established himself temporarily at the Imperial Hotel. Within a month he had found a house available for official residence and chancery in the Nagai district, and was authorized to lease it on a temporary basis.

Meanwhile Mr. Marler had gone to England for short visit. Because of the King's illness, he was unable to have an audience as he had hoped.

On June 25th Baron G. Tanaka, Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, notified the British Ambassador, Sir John Tilley, that "the Imperial Government accepts with pleasure the appointment of Mr. Marler".

Mr. Marler sailed from Vancouver on the "Empress of France" on August 29, 1939, and arrived in Tokyo on September 9th. He was accompanied by his wife; by the wife, infant children, and sister of Dr. Keenleyside, by K.P. Kirkwood,* Third Secretary, two Canadian secretaries, Miss Marjorie Logan and Miss Beatrice Carter, and a maid, Miss I. Bunn. He presented his Letters of Credence to H.I.M. Emperor Hirohito on September 18th.

* Mr. Keith Crowther had originally been designated, but as he was married, and it was felt that an unmarried Third Secretary was preferable, Mr. Kirkwood was appointed.

(1) Ibid. p. 29.

(2) H. of C. Debates, January 31, 1928. p. 61.

To the Legation was attached as Commercial First Secretary, James A. Langley, who had been Canadian Trade Commissioner at Kobe for some five years previously. His salary was paid by Trade and Commerce and his living and representation allowances were paid by External Affairs. Later his commercial staff was augmented, under the Department of Trade and Commerce, by James P. Manion, A. Keith Doull, and T.J. Monty. The Trade Commissioner's Office in Kobe was put in charge of P.V. McLane, and afterwards R. O'Meara and R. Grew, but it was ultimately closed, and Grew was transferred to the Tokyo Office.

The early staff in Tokyo, besides these officers, included in 1929, Miss A.M. Baird, Miss M. Logan, Miss K.M. Slack, Mrs. C. Yoshio, (typist), Mr. K. Matsumura, (translator), Mr. Y. Mikasa, (Japanese assistant), Mr. M. Terajima, (messenger), and Mr. K. Kiuchi, (messenger). Mr. R. Yoshimura became the Japanese assistant to the Commercial Office. In 1930, Mrs. M. Ogilvie and Mrs. M.E. Madden were added to the Canadian staff. On October 1, 1931, F.M. Irwin, who had been with the Provincial Secretary's Office of Ontario, was appointed Private Secretary to the Minister, Mr. Herbert Marler. On June 15, 1931, Mr. S. Kimura, B.A., B.D., a graduate of the University of Toronto, joined the Mission as a Japanese clerk.

Chancery quarters for the new Legation were promptly obtained in the Imperial Life Building in Marunouchi, close to the Central Railway Station and government buildings, and the Commercial Office was also established there. The Minister rented, as a temporary official residence, a house formerly occupied by the Rumanian Legation; and he got permission to build an annex to it as a library.

In 1933 the erection of a newly built Legation Residence and Chancery was completed, at 16 Omotecho San-chome, Akasaka-ku, Tokyo. This three-acre property had some old Japanese structures which were demolished, a handsome residence and an office block was constructed, and the grounds were re-landscaped, with spacious lawns and the retention of an old Japanese garden. Mr. Marler helped to design both buildings, with the aid of a Montreal architect, a local Swiss architect, and a Japanese architect, expert in earthquake-resisting structures. Mrs. Marler helped with the interior decoration. He superintended the construction, (like Lord Curzon with his Kedleston), at the serious expense of his health.

Land values, costs of material, and labour, in Japan at that time were, as a result of the World Depression, at bed-rock minima. The project estimated to cost \$200,000 was a bargain; it was estimated that

in normal times of prosperity, the cost would be double. Marler suggested to his Government that by undertaking the development at that date the Government might be saving a possible quarter of a million dollars. Mr. Bennett's Government, facing the Economic Depression and stringencies at home also, were not prepared to ask Parliament to vote such a large amount - after half a million dollars had been granted for the Washington Legation with some parliamentary difficulty. Mr. Marler was so confident that this Tokyo project was in the ultimate interest of the Canadian Government and nation that he offered to advance the necessary sum himself, at 6% interest while under construction and at 5% thereafter, the Canadian Government amortizing this loan at the rate of \$25,000 a year repayment for ten years. Heavily pressed and persuaded by Marler, this arrangement was agreed to by the reluctant Government and the purchase was made and the construction work undertaken. Three or four years later the Government repaid Marler the full amount outstanding. (1)

(1) The total cost came to \$200,549.21. A vote of the Department of Public Works for \$200,000 was approved by Parliament on June 6, 1935. In explaining this, Mr. Bennett said: "The Canadian representative at Tokyo, Sir Herbert Marler, was very much interested in having a suitable building for the Canadian Legation, so much so that he undertook that the building would be constructed at a cost not exceeding \$200,000. The actual cost of the building was in excess of the amount of this vote by \$549.21. That amount he has paid himself; what he was paid was the cost of the building." (H. of C. Debates, June 6, 1935; III. p.3363.

The result of Marler's zeal, enterprise and persistence was a Canadian Legation compound embracing what was generally conceded to be one of the finest diplomatic residences and well-appointed chancery offices in Tokyo. In 1934 the residence was, in the Marlers' absence in Canada, loaned to the British Ambassador while the British Embassy was under re-construction; and in 1941, during the war, the Canadian Legation became the asylum of the Commonwealth diplomatic personnel until their internment was ended by the diplomatic exchange arranged via Laurenço Marques.

Although Mr. Bennett, while in Opposition, had consistently opposed the appointment of a Minister to

Japan, by the time he came into office as Prime Minister he apparently reversed his attitude; and in the House of Commons on July 30, 1931, expressed a long eulogy of Mr. King's appointee, Mr. Marler, in his capacity as Minister at Tokyo and for his commercial efforts, (despite the fact that an acute trade-war between Japan and Canada just afterwards arose and was not alleviated by the Prime Minister). Mr. Bennett declared:

"The present occasion affords me an opportunity to say that the appointee to that office, the minister to Japan, entering upon his duties with enthusiasm, after having addressed a considerable number of public meetings in various parts of Canada, has zealously and with great toil continued to discharge the duties of his office. He has made sacrifices, not only financially but of his own personal comfort. His hospitality so generously extended in the Far East, the excellent reputation Canada has gained through the sympathetic consideration which has been given by Mr. and Mrs. Marler to every matter engaging the attention of the people in the city in which they reside, has done much to raise the name of Canada among the people among whom they have lived. This action has enhanced our reputation, and by reason of his ability to carry on in the manner I have indicated he has done much to promote, and will continue to extend the trade of Canada. That and that only would be the measure of the duties he has discharged, but would not by any means represent the measure of responsibility which attaches to his office." (1)

(1) H. of C. Debates, July 30, 1931, p.4344.

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Mr. Marler had persistently sought to be placed on an equal level with that of the British Ambassadors (Sir Francis Lindley, Sir Robert Clive, Sir Robert Craigie) as a manifestation of Canada's equality in the Empire and for his own recognition and prestige as a diplomat in Japan. In 1935 he was created a K.C.M.G. on the recommendation of Mr. R. B. Bennett, who during his incumbency had re-opened the fountain of Canadian honours and titles. This award was politically well timed, as Sir Herbert Marler, having lost some of his confidence in the Japanese during a stubborn trade dispute, had incurred their own want of confidence and was in a most uncomfortable position; the recognition by an honour from the Crown restored, to some extent, his prestige in Japan.

However, on July 3, 1936, Sir Herbert Marler left Tokyo to take up a new appointment as Minister to Washington.

He was replaced, under the special persuasion of Mr. King, by the Hon. R. Randolph Bruce, a distinguished Liberal, and former Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, a man of great achievement and wealth but afflicted with partial blindness resulting from an industrial accident. He was then 73. Mr. Bruce presented his credentials to the Emperor on November 7, 1936.

Hon. Robert Randolph Bruce, B.Sc., C.E., F.R.G.S., LL.D., was born at Glenrines, Scotland, July 16, 1863, and received his education at the Gymnasium in Old

Abderdeen and at Glasgow University. For four years he was with the scientific department of Denny Bros., shipbuilding firm at Dumbarton. In 1887 he emigrated to Canada, and joined the engineering staff of the C.P.R. 1887-1897. In 1897 he joined H.C. Hammond of Osler, Hammond, Toronto, as mining partner in the Paradise Mine and other mines. He married, first, The Lady Elizabeth Northcote, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Iddesleigh, in January, 1914, but she died the following year. He subsequently married Edith Badgley Molson, widow of R.B. Van Horne of Montreal, in 1932. He was Hon. Colonel of the 29th Battery, C.E.F., during the First War. During some laboratory work he was partially blinded by an explosion of acid. On February 26, 1926, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of British Columbia, and after his term was completed, retired and went back to Scotland. Meanwhile he had travelled around the world, including China and Japan. He became a director of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada, Ltd., and had interests in the Bralorne Mine and a small railway line in B.C.

He was Minister to Japan 1936-39.

When Mr. Bennett, very reluctantly, made reference to Mr. Bruce's impairment of vision as a handicap to his duties, Mr. King recalled to the Opposition Leader's mind the well-known instance of Fawcett who held the office of Postmaster General in London during the years in which he was totally blind. "The fact that the Hon. Mr. Bruce was able to fill the position of

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lieutenant-governor of British Columbia for many years notwithstanding the infirmity of sight from which he suffered, is a very good indication that he is not unduly handicapped in that regard. . . At the time of making the appointment, Mr. Bruce was available as one who had a first-hand knowledge of some of the conditions (in the Far East and Western Canada) and who was able to accept the appointment immediately. The word I have received from those who have seen Mr. Bruce in Tokyo and from the representative of Japan in this country is that he has filled the position which he now holds very admirably since the time of his appointment. Mr. Bruce possessed the necessary qualifications for the post from many points of view. The only possible limitations were his years and a certain infirmity of sight. He possesses some qualifications as a diplomat which I imagine are not excelled by any man in any post anywhere."(1)

Meanwhile, Dr. H.L. Keenleyside, First Secretary, had left Japan on January 11, 1936, for duties in Ottawa. He was replaced by E.D. McGreer, as Second Secretary, on October 31, 1936.

In 1937 Langley was transferred to The Netherlands, and was succeeded on September 3rd by C.M. Croft, formerly Canadian Trade Commissioner in New Zealand from 1923.

Irwin also returned to Canada in the autumn of 1937.

Mr. Bruce retired, and left Japan in December 1938; and McGreer took charge of the Mission.

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 9, 1937, p.698.

Kirkwood left Tokyo on January 31, 1939, on being posted to the new Legation in The Hague, and was replaced by H.F. Feaver.

After Mr. Bruce's departure in 1939, Mr. King was asked at various times in the House about the appointment of a new Minister to Tokyo. He explained that it was exceedingly difficult to find the right man, especially as some of the most qualified men preferred to offer their services to the Government, on the outbreak of war, in Ottawa, not too far removed from their homes, their families, and their private businesses. Consequently the post remained unfilled up till the war, when after Pearl Harbour, diplomatic relations with Japan were ruptured, and Argentina, and later Switzerland, was asked to take charge of the protection of Canadian interests in Japan. McGreer, the Chargé d'Affaires and his staff, and also the personnel of other Commonwealth Missions represented there, were interned, until an exchange of diplomats was arranged. Feaver, who was returning to Canada on the Japanese passenger liner "Tatsuta Maru", at the time of Pearl Harbour, found himself carried back to Japan and internment, when the ship, half way across the Pacific, was re-called in mid-passage and returned to Yokohama.

The reason for the delay in replacing Mr. Bruce in Tokyo was explained by Mr. King in answer to a query by Mr. Green. "We are fortunate in having as chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo an exceptionally able member of the diplomatic service, Mr. McGreer. He has had experience in

the legations at Paris and Washington, and in the department in Ottawa. He is one of the career men and is well qualified to fill the post of chargé d'affaires. He served under the former minister at Tokyo. From time to time the government has had different persons under consideration for this particular post. I may say that, since the war, there has been a great demand for persons who are prepared to give outstanding service in the different branches of the public service. Some of those who have been considered for the position of minister to Japan have taken on other work which they considered more urgent. I might cite a particular case. I had in view the appointment of General Odlum as minister from Canada to Japan. General Odlum has taken an interest in oriental questions and is particularly well informed on the situation in British Columbia. I thought I had succeeded in having him accept that appointment. As, however, the committee knows, General Odlum has been appointed to command the second division overseas. Other names have been considered, but special circumstances have made it difficult to secure the person who the government felt was most desirable for this position in Japan. We would wish to have some one with special qualifications." (1)

Interim

After having made this start in expanding Canada's diplomatic representation abroad, Mr. King hesitated, after opening the Tokyo Legation of 1929. Doubtless his

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 24, 1941, p.976.

hesitation in opening further Legations was largely due to the great economic Depression which affected Canada, as it beset many other parts of the world, at that time.

In 1930 the King Government was defeated and replaced by the Bennett Government from 1930 to 1935. As has been indicated in other pages, Prime Minister Bennett was not in sympathy with independent Canadian diplomatic representation, and while leaving the existing Missions almost intact, (with changes of Heads of Missions only in London and Washington), he declined to establish any new ones. Thus, for five years, characterized by severe economic belt-tightening, the "diplomatic experiment" was left in abeyance and on sufferance. There was no further expansion abroad for that Conservative half-decade.

In October, 1930, however, Dr. Skelton asked Wrong, then Chargé d'Affaires in Washington, to prepare for him a statement reviewing the whole organization of the United States as regards representation in foreign countries, including not merely diplomatic and consular representation but the representation of other branches of the government, and including information as to the relations of these other representatives to Legations and Consulates, and as to provision for liaison between the Department of State and the other Departments concerned. (1)

In a personal letter of the same date to Wrong, Dr. Skelton explained that he would like to have a

(1) Despatch No. 347 of October 16, 1930 to Washington. (File 55-AD-26). (This, it may be noted, was in the period when the new Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, was tolerating the Washington Legation, and those in Paris and Tokyo, but opposing any new Missions.)

comprehensive study from the special angle of its bearing on the future development of Canadian representation.

He added:

I have a feeling that the old system of exclusive diplomatic and consular representation is not adequate to more modern needs, but that, at the same time, the multiplying of representation of independent departments in a haphazard fashion will not meet the situation. I am in hopes that it might be possible to work out a scheme for Canada which would be more flexible than the old diplomatic organization and less chaotic than the methods the United States appear to be adopting.

As you are aware, we have made an experiment in Tokyo in appointing the Trade Commissioner as Commercial Secretary to the Legation. . . Thus far the experiment seems to have worked very well, though this is in part due to the personal factor.* (1)

Wrong sent in the report on December 13, 1930.

Contemplated Mission in Italy

Apparently, immediately after Mr. Mackenzie King's return to the Premiership in 1935, there was some thought of opening a new Legation in Italy, but no action was taken. Mr. T.L. Church, ~~Mr. Church~~ said in the House of Commons on February 9, 1937: "A year or two ago** it was proposed to open still another embassy. There is a very considerable body of public thought in this country that does not agree with the extension of these useless embassies and separatism the world over. It was very fortunate that we did not open an office in Italy, since we challenged Italy with such disastrous results that

* James L. Langley was the first Commercial Secretary at the Canadian Legation in Tokyo. He was soon assisted by J.P. Manion, ~~and~~ T.J. Monty and Keith Doull as Assistant Commercial Secretaries. A Canadian Trade Commissioner, R. O'Meara, succeeded by Richard Grew, resided in Kobe, and reported through the Legation in Tokyo.

(1) File 55-AD-26 (His report is not on this file and has not been located.)

** If this statement is not unreliable, it would seem to indicate that Mr. King, immediately after returning to the Premiership, considered opening the next diplomatic post in Italy.

the Minister of Justice had to disclaim our responsibility for sanctions. . . It is proposed to appoint one to Rome and open an embassy in that city." (1)

For some reason the opening of a ~~further~~ new Legation in Italy was deferred; and the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian war killed any further prospect at that time and for many years to come. (2) There thus remained an inactive interlude, not only under Mr. Bennett, but also under Mr. King, until just before the period of the Second World War.

Germany

Apparently ~~also~~, the idea of opening a Legation in Germany was also being entertained by Mr. King, who visited Germany in 1937 and who realized some of the serious political issues which were gathering there and upon which Canada should have more direct sources of information.

In protesting the proposed opening of Legations in the Netherlands and Belgium, Mr. T.L. Church, ~~also~~, said in 1938: "Next year we shall no doubt be asked to establish a legation in Rome. The Prime Minister went to Berlin, and there was a proposal a few years ago and last year to open an embassy in Berlin representing Canada in Germany." (3)

New Era of Expansion

When Mr. King re-assumed office as Prime Minister in October, 1935, he was in no hurry to increase Can-

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 9, 1937, p.696.

(2) The first Canadian Legation in Italy was opened by Mr. Jean Desy, as Minister with personal rank of Ambassador, in September, 1947.

(3) H. of C. Debates, May 26, 1938, III, p.3273.

adian representation abroad. The aftermath of the Depression still lingered. Consolidation, both politically and economically, was the order of the day for the new Liberal Government. Mr. King always believed in advancing slowly. Not until over three years later were any further Legations established, and these only in response to the initiative of other countries. As early as 1937 Belgium had proposed the opening of a Legation in Ottawa with the customary understanding that there should be reciprocal action; but not until 1939 was a Canadian Minister appointed jointly to Belgium and The Netherlands.

Although the British Government had appointed a High Commissioner to Canada in 1928 - taking over some of the role formerly played by the Governor General - Canada made no attempt to send a High Commissioner to the capital of any Commonwealth country other than the United Kingdom prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. As Prof. Soward has commented, "Such an omission reflected an attitude common to all the overseas Dominions, the tendency to think of Commonwealth relations almost exclusively in terms of the connection between ^{the} country in question and the United Kingdom. British Commonwealth delegations at League Assemblies might consult together and quite frequently act in unison on some question of policy. They might work together to secure the unwritten convention that one of the elected members of the League Council should come from the Dominions - Canada being the first to score

that success in 1927 - but on the whole they seldom concerned themselves with developing closer relations among themselves." (1)

Belgium

Following the reciprocal agreement of 1937 proposed by Belgium for the exchange of diplomatic missions between the two countries, Belgium opened a Legation in Ottawa in 1938.

In May, 1938, Mr. King announced:

It has been felt that we ought to extend our diplomatic service somewhat, and our business interests with Belgium and Holland are greater than those with any other countries in Europe or other parts of the world other than those in which we have legations at the present time. For that among other reasons we felt that the next legations to be opened should be in Belgium and Holland. It is customary in the case of many countries to have one minister represent his own country in two different countries.

The Irish Free State, although it took action subsequently to Canada, has now legations in seven foreign capitals, and South Africa has ~~xxxx~~ legations in eight. This will bring our number to five. I might point out that the countries comparable with our own in the matter of population, such as Argentina, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Sweden, have from thirty-seven to fifty-two posts abroad. . . *

I should like to add, in connection with the legation at Brussels, that it will be recalled that a year or two ago the Belgian Government sent a distinguished representative to Canada. Belgium is at present and has from the outset been represented in this country by Baron Silvercruys.

(1) Soward: "The Department of External Affairs and Canadian Autonomy 1899-1939". Canadian Historical Association. p.15.

* On the same day, in reference to a question relating to a different External Affairs item, Mr. King said: "I believe the time has come when Canada will have ministers and consuls general in all parts of the world, but I question very much if the Canadian People would approve of the Government taking so far-reaching a step at the present time." (p.3263).

At Brussels and at The Hague there will be two offices, but one minister will be named as minister to both. A Chargé d'Affaires will act for him in one country during his absence in the other country. (1)

Mr. Bennett, Leader of the Opposition, said in this connection:

I can only express the hope that it may be possible to find a place for one of the members of the service as minister at Brussels and The Hague. I believe there are within the service itself a number of men who are qualified by their long experience to fill with distinction such an appointment and thereby indicate, at least, that there is a career in that branch of the public service. (2)

An External Affairs item for \$60,000 for these two new Missions in Europe was thereupon voted.

In January, 1939, it was announced in Ottawa that the Counsellor of the Canadian Legation in Paris, Jean Desy, had been appointed as Canadian Minister to the Royal Court of Belgium and also to the Royal Court of the Netherlands, and would divide his time equally between the two posts. He was to be assisted by a foreign service

officer residing permanently in each country, as well as by the former Trade Commissioners there who, thereupon became locally Commercial Secretaries to the Legations.

Mr. Desy presented his Letters of Credence as first Canadian Minister to Belgium, to H.M. King Leopold III in Brussels on February 4, 1939. He was accompanied by his First Secretary, Paul Renaud, and a Commercial Secretary. He soon found a suitable residence to lease as his Legation, and spent some weeks equipping and furnishing it both as residence and chancery. A small local staff was engaged. During Mr. Desy's alternating absences from Brussels to occupy his other post at The Hague - where for the most part he installed his family - Renaud acted as Chargé d'Affaires in Brussels.

On the German invasion of the Low Countries in May, 1940, the Legations at Brussels and The Hague were closed, as well as the trade and immigration offices at Brussels, Antwerp, The Hague and Rotterdam, and their protection was entrusted to the United States Government. There were no casualties among the Canadian civilians, although the Commercial Attaché's office at Rotterdam were destroyed in the course of an enemy air-raid. The Minister, Mr. Desy, who was at that time at his Belgian post, followed the Belgian Government to Ostend, Poitiers, and later to Bordeaux, and finally to London. In London, official contact was resumed with the Belgian Government-in-exile. On November 1, 1940, however, Mr. Desy was recalled to Canada for consultation. In his absence the direction of the Canadian Legations at Belgium and

the Netherlands was assumed in London by Pierre Dupuy.*

Netherlands

Proceeding from Brussels to The Hague, where he was joined by K.P. Kirkwood as Second (later First) Secretary and James A. Langley, former Trade Commissioner in the Netherlands, as Commercial First Secretary, and William D. Stark as Assistant Commercial Secretary, Mr. Desy presented his Letters of Credence to Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina on February 24, 1939. After some weeks, in which the Minister and his party stayed at the Hotel Angleterre and later the Wittebrug Hotel, Legation premises were rented at 61 Nieuwpaarklaan for the Minister's residence and chancery. A local secretarial staff, including Mme. Beland, widow of the late Senator Beland, Miss H. Van Gigh, Mr. Vis, and a factotum Mr. Nichol, was engaged. The commercial branch of the Legation remained, as previously, in Rotterdam, the principal seaport and commercial city of the Netherlands, although both Mr. Langley and Mr. Stark maintained their homes in The Hague.

Within a few months, however, (September, 1939) a state of war was declared between Germany, (following its invasion of Poland), Great Britain and the countries of the Commonwealth, while Belgium and the Netherlands remained neutral during the next few winter months of the "phony war" of inactive hostilities.

* In September, 1944, Dupuy accompanied the Belgian Government on its return to the capital at Brussels. Two months later, Hon. W.F.A. Turgeon, who had been Ambassador in Mexico, was appointed the first Canadian Ambassador in Belgium, and took up his duties early in the new year. He was also accredited as Minister to Luxembourg.

During that tense but inactive period of neutrality, the normal duties of the two Legations were suddenly increased by the abnormal and unexpected tasks arising out of the state of belligerency, - reports on the developing crisis, aid to distressed Canadians, and escaping refugees from Germany, actions arising out of the war measures of the belligerents and the two neutral Governments, and duties associated with contraband control.

When Belgium and the Netherlands were suddenly invaded by a blitz attack and occupied by German forces on May 10, 1940, the Netherlands Queen, Court and Government were forced to escape by British destroyer to London, and the Dutch forces, badly decimated, capitulated on May 14.

After four days of German occupation of Holland, largely by parachutist units, the Canadian Legation, together with other Allied Missions, was hurriedly closed; the non-Dutch staff were evacuated in various ways to England; and the Chargé d'Affaires, K.P. Kirkwood, and other senior officers and their families, were evacuated to England on May 14th by British destroyer, following the Netherland's Queen, Court and Government to their position of exile.

With the departure very shortly afterward of Mr. Desy to Canada, Kirkwood to Greenland, ^{and} Renaud to Ottawa, Pierre Dupuy, who had reached London from Paris, was, as mentioned above, early in November, 1941, accredited Chargé d'Affaires of Canada before the governments-in-exile of Belgium and the Netherlands, established

in London. Dupuy continued to serve in this joint Mission as First Secretary when, on November 30, 1941, Brig. Vanier returned from Canada to London and became Minister accredited to these Governments.*

The Dominions

Meanwhile, on September 11, 1939, immediately after the declaration of War, the Canadian Government announced its intention of appointing High Commissioners to the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, the Dominion of New Zealand, Ireland and Newfoundland.

On August 6, 1940, Mr. Mackenzie King said: "At the special session of parliament after the beginning of the war I said I thought there would be distinct advantages in having Canadian representatives in other parts of the British empire and that we proposed to make appointments immediately to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Ireland. We already had our High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, and these appointments have been made since the outbreak of war. This past year their salaries have been paid under the War Appropriation Act, but for the present fiscal year they will be paid out of the vote [an increase of \$127,000] which parliament is now asked to make." (1)

* In March, 1945, Dupuy, after being replaced in Belgium by Mr. Turgeon, was appointed as Canadian Minister to the Netherlands, and re-opened the Legation there. He thus terminated the pre-war practice of having the same Minister accredited to both Belgium and the Netherlands. That post was, shortly afterwards, raised to an Embassy with Dupuy as Ambassador.

(1) H. of C. Debates, August 6, 1940. p.2538.

Australia

On November 3, 1939, it was announced that the Governor General-in-Council had appointed Mr. C. J. Burchell to the post of High Commissioner in Australia. Announcement was also made of the intention to appoint Dr. W.A. Riddell to the post of High Commissioner in New Zealand, Mr. John Hall Kelly to Ireland, and Dr. Henry Laureys to be High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa. (1)

Charles J. Burchell, K.C., M.A., LL.B., was born in Sydney, Cape Breton on July 1, 1876, and was educated at Sydney Academy, and Dalhousie University, (B.A. 1897, M.A., LL.B. 1899). He was called to the Bar of Nova Scotia in April, 1899, and to the Bar of Quebec in January, 1911; he became a King's Counsel in the Province of Nova Scotia in 1909. From 1899 to 1922 he was a partner in a succession of legal firms. In 1929 he was Chairman of a Committee on Merchant Shipping Legislation at the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation held in London; and was also a member of the Canadian Delegation at the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Shanghai in 1931, and at the British-Commonwealth Relations Conference held in Toronto in 1933. He was partner in his own firm of barristers and solicitors in Halifax, and was a director of the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Ltd., the Dominion Coal Company, Ltd., and Moirs Ltd.

(1) External Affairs Annual Report, 1939.

Mr. Burchell arrived in the half-built capital, Canberra, early in 1940, and immediately secured provisional quarters for both residence and offices. It was necessary for this Office to keep in close touch with the longer-established Canadian Government Trade Commissioners in the larger commercial and seaport cities of Sydney and Melbourne.

In 1941 Mr. Burchell was next appointed to Newfoundland, and left Australia for Canada on July 24th. During his absence and pending the arrival of his successor, E.B. Rogers, Third Secretary in Canberra, was in charge of the office.

"Mr. Burchell's appointment to Newfoundland", said Mr. King on November 6, 1941, "has left a vacancy in the position of High Commissioner for Canada in Australia. With the situation what it is in the Orient, and having regard to the many and highly important matters related to the Pacific which require most careful consideration at this time, we have felt that it was important that the best possible appointment should be made. The government believed that no person possessing a wide knowledge of eastern problems as related to Canada and other parts of the Commonwealth, and also exceptional experience in military affairs, could be found who was as well qualified to fill this position as Maj.Gen. Victor W. Odlum, at present general officer commanding the second Canadian division overseas. I am happy to be able to announce that General Odlum has agreed to accept the appointment and that the appointment has been made. I need hardly say that General Odlum accepted this position with reluctance and only on the assurance that in the opinion of

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the government this new post will provide exceptional opportunities for him to serve Canada at this very critical time." (1)

Maj.Gen. Victor Wentworth Odlum, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., was born in Cobourg on October 1, 1880, and received his advanced education at Columbian College, New Westminster, Victoria College, Cobourg, and the University of Toronto. He lived in Japan for three years, 1886-89, with his father who was engaged in educational work there. Returning and settling in British Columbia in 1889, he had an active newspaper career, besides identifying himself with a score of local organizations and civic activities in Vancouver. He was a bond and insurance broker for a period, was a Governor of the University of British Columbia and Union Theological College, and became Vice-Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. He was publisher and editor of the Vancouver Daily Star, 1924-32; from 1924 to 1928 he was a Liberal Member of the Provincial Legislature. He went as a private to South Africa, 1899-1900, with the Canadian Contingent, was a Lieutenant, Canadian Mounted Rifles there in 1902, and on his return to Canada had a long history of association and promotion in various Canadian militia regiments. During the First World War he went overseas as a Major and rose to be Brigadier-General, winning seven mentions in despatches, a D.S.O. and bar, a C.M.G. and C.B. During the Second World War he was

(1) H. of C. Debates, November 6, 1941.

promoted to Major General and was appointed Commander of the Second Division of the Canadian Active Service Force overseas.

Maj. Gen. Odlum arrived in Canberra on January 7, 1942. On November 4, 1942, however, he was appointed Canadian Minister to China, and was replaced in Australia by Mr. Justice T.C. Davis.

The Hon. Thomas Clayton Davis, K.C., was born on September 6, 1889, was educated at St. John's College, Winnipeg, and at Osgoode Hall Law School, Toronto. He was called to the bar of Saskatchewan in 1915, and was created King's Council in 1926. He was alderman in the City of Prince Albert, 1917-20, and Mayor 1921-24. He was elected to the Legislature of Saskatchewan in 1925, and the next year became Minister of Municipal Affairs and in charge of the Bureau of Labour and Industry, and Attorney-General from 1927 to 1929, and again in 1934. In May, 1937, he represented the Province of Saskatchewan at the Coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. In 1939 he was appointed Justice of the Court of Appeal of Saskatchewan, and in 1940 was appointed Associate Deputy Minister, National War Services in Ottawa and in charge of National Registration. He was a former member of the National Film Board and Wartime Information Board.

Justice Davis arrived at Canberra late in the year 1942. To his staff was appointed as Military Attaché Lieut. Col. L.M. Cosgrave, D.S.O., who had formerly been a Trade Commissioner under the Department of Trade and Commerce, but while in Shanghai had been a leader of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps. For certain periods, Cosgrave

was Acting High Commissioner in Australia, and in a later period, was Chargé d'Affaires in Lisbon.

South Africa

To the Union of South Africa, as first Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. King selected a prominent Quebec educationalist, Dr. Laureys.

Dr. Henry Laureys was born at Lierre, Belgium, on October 3, 1882. He was educated in various schools and colleges in Belgium, and the University of Louvain, and graduated from the School of Consular and Commercial Science, also political and social science in 1906. He was appointed a professor to the Belgian Government's training ship and as such travelled around the world, 1906-10. He migrated to Canada in January, 1911, and became naturalized in April 1914. He was appointed professor at the School of Higher Commercial Studies of Montreal in 1911, of which he became Dean in 1916. He was also director of the unique Commercial and Industrial Museum of Montreal, and for nearly ten years was a Councillor of the Chamber of Commerce of Montreal. In 1935 he was appointed Director-General of Technical Education for the province of Quebec, and held numerous other appointments in this field. Among other books and pamphlets on economic subjects, he published La Conquête des Marchés extérieurs, translated into English as The Foreign Trade of Canada. He attended various international conferences, at Louvain, Amsterdam, London, and Prague, and had audiences with King Albert of Belgium, and King George V and Queen Mary. He received

decorations from Belgium, France, and Poland. He was a Vice-President of the Canadian Political Science Association.

Dr. Laureys arrived at Cape Town on May 17, 1940, and established his office at the official capital, Pretoria, although each half-year the office had to be transferred to Cape Town, following the annual movement of the South African Parliament and Government temporarily to that alternate centre and seaport city. A Trade Commissioner, normally based at Johannesburg, not far distant from Pretoria, became nominally an Attaché to the High Commissioner's Office in Pretoria.

In 1944 Dr. Laureys decided to return to Canada and to retire to private life. He left Pretoria on August 10th. In his absence J.C. MacGillivray, Official Secretary, became Acting High Commissioner,^{*} until the arrival of the new High Commissioner, Mr. C.J. Burchell, K.C., appointed in March, 1944.

New Zealand

The intention of the Canadian Government to appoint a High Commissioner to the Dominion of New Zealand was, as has been stated above, announced by the Prime Minister of Canada on September 11, 1939. Dr. W.A. Riddell, at that time Counsellor of the Canadian Legation at Washington, was appointed to this post by Order-in-Council, taking effect on February 1, 1940. He arrived in Auckland on March 3rd and established the new Office in Wellington, the capital.

* MacGillivray returned to Canada in 1946, in ill-health, and was being considered as the first Canadian Minister to Yugoslavia when he died of cancer. He had previously served as Trade Commissioner in Holland and other posts.

At that time, however, the New Zealand Government were not prepared, for economic reasons, to reciprocate by appointing a representative to Canada.

In June, 1946, Mr. Alfred Rive replaced Dr. Riddell at Wellington, and acquired as his residence, which the Canadian Government subsequently purchased, the house and grounds which he named "Stadacona", in Lowry Bay, some twelve miles from Wellington city. Offices were set up in the Government Life Insurance Building, on Custom House Quay in the lower business section of Wellington; this building housed not only the Offices of the High Commissioners of the United Kingdom and Australia, but also of the Embassy of the U.S.A., the Legations of France, Argentina and several other Missions.

Ireland

The opening of a High Commissioner's Office in Dublin in 1941 was one more step in the process of representation in other parts of the Commonwealth. The Government of Ireland had anticipated this by opening its Office in Ottawa some months earlier. Mr. King stated in the House:

"One of the reasons why Canada has appointed a high commissioner to the Irish Free State is that the Irish Free State has appointed a high commissioner to Canada. At the time of the appointment by the Irish Free State hope was expressed that Canada might reciprocate. We have felt it was wise policy to have representatives in all the other dominions. Apart from all else, it would have been somewhat invidious if in our representation

within the commonwealth we had left out any one of the dominions. The reasons, however, for appointing the high commissioner to the Irish Free State were the same as those which prompted us to appoint high commissioners to other parts of the commonwealth, namely, to have some one at the capital of each who would be in touch with members of the government and who would be in a position to bring to the government's attention matters of Canadian concern, and to inform the government in Canada of matters of interest occurring in the country to which the high commissioner may have been sent, also to look after the interests of Canada and Canadians generally. . . . Through the reports we have received from our high commissioner and his secretary, we have been in a position to assess the situation in Ireland itself in a manner we would not have found possible had we not had the inside information given us."(1)

Mr. John Hall Kelly was the first Canadian High Commissioner to Ireland, - the name adopted in 1937 in place of the Irish Free State.* He arrived in Dublin on March 8, 1940, and commenced his duties from that date. On March 9 he was received by the Prime Minister, Mr. Eamon de Valera and by the President, Dr. Douglas Hyde. Shortly afterwards permanent offices were established at 92 Merrion Square, near the Dail and Government Offices.

Mr. Kelly, of Irish descent, was born at St. Godfrey, Bonaventure, Quebec, on September 1, 1879, and was educated at St. Joseph's College, Westmorland, N.B.,

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 25, 1941. p.1014.

* The "Republic of Ireland" was proclaimed in 1948, and took effect on April 18, 1949.

and Laval University, Quebec (B.A., LL.M.). He was admitted to the Bar in 1903 and took up the practice of law. He became director of Protestant Education for the Province of Quebec, and in 1905 organized the Bonaventure and Gaspé Telephone Company, of which he became President. He was first elected as a Liberal to the Quebec Legislature in 1904, and was re-elected in 1908 and 1912. He was appointed to the Quebec Legislative Council on April 25, 1914.

Mr. Hanson, the Opposition Leader, referred to Mr. John Hall Kelly as a friend of many years' standing and a jovial Irishman, but enquired as to his diplomatic qualifications. Mr. King referred to his capacity of making friends, and added that he had no doubt that "Mr. Kelly's genial personality has enabled him to get information which could not have been obtained by any one less genial and less genuinely Irish in some of his characteristics." (1) With Mr. Kelly was appointed, as Official Secretary, E.J. Garland, M.P.

Edward Joseph Garland was born in Dublin, Ireland, on March 16, 1885, and came to Canada in 1909, after graduating from Trinity College, Dublin University, in Arts and Medicine. He first worked in Ontario and Quebec, but later in 1911, moved West, and went homesteading in Alberta. In 1919-20 he was Secretary-Treasurer of the United Farmers Association (U.F.A.), Rumsey local, Alberta, and afterwards President. He was Secretary-Treasurer or Director of several other agricultural societies or organizations. He belonged to no political party, but at times

(1) Ibid.

was a very strong debater and critic of the Liberal Government. He was first elected to the House of Commons in 1921, and was re-elected in 1925 and 1926 and 1930. In the Debate in 1928 on the Speech from the Throne, he warmly approved of and congratulated the King Government on appointing Ministers to France and Japan. (1)

"Mr. Garland" said Mr. King, "had exceptional parliamentary experience. Those who sat in the house with him must have realized that he was one of the ablest members in the House of that day. The government has endeavoured to show its breadth of view in not restricting its appointments to members of one party, or of carrying on public affairs in a party spirit - a procedure of which we are sometimes accused." (2)

Mr. Kelly died in Dublin on March 9, 1941, following an operation. Mr. Garland, Secretary, carried on the work of the Office as Acting High Commissioner.

On July 31, 1941, Mr. John Kearney was appointed High Commissioner for Canada in Ireland. He arrived in Dublin on August 26, when he was received by the Prime Minister, Mr. de Valera, and the President, Dr. Hyde.

Hon. John Doherty Kearney, K.C., B.A., B.C.L., was born in Montreal in 1893, and was of Irish-Canadian parentage. He graduated from Loyola College and McGill University and served with distinction (M.C.) in the Canadian Field Artillery in the First World War. He engaged in the practice of law in Montreal, and was created a K.C. in 1941. He was appointed Canadian High Commissioner to Ireland

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 2, 1928, p.109.

(2) Ibid.

from 1941 to 1945, and was later appointed Minister to Norway, 1945, and Minister to Denmark, 1946, and Canada's first High Commissioner to India in 1947-49, and Ambassador to Argentina from 1949 to 1951.

Newfoundland

From the beginning of the War Newfoundland was of vital importance as an outer bastion of defence for Eastern Canada, the northeastern United States, and the Western Atlantic. In July, 1940, the Canadian Government established the Atlantic Command, which included the defense of Newfoundland. Air bases were established in April, 1941, at Gleneagles, Botwood, and Gander, at Torbay, and at Goose Bay in Labrador. A large naval base was constructed at St. John's to Admiralty account, which the R.C.N. maintained and operated throughout the war. The Permanent Joint Board on Defence made Newfoundland an immediate subject of study after its creation in August, 1940, and worked out a plan of cooperative joint defence between Canada and the United States. In an agreement of March 27, 1941, between the United Kingdom and the U.S.A., the American Government was granted long term leases on three naval and air bases in southern Newfoundland. (1)

It was decided, in consequence, to appoint a Canadian High Commissioner to Newfoundland, to become the channel of communication between the Commission, and other agencies there, and Ottawa, on the numerous questions that arose from the prosecution of the War.

(1) See F.H. Soward: Canada in World Affairs, 1944-46. pp.248-249, and further references there cited.

On November 6, 1941, Mr. King stated in the House: "We have felt that it was important to have a representative of Canada in Newfoundland. As hon. members know, Newfoundland is now occupying a most prominent place in international affairs, from the point of view of military strategy, and also as respects relations between the British Government, the Canadian Government and the United States Government with Newfoundland and with each other as respects developments taking place there. We felt that if we could persuade Mr. Burchell, who has been our High Commissioner in Australia, to accept the position of commissioner to Newfoundland, we would have, with his knowledge of conditions in the maritime provinces and in Newfoundland, an exceptionally well-qualified representative for the post. Mr. Burchell, realizing the importance the government attached to its representation in Newfoundland, accepted the position and at the present time is serving there as High Commissioner for Canada."

Mr. Charles J. Burchell, K.C., was appointed to his new position on July 31, 1941, and arrived in St. John's on September 11. He was accompanied by Mr. H.A. Dyde, Secretary of the Defence Council of Canada, and Mr. A.J. Pick, Third Secretary. A year later an Acting Trade Commissioner was attached to the High Commissioner's staff because of the greatly increased volume of trade between the two countries. (By the end of the War Canadian exports were almost five times the pre-war total, while imports from Newfoundland were eight times what they had been.)

On July 2, 1942, the Department of Trade and Commerce appointed Mr. R.P. Bower as Acting Trade Commissioner in Newfoundland.

During 1943 Mr. A.J. Pick, the Secretary to the High Commissioner, was transferred to Australia, his post being filled by Mr. J.C. Britton, of the Trade Commissioner Service.

Early in 1944 Mr. Burchell was transferred to the Union of South Africa.* He was succeeded briefly by Dr. H.L. Keenleyside, Head of the American and Far Eastern Division of the Department of External Affairs, as Acting High Commissioner for a few weeks.

On May 1, 1944, Mr. J. Scott Macdonald, Head of the Economic Division of the Department, was appointed High Commissioner, with Britton as Acting Secretary. During the year, E.B. Rogers, Special Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Justice, was loaned to the office to assist in clearing up titles to defence properties in Newfoundland and Labrador acquired by the Canadian Government.

Latin America

In previous years, suggestions that Canada should establish closer relations with Latin America, either directly or through the Pan-American Union, had been given no official support. But political and economic developments during war-time forced Canadian attention southward.

* Mr. Burchell was so successful during the tenure of his office in Newfoundland that he was asked in 1948 to re-assume office there during the period which would elapse before Newfoundland became the tenth province of Canada.

Mr. Mackenzie King's announcement of the decision to appoint ministers to certain South American countries did not contain any suggestion that Canada was turning towards the Pan-American Union, but it did indicate that Canada could no longer act as though it existed in a different world from the Latin-American republics.

Latin America was of importance as a region in which Canadian capital was invested in the fields of public utilities, oil, banking and insurance to the amount of approximately \$750 millions. Such a corporation as Brazilian Traction, popularly known as "Light", the largest single economic enterprise in Brazil, was a Canadian company, with its head office in Toronto and one-third of its stock held by Canadians. In Mexico City, the Tramways were owned by a company also located in Toronto, although the Canadian interest was almost nominal. The Mexico Light and Power Company and all the major utilities of the city of Montērey were also of Canadian ownership. The Royal Bank of Canada was firmly established in Buenos Aires, and the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada had branches in Argentina and several other South American countries. In Peru and Columbia the International Petroleum Company (I.P.C.) was a subsidiary of the Imperial Oil of Canada.

On August 6, 1940, Mr. Howard Green, M.P., had asked if consideration had been given to setting up legations in any of the South American countries, suggesting the advisability of having representation in Brazil and Argentina. Mr. Mackenzie King replied: "Yes. The government has been considering the advisability of

opening a legation in one or other of the South American republics. We have had communications from more than one republic expressing the desire to be represented in Canada. The matter will continue to receive consideration with a view to making at least one appointment in the not too distant future." (1)

Although running ahead of the period embraced in this survey, we may complete the picture of Canadian diplomatic expansion in Latin America during the war years by the following brief notes.

On February 24, 1941, the Prime Minister gave reasons for the Government's intention to open Legations in several countries of Latin America, initially Brazil and Argentina. One of the reasons, he said, was that "for some time past each of these countries has been desirous of opening Legations in Ottawa." Another reason was that, in view of the changing world conditions in consequence of the war, "the government feel that we owe it to the people of our country to be able to get first-hand knowledge of the changing situation in South America and that we should not leave that field, so far as relationships between countries are concerned, exclusively to other countries, leaving Canada the one country in this hemisphere with no diplomatic representation in South America." A third and most important reason was the promotion of continental trade, and that "all matters of trade are becoming increasingly matters with which governments must of necessity

(1) H. of C. Debates, August 6, 1940, p.2537.

have some concern". "When it comes to the import and export of commodities, licenses have to be obtained and all kinds of controls are exercised. Unless the exporting country has some diplomatic agent in the other country who can make representations on its behalf, it is very likely to be completely ignored in international transactions of the kind. We have been fortunate in having wherever we felt we should make use of it the British diplomatic service, but just as we have found it to be to the advantage of Canada to have our own representation at Washington, Paris, and elsewhere, so we believe we shall find it of equal advantage to have our representation in South American countries".

Mr. King went on to add: "I should say that other Latin-American republics have pressed for an exchange of ministers with Canada. We have hitherto felt, and I think rightly, that we should begin our representation in South America in the two largest republics, and later on consider its extension to other countries of South America. I should speak perhaps of Chile in particular, but we have felt that until the two legations are opened and we see what progress is made as a result, we should not for the present ask parliament to extend our representation."(1)

Brazil

In consequence of this general tendency, Mr. Jean Desy, formerly Canadian Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands, was appointed in June, 1941, to represent Canada in Brazil. He arrived at Rio de Janeiro on September 10, 1941, and presented his credentials on September 30 to

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 24, 1941. p.977.

President Vargas, and also transmitted to the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs a personal message from the Prime Minister of Canada, expressing the satisfaction of the Canadian Government at the opening of the Canadian Legation in Rio de Janeiro.

He was accompanied by R.A.D. Ford, Third Secretary, and K.P. Kirkwood, First Secretary, who had served with Mr. Desy in The Hague and who was temporarily attached to the new Mission until he proceeded to Buenos Aires a month or two later. L.B. Glass, the Trade Commissioner in Brazil, became Commercial Attaché to the Legation, and Maurice Belanger, Assistant Commercial Attaché. After Kirkwood moved on, Leon Mayrand joined the Mission as Second Secretary.

Temporary office premises were taken in the Palace Hotel, together with the Commercial Office, until more suitable quarters were available in a newly-erected building on Avenida President Wilson. The Minister rented residential quarters, with a view of spectacular grandeur overlooking the famous Rio de Janeiro Bay, at the summit of Santa Teresa.

Mr. Desy, with a Gallic nature and a keen initiative, quickly learned Portuguese fluently, and made a remarkably cordial and lasting impression on the Brazilians. A man of deep culture in literature and the arts, he accomplished much in linking the two countries in these fields, and negotiated a Brazilian-Canadian cultural agreement which was one of the few of its kind in Canadian relations. (The Canadian Government had no Department concerning cultural matters, and normally could not sponsor such international agreements with foreign countries where there were State cultural

departments). Mr. Desy, as a lawyer, came to stand on exceptionally intimate relations with President Getutio Vargas, also a lawyer, Dr. Aranjha, the Foreign Minister, and other key members of the government, including Senor Jaô Alberto Lins de Barros, first Brazilian Minister to Canada, who soon returned to Rio de Janeiro to become Brazil's economic leader.

Argentina

On November 6, 1941, Mr. King announced in the House: "There has been an appointment to the Argentine Republic and to Chile. Honourable W.F.A. Turgeon, formerly Chief Justice of Saskatchewan was appointed Minister to the Argentine and Chile on September 24th. He has now arrived in Buenos Aires and is expected to present his credentials shortly." (1)

Hon. William Ferdinand Alphonse Turgeon was of Acadian French descent, born near Bathurst, N.B., on June 3, 1877, the son of Onesiphore Turgeon, M.P., and later (1923) Senator. He received his education in New York, at Levis College, P.Q., and Laval University, law and arts (B.A.). He was called to the Bar of New Brunswick in 1902, the Bar of Quebec in 1903, and of the N.W.T. in 1903. He practised law in Prince Albert, Sask., for some years. He was first elected to the Saskatchewan Legislature in 1907, and was re-elected subsequently. He was appointed a K.C. in 1909, after serving as Attorney-General of Saskatchewan in the Saskatchewan Legislature under the Martin Government. Later, in 1938, he became Chief Justice of Saskatchewan. He headed a number of im-

(1) H. of C. Debates, November 6, 1941, p.4123.

portant Royal Commissions, and was a member of the Inter-Provincial Conference held in Ottawa in 1910. A Liberal and Roman Catholic, he was a profoundly studious and judicious man, in high esteem in Liberal circles in his Province and in Ottawa, where his father was the oldest sitting Senator and his brother, Gray, was a Member of the Commons.

Mr. Turgeon was appointed as first Canadian Minister to Argentina in the summer of 1941. It was announced on October 9th that he would also be accredited as Canadian Minister to Chile. He arrived in Buenos Aires on October 30th, accompanied by K.P. Kirkwood, First Secretary, and Gilles Sicotte, Third Secretary. There the Trade Commissioner, Mr. James A. Strong, became Commercial Secretary to the Mission. President Ortiz being sick, Mr. Turgeon presented his Letters of Credence to the Vice-President of the Argentine Republic in exercises of Executive Power, on November 13, 1941; and on the same day messages were exchanged between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs.

A Legation residence was temporarily rented, and new Chancery quarters and commercial office were established in the Royal Bank of Canada Building, shortly after the arrival of the Mission. A local staff was quickly built up. Besides J.A. Strong, C.E. Depocas was Assistant Commercial Attaché, and W.B. McCullough, an agricultural specialist in the Department of Trade and Commerce, was Assistant Commercial Attaché (Agricultural) in the Mission.

In March, 1944, Mr. Turgeon left Argentina for Canada prior to his new appointment to Mexico, and the Legation was left in charge of K.P. Kirkwood, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires, for a year and a half. His successor was not appointed until August 7, 1945. In the interval, after the revolutionary Argentine Government had declared war on Germany and Japan, normal diplomatic relations, which had been ^{informally} suspended, were resumed with the administration on April 9, 1945. (1)

In August, 1945, the Legation was raised to an Embassy, and Mr. Warwick Chipman, Ambassador in Chile, appointed on August 7th, came to Buenos Aires as Ambassador to the Argentine Republic. Recognition of the Argentine Government, which had been held in abeyance following the Peron coup d'état of 1943, had been accorded by means of a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs acknowledging an official communication, followed by Mr. Chipman's presentation of credentials to President Peron.

Chile

Mr. Turgeon flew to Santiago on January 2, 1942, and presented his credentials to the Vice-President and Acting President of Chile, Mr. Jeronimo Mendez, as first Canadian Minister to Chile. He was accompanied by Gilles Sicotte. After less than a month in Santiago, making official calls and acting as Canadian Delegate to the International Congress of Geology and Mining Engineering, he returned to Buenos Aires, leaving the Legation vacant and in charge of the British Embassy.

(1) See F.H. Soward. Canada in World Affairs, 1944-46, p. 280-2.

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In April, 1942, acting on behalf of Mr. Turgeon, K.P. Kirkwood, First Secretary in Buenos Aires, went to Santiago as temporary Chargé d'Affaires and Special Representative of the Canadian Government for the inauguration of the ^{new} President of Chile, His Excellency Don Juan Antonio Rios.

In September Mr. Turgeon again went to Santiago as head of the Canadian Delegation to the Inter-American Conference on Social Security.

The attempt to combine the Ministership for two countries, one on the Atlantic and one on the Pacific, with the Andes separating them and making physical connection difficult and inconvenient, proved unsatisfactory; and the Canadian Government decided to appoint a separate Minister to Chile. Mr. W.F. Chipman, K.C., was appointed on November 4, 1942.

Mr. Warwick Fielding Chipman, K.C., was born on April 26, 1880, took his B.A. in 1901 and D.C.L. in 1906 from McGill University. In 1926 he was called to the Bar of Quebec. He was Professor of International Law, Roman and Constitutional Law and Civil Law at McGill from 1912-1943, meanwhile practising law in Montreal with the firm of Brown, Montgomery and McMichael. In 1917 he was created King's Counsel. A co-founder of the League of Nations Society in Canada, he became its President from 1940 to 1943. He was a Governor of the Montreal Theological College and Montreal General Hospital, Batonnier-General of the Province of Quebec, and Chief Advocate of the Diocese of Montreal. In 1942 he received an honorary D.C.L. from

Bishop's College. He was a member of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations, and was the author of two books of poetry and of numerous articles on philosophy, literature and legal subjects.

Mr. Chipman arrived in Santiago a short time afterwards (February, 1943) accompanied by Jules Leger as Third Secretary. K.P. Kirkwood was loaned for a month to the new Mission as Adviser. Meanwhile, M.J. Vechsler had arrived as Trade Commissioner and became Commercial Attaché to the Legation. Mr. Chipman was promoted to Ambassador to Chile in July, 1944.

In the words of the Prime Minister in 1943: "It is a simple statement of fact that in external affairs, as in certain other branches of government, in business and in some professions, there are not now available in Canada enough men of the required training and experience to fill the posts that should be filled. Nevertheless, and in spite of the difficulties, it has now become apparent that we cannot much longer delay a further extension of our diplomatic representation in Latin America. Mexico is a case particularly in point. I do not think we should longer delay the establishment of a legation in Mexico City, and I hope that provision for such an office will be included in the supplementary estimates to be brought down later in the session. Similarly I hope to be able to announce an agreement to open legations in Cuba and Peru. In some way the difficulty of finding personnel will have to be overcome." (1)

(1) H. of C. Debates, July 12, 1943, p.4666.

Uruguay

Despite many requests for reciprocal exchange of Missions with Uruguay, the most democratic country in South America and the first one to become an ally and co-belligerent with the western countries at war with Germany, the Canadian Government took no steps to open a Mission there. The British Embassy, under Sir Ralph Shrine Stevenson, continued to act for Canadian interests. The Commercial Secretary (J.A. Strong) in Argentina, was also accredited, however, as Trade Commissioner to Uruguay; and both he, Mr. Turgeon and K.P. Kirkwood made occasional inspectional tours to Uruguay, keeping in contact with the British diplomatic and consular officials there and reporting on Uruguayan developments from Buenos Aires.

Peru

In 1944 an Embassy was opened at Lima, Peru, headed by Dr. Henry Laureys who presented his credentials to President Prado in October. He was assisted by Gilles Sicotte who was transferred from Buenos Aires.

Mexico

In the same year, 1944, an Embassy was opened in Mexico City, Mr. W.F.A. Turgeon being appointed the first Canadian Ambassador there, coming from Buenos Aires. The climate, however, did not suit his health, and soon afterwards he was appointed Ambassador to Belgium, and was replaced by Dr. H.L. Keenleyside in February 1945.

Cuba

Five months later it was announced that Canada and Cuba had agreed to exchange Ministers, and Mr. Emile

Vaillancourt of Montreal was selected for the post. The Missions were not of embassy rank, possibly because the United Kingdom had not raised its Mission in Havana to that status, and it might have been somewhat embarrassing if the new Canadian Mission had outranked it.

Following the creation of the Canadian Legation in Cuba, the list of diplomatic appointments in Latin-America was closed for the time being, although it was an open secret that other countries besides the ones selected were suggesting exchanges. Uruguay was among the first of these advocates.

U.S.S.R.

De facto recognition of the U.S.S.R. was accorded by the United Kingdom Government following the signature of a trade agreement at London on March 16, 1921. Canada adhered to this agreement on July 3, 1922, from which date extended Canada's de facto recognition of the U.S.S.R.

On February 1, 1924, the United Kingdom's Labour Government granted de jure recognition to the U.S.S.R., while formal recognition by Canada was dated from March 24, 1924, at which time a communication from the Canadian Government was forwarded to the Government of the U.S.S.R., stating that Canada was prepared to recognize the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. (1)

A Soviet trade delegation was sent to Canada in 1924, only to be withdrawn in May, 1927, when the Canadian Government terminated the trade agreement following the

(1) Mr. Mackenzie King: H. of C. Debates, February 5, 1942, p.328.

break in Anglo-Russian relations that resulted following the raid on the Arcos offices. For fifteen years neither country was represented in the other's capital. (1)

In the depression years, the Bennett Government prohibited by Order-in-Council the entry into Canada of certain Soviet commodities and the Soviet Government promptly retaliated by placing an embargo on the import of all Canadian products. When Mr. King returned to office in 1935, his Minister of Trade and Commerce, Hon. W.D. Euler, visited Moscow to make arrangements for the resumption of normal trade relations and in September, 1936, each country lifted its ban. When war broke out in 1939, the Soviet non-aggression pact with Germany was a cause of further resentment and discontinuance of trade relations. But when Germany attacked Russia in 1941 the scene changed very quickly.

On February 5, 1942, an agreement was signed at London by Mr. Massey and the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Maisky, between the Government of Canada and the Government of the U.S.S.R. providing for the exchange of consular representatives between the two countries. (2) The Soviet Union was accepted as an Ally; "the heroic resistance of the Russian people to the Nazi war-machine was greatly admired by Canadians and soon led to suggestions that Canada and the U.S.S.R. establish formal diplomatic relations." (3)

(1) H. of C. Debates, March 29, 1946, p.360.

(2) Ibid. Canada Treaty Series, 1942. No.9.

(3) See F.H. Soward: Canada in World Affairs, 1944-1946. p.297. House of C. Debates, November 4, 1941.

On June 12, 1942, Mr. King announced in the House that "The Canadian Government have come to the conclusion that it is desirable to establish a Canadian Legation in the U.S.S.R. on a reciprocal basis, and we have now been informed that the Soviet Government accept the Canadian Government's proposal and that they desire to establish a Legation in Canada. We understand that the Soviet government will also establish a consulate at Halifax." An agreement for the exchange of diplomatic Missions between Canada and the U.S.S.R. was signed in London on June 12, 1942. (1)

On November 4, 1942, the appointment of Mr. L. Dana Wilgress as Canadian Minister to the U.S.S.R. was announced. He had long been one of the ablest of the Canadian Trade Commissioners, had served in many posts and had travelled extensively as an inspector of Canadian trade posts; before the war he had served in Vladivostock as Trade Commissioner, learned Russian, and married a Russian lady, a member of the Old Regime.*

In March, 1943, Mr. Wilgress opened the Legation in Kuibyshev, the temporary seat of government of the U.S.S.R., but he proceeded to Moscow in April to present his credentials. He was joined a few weeks later by R.M. Macdonnell as First Secretary, Arnold C. Smith and J.A. McCordick as Third Secretaries, Brig. H. Lefebvre as Military Attaché, and Maj. G.J. Okulitch as Assistant Military Attaché.

(1) H. of C. Debates, February 12, 1942, p. 3302. Canada Treaty Series, 1942. No.12.

* He had formerly been director of Commercial Intelligence (1932) and Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce (1940). After serving in the U.S.S.R. he was Minister to Switzerland, opening the new Legation in Berne; High Commissioner in the United Kingdom (1949), Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (1952-53), and Ambassador to NATO in Paris.

In June the Minister paid a second visit to Moscow with a view to establishing further contacts with Soviet officials and also for the purpose of locating permanent quarters in the event of the Diplomatic Corps returning to the capital. By early August the steady improvement in the military situation made this return possible, and on August 11th the Mission was transferred to Moscow, where it was able to move immediately into permanent Legation premises for the use of which arrangements had already been made. These premises were taken over, complete with furnishings, from a Danish property.

In December, 1943, arrangements were made for the Canadian Legation in Moscow and the Soviet Legation in Ottawa to be raised to the status of Embassies; and these were implemented on February 9, 1944.

"Apart from the assistance to the Soviet Union given at the government level," Prof. Soward has recorded, "there was a remarkable response from the Canadian people to the 'Aid for Russia' campaign which began in November, 1942, and which raised more money than any other drive except the appeal for Britain. In June, 1943, the National Council for Canadian-Soviet Friendship was established in Toronto and had some twenty branches in cities from Halifax to Vancouver. Their meetings were addressed by the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers as well as the Soviet Ambassador and his staff. Forty Canadian cities 'adopted' Soviet cities with the intention of helping in their reconstruction as the war receded. At the formal receptions given by the Soviet Embassy on the anniversaries of the Revolution or the founding of

the Red Army, or at the private showing of Soviet films in Ottawa there was always present as representative a group of leading citizens as the capital could provide. Occasionally there were some expressions of doubt about Soviet policy as the war drew to a close. In the main these arose from the treatment of Poland by the U.S.S.R., and came from Quebec members. But in general there was no doubt that a reservoir of goodwill had accumulated in Canada towards her mighty ally and northern neighbour."⁽¹⁾

Other Allied Governments

As has previously been noted, on November 30, 1941, Brigadier, (later Major-General), George P. Vanier, D.S.O., M.C., was designated as Canadian Minister to Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia, but remained in London where were located most of those governments-in-exile. In addition, he acted in consultation with the French National Committee in London on matters of mutual interest relating to the conduct of the war. He then was accredited to the Committee in Algiers, and when it removed to Paris, he was appointed Ambassador to the Provisional French Government there.

Enemy Countries

One by one the rather tenuous connections of certain countries which fell under German control were broken with Canada. In October, 1940, trade relations with Roumania were discontinued by the application to

⁽¹⁾ Soward: loc. cit. p.299.

that country of the regulations governing trading with the enemy. By this time Roumania had fallen under complete economic and political domination of Germany, and British interests were already being withdrawn. In March of the next year the same regulations were applied to Hungary and Bulgaria. There were no consular relations with Bulgaria, and few people of Bulgarian origin resided in Canada. For Hungary, however, the situation was different. Some 50,000 Hungarians are to be found in Canada, notably in agricultural areas in the West. There had been Hungarian consulates in Winnipeg and Montreal for several years, and with the extension of German control over Hungary these offices became possible sources of danger. When diplomatic relations between Hungary and Great Britain were broken in April, 1941, Mr. King announced that the Hungarian consulates would be closed. (1)

Relations with Finland were also terminated when the Finns joined the Germans in their attack on Russia. The great wave of popularity which Finland enjoyed in the winter of 1940 had been shared by Canadians, and the Canadian Government had made a grant of \$100,000 worth of foodstuffs to meet Finnish economic needs. But when Finnish collaboration with Germany took the form of an attack on Russia and relations were broken between Finland and Great Britain, the Canadian Government again followed the British lead, and the office of the Finnish Consulate General in Montreal and Finnish Vice-Consulates throughout the country were closed. (2)

(1) H. of C. Debates, April 8, 1941. p.2251.

(2) Dawson, op. cit. p. 268.

China

The first Canadian Minister to China, Major-General Victor W. Odlum, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., who had previously served as High Commissioner to Australia, arrived in Chungking, the war-time capital, on April 30, 1943. The sudden illness of President Lin Sen prevented him from presenting his Letters of Credence on May 11, as had been planned. When it was realized subsequently that the President's illness would prove fatal, it was decided that the credentials should be transmitted to the President through the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. K.C. Wu.

The officers of the Legation were Dr. G.S. Patterson, an orientalist who had been with the Y.M.C.A. in the Far East for over twenty years, as Counsellor; Ralph E. Collins, China-born, as Third Secretary; Brigadier O.M. Kay, E.D., (who arrived in September), as Assistant Military Attaché. Dr. Leslie G. Kilborn, a Canadian scholar and Dean of the Medical School of West China Union University, assisted the Legation in the initial period of its establishment as interpreter.

In December, 1943, it was announced that the Governments of Canada and China had agreed to elevate their respective Legations to the rank of Embassy. (1)

In addition to the foregoing examples of the opening of full diplomatic representation, there were temporary contacts established with the "orphaned" Danish colony of Greenland and the Free French colonies of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and also a mission created in Portugal and Venezuela. These were Consulates, not full diplomatic Missions, and are described in a separate chapter. In a general sense, however, they marked a fuller Canadian official representation abroad.

(1) External Affairs Annual Report, 1943.

This brief review of the diplomatic expansion abroad, parallel to the expansion of the Department in Ottawa, - a combination of cause and effect in both directions - has unavoidably carried the story in some cases somewhat beyond the strict limit of this Second Part of this Survey. A certain part of the expansion noted occurred for the most part between 1926 and the first two years of the Second World War, i.e., during the Skelton epoch, to 1941. Toward the latter part of that period, however, consideration had been given to further expansion, and plans were prepared and were under government consideration. A number of these new posts were not actually opened until 1942-44; but the comprehensive review would be artificially curtailed and incomplete if these were not briefly mentioned here, even at the risk of projecting it beyond the period of this study. Although Dr. Skelton's sudden death in January, 1941, terminated a personal period in the Department, the War continued in its momentum; the diplomatic expansion was a portion of Canada's war activities, and instead of being interrupted in 1941 was speeded up. It was a continuation and fulfilment of the plans prepared by Dr. Skelton, and contemplated in his message to H.H. Wrong in 1930. (1)

(1) See page 48).

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